

Language Education as A Catalyst in Documenting Local Languages: a case of the lubukusu noun phrase

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the important role that Language education can play in the documentation of local languages. According to Ethnologue, there are currently about 7,000 living languages in the world. 90% of the languages, it is believed, will be extinct by 2050. In Kenya Bong'om, Omotik, Ongamo, Sogoo, Suba and Terik are on the verge of being extinct. This study therefore aims at bringing out how language education can be useful in documenting and preserving the Lubukusu Noun Phrase data. This study's objectives are to: - describe the Lubukusu substantive and derived noun, find out the co occurrence pattern of the Lubukusu head noun and modifiers and finally describe the agreement patterns within the Lubukusu noun phrase. This study is important in documenting Lubukusu and the realization of Chapter 2 section 7 of the 2010 Kenyan constitution. Furthermore, it goes a long way in supporting the language policy on the use of mother tongue in Kenyan lower primary schools. The study was carried out in Bungoma County. From the study it was established that Lubukusu substantive nouns are different from Lubukusu derived nouns, most Lubukusu modifiers occur after the head noun and agreement mostly involves the modifiers copying the head noun's prefix structure.

Background

The Language

The Bukusu occupy Bungoma county (the home county) and some parts of Trans-Nzoia and Uasin Gishu counties in Kenya. There are dialectical

variations within Lubukusu. These variations are mainly related to geographical location. Sikuku (ibid) identifies three such groups namely (i) Western (Sudi) (ii) Central and (iii) Eastern (Webuye). He argues that the variations among these groups are primarily phonological and lexical as they do not affect intelligibility. Given that the differences are not grammatical, this study looks at Lubukusu as a homogenous group.

According to the 2009 Kenya census Lubukusu is estimated to be spoken by 1,433,000 people as a first language and a couple of other thousands as a second language. The prefix Lu- in Lubukusu denotes “language”. Bu- refers to the place where the language is spoken, Ba- the speakers of the language and O-mu- denotes a singular form for the speaker of the language.

The Noun Phrase in General

A Noun Phrase (as it shall clearly come out later in chapters four and five) is made up of a noun (as an obligatory element) together with other dependents/ modifiers. A noun phrase, nominal phrase or nominal group (henceforth abbreviated NP) is a phrase headed by a noun, pronoun or other noun-like word(s) (nominal) optionally accompanied by specifiers, complements and adjuncts. Noun phrases normally consist of a head noun which is optionally premodified and/or postmodified. The modifiers include: specifiers which comprise of articles, demonstratives, numerals, possessives, quantifiers and adjectives. Other modifiers include complements and adjuncts. The occurrence of the Lubukusu head noun with the other dependents in Lubukusu is worth documenting thus bringing out its unique features.

There is no clear definition of a noun given that it can be looked at from different dimensions including meaning, function, form, stress and cognitive function. To this end, this study adopts Huddleston’s definition of the noun. This is because this definition among other things carries the backbone for this study as it concentrates on looking at the noun in terms of its morphological and syntactic aspects.

Definition of terms

Affix-A grammatical morpheme which cannot stand on its own as an independent word but must be attached to a stem or root of an appropriate kind like noun, verb or adjective.

Agglutinating language-A language that ‘glues’ together morphemes
Lubukusu-The Bukusu language

Morphosyntactic structure-Linguistic units that have both morphological and syntactic properties

Nominaliser-A cover term referring to all affixes that change a form from one part of speech to a noun.

Prefix structure- A structure comprising of both the preprefix and prefix

Statement of the Problem

According to Ethnologue, there are currently about 7,000 living languages in the world. 90% of the languages, it is believed, will be extinct by 2050. In Kenya Bong’om, Omotik, Ongamo, Sogoo, Suba and Terik are on the verge of being extinct. This study therefore aims at documenting and preserving the Lubukusu Noun Phrase data. The Lubukusu Noun plays a role in agreement marking when it occurs within the noun phrase. It is worth noting from the onset that this study mainly focuses on the Lubukusu noun as it occurs within the Lubukusu noun phrase. In a noun phrase the noun influences agreement marking on the specifiers, complement and adjuncts. Given the agglutinative nature of the language, agreement involves preprefix or prefix copying while in some cases it involves both. How the Lubukusu head noun interacts with the other modifiers within the Lubukusu Noun Phrase is a puzzle to both descriptive and theoretical linguistics. Morphological and syntactic characteristics of the Lubukusu Noun phrase have received minimal attention yet there is need for their documentation and description. The understanding of the characteristics of the Lubukusu noun phrase will go a long way in contributing to the understanding of the universals and parameters of language.

