TUGEN WORD ORDER

A MINIMALIST PERSPECTIVE

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for a degree at any other university.

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DEDICATION

To Dr. Mwenda Mbatiah.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis embarked on the quest for the basic word order in Tugen within the Minimalist Program. Tugen is classified as one of the dialects within the Kalenjin macro-language with a VSO/VOS word order. Earlier attempts at the typology of languages by Greenberg (1963) proposed languages with VSO/VOS word orders as having SVO as the alternative word order. Work on related dialects by Creider (1989) within the Extended Standard Theory analysed Nandi as having SVO as the basic word order with VSO/VOS being derived from the basic word order.

The Minimalist Program gives prominence to the role of morpho-syntactic features of the verb phrase in the determination of word order. The inflectional features of agreement subject, agreement object, tense and aspect together with the derivational features such as the benefactive, passive, antipassive, instrumental/locative etc determine the number and ordering of heads within the structure. These features have a relation of head- head with the arguments having a relation of spec-head. The verb moves through each of the heads to check for the relevant features through the Principle of Feature-Checking. Feature checking therefore forces verb movement. The various arguments move to the relevant specifier positions for case checking. The Principle of Full Interpretation ensures that all the features of sentence are checked and no extra features or steps are allowed in the derivation of a sentence. In Tugen the feature of tense which heads the verb phrase is responsible for the verb-initial word order unlike in verb-second languages where agreement subject heads the verb phrase.

This thesis also analysed the role of discourse-pragmatic features of topic and focus in Tugen word order. Topic which is readily available information is presented in Tugen by pronominal arguments while focus which is new information or topics which are re invoked or emphasized are represented by lexical and pronominal arguments.

The thesis found out that the Tugen verb heads the sentence with a VO as the basic word order. VSO word order is the default fous word order in isolated sentences with VOS occuring in constructions with focus. Tugen marks case by the use of tone and is a marked nominative language.

The discourse-pragmatic aspects of topic and focus changes the word order from the basic VO to SVO, VSO and VOS.The analysis of the various word order shows that Tugen is pragmatically a topic-comment language.

The Minimalist Program (1995) was adequate in guiding the problem under investigation. The interplay of syntax and pragmatics with feature checking is responsible for the basic word order being VO.

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

`	L(ow) tone
´	H(igh) tone
ꜜ	Downstep
Ø	Null/empty category
>	Preceeding

ABBREVIATIONS

AGRS(P)	Agreement subject(phrase)
AGR	Agreement
AGRO(P)	Agreement object (phrase)
AFF	Affirmative
ABL	Ablative
AP(P)	Applicative (phrase)
ASP	Aspect
ANT	Antipassive
ALL	Allative
BEN(P)	Benefactive(phrase)
C(P)	Complementizer(phrase)
CON	Conditional
COM	Commitative
DEM	Demonstrative
DEF	Definite
+F	With focus
FE	Feminine
F(P)	Focus (phrase)
FCMP	Focus case marking
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperfective
INDEF	Indefinite
INS(P)	Instrumental (phrase)
LF	Logical form
LOC(P)	Locative(phrase)
M	Masculine
NEG	Negation
N(P)	Noun(Phrase)
O	Object
OB	Objective marker
PF	phonological form

PL	Plural
PST	Past
PASS(P)	Passive (phrase)
PRT	Particle
PER	Perfective
PP	Prepositional phrase
QUE	Question
REC	Reciprocal
REF	Reflexive
S	subject
SEQ	sequential
SG	Singular
SPEC	specifier
SVO	Subject, Verb, Object
S1,S2..	clause 1/2 etc
+T	with topic
TNS	tense
TP	tense phrase
V	verb
V(P)	Verb(phrase)
VSO	Verb , subject, Object
VOS	Verb, Object, Subject
1,2,3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction to the Chapter

This chapter discusses about Tugen and its speakers. It provides the statement of the problem, objectives, hypotheses, justification, scope and the limitations. It gives the theoretical background against which the study will be anchored, literature review associated with the theory, language, word order as well as a description of the key terminologies that are used. Finally, it describes the methodology used in data collection and its analysis.

1.1 Background to the Study

Tugen is a language spoken by the Tugen of the Rift Valley Province. The term Kalenjin was coined in the 1940s to refer to an administrative rather than a linguistic entity Kurgat (1989: 1). The Kalenjin ethnic group is largely thought of as a dialect cluster. Wardhaugh (1977: 221) says that a dialect is a variety of language associated with a particular group of speakers and is mutually intelligible with other varieties[1]. Tugen has also been classified within the Kalenjin as a macro language lately. A macro language is defined as multiple, closely related individual languages that are deemed in some usage contexts to be a single language[2]. Tugen in this context is

[1] Tugen is not a dialect of Kalenjin for there is no language called Kalenjin and Tugen is not mutually intelligible with other languages that form the Kalenjin group for example Sabaot and Pokot.

[2] www.ethnologue.com: Introduction to the printed version

taken to be an individual language in the sense that some of the dialects within the Kalenjin macro language are not mutually intelligible with it. For example it is not mutually intelligible with other languages like Marakwet, Pokot and Sabaot of the Kalenjin cluster.

Tugen is classified under the Southern Nilotic group of languages. The Southern Nilotic group is further divided into Kalenjin (Nandi, Pokot, Tugen, Keiyo, Merkweta, Kipsigis, Sabaot, Kony, Pok, Terik, Kinare, Sogoo, Akie) and Tatooga (Omotik and Tatooga). This division is shown below:

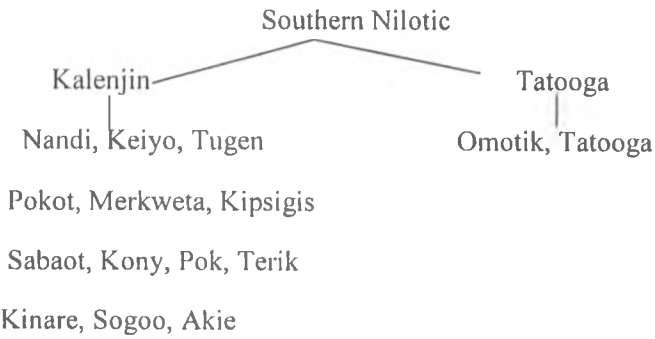

Fig. 1: *Southern Nilotic Languages*

Tugen is spoken by the community of people living in Baringo county of the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. Tugen has the following dialects: Arror of Northern Baringo, Samor of Central Baringo, Eldorais of the Lowlands and Lembus of Koibatek. Tugen has approximately 144,000[3] speakers and is taken to be a VSO/VOS language. The classification VSO/VOS is based on the relative order of the constituents: subject, verb and object in a sentence. Our position is that no serious work has been done to ascertain the claim on the VSO/VOS word order. Our study

[3] BTL (1987) in www.ethnologue.com

therefore embarks on this quest. This study is centred on Lembus dialect that is spoken in the area of Eldama-Ravine in Koibatek District.

