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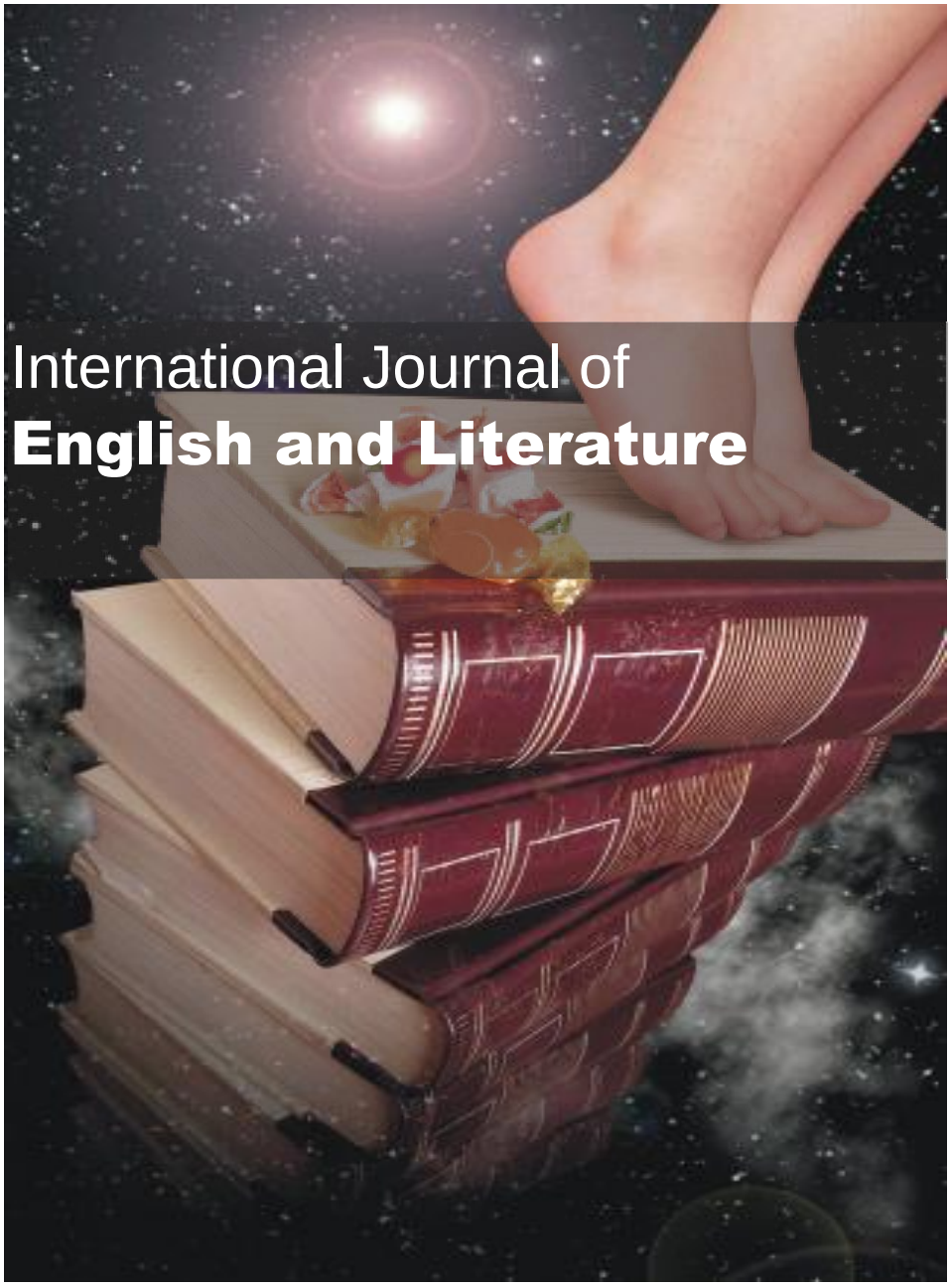

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Full Length Research Paper

Deconstructing postcolonial scopic regimes: The subversion of power imaginaries in the novels of Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Sony Labou Tansi

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This paper examines the relationship between visuality, knowledge and power in the postcolonial African novel. With examples from selected texts of Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Sony Labou Tansi, it argues that visual culture, usually employed in the analysis of cultural images and material iconographies in media studies, can aptly be employed in textual analysis given that postcolonial novels are primarily engaged with the undoing of dominant visual regimes. Against the background of hegemonic regimes based on instrumentalist and subjectifying surveillance of the subject, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Labou Tansi build their texts on visual tactics and practices that subvert the capacity of the state apparatus to see, hence to know the subject. Bordering on humour, parody, graffiti, bricolage and surrealist representation, the two authors "play" with the state Panopticon, creating avenues for countervailing meanings that elude the dominant regimes of vision, knowledge and power. The subversive visual practices are inscribed within a conception of literary textualities that is based on plurivocality, heteroglossia, dialogism and the non-transparent text. Through the deconstruction of dominant visual architecture, both authors open up spaces for democratic conception of power that takes account of inter-subjectivity and non-hegemonic participation in the postcolonial public sphere.

Key words: Postcolony, visual culture, visuality, subversion, dictatorship.

INTRODUCTION

Visual culture is a well-established approach to arts and cultural studies. It examines the intricacies and implications of visuality in media identities, popular culture, virtual perceptions, socio-political iconography etc. It places emphasis on the power to see/show as a crucial aspect in analyzing a wide variety of socio-cultural productions ranging from social media images to private and public spaces iconography. However, this approach has hardly ever found solid expression in literary analysis of written texts in spite of the preponderance of "regimes of seeing" as determinant leitmotifs in a number of classic creative texts dealing with dictatorial power. Prominent amongst them is George Orwell's futuristic novel *1984* that portrays Big Brother surveillance, a characteristic of modern hegemonic state system, especially during the Cold War period. In a strictly postcolonial African context, Marechera's (1980) photographic novel, *Black Sunlight*, offers another outstanding example of the visual novel

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wherein a photojournalist captures events under a totalitarian African government through his photographic lenses. Such visual novels invite us to think beyond the traditional "point of view" analysis that is recurrent in narratological approaches to literature, instigating an intermedial overture for the proper understanding of literary depictions of hegemonic formations on the one hand and creative tactics of transformative interpolation of master perspectives/narratives on the other. This article attempts to bring the approach of visual culture to bear on the analysis of the written text, examining the power dynamics involved in the mechanics of seeing and its relationship to power constellations. Firstly, the primacy of visuality in the imperialist dimension of the Enlightenment project is discussed. Secondly, this form of visuality in the conception of dictatorial state power and their deconstruction in dictatorship novels is established by Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Sony Labou Tansi.

Vision and visuality constitute important dimensions of postcolonial tactics and strategies of social formations. Like its counterparts in other parts of the world, postcolonial dictatorial regimes rely on their surveillance machinery over their subjects, leading to what Allen Feldman refers to as "scopic regimes". Feldman (2007, 429) defines scopic regimes as "the regimes that prescribe or render untenable other modes and objects of perception. A scopic regime is an ensemble of practices and discourses that establish truth; claims, typicality, and credibility of visual acts and objects and politically correct modes of seeing". However, postcolonial writers gaze back at scopic regimes, unpacking and disentangling their complex hegemonic strategies. It is further argued that the "seeing back" tactics of postcolonial novels do not only target the postcolonial visual regimes, rather they participate in a wider and deeper enterprise of deconstructing hegemonic culture and Cartesian rationality encapsulated in the postcolonial state system.

IMPERIAL SCOPIC REGIMES: THE POWER OF SEEING IN IMPERIAL DISPENSATIONS

To see is one of the most essential functions of human senses. In an analysis of the primacy of sight/vision in our claim to knowledge in everyday practices, Thomas Seifrid posits that the pre-eminence of visuality in knowledge formation at the very basic level of human interaction, is evident in "our now thoroughly visual everyday vocabulary (including casually deployed words and phrases like evidence, insight, shed light on, obvious, appears, brilliant) to the rampant videoism of popular culture" (1998, 438). Right at the beginning of his Treatise on *Metaphysics*, the Greek philosopher Aristotle stresses the primordiality of seeing as the strongest and determinant sense with which humans are endowed. In his view, seeing prevails over other senses in determining our claim to knowledge: "above all others the sense of sight. For not only with a view to taking action, but even when we are not going to do anything, we prefer seeing (one might say) to everything else. The reason is that this, of all the senses, makes us know and brings to light many differences between things" (350 BC, 1). Exploring the contiguity between seeing and knowing, Bill Ashcroft takes us back to ancient Greece and its defining contribution to Western (and now "globalized") philosophical regimes, asserting that:

The linking of knowledge, reason and sight attended the birth of philosophy and prompted a wide range of social and cultural practices, from the emphasis on optics to the idealization of the nude body. The verb to know in classical Greek is the perfect form of the verb *eido* I see and both are related to the Latin *video* - I see (2001, 126).

Thus, seeing has become coterminous and metonymic with knowing, and the former being the ultimate form of testimony in Western culture; a cultural prism that has imposed itself on other cultures some of which are otherwise based on the primacy of other human senses like touch or hearing for example, in Hebraic and but also in some African societies.

The visual cultural critic and Frankfurt School historian, Martin Jay, has equally analyzed the power of vision/visuality as a determinant in Western cultural self-writing and perspectives on the visualizable and transparent "other" in connection with the entire network of imperial governmentality. The metanarrative of Western progress is based on the pre-eminence of Western perspective, the ability to know the "other" and to integrate him into the colonial project. This explains why within Western culture itself, deconstructive discourses have often taken account of the prerogatives of seeing and its mechanics of control. In relation to Foucault's analysis of surveillance concerning the Panopticon, Richard Rorty's mirror of nature and Guy Debord's society of the spectacle, Martin Jay asserts that "we confront again and again the ubiquity of vision as the master sense of the modern era" (2003, 3). Western visuality has constructed a complex epistemology of power and knowledge that cannot only be deconstructed through a return of the gaze but also by problematizing the mechanics of visuality and contesting the objectification and instrumentalisation of the other for the self.

The act of seeing is a pre-requisite, a premise for an instrumental re-definition of the seen by the seer. Seeing is accompanied by an epistemological appropriation or, in extreme cases, physical elimination. Martin Jay underlines the curious connection between the act of seeing and the implicit violence that it presupposes. To see, in a context of power always proceeds to the act of mastering, possessing, limiting, re-fashioning, and if possible, elimination. Martin Jay posits that in an essentially ocularcentric world, represented by the camera as the framing mechanism, there may be a kind

of distanced violence in the penetrating stare or withering gaze that is more than a metaphorical analogue of its more proximate tactile counterpart. The underlying aggression in the photographers "shot" has also not gone unnoticed (2003, 2).