Furthermore, within the Lubukusu Noun there are mysteries that need to be unraveled. One such mystery is the formation of derived nouns: A derived noun in Lubukusu comprises of a noun prefix, a root word and an alteration of the derivational suffix. Such a composition poses interesting questions about how the elements can be theoretically analysed and whether the derivational suffix plays any syntactic role as far as the LNP is concerned. Consider the following structures:

O-mu-subil-ifu o-wa papa

Cl 1-cl 1-believe-Ds cl 1-of dad

Dad's believer

On the overall, the following issues form the backbone upon which this study's problem is hinged: the morphology of the Lubukusu substantive and derived nouns (head of a Lubukusu noun phrase), the agreement properties and patterns of co-occurrence between the Lubukusu head noun and other modifiers.

Aim and Objectives

This study's main aim is to describe the morphosyntactic structure of the LNP. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- describe the morphological properties of the substantive and derived nouns in Lubukusu
- find out the co-occurrence pattern between the Lubukusu head noun and the dependants
- describe the agreement properties and patterns of co-occurrence between the Lubukusu head noun and the dependants

Justification of the study

To begin with, this study is of great importance as it helps in providing LNPs as a set of new data. This new set of data can be used in testing/validating linguistic theories. This leads to some progress in theory development.

Secondly, this study is important given that there is a knowledge gap on the morphology and syntax of the LNP (as is brought out in the literature review section) thus this study is important in adding knowledge in the fields of morphology and syntax. Such knowledge is useful in guiding other scholars interested in studying other morphosyntactic aspects of Lubukusu and the other Bantu languages in general. Furthermore, data used in this study can be used by comparative linguists in the understanding of language typology.

In line with the constitutional requirement (Chapter 2 of Kenya's constitution section 7 sub-section 3) this study helps in the promotion and protection of Lubukusu as a Kenyan indigenous language. This is made possible through the publication and storage of this document. Furthermore, writing the language helps in its development.

Scope and limitation

This study focuses on the structure of the LNP. Emphasis is put on the morphology and syntax of the LNP.

The morphology of the Lubukusu noun is the first area of concern. In this study, focus is put on the morphology of the Lubukusu substantive and derived nouns. The analysis of the two types of nouns in Lubukusu helps in highlighting their similarities and differences. Within the Lubukusu derived noun concentration is centred on the Derivational suffix. This is because it is the main element that uniquely differentiates Lubukusu derived nouns from Lubukusu substantive nouns. Looking at the morphology of the Lubukusu substantive and derived noun is important to this study because, as a head noun, it plays a pivotal role in morphosyntax of the Lubukusu Noun Phrase.

Literature Review

Substantive and Derived Nouns

Spencer (1991) states that morphology is unusual among the other linguistics sub disciplines in that morphology interacts with and relates to the other branches of linguistics like syntax. Therefore it is not possible to deal with syntax without appreciating the influence of morphology. He gives a distinction of various morphological operations: inflection involves creation of new words that belong to the same syntactic category whereas derivation results to the creation of new words that belong to different syntactic categories. In addition, he identifies affixation, reduplication, cliticization, compounding and incorporation as the other operations that affect the word structure. Finally, he explains how morphology and syntax interact and some of its resultant features like agreement. Most of the data used in his work is mostly drawn from European and Asiatic languages therefore this leaves a gap on such aspects in African languages more specifically Bantu and Lubukusu in particular. This gap can be clearly

filled through this study's description and documentation of the Lubukusu language and bringing forth the various aspects of the LNP. Furthermore, derivation is the word formation process that is heavily employed in this study especially in the analysis of Lubukusu derived nouns.

Stockwell (1977) discusses about the syntactic theory. He discusses about the aims of syntactic theory, syntactic categories that include Nouns which according to him are symbols for entities, abstract or concrete, countable or uncountable (masses), animate or inanimate, human or non human. He also gives a distinction of nominals from nouns in which case he states that nominals refer to noun like words or phrases that are not actually headed by nouns e.g. *the poor* where *poor* is a nominalized adjective. Nominalization, he further explains, is a syntactic process in which words, phrases or clauses are made to function as though the entire group were a single noun. From Stockwell's (ibi) study the concept of nominalization is relevant to this study. To this end a gap exists on how nominalization occurs in Lubukusu. Such a gap is worth this study.