1.2 Word Order

Word order refers to the general ordering of subject, object and verb in a sentence structure. A language can be characterized as having one of the six basic word orders namely, SOV, VSO, SVO, VOS, OVS and OSV. As observed by Greenberg (1963), all languages with a VSO word order have SVO as an alternative word order. Comrie (1989) while criticizing Greenberg's word order universals says that what should be considered is the order of constituents and not of words. Dryer (1997) proposes an alternative way of defining word order by VO/OV parameter owing to the infrequency of both subject and object lexical constituents in everyday usage and also the VS word order to cater for the intransitive sentence which had earlier been ignored. Our study seeks to find out why Tugen has two alternative word orders and which one amongst the alternatives is the basic word order. It also aims at finding out whether Tugen can be classified by any of the parameters proposed by Dryer (1997).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The problem of our study focuses on the structure of the Tugen sentence as seen within a Minimalist perspective. The Minimalist Program sees sentence structure as a consequence of the morphosyntactic features that a language has. Through the investigation of the morphosyntactic features in Tugen the study paves way for the classification of Tugen in terms of word order.

Tugen, which is a Southern Nilotic language, is taken to have a VOS/VSO word order. A Tugen sentence can either be VOS or VSO without having any meaning difference on the surface. In fact speakers of the language hardly notice the use of different word orders in their day-to-day communication. In relation to the other Nilotic languages, the Western Nilotic has an SVO word order while the Eastern Nilotic languages have a VSO word order. This can be seen in the following illustration where the Southern Nilotic has two alternate word orders unlike the Western and Eastern which have one:

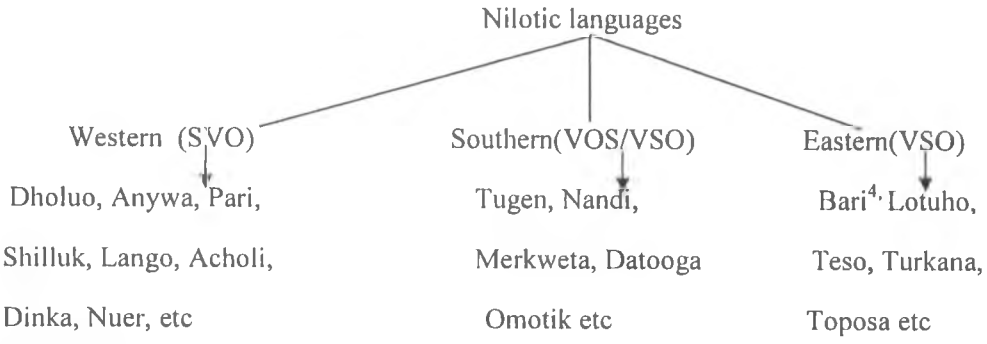

Fig.2: *Nilotic Languages* (Schröder forthcoming)

Our study seeks to find out the underlying reasons for the two alternate word orders as well as other word orders that can be found in the language and in so doing attempt to find out the underlying word order for the language.

Another important question that the present research attempts to answer in relation to the VSO/VOS classification is how case is marked. Tugen is a tonal language. Yip (2002: 1) says that a language is considered a tone language if the pitch of the word

[4] Although an Eastern Nilotic language, Bari has an SVO word order.

can change the meaning of that word, not just in its nuances but its core meaning. Tugen just like other Southern Nilotic languages for example Kipsigis (Towett 1977) is tonal as will be seen in the next chapter. Through the investigation of grammatical tone this study will determine whether tone is responsible for case checking. This is an important issue pertinent to the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program.

1.4 Objectives

Our study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. To study the Tugen sentence in order to determine the relationship between the subject, verb and the object.
2. To investigate the operation and responsibility of tone on case assignment on the subject, object and applied object.
3. To examine single and complex verb derivations and determine if they influence case assignment and word order.
4. To investigate topic and focus and find out how they affect word order in the language.
5. To find out how the principles of the Feature Checking and Full Interpretation of the Minimalist Program apply to Tugen word order.

1.5 Justification of the Research

To the best of my knowledge there have been no studies on Tugen in general nor has anybody written or done an analysis about Tugen language. The VSO/VOS word order has always been taken for granted in Kalenjin studies see (Dimmendaal (1986)

and Creider (1983). Nobody has ever tried to find out why within the Nilotic languages, the Southern Nilotic has an alternate word order. The present study therefore is ground breaking in Tugen studies on sentence structure. It is expected to generate more interest among researchers of the typology of African languages and the Tugen language. Not many studies have tried to examine the problem of alternate word orders except Dryer (1997) who proposes the classification of such languages in terms of OV/VO parameter which groups together SVO//VSO/VOS languages on one hand and SOV/OVS/OSV on the other hand. The study also documents new data on a language that has not been previously studied. Moreover, this study is meant to enrich the scanty literature on the Tugen in particular and the Kalenjin group of languages in general. This may also assist in adult literacy in the language.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

The scope of the research is two fold. Within the Tugen community, the dialect spoken in the Lembus areas of Poror, Sigoro and Mooringwo areas is considered somehow to be the standard by the speakers. The data collected was investigated for sentence structure. It was limited to verbal inflections of tense, negation and aspect and verbal derivations that involve reflexive/reciprocal, instrumental/locative and benefactive and its effect on word order. Other derivations that were considered are passive and antipassive and their role in word order. The study was carried out using the Minimalist Program (1995) because it's Feature Checking and Full Interpretation principles are best suited to explain and describe verb movement, case checking and word order. The latest Minimalist Program (2006) does not take into consideration the role of the morphosyntactic features hence not suited for our study.

