Clarifying the Position of Preverbal Subjects: Subject Pronoun Doubling in Luwanga

Michael Diercks

Pomona College

Christopher R. Green

Syracuse University

This paper documents subject pronoun doubling (SPD) in Luwanga, a novel empirical contribution to the syntactic literature on Bantu languages. In SPD a pronoun that is coreferent with the subject co-occurs with (doubles) the subject in the same clause. SPD can only occur with subjects and triggers a discourse-familiar interpretation of the subject. The subject and the pronoun need not be continuous, and the presence of SPD preverbally is used to argue for the presence of multiple preverbal (non-dislocated) subject positions in Luwanga. The structure of preverbal subjects is a persistent question among Bantu syntax researchers, and Luwanga SPD sheds some light on the issue.

1 Introduction

This paper documents subject pronoun doubling in Luwanga, a phenomenon that is, to our knowledge, not previously in the syntactic literature on Bantu languages. Several Luyia languages have small pronouns that may optionally co-occur preverbally with an overt noun phrase subject:[1]

(1) Tsi-m-busi (tsyo)   tsy-a-kw-iir-e.   [Luwanga]
     10-10-goats (10.they) 10SA-PST-fall-PFT-FV
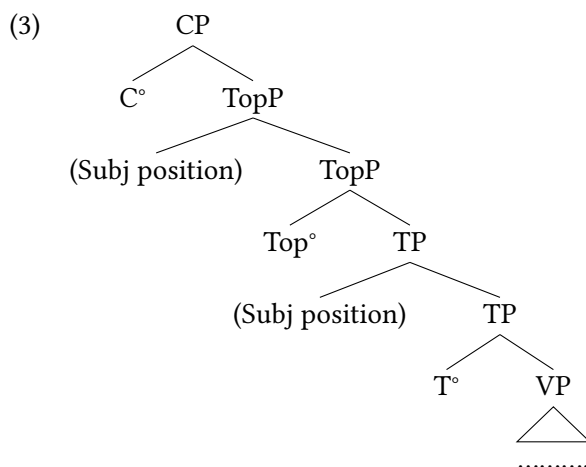   'The goats (that we are talking about) fell.'

---

[1] All data in this paper are from original fieldwork by the authors. Details in the acknowledgments.

(2) Vaa-limi (vo) va-ches-i   ma-tuma.   [Lutirichi]
    2-farmers 2they 2SA-harvest-PFT 6-maize

    'The farmers (are the ones who) harvested the maize.'

   In examples (1) and (2), a noun phrase subject occurs alongside the coreferent pronoun that matches it in φ-features. As discussed below, a defining feature of this pronoun doubling construction is that it is restricted to subjects and is not available with objects. §2 overviews the basic structural properties of SPD in Luwanga, and §4 examines the interpretation of SPD in Luwanga. §5 gives a preliminary structural analysis, and §6 demonstrates that SPD shows consistent distinctions from left dislocations and SPD, concluding that a left dislocation analysis of SPD is inappropriate. The resulting claim is that there are two (non-dislocated) structural positions available for preverbal subjects in Luwanga: Spec,TP and a TopP projection located between CP and TP (following similar proposals by Schneider-Zioga 2007; Miyagawa 2010; Pietraszko 2017; Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006; 2007).

(3)   CP
          ╱   ╲
        C°   TopP
               ╱   ╲
    (Subj position)   TopP
                      ╱   ╲
                   Top°   TP
                            ╱   ╲
                (Subj position)   TP
                                  ╱   ╲
                                T°   VP
                                          ╱▲╲
                                        ....

   The conclusions reached here are relevant to persistent questions in Bantu syntax on several fronts. First, the properties of preverbal subjects have long been a topic of debate and disagreement - there are ways in which preverbal subjects in Bantu languages behave somewhat differently than might be expected if they were in the 'canonical' subject position (Spec,TP), but it has been notoriously difficult to diagnose and analyze their precise positions. Subject pronoun doubling is useful for generating insight about the nature of preverbal subject positions. Furthermore, the analysis of subjects and subject positions unsurprisingly

has large effects on the analysis of distinct syntactic constructions referencing subject positions as well, such as the debates about hyper-raising constructions, anti-agreement effects, and subject inversion constructions, among others. And the nature of pronoun doubling itself (i.e. how it is derived) is itself an important analytical question with important theoretical consequences. This paper focuses on the preverbal structural positions that SPD utilizes, but these broader implications are discussed in the conclusions.

2 Syntactic patterns of Luwanga SPD

2.1 A brief look at the pronouns themselves

Luwanga has a series of small pronouns that may appear in multiple positions, as shown in (4b), including as enclitics on the end of the verb, as shown in (4c):

(4) a. A-ba-ana b-ool-er-e   a-n-go.
        2-2-child 2sa-arrive-pft-fv 16-9-house
        'The children arrived at home.'

     b. Bo   b-ool-er-e   a-n-go.
        2.they 2sa-arrive-pft-fv 16-9-house
        'They arrived home.'

     c. B-ool-er-e-bo   a-n-go.
        2sa-arrive-pft-fv-2.they 16-9-house
        'They arrived home.'

We will see that these varying pronoun positions are also true of these pronouns when they occur in SPD. These pronouns (in multiple positions) are possible in all noun classes. The table in (5) outlines the these morphological forms, as well as illustrating their preverbal and postverbal positions.

(5) **Forms of subject pronoun doubling in Luwanga**

Class	Head Noun	Gloss	she/he/it fell (yesterday)	
1	omundu	person	**ye** yakwiire	yakwiire**ye**
2	abandu	people	**bo** bakwiire	bakwiire**bo**
3	omusaala	tree	**kwo** kyakwiire	kyakwiire**kwo**
4	emisaala	trees	**cho** chakwiire	chakwiire**cho**
5	lihoondo	pumpkin	**lyo** lyakwiire	lyakwiire**lyo**
6	amahoondo	pumpkins	**ko** kaakwiire	kaakwiire**ko**
7	eshifuumbi	chair	**sh(y)o** shakwiire	shakwiire**sh(y)o**
8	efifuumbi	chairs	**fyo** fyakwiire	fyakwiire**fyo**
9	imbusi	goat	**yo** yaakwiire	yaakwiire**yo**
10	tsimbusi	goats	**tsyo** tsyakwiire	tsyakwiire**tsyo**
11	olulefu	beard-hair	**lwo** lwakwiire	lwakwiire**lwo**
10	tsindefu	beard-hairs	**tsyo** tsyakwiire	tsyakwiire**tsyo**
12	akhahoondo	pumpkin (dim)	**kho** khaakwiire	khaakwiire**kho**
13	oruhoondo	pumpkins (dim)	**rwo** rwakwiire	rwakwiire**rwo**
14	obusuma	ugali	**bwo** bwakwiire	bwakwiire**bwo**

2.2 SPD is restricted to subjects

This kind of doubling construction is restricted to subjects – objects cannot occur with this kind of pronoun doubling:

(6) En-duuts-i   a-ba-ana   (*bo).
     1sgSA-see.PFT-FV 2-2-children (*2.they)

     'I have seen the children (that we are talking about).'

It is clear that there is something about structural subject position that licenses SPD that is not available for objects. Example (7) below gives another instance of an ungrammatical object with this form of pronoun doubling; example (8) describes the same circumstance but with a passivized form of the same verb with the thematic object promoted to subject. In (8), in contrast to (7), pronoun doubling is completely acceptable.

(7) A-ma-reebo ka-khay-ir-e   a-ba-ana   ba-anje (*bo).
     6-6-exams   6SA-defeat-PFT-FV 2-2-children 2-my   2.they

     'The exams defeated my children.'

(8)   A-ba-ana   ba-anje boxed[bo]   ba-khay-ir-w-e   (nende a-ma-reebo).
      2-2-children 2-my   2.they 2SA-defeat-PFT-PASS-FV by   6-6-exams

      'My children (the ones we were talking about) were defeated (by exams).'

This will be explored in some more depth in §4, but it is clear from these examples that this form of pronoun doubling is restricted to structural subjects.