Wamalwa (1997) gave a morphophonemic analysis of the loan words in Lubukusu. She anchored her work within the borrowing-transfer theory. In her findings she noted that sociolinguistic principles govern the Kiswahili lexical absorption into Lubukusu. This, she observed, makes Lubukusu lexically richer. She focused mostly on the morphemes and phonemes of the two languages.

Noun Phrase Modifiers Agreement and Cooccurrence

Rugemalira (ibid) further argues that the Bantu Noun Phrase has a number of elements which include determiners, modifiers and post modifiers. Determiners belong to a closed group of words and they pick out the entity denoted by the noun. He notes that all nominal dependents are post head with the exception of the distributive determiners "each/every". Modifiers make up the second set of elements. They are made up of demonstratives, possessives, numerals, ordinals and quantifiers. He argues that it is only the possessive that is strictly fixed immediately after the head noun whereas all the other elements follow the possessive as their ordering is considerably free. In addition, the relative mobility of modifiers gets severely restricted as the structure becomes bigger i.e. with the introduction of the adjective. Other dependents of the head noun include adjectives, the ordinal phrase, associative phrase, relative clause, possessive determiner, a demonstrative and a numeral.

He further notes that to ease competition among determiners the predeterminer position is available in many languages. In addition, the distributive occupies the predeterminer slot. It cannot occur with a demonstrative when the latter is a predeterminer. Rugemalira further notes that there is considerable variation in the ordering of items in the modifier position. This freedom does not exist in any other position. Given its syntactic complexity, the relative clause normally comes last of all modifiers based on the principle of end weight. This information is about the Bantu languages in general therefore a gap exists on how the LNP is structured and thus this study is necessary in filling this gap. The Structure of the Noun Phrase in Bantu (Table 2.1) is very crucial to this study given that it forms the basis upon which the ordering of elements within the LNP is looked at. This, as is brought out in chapter four, helps in establishing whether the ordering of elements within the LNP follows this template or not. No single study ever has brought out how the Lubukusu noun interacts with the distributive determiner, possessive, demonstrative, numerals, associatives/ genitives, quantifiers, adjectives and relative clauses. This study strives to fill this gap.

Tamanji (2000) discusses about the structure of the Noun Phrase in Bantu. He identifies modifiers of the Bantu noun to include determiners (the interrogative determiner, the demonstrative determiner, the definite and indefinite articles, the possessive determiner, numerals). The languages he used in his work include Kiswahili, Pinyin, Bafut, Kom, Yoruba and Anyi. The interaction between the Lubukusu head noun and its modifiers is a gap that this study goes a long way to fill.

Nurse and Philippson (2003) argue that the handling of the noun and its dependents in Bantu languages mainly deals with the agreement system. However, Rugemalira (2007) and Lusekelo (2009) argue that where the analysis of the Noun Phrase in Bantu exists, scholars have rarely paid attention to the syntax of the noun and its dependents. This study comes in handy to fill the syntactic gap as far as the Lubukusu Noun Phrase is concerned.

Lusekelo (2009), the second scholar, points out the fact that intriguing issues among the NP in Bantu languages and Nyakyusa in particular involve the definition of the term determiner. He clearly points out that three propositions are available in the literature. To begin with, Carstens

(1993) argues that Bantu languages do not possess overt articles like those available in other languages like English. Secondly, Hyman & Katamba (1993) claim that an argument functions as a determiner that shows definiteness in Bantu languages like Ganda. Finally, other Bantuists, Polome 1967 and Rugemalira (*ibid*) hold the fact that possessives and demonstratives are determiners in Bantu languages given that they occur close to the head noun. What remains unanswered within the Lubukusu NP is what consists of its determiners. Lusekelo (*ibid*) analyzed the Nyakyusa NP based on the word categories that modify the Nyakyusa noun, categories that co-occur in Nyakyusa NPs and in what order. The concept of determiners is of great relevance to this study given that, as is brought out in chapter five, the Lubukusu noun is headed by a determiner thus the concept of Determiner Phrase.