1.7 Definition of Terms

Agreement

This is the correspondence in form or grammatical category of two or more items that indicate a specific syntactic relationship.

Antipassive

This is a construction in which the underlying object is demoted by being left out or being relegated to a peripheral position. There is a marker on the verb indicating the antipassive.

Case assignment

Case assignment indicates the relationship of the verb and its core noun phrases i.e. the subject and the objects. Case can be abstract and then realized through word order or morphologically.

Derivation

Derivation is the creation of a different form from an existing one. For instance, the creation of the passive voice from the active voice. In verb derivation, this is the process of introducing derivational suffixes on the verb that license the occurrence of applied objects. In the Minimalist Program, derivation is taken to be a set of movement and merger operations that are used to form a sentence. For example, a sentence can be formed by the merger of a verb phrase and a noun phrase. For example:

(1) ø- nyóó ˈyú (VP) +láákwéé-nyúú (NP).[5]
3SG-come here + child my

Come here my child.

Ergativity

This is the phenomenon in languages in which the complement of a transitive verb and the subject of an intransitive verb are assigned the same case.

Feature

This is a device to describe a particular linguistic property. These can be inflections of number, gender, tense, object etc. For example:

(2) ø-sóó ˈmán-í láág-ó ˈík.
3SG-read-IMP child-3 PL/DEF

The children are reading.

{*-i*} is an aspectual feature of the verb while {*-oik*} is a feature for number of the noun.

Feature Checking

This refers to the process of the Minimalist Program of verifying and crossing off of morphological features against the functional heads of the logical form.

[5] ˈdownstep-a phenomenon where there is lowering of a tone pitch after a high tone. It is envisaged that this occurs due to an underlying floating tone which is not realized phonetically.

Full Interpretation

The Principle of Full Interpretation specifies that the representation of an expression must contain all and only those features which are evident in the language and must be accounted in some way either phonologically, syntactically or semantically.

Head-first

A head is a key word that determines the properties of a phrase. Head first refers to languages that positions heads before their complements.

Inflection

This is the morphological process that changes the form of a word in a paradigm but the meaning remains stable.

Logical Form (LF)

This is the component of grammar, which combines the syntactic structures with the meaning component.

License

This is a relationship where one element allows/licenses for the presence of another element for example the morphological benefactive marker licenses the occurrence of its object benefactive argument.

Merge

This is the process by which two categories are combined to form one new category.

Movement

This is an operation by which a word or phrase is moved from its original position to another one in the sentence. For example the Wh- movement in English where the Wh- element moves from its original position at the end of the sentence to head the sentence.

Applied Object

This refers to a constituent in a sentence that occurs in the sentence as a result of it being licensed by a derivation suffix on the verb. For example the locative suffix on the verb licenses the occurrence of the locative applied object on the sentence.

Phonetic Form (PF)

This is the component of grammar, which converts the syntactic structures into phonetic form representations for pronunciations.

Specifier

This is a grammatical function in the representation of a sentence in the Minimalist Program that precedes the head.

Spell-out

This is the point in the derivation of a sentence in the Minimalist Program in which phonetic and semantic features are processed by separate components of grammar (PF and LF, respectively).

Strong and weak features

A strong feature is one that triggers overt movement for checking while a weak feature is one that triggers covert movement.

Tense

This is an inflectional category whose basic role is to indicate the time of an event.

Tone

This refers to a significant pitch contour in a language that serves to distinguish words and grammatical categories.

VSO/VOS

This is the Verb, Subject and Object/Verb, Object and Subject word order.

Word order

Word order is the ordering of constituent in relation to the verb in a clause e.g. Verb + Object + Subject.

1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Theorerical Consideration

Haegeman (1994) while describing the structure of the English sentence, has done an in depth analysis of the Government and Binding theory consisting of phrase structure, case theory, theta theory, transformations and the conditions that govern such movements. This theory being a precursor to the Minimalist theory has many of its aspects being extended in the Minimalist program. Central to the Minimalist Program is the X-bar theory which shows the structural relationship between constituents. In this relationship the projection principle is not applicable and the relation of constituents is that of head-head and specifier- head. This work is imperative to our study of Tugen especially in so far as phrase structure and the splitting of the inflectional phrase into various heads for feature checking is

concerned. Her work has focused on the English language which has an SVO word order but this study wants to apply the principles of generative grammar to a verb initial language.

Hornstein et al (2005) have given a detailed explanation on the motivation behind the Minimalist Program against the background of the Government & Binding theory (GB)(1981). They provide a step-by-step analysis of the principles associated with the Minimalist program for instance, the principle of economy, phrase structure, feature checking, movement and full interpretation. Their explanation of the need for feature checking is important to our study of the Tugen word order. According to them, movement that result in different word orders is motivated by the need to eliminate features that are not interpretable at the logical form or at the phonological form so as to result in the right constructions. Semantic features are interpretable at LF, while the phonological features are interpretable at the PF. Syntactic and morphological features have to be checked and this checking calls for movement. Movement can either be covert or overt. Formal features which are morphological features for the subject and arguments for example number are not visible at LF or PF and therefore they move covertly while those morphological features that are visible at PF or LF specifically those of predicates for example tense and aspect are visible at PF and LF and have to move overtly for checking and this calls for overt movement. Although they have used examples from the Romance languages, it will greatly assist in the understanding of the theory in terms of motivation for movement and feature checking in the Tugen.

Radford (1992) and (1997) are two books which give an overview of the development of Chomskian linguistic theories. They also analyse the structure of English sentences using the Minimalist Program. The works have helped to understand the various concepts of the Minimalist program and their application. They however don't tackle issues of word order.