2.3 Doubled Pronouns: Many positions, but not inside VP

Luwanga is particularly liberal with the allowable positions of these pronouns in subject pronoun doubling (SPD), particularly in comparison with other Luyia varieties. In a transitive sentence, the subject pronoun in SPD may occur in any of the four possible linear positions, as is shown in (9):

(9)   a. A-ba-ana   boxed[bo]   ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beele.
          2-2-children 2.they 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk

          'The children (that we were talking about) drank the milk.'

      b. A-ba-ana   ba-nyw-eer-e boxed[-bo]   a-ma-beele.
          2-2-children 2SA-drink-PFT-FV-2.they 6-6-milk

          'The children (that we were talking about) drank the milk.'

      c. A-ba-ana   ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beele boxed[bo] .
          2-2-children 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk   2.they

          'The children (that we were talking about) drank the milk.'

      d. boxed[Bo]   a-ba-ana   ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beele.
          2.they 2-2-children 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk

          'The children (that we were talking about) drank the milk.'

   While there is a clause-final position of the doubled pronoun (cf. (9c) above), it is clear that it is not absolutely clause-final—for example, the clause-final negation particle must follow the doubled subject pronoun:

(10) Tsi-m-busi shi-tsy-a-kw-iir-e   boxed[tsyo]   ta.
      10-10-goats NEG-10SA-PST-fall-PFT-FV 10.they NEG

      'The goats (that we were talking about) didn't fall.'

(11) *Tsi-m-busi shi-tsy-a-kw-iir-e   ta   boxed[tsyo] .
      10-10-goats NEG-10SA-PST-fall-PFT-FV NEG 10.they

      'The goats (that we were talking about) didn't fall.'

The evidence here and what we will see below suggests that the "final" position of a small pronoun in SPD is not clause-final, but more plausibly verb-phrase-final.[2] The first bit of evidence for this is that the pronoun is marginal when it occurs between two objects of a ditransitive construction. For ease of exposition the possible positions of the doubling pronoun are all represented in a single example (12), where possible positions marked with the pronoun itself or a checkmark, and the marginal/degraded positions marked with ?? or *.

(12) (✓) Alulu (ye) y-a-welesy-e   (✓) a-ba-ana   (*) e-shi-haanwa (✓).
          1.Alulu (he) 1SA-PST-give-FV   2-2-children   7-7-gift
      'Alulu (who we were talking about) gave the children a gift.'

Furthermore, a similar pattern is evident with an object and a verb-phrase-level adjunct like a temporal adverb. The doubling pronoun can appear before or after the subject, immediately postverbally, or clause-finally, but not between the object and the adjunct:

(13) (✓) Alulu (ye) y-a-luuts-i   (✓) i-n-zokha (*) mu-n-goloobe (✓).
          1.Alulu (he) 1SA-PST-see.PFT-FV   9-9-snake   18-9-yesterday

      'Alulu saw a snake yesterday.'

Adopting the relatively uncontroversial assumption that objects and temporal adverbials are verb phrase material, we see that a doubling pronoun cannot occur *between* verb-phrase-internal phrases, but may occur outside of those phrases. These patterns suggests that there are in fact three types of positions available: 1) preverbal subject position(s) (to be discussed more in what follows); 2) immediately postverbal position, and 3) verb-phrase-final position. Additional positions internal to the verb phrase are ruled out in both (12) and (13).

2.4 Pronouns can appear between auxiliaries and verbs

However, it is possible to have the doubling pronoun occur between the auxiliary verb and the main verb in a compound tense construction:

(14) A-ba-ana   ba-b-eer-e   [bo] ba-a-nyw-ets-ang-a
      2-2-children 2SA-be-PFT-FV 2.they 2SA-PST-drink-EXT-IMPF-FV
      a-ma-beere.
      6-6-milk
      'Children (that we are talking about) were drinking milk.'

---

[2] To be more precise, we assume this to be *v*P-final.

2.5 Doubled pronoun occurs outside locative clitics

As seen in (16), a locative phrase can be pronominalized via a locative enclitic on the verb, a common process in Luyia languages (Diercks 2011b,a).

(15)   A-ba-ana   ba-a-ts-iir-e   mu-n-zu.
        2-2-children 2sa-pst-go-pft-fv 18-9-house

        'The children went to the house (yesterday).'

(16)   A-ba-ana   ba-a-ts-iir-e   mo/kho.
        2-2-children 2sa-pst-go-pft-fv 18.loc/17.loc

        'The children went in there/to there (yesterday).'

As expected at this point, a SPD construction in a sentence with a locative goal object can appear in any of the 4 positions available:

(17)   (✓) A-ba-ana   (bo)   ba-a-ts-iir-e   (✓) mu-n-zu   (✓).
             2-2-children (2.they) 2sa-pst-go-pft-fv   18-9-house

        'The children (that we are talking about) went to the house (yesterday).'

As the examples in (18) show, a small pronoun doubling a subject must occur outside the locative enclitic.

(18)   a.   *A-ba-ana   ba-a-ts-iir-e -bo -mo.
                2-2-children 2sa-pst-go-pft-fv-2.they-18.loc

              'The children (that we are talking about) went in there (yesterday).'

        b.   A-ba-ana   ba-a-ts-iir-e-mo -bo .
                2-2-children 2sa-pst-go-pft-fv-18.loc-2.they

              'The children (that we are talking about) went in there (yesterday).'

Therefore, while the doubling pronoun does appear to be enclitized on the verb, it is less closely associated with the verb than the locative clitics are.

3 Intermediate Empirical Generalizations

We can therefore arrive at some intermediate empirical generalizations about the syntactic distribution of Luwanga SPD:

(19)   Intermediate Empirical Generalizations, Luwanga SPD

a. This form of pronoun doubling is only possible with subjects, not with objects

b. The doubling pronoun cannot appear between *v*P-internal constituents, but can appear either cliticized onto the verb or final in the *v*P.

c. There are multiple preverbal positions available for the doubling pronoun:

   i. before subjects

   ii. between subjects and verbs

   iii. between auxiliaries and main verbs in compound tenses

4 Interpretation of Luwanga SPD

With general distributional properties of Luwanga SPD established, this section outlines its core interpretive contribution. Notably, the interpretive effects described here differ starkly with those described for Lutirichi and Lubukusu by Diercks (2018) (where SPD generates focus/contrastive interpretations), showing that this can be a point of variation cross-linguistically.

(20) <u>Interpretation of Luwanga SPD</u>
    Luwanga SPD contributes a strictly discourse-familiar interpretation of the sentence subject.

  Recall that (normal, non-doubling) pronominal uses of the small pronouns themselves simply operate in the usual way for pronominals crosslinguistically, anaphorically referencing some discourse-familiar element.

(21) Q: Bo   b-ool-er-e?
       2.they 2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

     'Have they arrived?'
     (referring to some discourse-salient group of people)

    A: Bo   b-ool-er-e   (✓).
       2.they 2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

     'They have arrived. '

4.1 Discourse-familiar subjects licit with SPD

As the following question and answer pairs using yes/no questions make clear, the subject can undergo subject pronoun doubling if it is familiar from the discourse context, here being mentioned in the preceding question:

(22) Q: A-ba-ana   b-ool-er-e?
          2-2-children 2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

    'Have the children arrived?'
    A: (✓) A-ba-ana   bo   b-ool-er-e   (✓).
         2-2-children 2.they 2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

    'The children (that you are talking about) have arrived.'

The same pattern is replicated for a non-animate pronoun in (23), showing that these facts persist across nominals of different classes/animacy:

(23) Q: E-mi-saala ch-a-kw-iir-e?
          4-4-trees   4SA-PST-fall-PFT-FV

    'Have the trees fallen?'
    A: (✓) E-mi-saala cho   ch-a-kw-iir-e   (✓).
         4-4-trees   4.they 4SA-PST-fall-PFTFV

    'The trees (that we are talking about) have fallen.'