To capture another individual/object within one's visual purview always goes with certain assumptions of power. The violence of overbearing perspective has characterised the Western "I-Eye" and its cultural relationship of domination over and relationship with other cultures of the world. This privileged perspective, the basis of Cartesian logocentrism characteristic of European Enlightenment, has not been dissociated from the power of naming, possessing through nomenclature that which one perceives as objective and immutable.

Given its perceived difference with painting, an art born out of the artists' imagination, photography purports to capture things as they are in reality. This statement is not to deny the mimetic nature of painting but to stress the mechanic intentionality of the photograph to depict reality as "it is." Thus, it presents itself as the enhancement of the natural eye, as the "instrument of evidence" which is at once undeniable and irrevocable. In his analysis of the power implications of photography, Allen Feldman establishes the contiguity between the acts of seeing and killing in some contexts. He insinuates that:

Seeing and killing, being seen and being killed are entangled and exchangeable in the ecology of fear and anxiety. Further, visual appropriation, because it is always pregnant with the potential for violence, has become a metonym for dominance over others: power lies in the totalizing engorged gaze over the politically prone body, and subjugation is encoded as exposure to this penetration (Coronil and Skurkis, 2006: 428).

The metaphorical connection between photography and "rape" as symbols of domination is emphasized by Susan Sontag in her pioneering text *On Photography* (1977). Sontag underlines the intrusive dimension of photography and the prerogative of the visual gaze. However, where Sontag clearly brings out the instrumentality of the camera in "capturing" and "shooting" the other is in relation to the ruthless expansion of Americas white population into the Wild West (1977, 50). She purports that the camera played a curiously similar role as the gun in the ruthless expansion into the Wild West. The choreographed pose of the Indian was meant to perform his backwardness and to act as the exotic other of the immigrant American. The photographs taken of the Indian under circumstances induced by the photographer, later became an archive that generated authoritative (though biased discourses), on his culture over which he had virtually no control. The Western colonizer perceived the native other as a spectacle to be exhibited in order to prove the natives inherent need or inarticulate request for intervention in the name of civilization and modernization. Throughout colonial history, these two processes have been pretexts for capitalist accumulation and its resultant violence on the colonized. To photograph and exhibit the native was thus a means of making evident the insufficiency of the natives' body, culture, worldview and inferiority in comparison to the Western Self. In other words, the other entered the archive and conscience of the Western world through the mechanics of instrumentalised seeing.

Orientalism also embedded a very violent imagistic dimension. Portraying the Orient in Orientalist/colonialist exotic photography was as important as speaking or writing about it. In his text *Bodyscape*, Nicholas Mirzoeff stresses the importance of photography in attempts to visualize the bodies of the Oriental others. The natives' body was perceived as physiognomy gone wrong, corresponding to the realm of unreformed nature as an antithesis of the perfect Western body. In underlying the photographic dimension of racialist ideology, Mirzoeff asserts that:

Race thus could not exist without a visual taxonomy of racial difference. In order to provide and classify such difference, entire archives of visual material came to exist in nineteenth and twentieth-century museums, private collections and laboratories. One such archive is that constituted by the mass of photography produced by colonial travelers, scientists, and governments in the former colonies of Africa and Asia. These anthropological studies, postcards, views and scenes of native life were quickly designated an embarrassment in the era of decolonization, their previous popularity at once forgotten (1995, 124).

The traveller-cum photographer became the expert of the Orient given that his photographs and accounts shed light on aspects of the native social, political, religious and economic life. The practice of travel photography contributed to what could be referred to as scopic regimes given their appeal to Western viewers. More importantly, colonized subjects came to look at themselves through visual prisms constructed by Western eyes.

The process of decolonisation set in a gradual reconsideration of the gaze through practices of self-representation. However, it is argued that at the time of decolonization, the aesthetics of "seeing back" was deployed against two different but interrelated regimes of power. At once poised at the overruling colonialist visuality, it also developed at a time when political dictatorship became a major characteristic of postcolonial political reality. Within the tradition of postcolonial practices of subversion, the tactics of "seeing back" can be inscribed within what Bill Ashcroft defines as interpolation:

The capacity to interpose, to intervene, to interject a wide range of counter-discursive tactics into a dominant discourse without asserting a unified anti-imperialist

intention, or a spate of oppositional purity. Post-colonial subjects, in their ordinary dialogic engagement with the world, are not passive ciphers of discursive practices (Ashcroft, 2001, 47- 48).

In a slightly different way from the counter-discourse that focused on the empire writing back at the presumed centre, interpolation performs a dual role. It dismantles both the colonialist epistemology and the infrastructures of postcolonial dictatorial regimes which have re-utilized much of the epistemological apparatus of the colonial system. The postcolonial modes of "seeing back" therefore have to confront the totalizing visuality of imperial hegemony and postcolonial state ideological and repressive apparatus.

NGUGI WA THIONG'O/SONY LABOU TANSI: INTERCEPTING THE STATE PANOPTICON

Ngugis burlesque novel *Wizard of the Crow* narrates the story of the gradual downfall of a Ruler, who wants to erase the memory of his subjects and blinker their vision of a future without him. The story is a dexterous mixture of fairy tale aesthetics and modernist novel. This "theatrical novel" represents the absurd megalomania of postcolonial leadership. One of the Ruler's most trusted acolytes is Markus Machokali, the Minister of foreign affairs. As if in a theatrical cast[1], the narrator presents the various key political actors of the Republic of Aburiria in the opening pages of the novel. On the subject of Machokali, he reveals that,

one day he flew to England, where under the glare of publicity he entered a major London hospital not because he was ill but because he wanted to have his eyes enlarged, to make them ferociously sharp...so that they would be able to spot the enemies of the ruler no matter how far their hiding place. Enlarged to the size of electric bulbs, his eyes were now the most prominent feature of his face, dwarfing his nose, cheeks, and forehead (*Wizard,* 13).

Machokali stands as the eye of the government, a terribly insecure regime that dreads the resistance of the citizens that it has continuously muzzled for decades. Machokali's talents and insights bring him into collision with other members of the Ruler's cabinets like the state security chief, Sikioku and Minister of Information, Benjamin Mambo. These figures enlarge their ears and lips respectively to be able to serve the Ruler more "efficiently". The role of these ministers is three-fold. Since they serve the interests of the Ruler, they equally stand for the eyes, ears and mouth of the respective European countries where each of them performs his surgeries. This situation adds a neocolonial dimension to the power networks wielded by the three government ministers given that when the Second Ruler falls ill, foreign states start proposing specific ministers as possible replacements. Thus, each minister becomes the eyes of a specific foreign country with regard to its interests in Aburiria. Last but not least, they use their enlarged organs to be able to spy on each other as every one of them seeks to enhance his narrow interest in the face of the ruler. Influence peddling amongst these three figures leads to visceral in-fighting that contributes to political instability and the eventual downfall of the kleptocratic regime.

In spite of the desire of the Ruler to exercise complete visuality on the territorial space in order to capture and coarse the subjects under public authority, the latter exploit zones of escape to maximize their chances of survival under the dictatorial regime. A perfect example of the subjects capacity to dismember the visual technology built around him by hegemonic forces is clearly brought out through the subplot that deals with Kamiti. Kamiti evolves from a wretched unemployed youth to one of the most coveted figures by the power circles of the Republic of Aburiria. He holds a Masters Degree from an Indian University but when he returns home, he cannot get a job, to his sheer disappointment and that of his parents. His desperate situation calls for a nimble sense of innovation. On one occasion, he disguises as a beggar and occupies, with other fellow "beggars", the entrance to one of the most luxurious hotels in Eldares, the countrys capital. Unfortunately for them, the local police launch a clean-up operation to rid the public sphere of the scum of the city. One policeman, in a venal quest to seize Kamitis begging bag full of coins, follows the latter into a nearby thicket. Dreading imminent capture, Kamiti improvises a signpost on which he inscribes "Wizard of the crow" and places it on the doorpost of an abandoned bush-house, warning against unauthorised entry into the "sacred" sanctuary. Gathere, the policeman, backtracks in fear, diffusing rumours about the supernatural powers of "Wizard of the crow". Through Arigaigai's rumours, the incontestable divining powers of "Wizard of the crow" become a popular saga within the power cycles of Aburiria's capital city. Gradually, this space turns into a "secret and sacred public space", with ambitious and high-ranking state officials visiting to consult the "seer" so that he can use his magical powers to enable them get promoted or appointed to higher posts in the Rulers government. Meanwhile, Nyawira, the female character that contests the Rulers regime, meets Kamiti. After they share their life stories, she joins the latter, and both become the male and female personae behind the improvised shrine.

The shrine of the Wizard of the Crow stands as a very creative trope in the text. Through this theatrical space, Ngugi engages in a discursive reversal of visuality as a key element in the dynamics of hegemonic power. Through the window of the shrine, Kamiti and Nyawira are able to monitor the government officials who come to

[1] In an earlier article, I analysed Ngugi's novel as a dramaturgical text for which the novelistic form has been used as a matter of convenience. See Shang, G. N. (2013) « Texte comme Prétexte: la transfiguration générique dans des romans de Sony Labou Tansi et de Ngugi wa Thiong'o. » *French Studies in Southern Africa*. Rev. 43.

them for "consultations" in expectation of ministerial appointments. When Sikiokuu, Minister of Internal Security, decides to visit the shrine to outdo his rivals in government, his characteristic self-assurance sinks once he enters the simulated space of the Wizard of the Crow:

There was the minister of security. The enlarged ears, the most conspicuous feature of his body. He is looking everywhere. Left. Right. Nyawira whispered to Kamiti: let us start. Kamiti nodded. He coughed provocatively, and the minister turned round in fear. Not knowing where the voice came from. You are in the presence of the Wizard of the Crow!! (*Wizard*, 476)

From the small hole of the shrine, Kamiti and Nyawira (the two faces behind "Wizard of the crow") laugh mockingly at the trembling body of one of the most prominent ministers of State, Sikiokuu. Through the simulacra that characterize his novel, Ngugi reverses the gaze of the power tender, subjecting him to uncertainty and fear. Sikiokuu, the object of vision does not know when and how he is being observed, nor is he aware of the double articulation of the eyes and voices behind the smokescreen of "Wizard of the crow." Nyawira and Kamiti peep through the hole of the shrine in turns, impersonating one voice to give the impression of only one person behind the show. We are therefore faced with an improvised and inverted Panopticon that traps the state in its penetrative visuality. When the state penetrates into the bush Ela (1990),[2] in its attempt to use the subject to foster its power, it exposes itself to the wiles and guile deployed by the latter to escape capture. At the end of the process of conquest, it is the state that is mastered thanks to what Achille Mbembe calls the historical ability of the postcolonial subject to *play with* power authorities[3] (Mbembe and Indociles, 1988).