Cook & Newson (1988) explain the goals of linguistic inquiry. They further give a brief description of the development of Generative Linguistic Theories from *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* to the Minimalist Program. In doing so the study has enabled the appreciation of what structures and principles have been eliminated in the quest for Minimalism. This work also is important in that it gives a description of the computational process of the Minimalist Program. The computational system has enabled us understand the derivation of sentences through the principle of merge. The derivation however does not focus on the relationship of movement and word order. The work is important for it discusses about theory which is being used in the study.

Baker (1988) studies how various languages have alternate ways of encoding referential expressions as well as different ways of building complex predicates out of elementary units. The means of encoding referential expressions is by grammatical function changing rules such as passive, antipassive, causative and the applied. Complex predicates are formed by incorporation where a semantically independent word comes to be inside another word in the form of standard movement transformations. While this work is done within the Government and Binding theory, it has helped in the analysis of the various valency changing operations such as the applied, passive, antipassive and the reflexive/reciprocal in Tugen. These operations

alter the number of arguments in the sentence by either increasing or reducing them and hence affecting word order. These operations alter the form of the basic verb by adding derivative affixes and thereby making the verb complex.

Ackema et al (2006) looks at how agreement relations between the subject and the verb are manifested in various languages. They say that there are variations in the forms of the verb that agreement takes. There are languages that distinguish three persons and two numbers for nouns while in some languages one of these feature combinations results in different forms of the verb. Other languages may not have distinct forms of the verb for each of the different persons and number combinations for the subject. They show that languages with rich inflectional morphology for persons and number allow certain arguments of the verb to remain unexpressed syntactically and thereby giving rise to the pro-drop phenomenon of the Government and Binding theory. This is one of the arguments that we pursue regarding the representation of Tugen arguments within the verb inflection. They also show that there are polysynthetic languages which show a relation between rich agreement and the lack of overt syntactic expression of arguments. The verbs in these languages show a rich inflectional morphology for person and number for both the subject and the object. These polysynthetic languages are however different from the pro drop languages because specific syntactic positions for specific syntactic constituents don't seem to exist and as such noun phrases can be placed anywhere within the clause. This work has been beneficial in the analysis of the pro drop phenomenon in Tugen and although the position of the subject and the object in Tugen is interchangeable, Tugen is not a polysynthetic language.

Kiss (1995) explains the role of discourse-semantic factors in sentence structure. She says that the structural role that the English subject plays may be filled by a topic constituent which is not restricted to grammatical function or case in other languages. Topic prominent and subject prominent languages differ in how they utilize topicalization such that in topic prominent languages, the topic is an alternative to the subject. Discourse configurational languages are of two types: A-where the discourse-semantic function of topic is to foreground a specific individual that something will be predicated about and is expressed through a particular structural position and B-where the discourse semantic focus expressing identification is realized through a particular structural relation. She proposes that in the structure, the functional head Focus Phrase (FP) be created to check for those languages that have overt focus. Though this work does not concern itself with the issues of word order, it has given an alternative way of looking at sentence structure in terms of discourse considerations and has helped in analysing the effect of topic and focus on Tugen word order.

Lopez (2009) refutes the notions of topic and focus and instead proposes that the crucial information structure notions are discourse anaphors and contrast. While working within the Phase theory (2000) he says that phase edges are places where pragmatic rules apply and movement to these positions is for feature checking. He says that focus fronting displaces a focus constituent to the beginning of a clause where the interpretive effect is contrast. An anaphor on the other hand is a constituent that necessarily looks for an antecedent in previous discourse or immediate context. Although this work is based on Phase Theory it has shed light on the notion of focus

and the different positions that focus may occur in the sentence as well as the representation of topics that have their antecedents in the immediate context.

Ocholla (2003) uses a Minimalist paradigm in her study just like the current one. Though a Nilotic language, Dholuo has an SVO word order. Her study examines the issue of ergativity in Dholuo which is an important feature in the quest for word order. Her work has shows that Dholuo has aspects of ergativity. Ergativity is an aspect that talks about word order.

Munyao (2006) is a dissertation based on Kikamba, a Bantu language, which is essentially SVO. It examines the place of feature checking and movement in as far as verbal derivations are concerned. This is in tandem with our study on the assignment of cases to the various derivative arguments. The study on the Tugen also focuses on verbal derivations so as to determine the argument structure of the verb. Her work however does not refer to word order.

Schröder (2008) tackles the issue of word order for Toposa, which is Eastern Nilotic with VSO word order. In her study she refutes the notion that VSO languages have an underlying SVO word order by showing that Toposa is a VSO language and VSO languages have their own properties. Though a Nilotic language, Tugen is different because it is a language that has two alternate word orders unlike Toposa which is Eastern Nilotic with a VSO word order while Tugen is a Southern Nilotic with a VSO/VOS word order. She further examines how topic and focus bring about a different word order which is also relevant for this study. Her study is within the Minimalist program that we are also using in our study. Her work is also important

for our study in that it is similar with Tugen for it talks about case assignment as tonal feature in the Minimalist Program. Her work is also important for it analyses word order however, her conclusion is that Toposa has an ergative VS/VO word order. In our study, we want to test whether this is the case for Tugen or not. Also her solution for how morphological features like subject agreement can receive/attest case assignment will be tested.

Most theoretical works have tackled the operation of the theory but have not addressed the issue of word order. The few that have attempted specifically issues of word order have addressed languages with a single word order. No work has been done on languages with alternate word order within the Minimalist perspective. Our study therefore intends to fill this gap in knowledge.

1.8.2 Literature Review on Tugen

Kurgat (1989) gives a brief description of the basic linguistic features as well as transformations of NPs within the Nandi dialect in the Revised Extended Standard Theory. The work has concentrated on Wh-transformations. This study is important for this work for it shows topicalisation on sentence structure and how word order is affected in another Kalenjin dialect.

Creider & Creider (1989) have given a brief description of Nandi at all levels of linguistic inquiry *viz* phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. In their study, they analysed the various kinds of tone in the language but not in relation to case checking. This work is crucial to our study in that it examines how tone operates in the language hence giving us a background on the application of tone in a sentence

and other language features like derivations and inflections in another Kalenjin dialect.