4.2 Discourse-new subjects illicit with SPD

Crucially, however, an unfamiliar subject cannot occur with SPD. The subject-oriented questions in the examples below make this clear, as answers to *wh*-questions are necessarily new to the discourse (new information focus), and therefore discourse-unfamiliar. For both of the subject questions below SPD is infelicitous, in clear contrast to the yes/no questions above:

(24) Q: Wina b-ool-er-e?
          who   2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

    'Who (all) arrived?'
    A: A-ba-ana   **(#bo)**   b-ool-er-e.
         2-2-children (2.they) 2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

    'The children arrived.'

(25) Q: Shina sh-a-kw-iir-e?
          what 7SA-PST-fall-PFT-FV
          'What fell?'
      A: E-mi-saala **(#cho)** ch-a-kw-iir-e.
          4-4-trees   (4.they) 4SA-PST-fall-PFT-FV
          'The trees have fallen.'

As is evident in the examples below, SPD is also infelicitous in an out-of-the-blue context:[3]

(26) Q: Ka-ryena?
          6SA-how
        'How are things?'
      A: A-ba-ana   ba-anje **(#bo)** b-ool-er-e.
          2-2-children 2-my   (2.they) 2SA-arrive-PFT-FV
          'My children arrived.'

Again, as we saw in (24) and (25), SPD is ruled out in a situation where the subject is discourse-new. Including SPD in the answer in (24) is only licit with significant pragmatic accommodation, for example, assuming that the interlocutors had met previously and the respondent had already explained that they were waiting for their children to arrive. This is the exception proving the rule, again supporting the analysis that SPD is used to refer to discourse-familiar entities, essentially topic-marking.

4.3 SPD is infelicitous with discourse-familiar objects

Let us return to the question of the strict subject requirement on SPD. In the examples below, (27) poses the question and (28) evaluates possible answers; notably, the same discourse contexts that license SPD above *cannot* serve to license pronoun doubling in object position, as evident in the ungrammatical (28b). (28c) shows that an additional demonstrative (D) element is possible with the possessive pronoun, which is also a discourse-anaphoric element: this suggests that the problem with (28b) is not with anaphoric reference in object position to a discourse-familiar entity. Instead, it appears that this kind of pronoun doubling is simply restricted to subject position.

---

[3] As is clear by contrasting example (29) below, the problem with SPD in (26) is not due to the combination of the possessive pronoun with the doubling pronouns, which is acceptable in (29).

(27)   Q: A-ma-reebo ka-khay-ir-e   a-ba-ana   bobo?
          6-6-exams   6SA-defeat-PFT-FV 2-2-children 2.your

       'Have the exams defeated your children?'[4]

(28)   a. Yee, a-ma-reebo ka-khay-ir-e   a-ba-ana   ba-anje.
           yes 6-6-exams   6SA-defeat-PFT-FV 2-2-children 2-my

           'Yes, the exams defeated my children.'

       b. *Yee, a-ma-reebo ka-khay-ir-e   a-ba-ana   ba-anje ⌈bo⌉ .
           yes   6-6-exams   6SA-defeat-PFT-FV 2-2-children 2-my   2.they

           'Yes, the exams defeated my children.'

       c. Yee, a-ma-reebo ka-khay-ir-e   a-ba-ana   ba-anje abo.
           yes 6-6-exams   6SA-defeat-PFT-FV 2-2-children 2-my   2.DEM

           'Yes, the exams defeated those my children.'

Perhaps the most notable point here is the fact we saw earlier, that the same discourse context does in fact license SPD on the thematic object in the event that a passive form of the verb is used and the thematic object is promoted to grammatical subject. Therefore we can see that the object argument that cannot occur with pronoun doubling in (28b) can in fact be doubled as long as that argument is made a subject via passivization, as seen in (29) (which was also elicited as an answer to (27)).

(29)   Yee, a-ba-ana   ba-anje ⌈bo⌉ ba-khay-ir-w-e   (nende
       yes, 2-2-children 2-my   2.they 2SA-defeat-PFT-PASS-FV   by
       a-ma-reebo).
       6-6-exams

       'Yes, my children (the ones we were talking about) were defeated (by exams).'

It appears, then, that there is something specifically about subject position that licenses SPD - objects in (28a) and (28c) are perfectly acceptable as discourse-familiar entities in those syntactic positions, and the same argument (when promoted to subject via passivization) is content to occur with SPD in (29), but critically, this form of pronoun doubling only occurs with arguments in subject position.

---

[4] *amareebo* literally means 'questions' but is also used in academic contexts to refer to 'exams.'

4.4 SPD requires a subject that licenses discourse anaphora

The conclusion that SPD refers to a salient discourse-familiar entity is further confirmed by some additional diagnostics: SPD is ruled out with certain kinds of quantified subjects, namely, ones that are not capable of establishing a discourse-anaphoric referent. For example, the quantified subject in (30b) is incompatible with SPD.

(30) a. O-mw-aana **(ye)**   y-ool-er-e   (✓).
          1-1-child   (1.s/he) 1SA-arrive-PFT-FV

          'That child (we were talking about) arrived.'

     b. Buli   o-mw-aana **(*ye)**   y-ool-er-e   **(*ye)**.
          every 1-1-child   (1.s/he) 1SA-arrive-PFT-FV (1.s/he)

          'Every child arrived.'

Additionally, Wanga has a negative polarity item *AGR-esi-AGR-esi* 'any (at all),' which is licensed in the scope of negation, as seen in (31b).

(31) a. *[O-mw-aana y-esi-y-esi] y-ool-er-e.
          1-1-child   1-any-1-any 1SA-arrive-PFT-FV

          '*any child arrived.'

     b. She-m-baar-a   [o-mw-aana y-esi-y-esi] y-ool-er-e   ta.
          NEG-1sgSA-think-FV 1-1-child   1-any-1-any 1SA-arrive-PFTFV NEG

          'I don't think any child at all arrived.'

Notably, SPD cannot occur with *omwaana yesiyesi* 'any child:'

(32) Shee-m-bar-a   o-mw-aana y-eesi-y-eesi **(*ye)**   yoolere
       NEG-1sgSA-think-FV 1-1-child   1-any-1-any (1.s/he) 1SA-arrive-PST

       (*ye)   ta.
       (1.s/he) NEG

       'I don't think any child at all arrived.'

This is consistent with an analysis of SPD as triggering a topical interpretation of a noun phrase, requiring a salient discourse-familiar entity to refer to. An NPI like *AGR-esi-AGR-esi* 'any (at all)' does not refer to any discourse entity, nor does the quantified phrase in (30b), and therefore both are ruled out with SPD.

In contrast to the patterns above, the quantifier *–oosi* 'all' can readily co-occur with SPD:

(33)   (✓) A-ba-ana   b-osi (bo)   b-ool-er-e   (✓).
        2-2-children 2-all (2.they) 2sᴀ-arrive-ᴘꜰᴛ-ꜰᴠ

       'All the children (we were talking about) have arrived.'

This is reminiscent of the English distinction between *every* and *all* quantifiers, where expressions quantified by *all* may license discourse anaphora (in the same way that definite descriptions can), but expressions quantified by *every* cannot do so (Brisson 1998: 9):

(34)   a. The girls came in. They sat down.

       a. Every girl came in. ??They/*she sat down.

       a. All the girls came in. They sat down.

   Brisson (1998) claims that *all* is a DP-internal modifier and not, in fact, a quantifier, accounting for its ability to license discourse anaphora, which quantifiers (like *every*) cannot do. Landman (2016) describes and analyzes the (apparent) quantifiers *vuri* and *-oosi* in the closely related Luyia language Llogoori, arguing that while *vuri* is a quantifier of the category D, *-oosi* is a DP-internal modifier (similar to Brisson's 1998 claims for English). Assuming that Luwanga *−buli* 'every' and *−oosi* 'all' have properties parallel to Llogoori (and English) in these respects, we find further confirmation that Luwanga SPD is discourse-anaphoric, requiring a discourse-familiar subject.[5]

5 On the Structure of Preverbal Subjects in Luwanga

It is obvious that doubled pronouns in Wanga need not be a single constituent with their full DPs – first, the same pronouns can occur in non-doubling contexts, but furthermore, even in doubling contexts the pronoun and its associated subject DP do not need to occur in strict proximity. There are two salient questions that arise with respect to the analysis of SPD:

(35)   Analytical issues for SPD:

       1. What positions are the lexical subject and its pronoun double in?

       2. What is the syntactic relationship between the subject and its pronominal double, and how is the construction derived syntactically?