Contrary to the instrumentalisation of visuality by state power, Kamiti and Nyawira resort to mimicry and laughter. From this simulated private/public space, they access state information, revealing the shaky foundation of a state on the brink of implosion.

From a rather different dimension, the deconstruction of the state Panopticon is aptly expressed in Labou Tansi's (1981) dictatorship novel, *L'Etat Honteux (The Shameful State)*. Through the use of parody and sarcasm, the codes that govern the myth of the founding father are inverted. In this text, Martillimi Lopez, a prototypical incarnation of patriarchal dictatorship, becomes a victim of his ostentatious exhibition of power when he dies. In the manner of medieval Kings whose bodies were preserved to ensure a sempiternal memory (Bakhtin, 1984, 193), Lopez's corpse is subjected to a parodic beatification process. The national museum, as a space for the exhibition of national cultural patrimony, is the ideal space for the caricaturing of the lost power of the defunct patriarch:

Lopez de Maman qui maintenant dort au musée de la Nation dans un cercueil de pierre, avec son œil droit qui na pas pu se fermer, mais laissons-le regarder la patrie pour des siècles et des siècles, quil veille sur nous dans son sommeil de père pourrissant, laissons le nous protéger des tyrans, ce regard de mort germera dans la mémoire des enfants de notre passé, Dieu est grand!! Cet œil mort qui regarde cest la nation en miniature.

Mama's Lopez now sleeps in the national museum in a stone coffin, with his left eye unable to close, but let us allow him to look at the fatherland for centuries and centuries to come, let him watch over us in his sleep of a decaying father, let him protect us against tyrants, this gaze of the dead will germinate in the memories of the children of our history, God is great!! This dead eye that looks around is the nation in miniature (L'Etat*,* 23).

The posthumous treatment of the patriarchs body portrays an ambiguous co-fusion of both canonization and profanation that reflect the duality of Lopezs hypocritical regime and parodies his aspirations to divinity and immortality. In his analysis of spaces in "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias", Foucault refers to museums as "heterotopias in which time does not cease to accumulate, perching, so to speak, on its own summit" (Foucault, 1997: 5). The exhibition of the president's corpse in the museum parodies his abuse of culture and history in legitimizing his brutal state. With his eyes that are still open, he can still watch over the country even after his death. In the potentates surveillance system, the subject is both a child that needs to be protected (against himself) and a threatening "other" that needs to be kept under watch. These two epistemologies of the colonial subject resonate with the colonial archive on the native subject. The eye, symbol of his hitherto spatiotemporal Cyclopean vision, capable of intruding and mastering both the subject's private and public spheres, remains open but emptied of its essence: that of sight and vision. It is turned into a Rabelaisian poached egg-shell (Bakhtin, 1984, 200), rendered by the vivid oxymoron – "*oeil mort qui regarde",* the "dead eye that watches". This passage therefore deconstructs and demystifies the power of Martillimi Lopez, who, despite his larger-than-life image, does not escape poetic justice in the hands of death. The image of the marble stone, a male material, has often stood for impenetrable authority and fortitude, for, according to Fanon, the world of the colonizer is hemmed behind stone and steel (1973, 36). His being embalmed in a marble coffin deconstructs his phallocentric image for he is now powerless. The stony

[2] Jean-Marc Ela's text *Quand l'Etat pénètre dans la brousse*, (1990) analyses the subversion of state power in the postcolonial peasant space and the strategies that the local folks mobilize in order to mitigate the hold of the state system on their lives and activities.

[3]. In *Afriques Indociles: Christianisme et Pouvoir en Afrique Postcoloniale*, Mbembe asserts that «*lindigène recourt, comme à lépoque coloniale, à toutes les ressources de ce quil faut bien appeler sa capacité historique à lindiscipline[…]Partout, la délinquance dEtat a produit une culture de débrouillardise et de sauve-qui-peut et un déclin de lidentité citoyenne*» (The native resorts, like during the colonial period, to the possible resources of what one can call his historic capacity for indiscipline […]. Everywhere, state delinquency has led to a culture of improvisation, of every-man-for-himself and a decline of civic identity) (1988, 148-149).

fortress bears a false appearance of strength and authority. The symbolic archiving of Martillimi Lopez's body can be interpreted as the ultimate act of subversion in the text. From being the omnipresent actor and the unmoved mover in the narrative, Lopez's body is now acted upon. The textual treatment of the dictators body conforms to Lydie Moudileno's view that "as soon as the tyrant is made into a character in the tale, he immediately loses the exclusiveness of authority by becoming the subject of an author who can now have him suffer the whims of his imagination" (Thomas, 2002, 58). Martillimi Lopezs body is made to occupy the public cultural space *differently*, not as the national hero but as a victim of his decadent authority.

Through interpolations of dominant visualities, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Sony Labou Tansi's novels epistemologically interrogate prevailing narrations and hegemonic understanding of nationhood and belonging. The dictatorial postcolonial regimes conceive of the nation as a unified and monologic formation at the service of unquestionable state Reason, ruling out any possibility of contending views and alternative visions. Conceiving of a homogenous nation is one of the primary grounds or bases for the one-party regimes and their mutations into pseudo-pluralistic political dispensation in a supposedly democratic and post-cold war era. In a critical interpretation of Walter Benjamin's corpus about anti-totalitarian discourse, Gerhard Richter foregrounds the sense of community and nationhood as based on *wechselseitige Fremdheit*, that is, "mutual alienness to reflect on how unspeakable any community these days... must be. This mutual strangeness is not a phantasmagoria of the coordinated masses, it is precisely the promise of any community to come" (2000, 99). This view is in total contrast to the totalistic and totalitarian visuality of hegemonic regimes a la Hitler that repose on the claim of *Gleichschaltung*, (enforced political conformity) of the masses (Richter, 2000, 216). The aestheticisation of politics and the political instrumentality of the visually transparent masses are thus inscribed within the larger-than-large telos of the charismatic leader. Richter defines German fascism as based on a certain epistemology of visuality:

Fascism was characterized by a rhetoric of presence; the delusions of subjective heroism; the questionable ability to show the masses their own face; the effacing differences (such as that between civilian and military populations), war-driven technophilia, rhetoric of eternity, effort of total co-ordination, myth-inspired irrationalism, false essence, immediacy, doctrine of single, stable meaning (2000, 79).

Thus, much effort was invested by the Nazi scopic regime to condition the visual possibilities of the masses. Totalistic and conclusive visuality is the ground on which the fascistic state claims to be the epitome of a popular spirit. Making recourse to the differences between the baroque and Enlightenment visualities, with regard to Christine Buci-Glucksmann's *La raison baroque* and *La folie de voir*, Martin Jay affirms that:

Celebrating the dazzling, disorienting, ecstatic surplus of images in baroque visual experience, she emphasizes its rejection of the monocular geometricization of the Cartesian tradition, with its illusion of homogeneous three-dimensional space seen with a God's-eye-view from afar. She also tacitly contrasts the … belief in legible surfaces and faith in the material solidity of the world its paintings map with the baroque fascination for opacity, unreadability, and the indecipherability of the reality it depicts (2003, 16-17).

Baroque visuality thus stresses the uncanny as characteristic of human visual experience, disputing the prerogative of a totalizing visuality and the all-knowing knowledge regimes that result from it. Baroque visuality performs kitsch on the totalistic visual premise of Cartesian epistemology, underlining gray areas of indeterminate meanings and zones of contradictions and unreadability. It can be compared to the aesthetics of the graffiti, a form of writing that leaves space for its revision as it is papered on pastiche, suture and temporariness. In other words, graffiti does to writing what baroque visuality does to scopic hegemonic regimes. In the same dimension, baroque visuality, characterized by laughter, perceives reality not as finality but as an entity in the state of becoming and (re)construction, favoring negotiation over arbitration.

The graffiti form of writing as the graphic transcription of non-totalistic visuality is characteristic of Tansi's (1988) novel *Les Yeux du Volcan* (The Eyes of the Volcano). Labou Tansi's aesthetics inflects and porches the lens of the scopic regime through graffiti inscription. In one passage of the novel, the narrator directs our gaze unto the inscription of the ruling party on the wall of an official building that underlines the power of the State/president as guardian of the Revolution to monitor any dissident subjects: *«les enemis du people sont partout mais lœil de la Révolution les connaît»* (the enemies of the people are everywhere, but the eye of the Revolution knows them) (*Yeux du Volcan*, 85). Once more, we are faced with the metonymy of the eye as an instrument for "knowing". However, an unidentified and unruly citizen intercepts the self-representation of the State and its panoptic surveillance, exposing its ineptitude:*«Un auteur de graffiti avait ajouté le mot «aveugle» au crayon de beauté, juste au-dessous du mot oeil: «loeil aveugle»*…» (A graffiti author had added the word "blind" with a beauty pencil, just under the word eye: "blind eye") (*Yeux du Volcan*, 87). The indocile subject subverts the pretense of the state to see, hence know everything. The title of the text, "the eye of the volcano" suggests the ability of natural laws to defy the will to power of the state forces. The volcano, a possible metaphor for cataclysmic change, continues to threaten the certainty and perpetuity of the dictatorial regime. A trait of the graffiti is that it hardly

produces an autonomous text, but rather maintains a parasitic and deconstructive co-existence with the master text. In the same dimension as the graffiti, Tansi's text is inertly haptic, heteroglossic, ambiguous, not canceling out the official language, but interpolating it and disrupting its discursive coherence.

Ngugi and Labou Tansi subvert dominant visuality, recreating aesthetics that permanently haunt spaces of hegemonic power. In *Wizard of the Crow*, the government posts posters of the civil rights leader Nyawira, promising compensation to every citizen who provides any conduit to her hideout. However, the protesting masses come out and declare to the police that they are all different faces of Nyawira, "the enemy of the state", making it difficult for the police to arrest the dissident leader. With the willingness of the masses to be detained as "Nyawiras", the state Panopticon[4] is disempowered. The strength of Ngugis novel in particular lies in the ability to turn the fundamental perversion of the governing regime into effective narrative tactics. In a regime where citizens are divested of individuality due to the objectifying practices of the ruling class and where the lexicon "people" is merely used as vacuous gap-filler in political discourse, Ngugi fashions a narrative aesthetic that fuses spaces and subjects, blurring traditional lines of division and distinctions. An example of spatial fusion is when the performing women and the putative audience end up participating in the chants that denounce the Ruler in front of foreign dignitaries who have come to assess the feasibility of the Marching to Heaven Project (Wizard*,* 250). This collapse of spatialities and subjectivities underlines the basic structure of the *gicaandi* performance whereby Ngugi's performer/ narrator Arigaigai and the audience both participate in the construction of the common folk story that makes up the novel *Wizard of the Crow*. Thus, in sync with the disruption of monologic visuality, the novel lends itself to plurivocality that enables it to claim a truly communal construction and transmission through gossips and rumours, constituting an ever indefinite, equivocal and dialogic medium of enunciation. The invasion of the public sphere with a multiplicity of narratives responds to and dismantles the monopolization of the social space by the discourse of the Ruler of the Republic of Aburiria.