Toweett (1975) classified Kalenjin nouns. The work is useful in that it gives a brief description of how the noun system works in languages closely related to Tugen. In a subsequent work Toweett (1977) provides a broad description of what he terms the Kalenjin focusing on the Kipsigis dialect. This has helped to identify the basic language features as well as the verbal derivations that are found in the language that is related to Tugen. The work is however different from our study as it is not based on any theoretical perspective.

Creider (1989) shows how tone is used in the assignment of case on a postverbal subject in various Nilotic languages. This is done within the generative framework. In this study he argues that agreement supported by the lexical verb is responsible for nominative case assignment. This work is different from ours in that case assignment within the Minimalist Program is done in the lexicon. This work however is important in other ways to the present study because it raises important issues on verb movement in Nilotic languages. He argues that the Nilotic languages have an underlying SVO word order, which our study seeks to refute.

The studies that have been done on Tugen and related languages have not addressed the issues of word order. Our study seeks to address this.

1.8.3 Literature Review on Word Order

Hualde (1989) discusses the notion of case and how case assignment is achieved in double object constructions. This is crucial in differentiating the nominative from the

accusative case as well as case in direct and the indirect constructions. Kinande is a Bantu language with an SVO typology.

Anderson (1977) explains the grammar of case in various languages. He further distinguishes various kinds of case forms found in languages. His work gives us a background to the study of case and case assignment in Tugen. However it does not address itself to issues of word order in relation to case.

Comrie (1989) describes various universals of word order. The descriptions of the universals that are accredited to VSO/VOS language types have enabled us to make judgments on the Tugen having VSO/VOS word orders. It however does not explain the reasons behind particular word orders in languages.

No studies have been done on Nilotic languages with two word orders, which are interchangeable. Our study therefore seeks to fill this gap.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The Minimalist Program is a theory of language, which attempts to describe the structure of human languages using the simplest rules. The Minimalist Program is one of the theories postulated by Noam Chomsky in his quest to understand the human mind. By the study of human language he attempts to understand how the human mind produces and processes language. Through the description of grammars of particular languages he was able to come up with a theory of universal grammar, which enumerates properties that all human languages share. Studying the grammar of a particular language enables us to make judgments on the linguistic abilities of the native speakers that enable them to understand and speak their language fluently, i.e.,

competence. Chomsky distinguishes competence from performance, which is the use of language in concrete situations (Chomsky 1965: 4). The competence of language is achieved when native speakers make judgments on how well formed a sentences is grammatically and structurally. A native speaker therefore has an internalized language, which makes him able to determine well-formed sentences from those, which are not. This competence of a native speaker is formed by a system of syntactic, morphological, phonological and semantic rules.

From 1957, when he wrote *Syntactic Structures,* Chomsky has been developing theories to explain the structure of human languages. The Aspects model of 1965 came up with four levels of derivation of a sentence. The levels were the base component, the deep structure, the surface structure and the phonetic form. The base component comprised of various lexical entries. The entries were formed into sentences by various processes and transformations in the deep structures and which later manifested themselves in the surface structures. The surface structures enable the phonetic and logical interpretations. The Government & Binding (GB) theory sought to find out the properties of languages that are universal to all human languages laid down in the principles and those that are language specific and responsible for the differences in languages conceptualized in parameters. While maintaining the four levels of representation, GB compartmentalized the grammar of language into various sub theories each which dealt with a different aspect of the well formedness of sentences. These sub theories are: case theory, which deals with the assignment of case to noun phrases; X-bar theory, which is responsible for phrase structure; binding theory which regulates the distribution of NPs and its antecedents;

bounding theory, which sets the conditions for movement rules; theta theory, which deals with the assignment of thematic roles to arguments; control theory, which deals with the distribution of non overt noun phrase (PRO) in a clause structure and government theory, which deals with the relationship between the head of a construction and the categories dependent on it and therefore the licensing of traces. In its quest to find the principles and parameters of human languages, each of the sub modules came up with many rules to explain the various aspects of the sentence structure. The rules became more complex and unable to explain the simplicity behind the attainment of language by human beings at an early age in child acquisition. This called for the refinement of the theory through the elimination of redundancies and simplification of the structure of human languages and thus the innate knowledge of the native speaker. This culminated in the development of the Minimalist Program.

The Minimalist Program (1995) which is an extension of Government & Binding theory (GB), otherwise known as Principles and Parameters is driven by the desire to make the description of language structure to be as simple as possible through the use of minimal rules. The Minimalist Program assumes that universal grammar has principles and parameters and that sentences which are pairings of sound and meaning, are the basic linguistic units. This means that linguistic structure links two levels of representation: the logical form (LF) and the Phonetic form (PF).

The principles of the Minimalist Program are as follows: The Principle of Economy ensures that all the processes of generating and explaining linguistic structures are as few as possible and that the levels that are used to represent a sentence bear only the

required elements. Since language is a connection between sound and meaning, the only two levels that are important are the Phonetic form (PF) for the phonological system and the Logical form (LF) for perceptual systems. This meant that the levels of the deep structure (D-S) and the surface structure (S-S), which were essential in GB theory, were eliminated.

The Minimalist Program maintains that all lexical items are fully represented for semantic content and that the lexicon are fully inflected with morphological and grammatical features in words. In this sense all the information of a sentence is carried by the verb phrase. In line with the split-INF (lection) which is talked about by (Pollock 1989) within GB and the representation of phrases whereby the verb phrase bears various heads and agreement is split into tense and agreement. In the Minimalist Program the split in the sentence structure is as follows: agreement is divided into agreement subject and agreement object. The functional heads like agreement and tense do not dominate inflectional morphology; rather they dominate abstract functional heads, whose features have to be eliminated in the course of derivation. This elimination is done through the Principle of Feature Checking. Feature checking, which is central to our research, matches features with their respective abstract functional heads and where they concur they are eliminated. These abstract heads include grammatical features like tense and agreement for both subject and object. Feature checking eliminates these abstract features through movement by matching them with their respective functional heads.