---

[5] Our gratitude to Meredith Landman for extended discussions on these issues, and for teaching us many things about quantification.

This paper focuses in particular on question #1, and in particular on the preverbal subject position. Question #2 will be left for future work.

5.1 SPD and high adverbs

From everything we have seen thus far, it would be possible to assume that the subject and its associate pronoun are simply a single constituent when they are both in preverbal position. The ability for the pronoun to occur in variable syntactic positions might already suggest that this analysis is unnecessary, but there is good evidence that this kind of analysis cannot hold even for preverbal positions. In Luwanga there is an adverb *aundi* 'maybe' that occurs preverbally, either preceding or following the subject, but not postverbally:

(36) (✓) A-ba-ana ⌈aundi⌉ ba-nyw-eer-e (*) a-ma-beere (*).
       2-2-children maybe 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk

    'The children maybe drank the milk .'

Evaluative adverbs like *aundi* 'maybe' are structurally high, here assumed to adjoin to TP, which is confirmed by the unacceptability of the adverb postverbally in Luwanga (Cinque 1999; Ernst 2014).
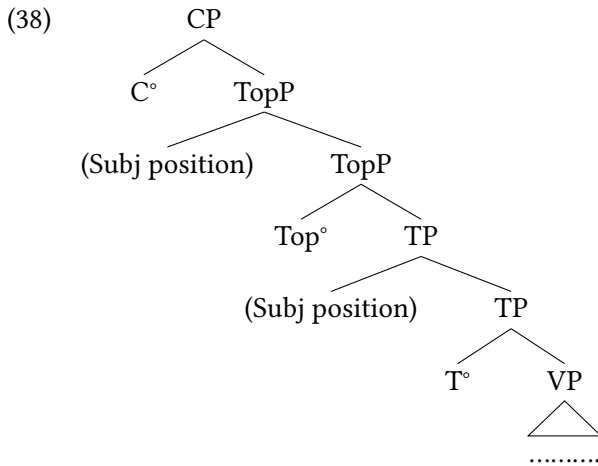
Crucial for our concerns, this adverb can appear between the lexical subject and the pronoun in an SPD construction:

(37) ⌈a-ba-ana⌉ aundi ⌈bo⌉ ba-nyw-eer-e a-ma-beere
    2-2-children maybe 2.they 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk

    'The children (that we are talking about) maybe drank the milk.'

The evidence in (37) is direct evidence that the lexical subject DP and the pronoun need not be a single constituent, even in preverbal subject position, and that there are multiple preverbal positions available for subjects, on either side of the adverb *aundi* 'probably' in Luwanga.

5.2 Proposal: Subjects in TopP

Part of the explanation for (37) is that there are in fact two distinct subject positions available in Luwanga. We propose that the lower position related more specifically to grammatical subject that is the thematic argument of the verb, and the higher subject position is specifically designated for the sentence topic (following Schneider-Zioga 2007; Miyagawa 2010; Pietraszko 2017; Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006; 2007):

(38)

```
                    CP
                   /  \
                 C°    TopP
                      /    \
            (Subj position)  TopP
                            /    \
                         Top°     TP
                                 /   \
                      (Subj position) TP
                                     /  \
                                   T°    VP
                                        /\
                                       /__\
                                      ..........
```

5.3 Precedents in the literature

5.3.1 Subjects as topics in Bantu

There is a long history of proposals about preverbal subjects in various Bantu languages as being topics; very often these claims center on interpretive properties of subjects. For example, Baker (2003) proposes that all arguments in Kinande that are marked on the verb (subjects/objects) are left-dislocated, citing (among other things) the obligatory specific reading of (preverbal, agreeing) subjects. Schneider-Zioga (2007) proposes that subjects in Kinande are usually in a Topic projection low in the left periphery and trigger subject agreement from that position, relying on similar evidence to Baker. She claims that subjects cannot extract from that position (due to anti-locality constraints) and that subject extraction therefore originates structurally lower in the clause (TP), which she uses to explain anti-agreement effects that occur in subject extraction. Letsholo (2002) proposes that Ikalanga subjects are base-generated in a left-peripheral A'-position, arguing this point on a large range of evidence including the morphosyntax of the verb and the properties of subjects themselves (following the diagnostics set forward by Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).

Henderson (2006a) adopts an analysis of overt subjects in the CP domain for a variety of reasons. First, he points out that in a number of languages the agreement morpheme that agrees with a relativized object *follows* the preverbal subject, as illustrated below for Ikalanga and Luganda:

(39) a. nlume Neo [wa] a   ka bona   **Ikalanga**
　　　1man 1aNeo 1REL 1aSA PST see
　　　'the man that Neo saw' (Letsholo 2002)

　　a. omusajja Petero [gwe] a-labye   **Luganda**
　　　1man　　　1aPeter 1REL 1aSA-see.PERF
　　　'the man that Peter saw' (Walusimbi 1996)

Henderson argues that facts like these necessitate a structure where preverbal (overt) subjects appear in the left periphery of the clause, higher than the Fin head where the relative agreement morpheme arises (circled in the examples above). In the same work, Henderson argues that the inversion patterns in relative clauses in other languages *also* argue for an analysis of subjects in the CP domain. As evidenced in examples like the Dzamba patterns below, some languages require subject inversion under A'-movement of a non-subject, in both relative clauses and topicalization constructions. Notably, in both instances the subject agreement on the verb is with the fronted non-subject rather than with the thematic subject.

(40) a. Omwana a-tom-aki   imukanda   **Dzamba SVO**
　　　1child   1SA-send-PERF 5letter
　　　'The child sent a letter.'

　　a. imukanda mú-tom-aki   omwana   **Dzamba REL V S**
　　　5letter   5CA-send-PERF 1child
　　　'the letter that the child sent'

　　a. Imukanda mu-tom-aki   omwana.   **Dzamba TOP V S** 'the letter, the
　　　5letter   5CA-send-PERF 1child
　　　child sent it.'

Henderson (2006a) proposes that languages like Dzamba differ from others in 1) having an A' subject position (in spec,CP), and 2) having a simplex CP domain. Therefore topicalizations compete with subjects for the preverbal position that triggers so-called subject agreement.[6] Henderson (2011) revises this approach to inversion, arguing for a more nuanced approach that relies on agreement with both C and T, proposing that T's phi features in OVS contexts are valued through its agreement with C rather than agreement with the thematic subject; in these

---

[6] See the comments below on Miyagawa 2010 for a proposal that similarly locates subject agreement on a head other than T.

languages there is no Spec,TP, creating a closer locality effect between C and T than between T and the thematic subject. This follows on the precedent of Kinyalolo (1991), who claims that Kilega lacks a specifier for IP, and that preverbal subjects are instead adjoined to TP; this explains how A'-movement of non-subjects creates verb-subject inversion in Kilega.[7]

Miyagawa (2010) is concerned with a large range of cross-linguistic phenomenon, and specifically investigating local A-scrambling in Japanese (among other languages). Central to his proposals is the claim that local A-scrambling may target a functional projection (αP) that resides between CP and TP. Miyagawa treats discourse features like focus and topic ([-focus]) on par with phi-features, claiming that they are inherited from C in the course of the derivation (in the same way **Chomsky:2001a**; Chomsky 2008 proposes that phi-features are inherited by T from C).[8] Miyagawa also proposes that αP explains various inversion constructions in Kinande parallel to the TOP-V-S construction in Dzamba in (40a). On Miyagawa's account, αP inherits both a [-focus] features and phi-features, with the result that whatever is topical raises to αP and triggers the agreement that is commonly considered "subject" agreement.