Givon (2001:2) argues that numerals, adjectives, demonstratives, genitives and relative clauses are noun modifiers and reveal hierarchical orderings. Furthermore, Cinque (2000) notes that such elements occur either before the head noun or after. On the other hand Carstens 1993, Van de Velde 2005 argue that such elements follow the head noun. Rijkhoff (2002:23) is of a contrary opinion that both within and across languages noun phrases vary considerably with respect to their internal organization and complexity. This study's findings are in line with Givon's (*ibid*) and Carsten's (*ibid*) arguments given that the mentioned modifiers occur after the Lubukusu head noun.

Carstens (1993) and Van de Velde (2005) argue that there is "freedom of occurrence" of noun modifiers in Swahili. From the aforementioned, it is clear that in Lubukusu there is no free cooccurrence of modifiers with the head noun. Each modifier has a clear slot that it occupies within the Lubukusu Noun Phrase template. This is therefore contrary to the arguments put forth by Carstens (*ibid*) and Van de Velde (*ibid*).

Thornell's (2004) examination of the Kerebe NP reveals that the ordering of the noun dependents is yet to be fully described. This is brought out by the fact that in her work such dependents are described individually. This leaves one wondering if NPs in Kerebe are only made up of two grammatical constituents-one head noun and one dependent. This study aptly improves on such an analysis by examining how a number of modifiers can interact with the Lubukusu head noun.

Petzell (2008) analyzed the Noun Phrase in Kagulu. His analysis reveals the following: First, the NP in Kagulu is made up of one to three noun dependents in natural settings. Secondly, if more than one modifier or determiner appears in a noun phrase the internal order is that of Noun+Pos sessive+Demonstrative+Adjectives. Finally, the associative constructions that are used to modify nouns as adjectives are fewer. Such an analysis is of great significance to this study as it provides an understanding of how the Lubukusu head noun interacts with the possessives, demonstratives and adjectives.

A number of other scholars have shed light on the number of noun dependents in an NP in Bantu languages. Rugemalira (2005) argues that upto six different modifiers are attested in Runyambo although four appear to be a normal order. Rugemalira (2007) maintains that the Mashami head noun may have upto seven syntactic positions after the head noun. Ndumba (2006) also observes that there are five positions that co-occur in Matengo NPs. Such analysis is significant to this study in terms of establishing the number of modifiers that can occur within a Lubukusu noun phrase.

Runyambo and Matengo as cited in Lukenzo (2009) argue that the relative category is fixed at the final position of the noun phrases whereas the possessives and demonstratives take the position immediately after the head noun in these languages. They further argue that numerals, ordinals and general quantifiers enjoy freedom of occurrence. On the other, Van de Velde (2005) believes that many Bantu languages are exceptional. This is because they have a lot of freedom in the mutual ordering of post-nominal modifiers. Lukenzo's argument pertaining the position of the relative clause is an area worth investigating using Lubukusu Noun Phrase data.

Lukenzo (2009) argues that the syntax i.e. positioning and cooccurrence of elements within an NP does not occur haphazardly but follows a given order. This results to three orders namely pre-determiners, determiners and modifiers. Furthermore, the possibilities for stacking of several dependents may allow cooccurrence of words which are distinct in either word categories and/or semantic features. In this study there is a deviation from the use of the terminologies pre-determiners, determiners and modifiers to the use of the terms premodifiers and post modifiers.

Following Givon (2001:2) and Mwihaki (2007: 26-27), I analyze the following word categories that appear on a Lubukusu head noun: adjectives, possessives, numerals, demonstratives, quantifiers and intensifiers. Furthermore, relative clauses, distributive as well as associatives/ genitives are looked at. Using data from Lubukusu, I bring out the occurrence of these modifiers with the head noun.

Longobardi (1991) elaborates on the syntax of the Noun Phrases. He states that NPs consist of a head noun which is optionally modified. He identifies modifiers of the Noun Phrase which include determiners (articles, demonstratives, numerals, possessives, quantifiers), adjectives, complements (prepositional phrase, that clause), modifiers (prepositional phrase, relative clause). In addition he identifies the grammatical functions of NPs where he argues that NPs are prototypically used for acts of reference. NPs can also be used for predication although this is found less often. NPs can also be headed by elements other than nouns e.g. pronouns or determiners which have given rise to the postulation of a determiner phrase instead of a Noun Phrase. From Longobardi's analysis my study looks at modifiers within the Lubukusu noun Phrase. Given that Longobardi mainly concentrates on using data from English, there is a gap as far as the analysis of Lubukusu data is concerned. This study comes in handy to fill this gap. Furthermore, the shift from looking at the Noun Phrase as the Determiner Phrase is relevant to this study.