Languages have either weak or strong features. The strong features are those that are visible at the PF and have to be eliminated by overt movement while the weak ones

are not visible and are eliminated by covert movement. For this reason, the strong features must be eliminated through feature checking before spell-out. Spell -out is an operation that separates the semantic and phonetic features for processing them to their relevant levels: semantic features to LF and the phonetic features to PF. Spell out takes place during the course of the derivation of sentences by providing for movement of constituents for feature checking. The movement of features is guided by the Principle of Procrastinate which seeks to delay movement as much as possible for covert movements are deemed more economical than overt movements. Covert movements take place after spell-out. The Principle of Full Interpretation (FI) ensures that only those elements that are phonetically accounted for appear at the PF and only those that are concerned with the interpretation of meaning appear at LF. This ensures that no element that is not accounted for or licensed appears at the end of the derivation of a sentence. If a derivation accounts for all the elements in a sentence, then the derivation converges but if it doesn't it crashes resulting in wrong constructions. The principle of Full Interpretation enables the theory to make judgments on well-formed constructions from those, which are not.

The Minimalist Program is a computational process that builds up the derivation process piece by piece. The derivation of a sentence involves the process of selection of lexical items that are fully inflected for phonetic, semantic and grammatical features from the lexicon otherwise known as numeration. The lexical items are combined to form phrases in a pair wise fashion through the process of merge to form a phrase structure tree. The phrase structure is central to our research and is hierarchical in structure and the relations between the constituents are between a head

and a complement and the specifier of a phrase and its head. Morphological features are checked against their heads, while the lexical items are checked under the specifiers of functional categories. The structure of the sentence depends on the morphological features present in a verb. Phrases are combined to form larger units such as sentences. The computational process leads to spell-out such that phonological information is processed at the PF, while the semantic information at the LF domain. Spell out can take place at any point during derivation.

Language word order, which is core to our research, is determined by the strength of the inflectional features (agreement) and derivational features (benefactive, instrumental, reflexive, reciprocal, passive, antipassive and locative). Languages with strong features force verb movement, while those with weak features do not.

Movement of verbs for feature checking is constrained by the Minimal Link Condition. This condition postulates that a short distance is preferred over a long one and as such a constituent only moves to the nearest possible locality. Another Principle is Procrastinate and Greed which postulates that movement must be driven by necessity, i.e., only for feature checking and each constituent that moves only does so to check for its own features and not that of another constituent.

The Minimalist Program sees the derivation of sentences as a bottom-up process.

The following is an overview of the Minimalist Program:

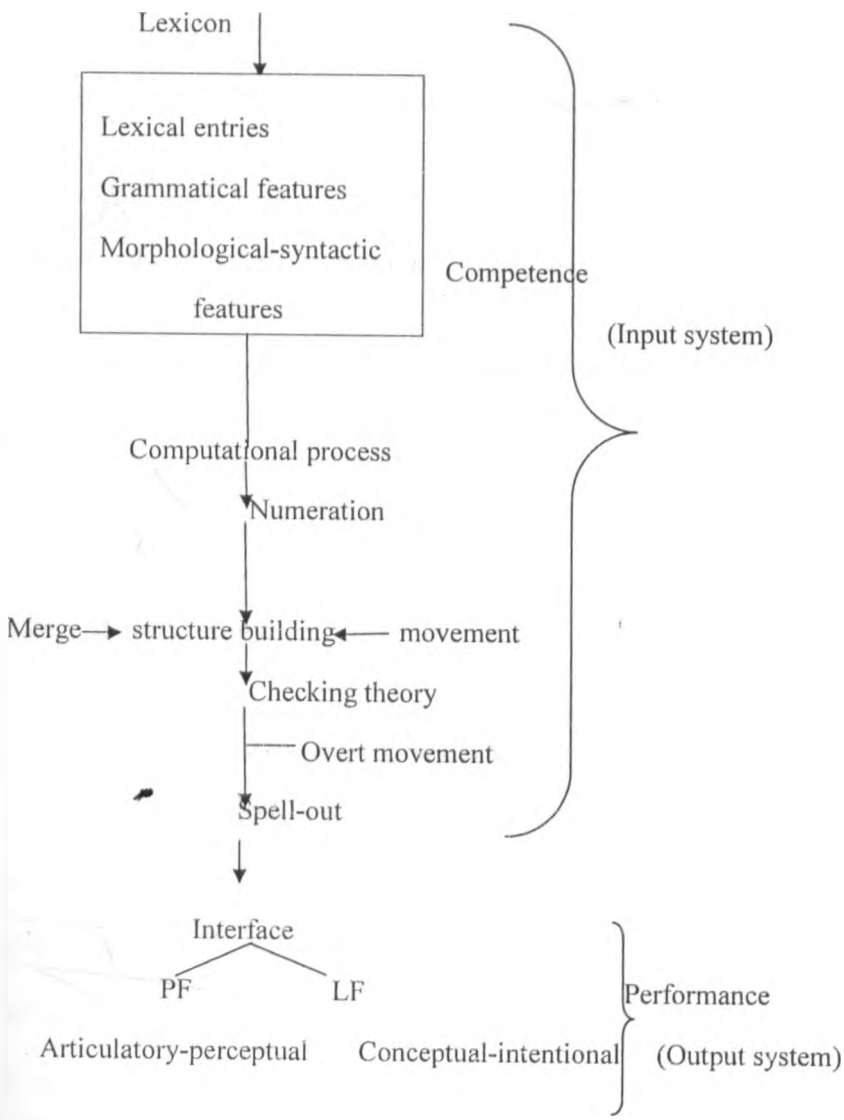

Fig. 4: Source: Munyao (2006: 19)

1.10 Hypotheses

On the question of the case and origin of the VSO/VOS word order, we posit the following hypotheses:

(1) The verb in Tugen heads the sentence with the subject and object alternating their positions after the verb.

(2) Case marking is done by way of tonal inflection on the subject, object and the applied object.

(3) Simple and complex verb derivations influence case assignment and word order.

(4) The discourse (pragmatic) notions of topic and focus affect word order in Tugen.

(5) The Principle of Feature Checking and Full Interpretation of the Minimalist Program (1995) are adequate to explain Tugen word order.