As is evident from the preceding discussion, many of these proposals have arisen from the need to explain otherwise-unexpected properties of A'-constructions (inversions and patterns of agreement and anti-agreement). In a line of argumentation largely separate from the inversion questions , Pietraszko (2017) proposes a TopP projection that occurs between CP and TP to explain a variety of distinctions between indicative clauses, subjunctive clauses, and relative clauses in Ndebele. She shows that indicative clauses have [u-] class one subject agreement, disallow focused subjects, and disallow augmentless subjects, whereas subjunctive clauses have [a-] class one subject agreement, allow focused subjects, and allow augmentless subjects in the appropriate contexts (relative clauses show asymmetries between subjects and non-subjects, with mixed effects with respect to these properties). She proposes that subjects are in TopP in indicatives (and pass through there in subject relative clauses), but that TopP is truncated in subjunctives and object relative clauses, explaining their distinct properties.

The empirical situation in southern Bantu languages is much clearer on this issue of subject topicality in some ways, in that preverbal subjects are strictly

---

[7] Carstens (2005) proposes instead the the requisite inversion constructions can be explained by locality of phi-features (along with a specific view of what features remain active to participate in Agree relations: see Carstens 2005; 2011), such that subjects raising to Spec,TP are interveners for non-subject A'-movement and therefore must *not* raise to TP in those contexts.

[8] Specifically, Miyagawa claims that Japanese scrambling is mainly to Spec,TP but that αP projects when multiple instances of scrambling occur.

non-focused: for example, focused subjects and wh-subjects must necessarily oc-cur postverbally (this is a contrast to northeastern Bantu languages like Luwanga and other Luyia languages, which usually don't have such strict prohibitions on preverbal material). A range of proposals have been set forward for such pat-terns; we refer to reader to a range of relevant literature (Zeller 2008; 2009; Zerbian 2006b,c,a; Sabel & Zeller 2006; Wal 2009; Buell 2006; Cheng & Downing 2012; Carstens & Mletshe 2016).

We can see, therefore, that there is a lot of precedent both for claims about the specific interpretation of preverbal subjects (in many languages they are obligatorily specific, in some languages necessarily discourse-familiar), and also about the syntactic structure of preverbal subjects (variably claimed to be left-dislocated, or in the left periphery, or at least structurally higher than TP). The proposal here follows directly on these preceding proposals, bringing in a new kind of evidence for these claims.

5.3.2 Non-Bantu subject doubling and multiple subject positions

Similar claims about the structure of preverbal subject positions are in fact well-precedented outside Bantu languages as well. It is broadly accepted that there are a variety of positions for subjects in the middlefield of the clause (Cardinaletti 2004; Bobaljik & Jonas 1996; Cable 2012). In an influential proposal, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998) claim that lexical subjects in null subject SVO languages are in A'-positions, because verbs with rich agreement can satisfy the EPP on T via head-movement.

There are also many so-called 'multiple subject constructions' have been doc-umented cross-linguistically, including multiple nominative constructions (the so-called 'major subject' or 'broad subject' construction) in Japanese (Kuno 1973; Kuroda 1986; Heycock 1993) and possibly in Hebrew, where Alexopoulou, Doron & Heycock (2004), Doron & Heycock (1999; 2010), and Heycock & Doron (2003) argue that Hebrew has broad subjects, but Landau (2009; 2011) argues that they ought to be analyzed as left-dislocated phrases. Subject pronoun doubling con-structions (/subject clitic constructions) have been documented in a variety of languages as well, including Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2008), various Dutch dialects (van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002; 2008; D'Alessandro, van Crae-nenbroeck & van Koppen 2010: among others), and in multiple Romance lan-guages, specifically in Italian dialects (D'Alessandro, van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2010; Poletto 1996; 1997; 2000; 2006; Cattaneo 2009; Brandi & Cordin 1989: among others). Multiple researchers have also analyzed expletive construc-tions that appear to utilize an additional position between CP and TP for the

expletive (Holmberg & Nikanne 2002; Haegeman 2008).

Various researchers have also specifically proposed that subjects and subject-related doubling elements are housed either in FinP, the lowest projection of CP (e.g. van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2008) or in a functional projection between CP and TP (e.g. Haegeman 2008; Miyagawa 2010; Rizzi & Shlonsky 2006; 2007). van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen (2008) propose that subject doubling in Wambeek Dutch can be derived as pronunciation of multiple copies of the subject in a single syntactic chain. On their proposal, a ϕP is sub-extracted from a DP in Spec,TP and moved to Spec,FinP, and both the original DP and the subextracted ϕP are spelled out (following standard linearization assumptions from Nunes 2004). This proposal therefore assumes an additional position for subjects in Spec,FinP. Haegeman (2008) analyzes a pleonastic pronoun *tet* in West Flemish, showing that it is a different phenomenon from subject pronoun doubling, and arguing that *tet* appears in a functional projection that occurs between CP and TP. Holmberg & Nikanne (2002; 2008) propose an FP projection that sits between CP and TP that hosts subjects in Finnish, but which can also host topical material, expletives, and subject-doubling pronouns.

Space prohibits a full discussion of the rich literature on this topic: we refer the reader to the cited literature for details. What is clear, however, is that subject pronoun/clitic doubling is a well-attested cross-linguistic phenomenon, and that a proposal of a functional projection for subjects between CP and TP is well-attested in the literature as well. The new contributions that this paper makes are to document (for the first time, to my knowledge) the presence of SPD in a Bantu language, and to utilize SPD to argue for a particular structure of preverbal subjects in Luwanga.

6 Contrasting SPD and Left-Dislocation

6.1 Left Dislocation as an alternative analysis

A prominent alternative analysis for the facts discussed here is that there is no additional subject position, and that instead subjects in these constructions are simply left-dislocated and the pronoun is in canonical subject position.

(41)   Alternative analysis of SPD: Left-Dislocation (to be discarded)
        [$_{CP}$ SUBJ [$_{CP}$ C [$_{TP}$ pronoun [$_{TP}$ T vP]]]]

The evidence clearly shows, however, that a left dislocation analysis cannot explain SPD in Luwanga. To establish the diagnostic, left-dislocation of objects is

acceptable both in main clauses and in embedded clauses of bridge verbs like 'say' or 'believe,' which cross-linguistically tend to allow embedded root phenomena:

(42) Tsi-m-busi etsy-o, Alulu y-a-tsy-iir-il-e.
      10-10-goats 10-DEM 1Alulu 1SA-PST-10OM-slaughter-PFT-FV
      'Those goats, Alulu slaughtered them.'

(43) Marlo   y-a-sunj-ir-a   mbu **tsi-m-busi etsy-o**, Alulu
      1.Marlo 1SA-PST-say-AP-FV that 10-10-goats 10-DEM 1.Alulu
      y-a-tsy-iir-il-e.
      1SA-PST-10OM-slaughter-PFT-FV
      'Marlo said that those goats, Alulu slaughtered them.'

What we will see in what follows is that SPD is consistently available in contexts where left-dislocation is ruled out.

6.2 LD is unacceptable inside relative clauses, SPD is not

As can be seen from (44a) and (44b), however, while a non-left-dislocated sentence is natural inside a relative clause, left dislocation inside a relative clause is degraded.

(44) a. End-a-luuts-i   a-bu-ndu aw-a   Alulu
          1sgSA-PST-see.PFT-FV 16-14-place 16-COMP 1.Alulu
          y-iir-ir-e   tsi-m-busi.
          1SA-slaughter-PFT-FV 10-10-goats
          'I saw that place where Alulu slaughtered the goats.'

      b. *?End-a-luuts-i   a-bu-ndu aw-a   **tsi-m-busi etsy-o**, Alulu
          1sgSA-PST-see.PFT-FV 16-14-place 16-COMP 10-10-goats 10-DEM 1.Alulu
          y-a-tsy-iir-ir-e.
          1SA-PST-10OM-slaughter-PFT-FV
          'I saw that place where those goats, Alulu slaughtered them.'