Research Design and Methodology

Area of Study

This study was carried out in Moi University (main campus). The choice of Moi University is four fold: first, its nearness to the researcher helps him to easily get in touch with the respondents. Secondly, time is saved in the process of data collection as the researcher easily moves from one respondent to another. Thirdly, given that the generated data requires verification this makes the choice of literate native Bukusu speakers in Moi University appropriate because they can read and write thus they can easily verify the generated data given that the data requires reading and writing. Finally, Moi University offers a manageable area for sampling the population.

Target Population and Sampling Techniques

This study targeted native adult Lubukusu speakers. The reason for using ten native adult Lubukusu speakers is twofold, they are believed to be competent in the language and secondly their input helped the researcher in explicitly capturing the aspects under investigation in the language. Purposive sampling is used in the selection of the sample. This is because only native adult speakers are picked as respondents. In addition, these respondents must be literate. Ten adult native Lubukusu speakers were chosen to verify the data generated by the researcher. The reason behind the choosing of the ten respondents is because such a relatively small sample size helps in ensuring that the data that is dealt with is manageable. To this end, the researcher first wrote the names of the adult native Lubukusu speakers within Moi University then using simple random sampling ten names were selected. This made it possible for any name to be picked.

Data Collection Methods

Two methods of data collection were employed in this study. These methods are in line with the arguments put forth by (Diercks, 2010 and Sikuku, 2012) on the importance of native speaker competence in the generation of appropriate data. The two methods are as follows:-

- a) The researcher, being a native adult Lubukusu speaker, generates data that is used in the study. The researcher's native speaker competence was used in the generation of the appropriate LNP structures used in this study.
- b) Adult native Lubukusu speakers, as informants, were used in the verification of the generated data.

The basis for using the researcher's competence in self generating data is because the researcher knows what to look for. This helps in guarding against the collection of unwanted data. In addition, this saves time given that only relevant structures useful to the study are generated. In addition, it is not easy to encounter all the aspects of LNP under study in the normal usage of the language.

Procedure for Data Collection

This study required data from Lubukusu containing LNPs in isolation. In addition, it required the structure of the head nouns and their relation with their modifiers. On this basis, the generated data captured the morphological and syntactic characteristics of the LNP.

Data collection was done in two steps. Step one involved the researcher using his native speaker competence to self generate appropriate LNP structures that contain the Lubukusu noun and how it interacts with its dependants. The generated structures formed the basis of developing a verification check list.

The second step involved the verification of the generated data by adult native Lubukusu speakers. In this case, it is only the ten native adult Bukusus that were involved in the verification. Verification involved a list of the generated structures being given to the respondents. The verification check list contained instructions requiring the respondents to either tick or give alternative structures in cases where they did not consider the given structure as being grammatical. At this point, it is only the acceptable structures that were used in the study.

The Lubukusu Noun Phrase

The Lubukusu Substantive Noun

The Prefix Structure and Lubukusu Substantive Nouns

It has been noted that Lubukusu substantive nouns are made up of a number of elements. The first element that is obligatory in all the substantive nouns is the noun stem. The noun stem can occur either as a bound or free morpheme. It occurs as a free morpheme in cases where the noun in question does not have a prefix structure as is the case in (14) and (15) below.

14. Kuka

Grand

father

“Grand father”

As is brought out in structures (14) and (15) these substantive nouns do not overtly contain a prefix structure. According to Miti (2009) Substantive

nouns in this class include personal names, kinship terms and names of certain animals. Inasmuch as this group of nouns doesn't overtly contain the prefix structure during agreement with other nouns dependents their prefix structures appear on the dependents as is the case in the following structure.

Secondly, Wasike (2007: 34) further explains that in all noun classes, complementizer- agreement is identical to the preprefix.

From the aforementioned discussion, the structure of the Lubukusu substantive noun is as follows:

19. [[PREFIXPref 1 + (Pref 2)] + [STEM]] NOUN

The Lubukusu Derived Noun

The following questions provide a guideline in the discussion of the Lubukusu derived nouns

- i) What are the features of the Lubukusu derived nouns?
- ii) Are there similarities between Lubukusu substantive nouns and derived nouns?