The visual perception of the masses in postcolonial political imaginary is fundamentally based on their political utility. They are the faceless, anonymous agents that come up to support upheavals and slide back into oblivion. They are the vote banks that are summoned before elections and who are more or less disregarded when the electoral process is over. In the expression of Graciela Montaldo in "Mass and Multitude: Bastardised Iconographies of the Modern Order", the masses, as they figure in political discourse of the governing class in the public sphere "are like flocks, they reproduce without control and the males are constantly sodomising each other; they have horribly ugly faces and they are sensual" (Montaldo, 2005: 235). With regard to such a lack of consideration for the genuine interests of the governed by the rulers, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2006), makes recourse to a de-individualizing aesthetics that is based on fusion of spaces, discourses and subjectivities.

In another dimension, Labou Tansi interpolates dominant visual apparatus through surrealist aesthetics. In spite of the propensity of president Lopez's security repressive apparatus to capture and execute rebel leaders in the most brutal fashion, his surveillance regime is far from perfect. Subversion to his authority comes from the most unlikely quarters. Through a surrealist double, the elusive avatar of Larsa Laura penetrates the palace of the president and constitutes a pernicious and supernatural source of subversion to his authority. For nine continuous months, Larsa Laura, through her double, violates the intimate space of the president, desecrating the presidential bed with faeces (*L'Etat,* 58, 87, 88). When Martillimi Lopez meets a kid in his parlour after witnessing his desecrated bed, he accuses him of being a surrogate of Laura. He attempts to cower down the kid:

Il frappe des mains et des pieds pour essayer d'effrayer le marmot. Lenfant tremble comme une feuille. Il a peur, très peur. Le président lui sourit pour le rassurer. Il lui donne des bonbons, des biscuits, il le laisse toucher sa hernie…

He clasps his hands and stamps his feet in an attempt to frighten the kid. The latter trembles like a leaf, afraid, very afraid. The president smiles to reassure him. He offers him sweets, biscuits, letting him to touch his hernia… (L'Etat*,* 87-88).

In response to Lopez's interrogation, the kid confesses that though his friends call him Laura, which is a nickname, he has nothing to do with Larsa Laura, the enemy of the State. Lopez's paranoia makes him difficult to convince. He orders his aide to hang the kid. Ironically, that does not save the situation for a few weeks later; he discovers that there are more faeces on the president's bed and in the whole town than ever before (L'Etat*,* 88). Through the use of the "double" which characterizes Tansi's baroque and surreal world, the characters invade the president's sacred space without being visualized by the State security. The presidential bed, symbol of the rulers erotic power, becomes a battlefield and a space of resistance while the ubiquity of the faeces underlines the

[4] A notion popularised by Foucault in his *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975), the Panopticon refers to a surveillance model conceived by the English utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham for the 19th century British penitentiary system. Through this surveillance regime, the penitentiary inspector is located in a central watchtower with non-transparent glass walls, making it difficult for the inmates to know for certain when he is present/absent. He "perpetually" sees but is never seen. Thus, the behaviour of the inmates is constantly being censored by the carceral system, a key dimension of the State repressive apparatus and subject formation. The Panopticon has thus become a metaphor for totalitarian forms of censorship through visuality and knowledge of the subjects.

generalized decadence of the president's power. The president's protruding phallus is the most visible aspect of his power and when he attempts to hide amongst the subjects to get an idea of what they are thinking and saying about his regime, his herniated phallus exposes his identity. It should be noted that Labou Tansi does not only make recourse to surrealist tactics to interpolate hegemonic surveillance, he inscribes his entire textuality within an artistic resistance to the exigencies of instrumental clarity in terms of motifs, settings and characters. The denial of absolute transparency, accessibility and readability in his narrative does align with the resistance to uncontested interpretation, objectification and utilitarian possession. To make recourse to Gerhard Richter's expression in his appraisal of corporeality in Walter Benjamin's corpus (2002, 81), "unhaunted" visuality or meaning formation in Labou Tansi is inconceivable and forms part and parcel of the authors anti-ideological aesthetics. To extend the metaphor further, textuality and its multiple possibilities of meanings can be conceived as a contestation of the state Panopticon and its subjectifying rationalities that are based on a supposedly unifying truth.

CONCLUSION

Visuality forms a vital component of knowledge formation strategies connected with the construction of hegemonic power. In the face of hegemonic visuality of the post-colonial state and the heritage of visual underpinnings of enlightenment that informed Western colonialism, postcolonial texts have responded with innovative modes of gazing back, interpolating and disrupting dominant visual codes and re-imagining non-totalising forms of power. The analogous mode of writing that transcribes these counter-visualities is the "graffiti text" which is discussed with regard to Labou Tansi's novels, especially, *The Eyes of the Volcano*. Writing after Enlightenment becomes a form of graffiti, disconcerting and dismantling visual certainties and underlying the remainder, that which is left out of the purview of the putatively omnivisual seer. However, it should not be misconstrued that all postcolonial authors respond to hegemonic visualities through burlesque and grotesque visual aesthetics. Such a claim would run the risk of undercutting the plurality and diversity of postcolonial writing traditions with regard to the deconstruction of hegemonic visualities and perspectives.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Semantic roles in Ruluuli-Runyala

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In this paper, we provide a detailed analysis of the semantic roles of applicative arguments in Ruluuli-Runyala. We present the semantic roles of applicative objects in view of the participant roles as semantically defined under sense relations: There is a general assumption that arguments of a verb could be allocated only one of these roles. The analysis follows the theoretical framework which contextualises participant roles in respect of the meanings of sentences, and often less in terms of grammatical position of referring expressions in sentences. We show the participant roles as indicators of relationships between a verb (and possibly other predicators) and the referring expressions in a sentence. Notably, we identify beneficiary, location, goal, instrument, patient, possessum and temporal participant roles in Ruluuli-Runyala. We show similarities and parametric variations between Ruluuli-Runyala and other languages in literature. We conclude that although Ruluuli-Runyala is to a larger extent semantically unspecified in assigning semantic roles to applicative arguments as in most Bantu languages, it has examples of semantically specified applicative use.

Key words: Semantic roles, grammar, applicative objects, double applicatives, lexicalised cases.

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this paper is to examine the sematic roles of applicative arguments in Ruluuli-Runyala. We capture various sense relation notions that are descriptive of the semantic roles of an applicative object in Ruluuli-Runyala.

Ruluuli-Runyala is a tonal Bantu language of the Niger-Congo language family spoken by some of the inhabitants of River Nile-Lake Kyoga basin of Central Uganda. Ruluuli-Runyala is labelled JE.103, under group E10 of Nyoro-Ganda in Maho (2009)'s classification system. According to Nakayiza (2013), four districts of Luweero, Masindi, Nakasongola and Kayunga have Ruluuli-Runyala speakers. However, this study found that Ruluuli-Runyala is also spoken in the adjoining Lake Kyoga districts of Buyende, Amolatar and Kiryandongo. Eberhard et al.(2019) mention that there are roughly 237,699 speakers of Ruluuli-Runyala in Uganda.

Different terms for 'participant roles' have been used in literature, for instance, *semantic roles*(Hurford et al., 2007; Reimer, 2016), *theta-roles* (Knyazev, 2018), *thematic relations* (Davis, 2011; Valin, 1999) as well as *deep semantic* cases (Givón, 1990). According to Marten and Mous (2015), applicative objects which are morphologically marked are associated with semantic

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qualities. We adopted the term *semantic roles* in this study because it was more commonly used by most scholars in the recent semantic literature that we reviewed (Hurford et al., 2007; Reimer, 2010, 2016; Saeed, 2016). The semantic roles of a word combine with a set of coarse complementation patterns to form what is called behavioural profile. Such behaviour makes the semantic roles of applied object vary according to the meaning of the base (Dixon, 2009). As a consequence, several semantic roles can be assigned to applicative objects (Kimenyi, 1995; Woolford, 2001; Ngoboka, 2005). Although Pacchiarotti (2017:60) noted that the applicative can introduce numerous "peripheral" semantic roles of the morphosyntactic entity, she pointed out that such characterisation does not explain fully applicative constructions across Bantu languages.

METHODOLOGY

We used corpus and participant observation methods of data collection since grammatical analyses should be arrived at inductively, through observations of a corpus of recorded discourse, supplemented by direct observation of how the language is used in the community (Dixon, 2012). One needs to gather a broad database which should contain numerous genres, and thereafter supplementary data should be gathered through participant observation which is under elicitation methodology (Bowern, 2015).

We used Ruluuli-Runyala-English Dictionary (RRED) corpus data which was compiled by a Ruluuli-Runyala language documentation project: *A comprehensive bilingual talking Ruruuli/Runyala-English dictionary with a descriptive basic grammar for language revitalisation and enhancement of mother-tongue based education* (PI SaudahNamyalo, Makerere University, funded for 2017–2020, Volkswagen Foundation). The RRED corpus consisted of 159,641 words from 74 written Ruluuli-Runyala texts. The corpus was produced by speakers of Ruluuli-Runyala from four districts of Uganda, namely Nakasogola, Kayunga, Kiryandongo and Buyende.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Semantic roles of applicative objects

Beneficiary applicative object

Beneficiary is considered the most widespread and productive of all semantic roles of applicatives in Bantu languages (Schadeberg, 2003). According to De Kind and Bostoen (2012), it is the most frequently and most typically associated with applied objects. The general notion embedded in the term 'beneficiary' implies that an action can either be negatively of positively affected depending on the nature of the action. Thus, it also encompasses the notion of maleficiary. In Ruluuli-Runyala, beneficiary is used to refer to the semantic role of bene/malefactive (Woolford, 2001; Van de velde, 2010) as illustrated in sentences (1a) and (1b) below:

(1) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)

(a) A-ku-sumb-**ir**-a ba-geni ki-nage
3sgS-PROG-cook -APPL-FV 2-guests 7-fish
'He is cooking fish for the guests.'
(b) E-biduuma bi-tandik-ire oku-n-kal-**i**-**ir**-a
AUG-7.maize 7S-start-PFV INF-1sgO-get_dry-APPL-APPL-FV
'The maize is getting dry to my disadvantage.'