Note, however, that no such marginality arises with SPD inside relative clauses, which instead is quite natural:

(45) End-a-luuts-i   a-bu-ndu aw-a   ⌐a-ba-ana⌐   ⌐bo⌐
      1sgSA-PST-see.PFT-FV 16-14-place 16-COMP 2-2-children 2.they
      b-ool-er-e.
      2SA-arrive-PFT-FV
      'I saw the place where the children (that we have in mind) arrived.'

This is made even more clear in a context where the doubling pronoun and the noun phrase subject are clearly in different syntactic positions, separated by the *aundi* 'maybe' adverb. Again, this sentence is comfortably possible, in contrast to the sentence with left-dislocation:

(46) End-a-luuts-i   a-bu-ndu aw-a   ‎a-ba-ana‎   **aundi** ‎bo‎
1sgSA-PST-see.PFT-FV 16-14-place 16-COMP 2-2-children maybe 2.they
b-ool-er-e.
2SA-arrive-PFT-FV
'I saw the place where the children (we have in mind) maybe/probably arrived'

The conclusion, therefore, is that while SPD clearly does utilize a distinct, higher position for the DP subject than where the pronoun occurs (as they can be separated by structurally high adverbials), that higher position does not behave like a left-dislocated position (in contrast to the proposals for Kinande by Schneider-Zioga 2007 and for Dzamba and related languages by Henderson 2006b).

6.3 LD is unacceptable inside clefts, SPD is not

This conclusion is supported by additional parallel patterns; for example, clefts (like relative clauses) only marginally allow left dislocation inside them:

(47) Y-a-b-eer-e   a-lw-anyi   aw-a   Alulu y-iir-ir-e
9SA-PST-be-PFT-FV 16-11-courtyard 23-COMP 1.Alulu 1SA-slaughter-PFT-FV
tsi-m-busi   etsy-o.
10-10-goats 10-DEM
'It was in the courtyard that Alulu slaughtered those goats.'

(48) ??Y-a-b-eer-e   a-lw-anyi   aw-a   **tsi-m-busi etsy-o**, Alulu
9SA-PST-be-PFT-FV 16-11-courtyard 16-COMP 10-10-goats 10-DEM 1.Alulu
y-a-tsy-iir-ir-e.
1SA-PST-10OM-slaughter-PFT-FV
'It was in the courtyard that those goats, Alulu slaughtered them.'

As previously, however, SPD is completely natural inside a cleft, including across the the *aundi* adverb in (49):

(49) Y-a-b-eer-e   a-lw-anyi   aw-a   [a-ba-ana]   **aundi**   [bo]
9SA-PST-be-PFT-FV 16-11-courtyard 16-COMP 2-2-children maybe 2.they
b-ool-er-e.
2SA-arrive-PFT-FV

'It was in the courtyard that the children (we have been talking about) maybe/probably arrived.'

6.4 LD is degraded in subjunctive complement clauses, SPD is not

One more context where a distinction can be found between left dislocation and SPD is in subjunctive complement clauses of the restructuring verb *–eenya* 'want/need.' Here, like above, left-dislocation is quite degraded:

(50) End-eeny-a   Alulu   y-iir-e   tsi-m-busi etsy-o.
1sgSA-want-FV 1.Alulu 1SA-slaughter-SBJ.FV 10-10-goats 10-DEM

'I want Alulu to slaughter those goats.'

(51) *?End-eeny-a **tsi-m-busi etsy-o**, Alulu   ya-tsy-iir-e.
1sgSA-want-FV 10-10-goats 10-DEM 1.Alulu 1SA-10OM-slaughter-SBJ.FV

'I want Alulu to slaughter the goats.'

In contrast, however, SPD is completely natural, both with and without the *aundi* adverb:

(52) End-eeny-a   [a-ba-ana]   (**aundi**) [bo]   b-ool-e.
1sgSA-want-FV 2-2-children maybe 2.they 2SA-arrive-SBJ.FV

'I want the children we've been talking talking about to maybe arrive.'

6.5 Intermediate Conclusions

The clear conclusion, then, is that SPD shows consistent differences from left-dislocation, demonstrable across constructions.

(53)

Diagnostic	SPD	Left Dislocation
Occuring in Relative Clause	✓	*
Occuring in Clefts	✓	*
Occuring in subjunctive clause	✓	*

We conclude that the lexical subject in SPD constructions is not left-dislocated. Given that it can be separated from its doubling SP by an adverb, however, we

know that there must be two distinct positions for these two elements, both of which precede the verb but are structurally lower than CP (assuming that CP is the position designated for left-dislocated phrases). Hence, we confirm the structure in (38).

7 Additional evidence for multiple subject positions

This section briefly offers some supporting evidence for the existence of an additional functional projection between CP and TP (labeled TopP here), which we are claiming specifically serves a role in hosting one of the subjects in SPD.

7.1 Truncated clauses do not license SPD

First, while Luwanga SPD is licensed in root clause contexts, infinitive clauses do not allow SPD. The main clause predicate *–enya* 'want' gives a good context to evaluate this in, as *–enya* in Luwanga (as in other related languages) may take either a subjunctive or an infinitive complement clause. A subjunctive complement consists of a subjunctive verb form with an optional complementizer, as seen in (54) .

(54) Nd-eeny-a   (mbu) a-ba-ana   bo   ba-tsy-e   (✓).
      1sgsA-want-FV (that) 2-2-children 2.they 2SA-go-SBJ.FV
      'I want the children (that we are talking about) to leave.'

Example (54) show that SPD is licit in subjunctive complement clauses with the pronoun in either preverbal or postverbal position. Crucial for our concerns, *-enya* also allows infinitival complement clauses, as shown in (55).

(55) Nd-eeny-a   a-ba-ana   o-khu-tsy-a.
      1sgsA-want-FV 2-2-children 15-15-go-FV
      'I want the children to leave.'

As seen in (56a), however, SPD is quite marginal in these contexts, despite the fact that the interpretively-similar demonstrative is available in the same context in (56b).

(56) a. *?Nd-eeny-a a-ba-ana   bo   o-khu-tsy-a.
          1sgsA-want-FV 2-2-children 2.they 15-15-go-FV
          'I want the children (that we were talking about) to leave.'

b. Nd-eeny-a   a-ba-ana   abo   o-khu-tsy-a.
   1sgSA-want-FV 2-2-children 2.DEM 15-15-go-FV
   'I want those children to leave.'

It is commonly thought that infinitival complements of restructuring predicates like 'want' and 'expect' are structurally smaller, consisting either of TPs or VPs alone. This is consistent with the fact that infinitival complements in Luwanga and other Bantu languages that we are aware of do not allow complementizers, occurring instead with the infinitival verb alone, as in (55), whereas a complementizer does occur in a subjunctive complement clause). Given this conclusion, it is quite plausible that in addition to a CP level being truncated in these structures, that TopP is truncated as well, eliminating the structure that is necessary to create SPD.

7.2 An additional multiple subject construction: Emphatic reflexives

Another syntactic element that can occur distinctly from the subject is the emphatic reflexive. When the emphatic reflexive occurs inside a DP (a construction like the English *Alex himself left*) it must occur without the augment vowel:

(57) [A-ba-ana   (*a)-b-eene] ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beere.
        2-2-children (2)-2-self   2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk
      'The children themselves drank milk.'

The emphatic reflexive may also occur discontiguous with the DP it is associated with, however, for example in clause-final position in (58):

(58) A-ba-ana   ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beere *(a)-b-eene .
       2-2-children 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk   (2)-2-self
      'The children drank milk themselves.'

Here, you will note, the augment vowel is obligatorily present in (58). Presumably, then, the augment vowel on a reflexive signals its status as a standalone DP rather than occurring as a constituent with the DP it emphasizes. Interesting for our purposes, the other positions where the subject clitic is possible can also host the emphatic reflexive:

(59) A-ba-ana   ba-nyw-eer-e   *(a)-b-eene a-ma-beere.
       2-2-children 2SA-drink-PFT-FV (2)-2-self   6-6-milk
      'The children themselves drank milk.'