Lubukusu derived nouns can be formed from verbs thus forming deverbalised nouns (as is brought out in 4.3.1) or from adjectives therefore forming deadjectivalised nouns (as is the case in 4.3.2).

Lubukusu Deverbalised Nouns

As far as the Lubukusu deverbalised nouns are concerned, they can either take the agent or the patient positions in a structure.

From the examples given it is clear that Lubukusu deverbalised nouns are formed by the verb stem taking the prefix structure of the noun class it has been classified into. This is followed by the verb stem and finally the Derivational suffix follows. As from table 4.2, in most cases the Fv of the verb stem changes after the formation of the deverbalised noun. Furthermore, there is a difference in the form of the Derivational suffix depending on whether the deverbalised noun formed is an agent or patient. In some cases there is no Fv change. Indeed the primary form of nominalization is prefixation (by the majority of the noun classes just that

they may differ in productivity-some noun classes are more productive than others) and the presence of the derivational suffix. From the above discussion the following is a summary of the Lubukusu deverbalised noun:

20. [[(PREFIXPref 1) + (Pref 2)] + [STEM]] VERB+[[Derivational suffix]]
21. Lubukusu deverbalised nouns which act as agents mostly have the Derivational suffix –i.
22. Lubukusu deverbalised nouns which act as patients mostly have the derivational suffix –e.
23. The derivational suffix in the Lubukusu deverbalised nouns has a syntactic role in the composition of the Lubukusu Noun Phrase i.e. it leads to the deverbalised noun occurring as an agent or patient.

Lubukusu Deadjectivalised Nouns

It is clear that Lubukusu deadjectivalised nouns are formed when the adjective stem takes the prefix (structure) of the noun class it has been classified into. The nominal prefix or prefix structure is then followed by the adjective. From the above discussion the following is a summary of the Lubukusu deadjectivalised noun:

24. [[(PREFIXPref 1) + (Pref 2)] + [STEM]] ADJECTIVE

From the above discussion it is clear that there are a number of similarities and differences between the Lubukusu substantive nouns and Lubukusu deverbalised nouns. Some of the similarities are:

- a) Both Lubukusu substantive and deverbalised nouns contain the prefix structure..
- b) The conditions (phonological) that affect the occurrence of the prefix structure are common in both types of nouns.

Given the above similarities, a number of differences occur that help in differentiating Lubukusu substantive nouns from Lubukusu deverbalised nouns. Some of these differences are as follows:

- a) The Lubukusu deverbalised nouns contain Derivational suffixes. This feature is not present in Lubukusu substantive nouns

- b) Whereas the substantive nouns in Lubukusu contain noun stems in the case of Lubukusu deverbalised nouns they contain verbalised stems.

Lubukusu Noun Modifier Agreement and Co-Occurrence

In the following sections an analysis of the occurrence of Lubukusu specifiers is carried out.

Premodification in the Lubukusu Noun Phrase

In the Lubukusu Noun Phrase there is only one premodifier which is the distributive determiner. In Lubukusu the distributive determiner is *Buli* “Every”. The structures that follow bring out the interaction between the Lubukusu noun and the distributive determiner.

25. *Buli O-mu-ndu*

Every Cl1-cl1-person

“Every person”

From the structures above it is clear that the distributive determiner *Buli* “every” occurs before the three head nouns *O-mu-ndu* “person”, *Li-khutu* “Tortoise” and *Ba-khebi* “Circumcisers”. From this the following rule is formulated:-

28 In the Lubukusu Noun Phrase the distributive determiner occurs before the Lubukusu head noun.

From this the following rule is formulated:

29. In Lubukusu, agreement between the head noun and the distributive determiner does not involve the head noun’s prefix structure being overtly marked on the distributive determiner.

Postmodification in the Lubukusu Noun Prhrase

Possessives

The following structures bring out the cooccurrence of the Lubukusu head nouns and possessives.

30. *Ku-mu-koye ku-ku-ase*

Cl3-cl3-rope Agr-Agr-mine

“My rope”

From the above example it is clear that possessives occur after the Lubukusu head noun. Furthermore, they copy the head noun’s prefix structure thus bringing about agreement. From this the following rules are formulated:-

36. In Lubukusu, possessives occur after the head noun.

37. Lubukusu head noun-possessive agreement involves the possessive copying the head noun’s prefix structure.

Demonstratives

In Lubukusu, the proximal demonstratives co-occur with the Lubukusu head nouns in the following ways:

38. *O-mu-ndu (o)-yu-no*

Cl1-cl1-person (Agr)-Agr-this

“This person)

The second demonstrative is the non-proximal demonstrative. The following structures show the interaction between the Lubukusu head noun and the non-proximal demonstrative.