In sentence (1a) above, the benefactive object *bageni* 'visitors' is positively affected with respect to the action of the verb *sumbira* 'cook for'. In contrast, the malefactive object *1sgO* 'me' is negatively affected in respect of the action of the verb *kaliira*'dry to one's disadvantage' in sentence (1b). Similar to Tswana, the double applicative *-i-ir-* appears to function as a single applicative by adding a maleficiary to the construction and acquiring a lexicalised meaning (Pacchiarotti, 2017). In a situation of a single applicative *kal+ir* 'dry+APPL' can only form an applicative with a locative phrase as shown below:

(c) E-biduuma bi-kal-ir-a omu musiri.
AUG-8.maize 8S-dry-APPL-FV 18.LOC 3.garden
'Maize dry from the garden.'

There are other verbs by which their use of the double applicative brings about a lexicalised meaning of the verb similar to (1b) above. In contrast, the use of a single applicative licenses a locative phrase as in sentence (1c) above. The other verbs in the same category are given in Table 1.

Table 1 indicates how certain verbs carry a malefactive reading when used with double applicatives but restricted to locative phrases in instances of single applicatives. The lexicalised malefactives can be interpreted as follows: *kal-i-ir-a* 'dry to one's disadvantage', *sal-i-ir-a* 'pain to one's annoyance', *mal-i-ir-a* 'finish up something to one's disadvantage', *babil-i-ir-a* 'irritate (of body part) to one's discomfort'.

Locative applicative object

Locative applicative is an applicative construction in which an original locative argument is placed in a transitive object position (Dixon, 2012:493). This is deduced from the role of the applicative argument when occurring in peripheral function marker in the original non-applicative construction. Constructions involving *to, from, along, towards, into, in, on* and others combine with verbs to enable locative applicative derivation in English interpretation. We analysed semantic features of locative arguments based on transitive, intransitive and typological syntactic structures as found in relevant literature. A plain intransitive construction of locative applicatives is illustrated in the sentence below:

(2)**Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) *N-a-iruk-ire*

Table 1. Double applicatives in Malefactives vs single applicatives in locative phrases.

Basic verb	Locative phrase (LP)	Locative phrase (single applicative)	Malefactive (Lexicalised)	Malefactive (double applicative)
Kala 'dry'	*Kaara* 'dry at/in'	kal+APPL+LP	*kal-i-ir-a*	kal+APPL+APPL
Sala 'pain'	*Saara* 'pain at/in'	sal+APP+LP	*sal-i-ir-a*	sal+APPL+APPL
Mala 'finish'	*Maara*'finish at/in'	mal+APPL+LP	*mal-i-ir-a*	mal+APPL+APPL
Babila 'irritate'	*Babiira* 'irritate at/in'	babil+APPL+LP	*babil-i-ir-a*	babil+APPL+APPL

Source: Primary source.

1sgS-PST-run-PFV
'I ran.'
(b) N-a-iruk-i-ire e Lango.
1SgS-PST-run-APPL-PFV 17.LOC 1.Lango
'I ran to/in/from Lango.'

In Ruluuli-Runyala, an intransitive verb *iruka* 'run' cannot take a peripheral argument without applicativisation. The sentence is not marked by any preposition in the non-applicative construction of the intransitive sentence (2a). However, the introduction of a locative argument in sentence (2b) necessitates an applicative verb. It is the applicative marker that enables the locative NP *e Lango* 'to/in/from Lango' to take the transitive object function. Sentence (2b) can have three pragmatic interpretations: It means either 'he' ran to Lango as in *to flee for safety* or 'he' *ran in Lango* to mean *his running took place in Lango, possibly in a running competition*. It can also mean'he *fled from lango*.' In regard to the three interpretations, 'to' is regarded as an allative preposition, 'in' is locative, while 'from' is considered an ablative preposition because *iruka* 'run' is a verb of motion (Beck, 2009; Dixon, 2009;Jerro, 2017). In Ruluuli-Runyala, locative applicative derivations can also occur with transitive verbs as exemplified below:

(3) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
N-a-zaal-i-ire-ku a-baana omu i-lwariro
1sgS-PST-produce-APPL-PFV-ECL AUG-2.child 18.LOC 5.hospital
'I produced some children in the hospital.'

In the Example 3 above, the only way the locative argument *omuilwariro* 'in the hospital' can assume a transitive object function is through applicativisation. Different scholars (Dixon, 2012;Jerro, 2017; Rugemalira, 1993) have through their works shown that locative applicatives need not be generalised. Some verb meanings in objects that can be assigned the semantic role of locative could be language specific and carry unique pragmatic interpretations. The typological analysis of Jerro (2017:4) on Runyarwanda locative applicatives gives four meanings that may be construed from applicative verbs – Locative, Path, Goal and Source. Jerro takes the typology of motion to involve a complete motion event in which an agent moves from a SOURCE, along a PATH and ends at a GOAL. We consider this typology of locative arguments and then comment on each in respect of Ruluuli-Runyala for which data is analogous but not entirely identical. We point out that these locative meaning categories do not encompass all locative interpretations as depicted in Ruluuli-Runyala.

We start with the general LOCATIVE role that indicates where the event took place. The action expressed by the applicative verb occurs with a local adposition in a language such as English (Dixon, 2009). This is normally enabled by a locative preposition *in*, *on*, *at, up, around* and others.

(4) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) O-buntu obwo bu-landa
AUG-14.plant_type 14.REL 14S-creep
'That plant type creeps.'
(b) O-buntu obwo bu-land-ir-a okumuyembe.
AUG-14.plant_type 14.REL 14S-creep-APPL-FV 17.LOC 3.mango

'That plant type creeps up the mango tree.'

The intransitive verb *landa* 'creep' in sentence (4a) gives a complete meaning but can take a locative argument in the periphery function. As a result, the introduction of a locative applied object *okumuyembe* 'upthe mango tree' necessitates an applicative construction as shown in sentence (4b). Pacchiarotti (2017:20) refers to such locative applied objects as 'optional locative prepositional phrases'. Contrary to Jerro's use of locative prefixes *ku* and *mu* as class markers, *oku* 'up' as used in sentence (4b) is a preposition. The general locative meaning can also be expressed in double applicative construction as given in the sentence below:

(5) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) Ya-zub-ire ku e-izuba
A-a-zub-PFV 17.LOC AUG-5.well
'He weeded around the well.'
(b) Ya-zub-i-ir-ire izuba.
A-a-zub-APPL-APPL-PFV
'He weeded around the well.'

According to sentence (5a), general locative meaning can be expressed with the locative marker *ku* 'around' in non-applicative construction. The double applicative construction in sentence (5b) equally represents the place where the event, in this case, 'weeding' took place. The second category locative meaning Jerro (2017) gives is a GOAL to the event that a verb describes. The action expressed by the verb is directed towards the locative goal represented by the applied object. According to Cann and Mabugu (2007:232), the applied object should ideally be interpreted as 'real locative goal'. They go on to call it the 'true goal'. De Kind and Bostoen (2012:10) define the applied object as 'the participant to whom the action expressed by the verb is directed'. Such an expression of direction involves verbs of transfer like *tuma* 'send', of speech like *koba* 'say' and intransitive verbs of movement like *yaba* 'go' (De Kind andBostoen, 2012). In addition to *iruka* 'run' and *yaba* 'go', there are other specific verbs that can be attributed to the locative GOAL meaning as *pitirya* 'go about' and *guluka* 'jump' (Jerro, 2017). Interestingly, none of the given examples can analogously indicate a locative GOAL meaning in Ruluuli-Runyala**.** Since we have already considered the verb *iruka* 'run' under sentence (4), we use different examples below:

(6) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) A-ku-guluk-a
3sgS-PROG-jump-FV
'He is jumping.'
(b) A-ku-guluk-ir-a omu lubuga
3sgS-PROG-jump-APPL-FV 18.LOC 11.compound
'He is jumping in the compound.'

The verb *guluka* 'jump' can be used either intransitively as in sentence (6) above or with an obligatory applicative argument. There is no other semantic role beyond that of general locative that can be assigned to such a construction.

The absence of a locative GOAL is also illustrated below using the verb *yaba* 'go'. Sentence (7a) shows a locative adjunct that does not necessitate special morphology on the verb. Crucially, this is the sentence that would be referred to as a locative GOAL. In contrast, sentence (7b), which requires a locative applicative derivation, has no a locative GOAL meaning. The applicative verb represents *means of travel* the subject uses to move from one place to another. The meaning of such verbs is equivalent to *tambuura* 'move in' (by means of).

(7)**Ruluuli-Runyala**(Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) A-ku-yab-a ku e-iduuka
3sgS-PROG-go 17.LOC AUG-5.shop
'He is going to the shop.'
(b) A-ku-yab-ir-a mu e-motoka
3sgS-PROG-go-APPL-FV 18.LOC AUG-9.vehicle
'He is going in a vehicle.'

It can further be shown that in Ruluuli-Runyala, the locative GOAL meaning is non-existent even with the verb of *tuma* 'send'. In sentence (8a) below, a locative prepositional phrase that requires no morphological processes with the verb is given. Incidentally, this is the sentence that would be given a locative GOAL meaning. In comparison with sentence (8b), *tumira* 'send for' has a beneficiary interpretation. This is the same meaning that is deduced with this verb-synonyms like *weereza* 'send,' except that the latter takes an applicative 'infix' as in *weere-**re**-za* 'send for'.

(8) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) Tum-a o-mwana ku e-isomero.
Send-FV AUG-1.child 17.LOC AUG-5.school
'Send a child to school.'
(b) N-tum-ir-a o-mwana ku e-isomero
1sgS-end-APPL-FV AUG-1.child 17.LOC AUG-5.school
'Send for me a child to school.'

Jerro (2017) describes the locative applied object as PATH. He adopts Asher and Sablayrolles (1995)'s definition of PATH as strict internal path that involves a portion of path which does not include SOURCE or GOAL. Mostly, this involves verbs which, in addition to allowing locative phrases in non-applicative construction, permit locative applicative arguments that show PATH. Jerro mentions Ruluuli-Runyala-verb equivalents like *ingira* 'enter', *wuluka* 'exit', *niina* 'climb', *niina* 'ascend' and *sirimuka* 'descend' to fall in this category. This is found true in respect of Ruluuli-Runyala as shown below:

(9) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) O-kapa a-ku-wulik-a omu e-kisiika.
AUG-1.cat 3S-PROG-exit-FV 18.LOC AUG7.room
'The cat is exiting the room.'
(b) O-kapa a-ku-wulik-ir-a omue-dirisa e-nnyumba
1.cat 3S-PROG-exit-APPL-FV 18.LOC AUG7.room AUG.9.house
'The cat is exiting the room through the window.'