1.11 Research Methodology

1.11.1 Data Collection

The primary research encompassed data elicitation from Poror, Torongo, Saos and Sigoro areas of Eldama-Ravine where the native speakers of the language reside. Our data was collected in three ways. The first method involved purposive sampling of native speakers who were fluent in Tugen. This was done between March and August 2008. The speakers sampled were people of twenty years and above who could be able to provide narratives. In this research gender was not in consideration. Eight informants were used to elicit the data. The narratives were recorded using tape

recorders. The narratives were analysed later for word order. This research elicited historical, expository, procedural, descriptive and narratives involving 1st and 3rd person. Eight narratives were chosen for transcription and analysis.

Since it was not possible to find many speakers who were not influenced by western education and Christianity the researcher embarked on other methods that helped generate reliable data. The number of informants was limited because many of them have been affected by the use of other languages especially Kiswahili and English. Furthermore it was not easy to find older men who could be able to give narratives to to augment the data.

The second method of research was based on observations of loose conversations and interviews. Gender was not a consideration in the selection of informants. Age was important as the research intended to find out whether there was a difference in word order in terms of age. For this reason, loose conversations between speakers of various ages were recorded. This was done without the speakers knowledge so as to ensure that there no biases in the language used.

The interviews were derived from Kass FM radio station. These involved Tugen speakers who were being interviewed on various issues by the radio presenters. These recordings were analysed for word order. An independent speaker of the language later verified the data.

The third method involved a set of questionnaires for the speakers to ascertain the appropriate word order for the language. The reasercher elicited sentences with permutations of word order. These were given randomly to six speakers from each of

the selected areas to tick the appropriate word orders. The researcher had the questionnaires read out to the randomly selected speakers to see if the use of tone affected the word order. This was later compared with the data from taped conversations and narratives. The target informants were those who speak the language from all age groups.

Secondary research was carried out through library research on works that are related to Tugen, works on word order as well as works on the Minimalist Program. On the language little has been done on the Tugen so the library research mainly focused on works on the principles of the theory, word order and the operation of tone.

1.11.2 Data Analysis

In the analysis, the recorded narratives were transcribed. After transcription they were subjected to morpheme to morpheme analysis as well as tonal transcription. Analysis was later carried by determining the positions of subject, object, applied object and verbal affixation. It also involved identifying the relevant tone use in the sentences more specifically on the subject, object, verb and the formative suffixes. It further involved identifying the kinds of affixation present in verbs and nouns. The narratives were also charted to find out the changes that various constituents undergo as the narration proceeds as well as the word order.

The loose conversations were also transcribed and analysed for the positions of subject, object and applied object. Tonal analysis was also done especially on the subject and object. The recorded interviews were also transcribed and subjected to analysis for subject, object and applied object positions. Furthermore they were also

analysed for different kinds of sentences, i.e, question, declarative and emphasis. This data helped to shed light on the verbal derivations and the word order used.

From the questionnaries the various positions of the subject, object and applied object were ascertained and computed to see the percentages of the various word orders.

The results obtained from the three methods of data collection were later compared. The subject, object and applied object positions from the narratives, the loose conversations, the interviewes and questionnaires were compared according to the various word orders, i.e, VSO, SVO VOS, OVS, VO, VS and V. These word orders wre later computed for percentages.

By doing this, the texts represent a wide corpus of data that served as analysis for the problem of the thesis. This data provided the various affixes on the verb phrase that were hierarchically mapped on the structure in accordance with the Minimalist Program. The positions of the various constituents in the texts and their matching with their functional heads in the sentence structure called for movements that enabled to establish word order. The charting of texts also enabled to determine the word order that arises as narration progresses due to the use of affixes to represent the already determined constituents hence the changes in word order.

Although a native speaker of the language, the researcher has grown up in a cosmopolitan environment and so the Tugen she speaks might have been contaminated by other languages like Kikuyu, Kiswahili and English. That is why she

had to enhance her data by contacting three other speakers of the language so as to arrive at informed decisions on the appropriate word order for the language.

1.12 Conclusion

This chapter gives a background to the problem of the study. It starts by giving an overview of Tugen, its speakers and the geographical location where it is spoken. It also explains the notion of word order and the problem of word order in Tugen. It then gives the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification of the research and the scope and limitations of the study. It further provides a definition of some of the terminologies used, the literature review on theory, the language and word order and the theoretical framework against which the study is carried out. Finally, it provides the hypotheses behind the study and the research methodology which includes data collection and analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

BASIC LANGUAGE FEATURES

2.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief description of the language features that are used in sentence structure. The features include tone and its patterns, the nouns and their inflections, case marking, verbs and their inflectional and derivational features, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions. Although tone does not affect word order directly, it was investigated and subsequently marked on all Tugen sentences that are presented in this work because of its role on case assignment.

2.1 Consonants

Tugen has 16 consonants. Of these consonants, 5 are stops, namely, /p/, /t/, /d/, /k/,/tʃ/ ; three fricatives/ β/,/s/ ɣ,/; four nasals /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/ ; one lateral /l/ ; one trill /r/ and two glides /j/ and /w/. The plosive /p/ has the allophones [p] and [β] while /k/ has the allophones [k] and [ɤ]. These allophones occur in free variation in some words. There are also 3 prenasalised stops: /mb/, /nd/ and / ŋg/. Below is Table 1 showing Tugen consonants:

Place of articulation Manner of articulation	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Labio-velar	Velar
Stop	p			t d	tʃ		k
Fricative	β			s			ɣ
Nasal	m			n	ɲ		ŋ
Lateral				l			
Roll (trill)				r			
Glide					j	w	
Prenasalised stops	mb			nd			ŋg

Table 1: Tugen consonants

These consonants are represented orthographically with the examples of words that exemplify them in Table 2 below:

IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	WORD	GLOSS
p	p	pír	beat
β	b	bèèndó	meat
t	t	tèètá	cow
d	d	kééldó	leg
tʃ	ch	chút	enter

k	k	kòìtá	stone
ɣ	g	gāà	home
m	m	mít	chew
n	n	nâm	catch
ɲ	ny	nyóó	come
ŋ	ng'	ng'ŭs	pull
l	l	lít	sharpen
r	r	rát	tie
j	y	yá	bad
w	w	wái	peel
mb	mb	ìryòòmbúú	trumpet
nd	nd	kòòndá	eye
ŋg	ng	ngúúnó	now