41. *O-mu-ndu o-yu*

Cl1-cl1-person Agr-that

“That person”

Just like the proximal demonstratives in Lubukusu, the non-proximal demonstratives also occur after the Lubukusu head noun. Furthermore, in terms of agreement, the Lubukusu non-proximal demonstratives copy the head noun’s prefix structure.

The last type of demonstrative is the distal demonstrative which in Lubukusu is brought out by the following structures:

44. *O-mu-ndu o-yo*

Cl1-cl1-person Agr-that

“That person”

Finally, just like the proximal and non-proximal demonstratives, the distal demonstrative occurs after the Lubukusu head noun. Furthermore, its agreement involves the distal demonstrative copying the head noun’s prefix structure

From this explanation the following rules about Lubukusu noun-demonstrative occurrence and agreement are stated.

47. Lubukusu head nouns precede Lubukusu demonstratives

48. Agreement between the Lubukusu head noun and demonstrative involves the Lubukusu demonstratives copying the Lubukusu head noun’s prefix or prefix structure.

Numerals

Cardinals

According to Mutonyi (2000) Lubukusu like most Bantu languages expresses its cardinals in two ways. First is the use of single lexical items to express numbers 1-10 as follows; *n-dala* “one”, *chi-bili* “two”, *chi-taru* “three”, *chi-ne* “four”, *chi-rano* “five”, *si-ta* “six”, *saba* “seven”, *munane* “eight”, *tisa* “nine” and *e-khumi/li-khumi* “ten”. The second way is the use of phrases each of which consists of at least two words to express any number that is greater than ten. In this case the cardinals eleven and above are expressed as follows: *ekhumi na ndala* “eleven”, *ekhumi na chibili* “twelve”, *ekhumi na chitaru* “thirteen”, *kamakhumi kabili* “twenty”, *kamakhumi munane na chine* “eighty four”, *emiaandala* “one hundred”, *emiaandala nandala* “one hundred and one”, *emiandala na chibili* “one hundred and two”, *emiandala na chine* “one hundred and four”, *emiaandala na chirano* “one hundred and five”. The following structures help in bringing out the interaction between the Lubukusu head noun and cardinals.

54. *Chii-mbusi chi-taru*

Cl 10-goat cl 10-three

“Three goats”

59. In Lubukusu noun-cardinal agreement, cardinals 2-5 involve the overt marking of the head noun's preprefix whereas cardinals 6 onwards do not have overt marking of the head noun's preprefix.

60. In Lubukusu, cardinals occur after the Lubukusu head nouns.

61. In Lubukusu, cardinals occur obligatorily with the head noun.

Ordinals

In Lubukusu noun ordinal agreement a number of observations can be made. The following structures help in bringing out the interaction between the Lubukusu head noun and ordinals.

62. Chi-ngokho chi-kha-ne

Cl 10-chicken cl 10-ASSOC-four

“(The) fourth chickens”

67. In Lubukusu noun-ordinal agreement, ordinals 2nd -5th involve both the copying of the head noun's preprefix and the overt presence of the associative (times) marker whereas the ordinals from 6th onwards only contain the head nouns preprefix.

The following structures help in bringing out the occurrence between Lubukusu nouns and ordinals

70. Lubukusu head nouns precede ordinals.

Associatives/ Genitives

Lusekelo (2009) argues that associatives/ genitives modify nouns. He posits that associatives/ genitives are words which can show possession but cannot be categorized together with possessives as brought out in 71-72.

71. *Li-safu li-a kukhu*

Cl5-leaf Agr-AM grandmother

“Grandmother's leaf”

The following rules can be said about Lubukusu associatives/ genitives.

73. Associatives/ genitives in Lubukusu occur after the head noun.

74. Agreement between the Lubukusu head noun and associatives/genitives involves the noun's prefix being copied on the associatives.

Quantifiers

Quantifiers are as follows in Lubukusu: *-osi* "all", *-titi* "few/little", *-kali* "many/a lot". The cooccurrence of the Lubukusu head noun with the Lubukusu quantifiers is as shown below.