Sentence (9a) shows that the verb *wuluka* 'exit' can carry a locative phrase in a non-applicative construction. The locative PATH meaning is given in sentence (9b) as the locative applicative derivation is employed.

Lastly, there is the locative SOURCE, which depicts the applied object as indicative of a starting-point of the event in motion. Ruluuli-Runyala has evidence of this locative meaning as exemplified below:

(10) **Ruluuli-Runyala**(Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) O-musobbi a-somok-ere e-nyanja
AUG-1.expert_sailor 3sgS-cross-PFV AUG-9.lake

'The expert tailor crossed the lake.'
(b) O-musobbi a-somok-e-ire e Galiraaya e-nyanja
AUG-1.sailor 3sgS-cross-APPL-PFV 17.LOC 1.Galiraaya AUG-9.lake
'The expert tailor crossed the lake at Galiraaya.'

Sentence (10a) has no oblique object in the non-applicative form. However, the introduction of the locative SOURCE argument *e Galiraaya* 'at Galiraaya' makes the applicative derivation obligatory. The applied object, in this case, is a locative SOURCE meaning.

Jerro (2017:4) suggests the presence of 'unity of verb classes' between languages while differing from Rugemalira (1993), who rejects the notion of semantically defined verb classes, such as motion verbs. The meaning of Jerro's 'unity of verbs classes', however, is also not clear. If it is construed in relation to the four locative meanings in the typology description, it is too inadequate to capture all locative applicative meanings. In Ruluuli-Runyala, there are locative meanings that are contextual and semantically word-specific such that they do not fall in any of the four typological meanings. We mention some examples below:

(11) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) N-ku-biik-a e-sente mu nte
1sgS-PROG-save-FV AUG-9.money 18.LOC1.cow
'I am saving money in cows.'
(b)N-ku-biik-ir-a mu nte e-sente
1sgS-PROG-save-APPL-FV 18.LOC 1.cow AUG-9.money
'I am saving money in cows.'

The sentence in (11a) above shows that *biika* 'save' can be used transitively with a locative phrase in a non-applicative construction. The locative meaning obtained for sentence (11a) is similar in meaning to sentence (11b), where a locative applicative has been used. The applied object in both cases is not just a place as location but rather a fixed asset, *nte* 'cows'. Such a verb can select different applied objects, but convey a similar locative interpretation. For example, save money in *education*, *land*, *fish,children* and others. We also give another example of another locative meaning using the verb *sooka* 'start' in the sentence below:

(12) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
O-sook-er-a kumaizi
2sgS-start-APPL-FV 17.LOC 6.water
'You start with the water.'/'You start from the water.'

Whereas sentence (12) would correspond to general locative as in where the event took place, it can also have a quite different interpretation. It needs a pragmatic interpretation to analyse *sookera* as either 'start from' or 'start with'. On the one hand, 'start with' means *at the very first stage of an event or process.* Therefore, the sentence means one has to first access water before doing anything else after reaching a destination. On the other hand, 'start from' typically conveys a general locative reading. We also give another locative meaning where its general sense is compared with command strategies using the verb *kanga* 'stop' below:

(13) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a)kang-a awo!
stop ADV
'Stop there!'
(b) kang-ir-a awo!
stop-APPL-FV ADV
'Stop there!' (stop at that point!)

The example in (13a) illustrates the use of *kanga* 'stop' as a command to stop movement or progress of an activity. The command can be construed as a locative applicative in (13b) because of the equivalent to the adverbial demonstrative *there* (Dixon, 2009:247). In Ruluuli-Runyala, both *kanga* and *kangira* are used interchangeably to mean *stop at that point*. This would reflect a locative applicative meaning in which a general locative sense is reduced to an event bounded with precision or a specific spot.

In Ruluuli-Runyala, there are more instances where Jerro (2017)'s locative typology framework offers a limited interpretation. Evidence shows locative semantics can be much wider and also can depend on underlying metaphors of spatial and abstract location (Marten and Kula, 2014). Instead of a physical location, some events seem to occur in symbolic settings where the context can bring about a unique interpretation as shown in example below:

(14) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) E-bintu bi-amwe a-bi-koo-r-a mu nkukutu
AUG-8.thing8-3sgPOSS 3sgS-8O-do-APPL-FV 18.LOC 9.secretiveness
'He does his things in secretiveness.' (He does his things from a hideout."

The locative phrase *mu nkukutu* 'in secretiveness' would literally mean *one working from a hiding place* which would be construed as general locative. Instead, a workplace is expressed as a hideout which symbolises secretiveness in the way one conducts his/her daily business.

Dixon (2012) recognises that there are many other varieties of locative expressions that may be used as applicative arguments. We have shown that the four typological locative meanings advanced by Jerro (2017) are not exhaustive in respect of the lexical semantics of all verbs. Locative applicative markers in Ruluuli-Runyala

reflect more complex functions and interpretations of Bantu applicatives. They represent the interaction of abstract applicative and locative semantics in a much broader way than the four typological meaning categories because more underlying metaphors of spatial and abstract locations are not captured. Static location, source of movement and direction of movement that can be coded by either locative affixes or locative prepositions depends entirely on the meanings of individual verbs (Creissels, 2004).

Goal applicative object

Dixon (2012) defines goal applicative as an activity or state described by the verb of an applicative construction. When a goal applicative applies to verbs, like *weerya* 'give' *koba* 'tell' and *langa* 'show', the subject argument keeps as it is, while the goal argument moves from the peripheral function to the transitive object function. In this situation, the original transitive object in the non-applicative construction moves into the applicative case (Kimenyi, 1980; Chung, 1986; Dixon, 2009). Some scholars (for example De Kind and Bostoen, 2012; Pacchiarotti, 2017) argue that the primary semantic role of applied objects is GOAL. In essence, all the semantic roles associated with Bantu applicatives like 'beneficiary', 'locative' and others are thought to be secondary. In Ruluuli-Runyala, the applicative marker can licence applicative objects with the GOAL semantic role in different ways. Dixon (2012) gives four ways through which this goal semantic role can be analysed in languages. Below we illustrate the first GOAL meaning sub-category of *Additional argument*:

(15) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)

(a) A-ku-kuutil-a e-nsonga ya bukuni
3sgS-PROG-emphasize-FV AUG-9.issue 9.GEN 14.cleanliness
'He is emphasising the issue of cleanliness.'

(b) A-kuutil-ir-a a-bantu e-nsonga ya bukuni
3sgS-PROG-emphasize-FV AUG.2.person AUG-9.issue 9.GEN 14.cleanliness
'He is emphasising the issue of cleanliness to the people.'

Sentence (15a) indicates a self-contained clause that can stand alone in a non-applicative construction using the transitive verb of *kuutila* 'emphasise'. *To the people* is an extra argument indicating GOAL which is then added to the sentence in (15b). The applicative derivation licences the extra argument into the transitive object position of sentence (15b) indicating to who the emphasis was directed. In this position, the applied object shows symmetric object properties, that is, being closer to the subject, being cross-referenced with the verb and being a subject of the passive (Bresnan and Moshi, 1990; NgonyaniandGithinji, 2006). This is also considered as a case of promoting an applied object from a peripheral object function to the transitive object function (Cann andMabugu, 2007;Trithart, 1983).

The second sub-category of semantic GOAL applicatives that can be assigned to applied objects is Recipient. It involves putting the Gift or Recipient in a transitive object function of certain verbs like 'send', 'sell', 'lend' and others in the English language (Dixon, 2012). Under Recipient semantic role, the applied object is not in so close a relation to the entire verb phrase, instead to the theme object. The theme is primarily intended for the applied object which in this case is a Recipient. Not at all times should the action of the verb be beneficial to the applied object. In respect of a sentence "Tanga gave me a slap", the reception can be negative in that context (Cann and Mabugu, 2007:226). There are also possession relations between the applied object and the patient object similar to 'low applicatives' (Pylkkänen, 2008). Otherwise, Recipient in Ruluuli-Runyala occurs with only transitive verb bases, which is not the case with Beneficiary (De Kind andBostoen, 2012). Nevertheless, the two are closely related in a sense that they share the same verb-valency and morpho-syntactic behaviour of their objects. Recipient semantic role in Ruluuli-Runyala can be illustrated below:

(16) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)

O-zeiza a-ku-twal-ir-a a-baizukulu baamwee-nsuwa
1.grandpa 3sgS-PROG-take-APPL-FV AUG-2.grandchild 3sgPOSS AUG-pot
'Grandfather is taking the pot to his grandchildren'.

According to sentence (16), Ruluuli-Runyala restricts having a Gift as a transitive object in a Recipient-driven applicative construction. It is not possible to put the Gift *ensuwa* 'pot' in the transitive object slot of *abaizikulu* 'grandchildren'. The two cannot be interchangeably used as is the case in English. In English, one can only say*I took Joan a pot*; but not **I took a pot Joan.* Otherwise, in order to have the direct object precede the indirect object, one must use a prepositional phrase construction *I took a pot to Joan* (Isingoma, 2018). At the same time, the Recipient cannot be used as an oblique object in Ruluuli-Runyala (Kitillä, 2005; Dixon, 2012; Marten and Kula, 2014).

Applicative verbs can be used as 'stimulus' for a stative verb which in this case would be another subcategory of Goal applicatives. This involves the derivational applicative process in the use 'stimulus' or motivating factor for *stative* verbs. Dixon (2012:326) explained that 'human propensity adjectives' like 'happy (about)' or 'ashamed (of)' in English are exclusively used with or

without a prepositional phrase stating the stimulus.

In Ruluuli-Runyala, such notions are expressed through *stative*verbs. The sentence takes an intransitive construction with a peripheral argument showing the 'stimulus'. Such a sentence can also be realized in a transitive applicative construction (Onishi, 2000). *Goal-stimulus for a stative verb* applicative construction involves expressions such as *sanyuka*'get happy' and *camuka* 'get excited' as illustrated in example (17) below:

(17) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a)N-a-sanyuk-a okulwa a-bageni
1sgS-FUT-get_happy-FV PREP AUG-2.visitor
'1 will get happy for the visitors.'
(b)N-a-sanyuk-ir-a a-bageni
1sgS-FUT-get_happy-APPL-FV AUG-2.visitor
"I will get happy for the visitors."

In sentence (17a) *abageni* 'visitors' is in the peripheral function enabled by the preposition *okulwa* 'for' in an intransitive construction. In sentence (17b), the applicative marker licences the formerly peripheral argument to assume a transitive object function. The 'stative' verb *camuka* 'get excited' also behaves in the same way as *sanyuka* 'get happy' in Goal-stimulus applicative marking. Such verbs can also take double applicative construction when the derived verb is used with an adverbial *kakyarumwei* 'very' as shown below:

(17) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) N-a-camuk-ir-a kakyarumwei
1sgS-FUT-get_excited-APPL-FV ADV
'I will get very excited.'
(b) N-a-camuk-i-ir-a
1sgS-FUT-get_excited-APPL-APPL-FV
'I will get very excited.'