(60) [*(A)-b-eene] a-ba-ana   ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beere.
      (2)-2-self   2-2-children 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk
      'The children themselves drank milk.'

In a sentence like (60), if our assumptions about the augment vowel on emphatic reflexives hold, we see an instance of an emphatic reflexive as a distinct constituent, yet occurring preverbally alongside the DP subject. This of course accords with our general approach to this point, that there are two distinct (non-dislocated) subject positions preverbally in Wanga. This is further confirmed as we can again see the DP subject abaana and the emphatic reflexive *abeene* on either side of the *aundi* 'maybe' adverb.

(61) [A-ba-ana]   aundi [*(a)-b-eene] ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beere
      2-2-children maybe (2)-2-self   2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk
      'The children maybe themselves drank milk.'

In fact, the emphatic reflexive may even co-occur with the subject pronoun in a construction like (62):

(62) A-ba-ana   aundi bo   b-eene ba-nyw-eer-e   a-ma-beere
      2-2-children maybe 2.they 2-self 2SA-drink-PFT-FV 6-6-milk
      'The children maybe themselves drank milk.'

Here, note, that the reflexive occurs without the augment vowel, suggesting it is a single constituent together with the small pronoun.

We interpret this evidence in support of the idea that there are two distinct subject positions. This small section raises many other additional questions that cannot be addressed here, largely concerning the syntactic and anaphoric properties of emphatic reflexives. At present, however, we focus on the syntactic distribution of emphatic reflexives, noting that like the subject pronouns themselves, can occupy this lower subject position.

7.3 A correlating property of Kenyan English

Relevant on this point is a prominent feature of Kenyan English that is salient to Mainstream American/British English speakers who travel in the region – it is very common for a pronominal subject to be doubled, pairing an initial accusative form of the pronoun with a nominative form:[9]

---

[9] These data and discussion come from Authors (2018), and the data reflect the judgments of those authors.

(63) Kenyan English Subject Pronoun Doubling:

    a. Me, I am going to the store.   [Kenyan English]

    b. Me, I'm a student.

    c. You, you are leaving now.

    d. Him, he is riding in a matatu.

These repeated pronouns are not replicated for object pronouns:

(64) a. ??My mother just greeted me, me   [Kenyan English]

    b. ?? the cows ran after him, him.

As is common for pronoun doubling constructions cross-linguistically, Kenyan English is restricted to two adjacent pronominals, and cannot occur with a noun followed by a pronoun the way that Luwanga SPD does.

(65) a. Shipwoni (*he) is leaving now   [Kenyan English]

    b. the child (*she) just arrived home from school.

Of course, it is plausible here that the examples in (63) are instances of left dislocation, a question we tackled above for Luwanga SPD. If that was true, however, it's somewhat curious why there is a restriction against lexical DP subjects from being doubled, as a DP-pronoun sequence is a quintessential instance of left-dislocation. Therefore, we suggest that the SPD pattern in Kenyan English is in fact a result of the influence of local Bantu languages on the English spoken in the region, namely, that (many) local languages contain multiple subject positions, and so the local form of English has taken on a similar structure.

8 Conclusions and issues for future research on Luwanga SPD

8.1 Summary of Findings

This paper documents a novel empirical pattern in the literature on Bantu languages—subject pronoun doubling (SPD)—and provides an initial description of its properties in Luwanga. SPD is restricted to subjects, and cannot occur with non-subjects; SPD requires a discourse-familiar interpretation of the subject; the doubling pronoun in Luwanga SPD can appear as a postverbal clitic, vP-finally, or in effectively any preverbal subject position. The paper specifically focused on one analytical consequence, i.e. the structural positions of preverbal subjects. We

have seen that a lexical subject and its doubling pronoun can be split around a high adverb, and that such constructions can occur in embedded clauses that disallow left dislocation. The same patterns can be found with emphatic reflexives and SPD is ruled out in infinitival contexts, where we expect a truncated syntactic structure. All of these patterns support a conclusion that SPD utilizes a position for subjects that is structurally higher than Spec,TP, labeled TopP here.

8.2 Remaining: How to derive SPD syntactically?

A central question (some might justifiably say *the* central question) is how to derive subject pronoun doubling. There are a variety of possible approaches: for example, the doubling pronoun could be taken to realize a copy of the moved lexical subject (e.g. following the proposals of van Urk 2018 or van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2008). Alternatively, the pronoun and lexical subject originate in the same constituent (Big DP), and the pronoun is stranded at some point during the course of the derivation, similar to prominent analyses of clitic doubling (Uriagereka 1995; Cecchetto 2000). A base generation analysis is also possible, where the pronoun is the argument of the verb, the lexical 'subject' is base-generated in TopP. We have made no effort here to argue for a derivation of the doubling itself, apart from establishing the structural positions of the components of the construction. So there is clearly more research to be done on these constructions - what has been discussed here at least does lay the groundwork for an explanatory account.

8.3 Broader Implications

At present we are unaware of any previous documentation or analysis of SPD in a Bantu language, but ongoing work suggests that Llogoori, Lutirichi, and Lubukusu all have similar (but non-identical) subject pronoun doubling patterns. Chacha Mwita (personal communication) reports that Igikuria also possesses subject pronoun doubling, though it seems to be licit only in question contexts. Joash Gambarage (personal communication) reports that Nata contains pronoun doubling of this sort as well (occurs for subjects and not objects), and that it exists in varieties of Swahili as well. These initial inquiries suggest to me that SPD may exist in a range of languages and that it simply has not been documented yet. This opens the door to empirical investigation of the topic in many languages.

This work is further confirmation of existing proposals about preverbal subject positions in various Bantu languages, namely that there is a specific syntax for preverbal subjects as topical and in a structurally distinct position from

Spec,TP. This also holds potential applications to other instances of exceptional subjecthood in Bantu languages, including inversion constructions (Miyagawa 2010), hyper-raising constructions, non-agreeing sentential subjects, and other constructions where subjecthood and subject agreement is behaving unexpectedly, as it opens the door for an analysis of "subjecthood" being satisfied by distinct syntactic elements.

Abbreviations

Acknowledgements

<removed for review>

References

Alexiadou, Artemis & Elena Anagnostopoulou. 1998. Parametrizing Agr: word order, V-movement and EPP-checking. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16(3). 491–539.

Alexopoulou, Theodora, Edit Doron & Caroline Heycock. 2004. Broad subjects and clitic left dislocation. In David Adger, Cécile de Cat & George Tsoulas (eds.), *Peripheries: syntactic edges and their effects*, 329–358. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Baker, Mark. 2003. Agreement, dislocation, and partial configurationality. In Andrew Carnie et al (ed.), *Formal approaches to function in grammar*. John Benjamins.

Bobaljik, Jonathan David & Dianne Jonas. 1996. Subject positions and the roles of TP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27(2). 195–236.

Brandi, Luciana & Patrizia Cordin. 1989. Two Italian dialects and the null subject parameter. In Osvaldo Jaeggli & Kenneth Safir (eds.), *The null subject parameter*, 111–142. Reidel.

Brisson, Christine M. 1998. *Distributivity, maximality, and floating quantifiers.* Rutgers University PhD thesis.

Buell, Leston. 2006. The Zulu conjoint/disjoint verb alternation: focus or constituency? *ZAS Papers in Linguistics* 43. 9–30.

Cable, Seth. 2012. The optionality of movement and EPP in Dholuo. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 30. 651–697.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 2004. Toward a cartography of subject positions. In Luigi Rizzi (ed.), *The structure of CP and IP*, 115–165. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Carstens, Vicki. 2005. Agree and EPP in Bantu. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 23(2). 219–279.

Carstens, Vicki. 2011. Hyperactivity and hyperagreement in Bantu. *Lingua* 121(5). 721–741.

Carstens, Vicki & Loyiso Mletshe. 2016. Negative concord and nominal licensing in Zulu and Xhosa. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34(3). 761–804.