75. *Ka-ma-khese ka-ma-titi*

Cl6-cl6-sheep Agr-Agr-
small "Small sheep"

From this it is clear that:

78. In Lubukusu, quantifiers occur after the head noun.

79. Agreement between the Lubukusu head noun and quantifiers involves the quantifier copying the head noun's prefix structure.

Adjectives

In Lubukusu noun-adjective agreement and co-occurrence happens in a number of ways, the following structures illustrate how these formations occur

80. *Ku-mu-sala ku-mu-mali*

Cl 3-cl 3 tree cl 3-cl 3-black

"(A) black tree"

From these structures the following rules are formulated:-

84. Adjectives copy the prefix structure of the head noun.

85. Lubukusu head nouns precede adjectives.

Furthermore, one to three adjectives may co-occur as the following structures show:

86. *O-mu-ana o-mu-ngau o-mu-lei o-mu-mali ti Cl1-cl1-*

child Agr-Agr-thin Agr-Agr-tall Agr-Agr-black Int

“(The) thin tall very black child”

From this explanation the following rule is derived.

87. In Lubukusu, intensifiers occur immediately after the adjective they refer to. The rest of the adjectives are never affected by the intensifier.

Relative Clauses

Relative markers in Lubukusu take the shape of the noun class prefix although the head noun is optional in subject position. Furthermore, the relative markers occur after the head noun. These concepts are brought out in the following structures:

88. *O-mu-soleli o-weba li-toka*

Cl1-cl1-boy AGr-steal cl5-car

“(The) boy who stole the car”

From this the following rule is formulated:

90. In Lubukusu the relative clause occurs after the head noun.

The Cooccurrence of Possessives and Demonstratives in the Lubukusu Noun Phrase

In the co-occurrence between the Lubukusu head noun, possessive and demonstrative, as the structures below reveal, the Lubukusu possessive occurs immediately after the head noun as compared to the demonstrative as is shown in the following structures:

91. *O-mu-ndu (o)-yu-no (o)-wase Cl1-*

cl1-person (Agr)-Agr-this (Agr)-my

“(This) is my person”

From this discussion the following emerges:

95. There are two determiners within the Lubukusu Noun Phrase namely the possessive and the demonstrative.

96. The cooccurrence of the Lubukusu head noun and the demonstrative is in the order of [Noun+Possessive+Demonstrative]

99. Lubukusu Noun Phrases do not allow more than one possessive or demonstrative to co-occur. Rugemalira (ibid) refers to this concept as the elements being mutually exclusive.

103. The distributive determiner occurs before the Lubukusu head noun.

The Cooccurrence of the Lubukusu Head Noun with other Modifiers

From Rugemalira's (ibid) template, it is clear that in Lubukusu the 01 0 1 2 option is preferred. The following structure brings out the cooccurrence of elements in Lubukusu.

104. [(Dist Det)] + N + [(Poss) (Dem)(Num) (Quant) (A)] + [(Int) (Rel)]

From the early discussion it is clear that the rules for the ordering of the elements within NPs are as follows:

116. Possessives, quantifiers and numerals occur immediately after the head noun.

117. The number of the tokens of the noun phrases decreases as the number of the dependents increase.

This shows that one and two dependents per NP are preferred in Lubukusu though there are possibilities of making use of even up to four dependents. The likely preferred order in Lubukusu is:

118. 01 0 1 2 where a head noun (here labeled 0) co-occurs with the determiners labeled (01 and 1) and modifiers labeled (2).

The Lubukusu head noun selects a determiner and modifier-one modifier from either modifier 1 or modifier 2.

Conclusions

From this study's findings it can be argued that as per hypothesis one derived nouns in Lubukusu have some similarities and differences with the substantive nouns. Secondly, Lubukusu head nouns and their modifiers interact in such a way that they have variations in their patterns of agreement. This is seen in that some modifiers copy the head noun's preprefix whereas others copy the head noun's prefix and finally other

modifiers copy the head noun's entire prefix structure. In terms of co-occurrence, all modifiers (except the distributive determiner) of the Lubukusu head noun occur after the head noun. More than six modifiers can occur the Lubukusu Noun Phrase template. In addition three adjectives can cooccur whereas a number of relative clauses can occur at the final position.

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