The applicative construction in sentence (17a) uses the adverbial *kakyarumwei* 'very' that is semantically equivalent to the use of double applicative construction in (17b). The derived form in (17b) neither permits a transitive object nor an adverbial *kakyarumwei* 'very' nor yet strengthens the notion of degree embedded in the semantic meaning of 'very'. This is also an example of non-valency changing applicative construction (Smits, 2017; Kawasha, 2003).

Goal applicatives can also be analysed in respect of 'Stimulus for a corporeal verb' of laughing and crying. In Ruluuli-Runyala, corporeal activities of sobbing, weeping, crying, smiling, and laughing can all have their 'stimulus' expressed by means of the applicative marker. In other words, the applicative is obligatory to show what is being, say, cried over or smiled at or wept for. This is illustrated in the sentences below:

(18) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)

(a) Lwaki o-ku-sek-e-er-a kateica
INTERR 2sgS-PROG-laugh-APPL-APPL-FV 1.poor_person
'Why are you laughing at the poor person?
(b) Lwaki o-ku-kung-ir-a o-mutemu
INTERR 2sgS-PROG-weep-APPL-FV AUG-1.murderer
'Why are you weeping for the murderer?'

The corporeal stimulus argument *kateica* 'poor person' takes double applicative construction in*sek-e-er-a* 'laugh at' as shown in sentence (18a). In sentence (18b), the 'stimulus' argument *omutemu* 'murderer' takes single applicative construction in *kung-ir-a* 'weep for'. The same structure is realised when semantically related verbs to those in question are used. For instance, the 'corporeal stimulus' argument can take the derived verb *mweny-e-er-a* 'smile gently' from *mwenya* 'smile' while *bbok-er-a* 'cry out for' can be the derived verb from *bboka* 'cry out'.

Instrumental applicative object

Dixon (2009:446) analyses an instrument as case inflection marking in which "the referent of the NP is attached as a weapon, tool, or material used in the action of the verb.'' By this interpretation, applicative arguments can refer to actual or notional instruments (Dixon, 2012).

Dixon (2012) put forward five subcategories of Instrumental applicative objects. They include Instrumental cause/Instrumental-reason, Instrumental assist, Instrumental implement, Instrumental material and Instrumental surface effect. Instrumental applicatives in Ruluuli-Runyala can occur through applicative/causative isomorphism (Peterson, 2007). The suffix realisation grammaticalises as a causative marker *-esy*and *–isy,* which extends to an instrumental applicative marker. Although all the above mentioned subcategories are found in Ruluuli-Runyala, they occur under different syntactic and semantic realisations as examined below:

Instrumental cause/Instrumental-reason

(19) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source).
O-mukwenda a-a-fu-er-e-ire omu butandwa
AUG-messenger 3sgS-PST-die-APPL-APPL-PFV PREP 14.accident
'The messenger died in an accident.'

(20) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)

A-a-ki-many-i-ire mu e-mpapula_z'amawuuro
3sgS-PST-know-APPL-PFV PREPAUG-10.newspaper
'He knew it from newspapers.'

The applicative argument *butandwa* 'accident' in the complement of sentence (19) indicates the 'cause of death'. Similarly, ***empapulaz'amawuuro*** 'newspaper' is the applicative argument indicating 'the means by which one knew' something in sentence (20). The notional instruments showing *cause* and *means* in both cases are linked to the main clause in a derivational applicative behaviour. Another example of Instrumental-reason, this time, involving 'because of' is found in *Yamukubb-**i-**ire mwenge* 'He beat her because of alcohol'.In such examples, the instrument 'often occurs as a prepositional phrase' (Saeed, 2016:176).

Instrumental-assist

(21) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
Omutegi a-yab-**ir**-ire mu e-ryato
3sgS-PST-go-APPL-PFV PREP AUG-9.boat
'The fisherman went by boat.'

In sentence (21) above, the applicative argument is *eryato* 'boat', which plays the role of something that assists the event/activity described by the verb in question. The 'boat' is the actual instrument that assisted the referent of the subject NP, 'the fisherman' to go from one area to another. This is the only case of Instrument-assist provided by the available data that can be realised through the applicative derivation. Other possible constructions as mentioned by Dixon (2012) can only be possible through applicative/causative isomorphism (Peterson, 2007).

(22) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) Teg-esy-a a-katimba.
Fish-CAUS-FV AUG-12.net
'Fish with net',
(b) Bumb-isy-a e-ibumba.
Mould-CAUS-FV AUG-5.clay
'Mould with clay.'
(c) Bbw-esy-a o-muguwa.
Tie-CAUS-FV AUG-3.rope
'Tie with a rope.'

In respect of examples (22a) and (22b) above, instruments *akatimba* 'net' and *eibumba*'clay' assume the transitive object function due to the causative suffix *-isy.* The causative suffix *-esy* is used in sentence (22c) with the instrument *omuguwa* 'rope' in a transitive object function. Despite showing features of causative semantics, such instrumental arguments are called instrumental applicatives because they display applicative morphology behaviours (Bostoen and Mundeke, 2011; Pacchiarotti, 2017).

Instrumental implement

In contrast with Instrumental-assist, the applicative argument can be a weapon, tool or implement that physically affects the referent of the original object: In this case, it is called Instrumental implement (Dixon, 2012). In Ruluuli-Runyala, the two Instrumental subcategories use the same causative suffixes *-isy* and *-esy* to depict applicative morphology as illustrated below:

(23) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) N-a-yat-isy-a e-ibbale o-lutayo o-lwo
1sgS-FUT-break-CAUS-FV AUG-5.stone AUG-11.gourd 11-that
'I will break that gourd with a stone.'
(b) N-a-kubb-isy-a o-mugai o-mwana
1sgS-FUT-beat-CAUS-FV AUG-3.mingling_stick AUG-1.child
'I will beat the child with a mingling_stick.'
(c) Soroor-esy-a e-kikandulyo e-bisubi
Gather-CAUS-FV AUG-garden_fork AUG-8.grass
'Gather the grass with a garden fork.'

On the one hand, e*ibbale* 'stone' in sentence (23a) and *omugai* 'mingling-stick in sentence (23b) are instrumental implement arguments licensed by the causative suffix *-isy.* On the other hand, causative suffix *-esy* licenses *ekikandulyo*'garden fork' to assume transitive object function. Significantly, the applicative not the causative meaning is manifest in the three derived verbs *yat-isy-a* 'break with' *kubb-isy-a* 'beat with'and*soroor-esy-a* 'gather with'. All these applied verbsare transitive and valency-increasing (Bostoen andNzang-Bie, 2010).

Instrumental surface effect and comitative

According to Dixon (2012), instrumental surface arguments inflict effect on the surface area of the referent of the original object. The effect is so superficial that the instrument does not impact the material nature of the original object. Dixon gives expressions like 'sweep with a broom', 'sprinkle with water', and 'touch with the foot'. In Ruluuli-Runyala, propositions with similar contexts are expressed through double applicative construction, a comitative or a causative that has an applicative reading

as shown below:

(24) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) Yey-a e-kisiik-a ki-amuna o-lweyo
Sweep-FV AUG-7.room 7-2sgPOSS COM AUG-11.broom
'Sweep your room with a broom.'
(b) Yey-esy-a o-lweyo e-kisiika ki-amu
Sweep-FV AUG-11.broom AUG-7.room 7-2sgPOSS
'Sweep your room with a broom.'

The Instrument surface argument *olweyo* 'broom' can be expressed in a peripheral function with the help of comitative*na* 'with' as shown in sentence (24a). Alternatively, it can be used in a transitive object function with the help of the causative suffix *-esy*as given in sentence (24b). The use of Instrument surface argument in (b) is once again typical of causative suffixes which show applicative morphology.There is no typical comitative applicative marker in Ruluuli-Runyala. There occurs the same applicative/causative isomorphism as in Instrumental applicatives (Peterson, 2007; Shibatani, 2002). The suffix realisation grammaticalises as causative markers *-esy*and *–isy,* which extend to a comitative applicative reading as seen in sentences (24a) and (24b) above. The Instrument surface can also be realised through double applicative construction in respect of the verb *suka* 'sprinkle'. The double applicative brings about the lexicalised derived verb *sukiira* 'sprinkle with water' as illustrated below:

(25) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) suk-a omu ngalo za bageni a-maizi
sprinkle 18.LOC 9.hand 9.GEN 2.visitor AUG-6.water
'Sprinkle the visitors' hands with water.'
(b) suk-i-ir-a a-bageni a-maizi omu ngalo
Pour_a little at a time-APPL-APPL-FV AUG-2.visitor AUG-6.water LOC 9.hand
'Pour water a little at a time on to the visitor's hands.'[1]

The Instrument surface argument ***amaizi*** 'water' can be in a direct object function in sentence (25a) in the non-applicative construction. The addition of double suffixes in *suk-i-ir-a* 'sprinkle with water' allows text restructuring such that the applicative argument can occupy the transitive object slot in sentence (25b). This is an example of applicative verb forms that specify the semantic role of the object they license basically called semantically specified applicative use (Creissels, 2004). *Sukiira* 'sprinkle with water' is exclusively used to promote the instrumental surface adjunct of *amaizi* 'water', and contextually, 'water' for washing hands especially when one is going to eat. Another related example of semantically specialised applicative use with respect to Instrumental surface applicatives involves the verb *kwata* 'hold'. Once the double applicative construction takes effect, the derived verb becomes *kwatiira* 'hold with hands'

Instrumental material

Instrumental applicative material codes materials used in an activity. In Ruluuli-Runyala, materials used in activities are also coded as causatives with an applicative reading. Examples of instrumental material applicatives include: *kol-esy-andagalaolwomero* 'make food-wrappers with banana leaves', *serek-esy-aobufumboennyumba* 'roof the house with spear grass', *mant-isy-a ebinyangataemwomo* 'plaster the wall with mud' and *sitir-isy-a embigo* 'fence with reeds'.

Possessum applicative object

In Ruluuli-Runyala, there are instances where a possessum can function as an applicative argument. We consider the examples below:

(26) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) O-musomesya a-a-kubb-ire a-baana ba-ange
AUG-2.teacher 3sgS-PST-PFV AUG-2.child 3pl-1sgPOSS
'The teacher has beaten my children.'
(b) O-musomesya a-a-n-kubb-i-ire a-baana
AUG-1.teacher 3sgS-PST-1sgO-beat-APPL-PFV AUG-2.child
'The teacher has beaten my children.'