Cattaneo, Andrea. 2009. *It is all about clitics: the case of a Northern Italian dialect like Bellinzonese.* New York University PhD thesis.

Cecchetto, Carlo. 2000. Doubling structures and reconstruction. *Probus* 12. 93–126.

Cheng, Lisa & Laura Downing. 2012. Against FocusP: arguments from Zulu. In Ivona Kucerova & Ad Neeleman (eds.), *Contrasts and positions in information structure.* Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2008. On phases. In Robert Freidin, Carlos Otero & Maria Luisa Zubizarreta (eds.), *Foundational issues in linguistic theory*, 133–166. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: a cross-linguistic perspective.* New York: Oxford University Press.

D'Alessandro, Roberta, Jeroen van Craenenbroeck & Marjo van Koppen. 2010. Pronominal doubling in Germanic and Romance. Presentation at the 4th European dialect society meeting, June 21-23 2010.

Diercks, Michael. 2011a. Incorporating location in argument structure: the Lubukusu locative clitic. In Eyamba Bokamba, Ryan Shosted & BT Ayalew (eds.), *Selected proceedings of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics: African languages and linguistics today*, 65–79. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Diercks, Michael. 2011b. The morphosyntax of Lubukusu locative inversion and the parameterization of Agree. *Lingua* 5. 702–720.

Diercks, Michael. 2018. Subject pronoun doubling in Luyia. Ms, Pomona College.

Doron, Edit & Caroline Heycock. 1999. Filling and licensing multiple specifiers. In David Adger, Bernadette Plunkett, George Tsoulas & Susan Pintzuk (eds.), *Specifiers*, 69–92. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Doron, Edit & Caroline Heycock. 2010. In support of Broad Subjects in Hebrew. *Lingua* 120. 1764–1776.

Ernst, Thomas. 2014. The syntax of adverbs. In Andrew Carnie, Yosuke Sato & Daniel Siddiqi (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Syntax*, 108–130. Routledge.

Haegeman, Liliane. 2008. Pleonastic *tet* in West Flemish and the cartography of subject positions. In Sjef Barbiers, Olaf Koeneman, Marika Lekakou & Mar-

greet van der Ham (eds.), *Microvariation in syntactic doubling*, vol. 36 (Syntax and Semantics), 277–300. United Kingdom: Emerald Publishing Group.

Henderson, Brent. 2006a. Multiple agreement and inversion in Bantu. *Syntax* 9(3). 275–289.

Henderson, Brent. 2006b. *The syntax and typology of Bantu relative clauses*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign PhD thesis.

Henderson, Brent. 2011. Agreement, locality, and OVS in bantu. *Lingua* 117(1). 202–220.

Heycock, Caroline. 1993. Syntactic predication in Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 2. 167–211.

Heycock, Caroline & Edit Doron. 2003. Categorial subjects. *Gengo Kenkyu* 123. 95–135.

Holmberg, Anders & Urpo Nikanne. 2002. Expletives, subjects, and topics in Finnish. In Peter Svenonius (ed.), *Subjects, expletives, and the EPP*, 71–105. Oxford University Press.

Holmberg, Anders & Urpo Nikanne. 2008. Subject doubling in Finnish: the role of deficient pronouns. In Sjef Barbiers, Olaf Koeneman, Marika Lekakou & Margreet van der Ham (eds.), *Microvariation in syntactic doubling*, vol. 36 (Syntax and Semantics), 325–349. United Kingdom: Emerald Publishing Group.

Kinyalolo, Kasangati. 1991. *Syntactic dependencies and the spec-head hypothesis in KiLega*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA PhD thesis.

Kuno, Susumu. 1973. *The structure of the Japanese language*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Kuroda, S.-Y. 1986. Movement of noun phrases in Japanese. In *Issues in Japanese linguistics*, 229–272. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.

Landau, Idan. 2009. Against Broad Subjects in Hebrew. *Lingua* 119. 89–101.

Landau, Idan. 2011. Alleged Broad Subjects in Hebrew: a rejoinder to Doron and Heycock (in press). *Lingua* 121. 129–141.

Landman, Meredith. 2016. Quantification in Logoori. In Doris Payne, Sara Pacchiarotti & Mokaya Bosire (eds.), *Diversity in African languages: selected papers from the 46th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (Contemporary African Linguistics), 219–233. Language Science Press.

Letsholo, Rose. 2002. *Syntactic domains in Ikalanga*. University of Michigan PhD thesis.

Miyagawa, Shigeru. 2010. *Why Agree? Why Move? Unifying agreement-based and discourse-configurational languages* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Nunes, Jairo. 2004. *Linearization of chains and sideward movement* (Linguistic Inquiry Monographs). Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Pietraszko, Asia. 2017. Clause size and transparency in Ndebele. Talk given at the 91st Annual Meeting of the LSA, Austin TX.

Poletto, Cecilia. 1996. Three kinds of subject clitics in Basso Polesano and the theory of *pro*. In Adriana Belletti & Luigi Rizzi (eds.), *Parameters and functional heads*, 269–300. Oxford University Press.

Poletto, Cecilia. 1997. Pronominal syntax. In Martin Maiden & Mair Parry (eds.), *Italian dialects*, 137–144. Routledge.

Poletto, Cecilia. 2000. *The higher functional field: evidence from Northern Italian dialects*. Oxford University Press.

Poletto, Cecilia. 2006. Doubling as economy. *University of Venice Working Papers in Linguistics* 16. 211–235.

Rizzi, Luigi & Ur Shlonsky. 2006. Satisfying the Subject Criterion by a non subject: English locative inversion and heavy NP shift. In Mara Frascarelli (ed.), *Phases of interpretation*, 341–362. Mouton de Gruyter.

Rizzi, Luigi & Ur Shlonsky. 2007. Strategies of Subject Extraction. In Uli Sauerland & Hans-Martin Gärtner (eds.), *Interfaces + Recursion = Language?: Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Syntax-Semantics* (Studies in Generative Grammar 89), 115–160. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Sabel, Joachim & Jochen Zeller. 2006. *wh*-question formation in Nguni. In John Mugane (ed.), *Selected proceedings of the 35th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, 271–283.

Schneider-Zioga, Patricia. 2007. Anti-agreement, anti-locality and minimality. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 25(2). 403–446.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. Aspects of the syntax of clitic placement in Western Romance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 26(1). 79–124.

van Craenenbroeck, Jeroen & Marjo van Koppen. 2002. Subject doubling in Dutch dialects. In M van Koppen, E Thrift, van der Torre & M Zimmerman (eds.), *Proceedings of Console IX*, 54–67.

van Craenenbroeck, Jeroen & Marjo van Koppen. 2008. Pronominal doubing in Dutch dialects: big DPs and coordinations. In Sjef Barbiers, Olaf Koeneman, Marika Lekakou & Margreet van der Ham (eds.), *Microvariation in syntactic doubling*, vol. 36 (Syntax and Semantics), 207–249. United Kingdom: Emerald Publishing Group.

van Urk, Coppe. 2018. Pronoun copying in Dinka and the Copy Theory of Movement. To appear in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*.

Wal, Jenneke van der. 2009. *Word order and information structure in Makhuwa-Enahara.* Universiteit Leiden PhD thesis.

Walusimbi, Livingstone. 1996. *Relative clauses in Luganda.* Rüdiger Köppe Verlag.

Zeller, Jochen. 2008. The subject marker in Bantu as an antifocus marker. *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics* 38. 221–254.

Zeller, Jochen. 2009. On clitic left-dislocation in Zulu. In Sonja Ermisch Ruediger (ed.), *Frankfurt African studies bulletin 18: focus and topic in African languages*, 131–156. Koeppe Verlag.

Zerbian, Sabine. 2006a. *Expression of information structure in the Bantu language Northern Sotho.* Humboldt University PhD thesis.

Zerbian, Sabine. 2006b. Inversion structures in Northern Sotho. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 24(3). 361–376.

Zerbian, Sabine. 2006c. Questions in Northern Sotho (Bantu). *Linguistische Berichte* 206. 385–405.