The possessum argument in sentences (26a) *abaanabaange* 'my children' becomes the applicative argument in sentence (26b). Interestingly, the possessive determiner *baange* 3pl-1sgPOSS is no longer necessary in sentence (26b) because of the applicative construction. However, in instances of a noun possessive case like *onkokoyaomwana* 'the child's hen' in sentence (27a) below, it is the genetive*ya* that can be dropped in the applicative construction as shown.

(27) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) *O-Musiita a-a-it-i**r**-ire o-nkoko ya o-mwana*

[1]Contextually, such a sentence is common when 'water' is for washing hands especially when one is going to eat.

AUG-1.Musiita3sgS-PST-kill-APPL-PFVAUG-1.hen
1.GEN AUG-1.child
'OMusiita killed the girl's hen.'
(b) O-Musiitaa-a-it-i**r**-ire o-mwana o-nkoko
AUG-1.Musiita3sgS-PST-kill-APPL-PFVAUG-child
AUG-1.hen
'OMusiita killed the child's hen.' (or 'OMusiita killed a hen a for the child' (two meanings)

The applicative constructions in both sentences (26b and 27b) involve pragmatic interpretation. They can imply possessum argument as shown in these very examples, or they can take a benefactive interpretation. That is, sentence (26b) would also imply 'The teacher has beaten the children on my behalf'. Sentence (27b) would also imply 'OMusiita killed the hen on behalf of the child'. A similar case is found in the Bantu language of Chichewa (Simango, 2007).

Temporal applicative object

In Ruluuli-Runyala, the applicative object can be assigned as temporal. Temporal location is one of the four localist semantic temporal fields. In this case, the event function is used to describe 'Go temporal' that refers to movement in time (Saeed, 2016).

(28) **Ruluuli-Runyala**(Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) Ki-a-twal-a-nga o-bwire
7S-PST-take-FV-HAB AUG-14.time
'It would take time.'
(b) ki-a-mu-twal-ir-a-ngao-bwire
7S-PST-3sgO-take-APPL-FV-HAB AUG-7.time
'It would take him time.'

Sentence (28a) shows a non-applicative construction involving the use of a transitive verb*twala* 'take' with an obligatory temporal adverb *obwire* 'time'. The addition of the applicative argument *mu* 'him' cannot be complete without the addition the temporal adverbial *obwire* 'time' describing location in time. Sentence 28b shows that the applicative construction can assign the participant the duration of the event functions of *twala* 'take' (Natumanya, 2012).

Patient applicative object

A 'patient' refers to entities acted upon and changed by the verb's action. We adopt Saeed's (2016) view that differentiates a patient from a 'theme' although some scholars (Radford and Anderson, 1988; Peterson, 2007;Creissels, 2010) use the two terms interchangeably. In more specific terms, a patient is "the entity undergoing the effect of an action, often undergoing change of state" (Saeed, 2016: 472). For a theme, it is an "entity moved in literal or figurative space by action of the verb but constitutionally unchanged" (Saeed, 2016: 174). It is the entity which is moved by an action or whose location is described. In Ruluuli-Runyala, patient applicative object can be illustrated in the sentence below:

(29) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) A-bombokiba-ku-kon-a e-misumaali
AUG-2.builder 3plS-PROG-hit-APPL-APPL-FV AUG-4.nail
'The builders are hitting the nails.'
(b) A-bomboki ba-ku-kon-e-er-a e-misumaali omu e-misaale
AUG-2.builder 3plS-PROG-hit-APPL-APPL-FV AUG-4.nail 18.LOC AUG-4.tree
'The builders are hitting the nails into the trees.'

In sentence (29a), *emisumaali* 'nails' is a patient object with its transitive meaning achieved in a non-applicative construction. The double applicative construction in sentence (29b) extends the meaning of the patient object to require another complement; for instance, *omumisaale* 'into the trees'. In the process, the patient changes by the action of the verb since force exerted on the nails may change their shape and size. This is brought about by the repetitiveness of *hitting of the nails into trees* by the builders. The hitting of nails may be into something like reeds, walls, ceiling and others with the intention to have the nails enter or with the intention of making them compact: The same semantic notion is depicted in *koneeraeitakali* which means 'hit the soil repeatedly so that it becomes compact'.

Lexicalised uses of applicative objects

Ruluuli-Runyala also has language particular peripheral marking on applicative arguments involving 'due to the presence of'. This is found in double applicative construction of the derived verb *tiiniira* 'for fear of' as exemplified below:

(30) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) N-ku-tiin-a okulwa a-basirikale
1sgS-INF-be_afraid-FV PREP AUG-2.soldier
'I am afraid due to the presence of the soldiers.'
(b) N-ku-tiin-i-ir-a a-basirikale
1sgS-INF-be_afraid-APPL-APPL-FV AUG-2.soldier
'I am afraid due to the presence of the soldiers.'

The verb *tiina*'fear/be afraid of' can take an aversive stimulus as its peripheral NP in an intransitive construction as shown in sentence (30a). *Being afraid of the soldiers* can be expressed in a transitive applicative

construction with the help of double applicatives*-i-ir*as shown in sentence (30b).

In other specialised language particular periphery marking cases, Ruluuli-Runyala shows a quasi-applicative construction that informs the formation of lexicalised phrasal verbs. We give an example of the monosyllabic verb *zwa* ‘come’, which can be used with a participant pronoun *awo,* which has a semantic equivalence to ‘nothing’ in such sentences as below:

(31) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
(a) Ndowo e-ki-zw-ire-mu
PRON 7.REL-7-come-PFV-ECL
‘Nothing came out of it.’
(b) N-zw-e-re-ire-mu awo
1sgS-come-APPL-APPL-PFV PRON
‘Nothing came out of it for me.’ (I have gained nothing from it).

In sentence (31a), there is no an underlying participant to whose benefit or detriment the event of the verb describes. In sentence (33b), the use of double applicatives licenses the introduction of the participant *n* ‘1sg’ and an obligatory case that is used as a sentence adverbial following the derived verb. The word *awo* is semantically equivalent to *bwereere* ‘nothing’ in this context. Therefore, one can as well say *Nzwereiremubwereere* ‘I have gained nothing from it’.

Applicative constructions in Ruluuli-Runyala can be used to advance politeness strategies through an implied purpose clause. The derived verb can specifically be meant to offer compliment in instances where the speaker appreciates the addressee's dress code, smartness, appearance, walking style, way of speaking and others. we mention the example below:

(32) **Ruluuli-Runyala** (Bantu, Uganda; Primary source)
O-n-zwal-i-ire o-lugoye!
2sgS-1sgO-wear-APPL-PFVAUG-11.cloth
‘You are so well dressed that I admire you.’

The applicative sentence (32) can be interpreted as an expression of compliment for one is in admiration of the addresee’s impressive dressing appearance. The purpose clause ‘so that I admire you’ is implied by the inclusion of the applicative object *n* 1sg. The meaning of the applicative is not tied to the semantic role of the applicative object but rather to the speaker-addressee relationship.

Conclusion

In respect of the semantic roles of applicative objects analysed in this paper, Ruluuli-Runyala has various semantic role features with both specialised and non-specialised applicative use. Similar to other Bantu languages like Kichaga (Bantu, Tanzania) the form of the morphological indicator does not change with the semantic role of the applied object (Peterson, 2007).

We argued that Jerro (2017)’s four locative meanings (Locative, Path, Goal and Source) that may be construed from applicative verbs are not exhaustive enough. We illustrated certain cases of verb meanings in objects that can be assigned the semantic role of locative, but seem language-specific and carry unique pragmatic interpretations. We mentioned instances involving verbs like *biika* “save’, *sooka* ‘*start*’ and pragmatic interpretations required in *kanga*/*kangira* ‘stop at that point’ in command strategies. We then argued against Jerro’s use of locative prefixes *ku* and *mu* as class markers. Instead, we considered them as prepositions in instances of locative adjuncts that do not necessitate special morphology on the verb (Pacchiarotti, 2017).We also concurred with Creissels (2004) in a way that static location, source of movement and direction of movement can be coded by either locative affixes or locative prepositions depending entirely on meanings of individual verbs. Recipient in Ruluuli-Runyala is used with only transitive verb bases, which is not the case with Beneficiary (De Kind andBostoen, 2012). However, the verb-valency and morpho-syntactic behaviour of their objects makes the two similar. In spite of showing features of causative semantics, we refer to instrumental arguments as Instrumental applicatives because they show applicative morphology behaviour (Bostoena nd Mundeke, 2011; Pacchiarotti, 2017). We found no typical comitative applicative marker in Ruluuli-Runyala. Instead applicative/causative isomorphism behaviour similar to Instrumental applicatives takes place (Peterson, 2007; Shibatani, 2002).Although Ruluuli-Runyala is to a larger extent semantically unspecified in assigning semantic roles to applicative arguments as in most Bantu languages, it has examples of semantically specified applicative use (Creissels, 2004). This was shown in Instrumental surface applicatives involving the verb *kwata* ‘hold’ and *suka* ‘sprinkle’.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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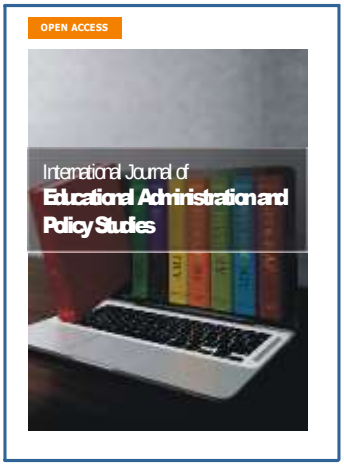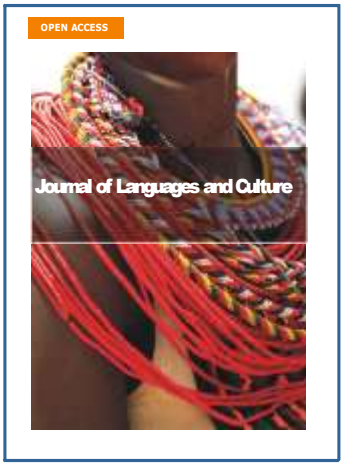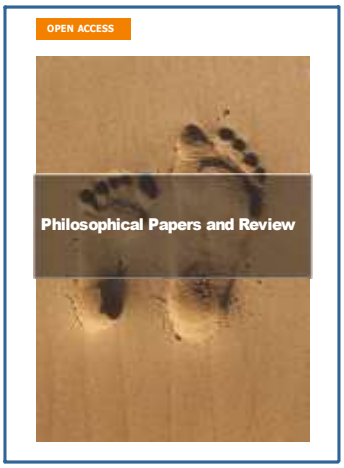
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