Table 2: Orthographic representation of Tugen consonants

2.2 Vowels

Tugen has 9 vowels which are of two kinds; long and short. The short and long vowels are also specified for +/-ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) and –ATR (Retracted Tongue Root) except /a/ which is specified only for -ATR. –ATR involves the

pronunciation where the tongue root is retracted while +ATR is pronounced when the tongue root is pushed forward and thereby creating different phonemic qualities. This brings the number of vowels in Tugen to 18 unlike Kipsigis which Toweett (1977) says has 20. The vowels with +/-ATR are shown in Table 3 below:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
High	ɪ	ʊ
Mid	e	o
Mid	ɛ	ɔ
Low and central	a	

Table 3: Tugen Vowels

Table 4 below shows how the vowels are represented orthographically and some words which they occur in.

IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	WORD	GLOSS
i	i	pír	beat
ii	i	síír	pass
ɪ	i	sír	write
ɪ ɪ	ii	síít	brush
e	e	kẻn	wait
ee	ee	kéér	see
ɛ	e	pét	hew
ɛɛ	ee	sèèr	scatter away
a	a	ám	eat
aa	a	syààch	uncover
u	u	pút	demolish
uu	uu	múút	five
ʊ	u	úny	hide
ʊ ʊ	u	kúú	remove something
o	o	pól	make noise
oo	oo	póór	thresh

ɔ	o	tón	cut
ɔɔ	oo	sóóin	borrow

Table 4: Orthographic representation of Tugen Vowels.

2.3 Tone

In describing a tone language, Yip (2002: 4) says "A language with tone is one in which an indication of pitch enters into the lexical realization of at least some morphemes". Tugen is a tonal language in the sense that tone is used to differentiate lexical items. A lexeme such as *pis* has two meanings depending on the tonal pattern. It can be *pís* (desist from something) or *pìs* (spray something). Other lexemes are *pút* (demolish) or *pùt* (fall) and *mùt* (take someone) or *mút* (cut) and *tää* (fold something) and *tää* (delay me). However, Tugen is not a typical tone language in that not every lexeme has different tones.

Tone can be used to signal lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic information. Tone is always transcribed in the syllable nucleus which is usually a vowel; this masks the fact that tone may be phonetically realized on the voiced sonorant segments. Creider & Creider (1989: 23-24) say that in Nandi the monosyllabic words have five surface tones. These are H(igh) tone which has an equivalent of L(ow) H(igh) which occurs in long vowels before a H tone. Others are L, LL and HL tones which occur on both short and long vowels. The LL and HL occur in a complementary distribution where by the LL occurs after L tones. The lowering effect of a LL tone effects a downstepping or a change of register. Tugen on the other hand has two underlying tones namely: H(igh) and L(ow) tones. The tones

appear both on short and long vowels. The H tone is unmarked in the language. The high tone has several varieties: H, super (extra) H and downstep. Downstep which will be marked by the symbol (ꜜ) is a feature of H tone where there is a lowering of the pitch of a H tone. This is envisaged to be as a result of a floating L tone that is not realized phonetically. In some instances, the H tone appears to be super (extra) H especially at the end of some verbal derivations and in some nouns that mark the accusative. This however will not be marked. In some cases the L tone can be analysed phonetically as being close to a mid tone when it appears after a H vowel. However the L tone in Tugen is not as low as that found in other Nilotic languages like Dholuo. On some syllables, there are contour tones which are analysed as a sequence of two tones. Tone is a feature that is used to differentiate dialects such as Nandi and Tugen. For example *màât* in Tugen and *màât* in Nandi for (fire) , *yá* and *yâ* (bad) and *kóót* and *kòòt* (house) for Tugen and Nandi respectively. Tone is used grammatically to show aspects like definiteness, subject and object, as it shall be discussed in 2.4.1 and 2.6 below.

2.4 Nouns and Noun Inflection

Nouns are the basic arguments in a sentence structure. The arguments follow the verb in a Tugen sentences given the fact that the language is VSO/VOS. Morphologically, the arguments are inflected with the following grammatical features:

2.4.1 Definiteness and Number

Tugen nouns are inflected for definiteness, number and gender. Definiteness is a formal property of nominal expressions which signals whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee (Lambrecht 1994:

79). The definite is used for nominal expressions where the referent is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee while the indefinite is used for the nominal expressions where the referent is assumed by the speaker to be not identifiable to the addressee. Definiteness in Tugen is marked by suffixation. There are different suffixes for the indefinite and definite. These are shown in Table 5 below:

No.	Indefinite stem-suffix	Definite stem-suffix	Gloss
(3a)	lɑ̀ɑ̀kw-ɑ́	lɑ̀ɑ̀kw-ɛ́ɛ́	child
(3b)	tɑ̀ɑ̀pt-ɑ́	tɑ̀ɑ̀pt-ɛ́ɛ́	flower
(3c)	kɛ̀ɛ̀l	kɛ́ɛ́l-dɔ́	leg
(3d)	tʊ̀ʊ̀m	tʊ́ʊ́m-dɔ́	ceremony
(3e)	kɛ̀ɛ̀t	kɛ́ɛ́t-ít	tree
(3f)	ìit	íít-ít	ear
(3g)	kɔ̀ì	kɔ́ì-tá	stone
(3h)	mɔ̀ì	mɔ́í-tá	calf
(3i)	sɛ̀ɛ̀sɛ̀	sɛ́ɛ́s-ɛ́ɛ́	dog

Table 5: Inflection for definiteness.

Most of the indefinite nouns are roots in the singular. There are a few that have {-á} as a suffix, for example in (3a) and (3b) of Table 5. This suffix has a H tone. In the definite, there are nouns with {*-éé*} as a suffix as seen in (3a & 3i),{ēè}in (3b), those with {*-dó*} for instance in (3c-d), those with {*-ít*} in (3e-f) and those with {*-tá*} in (3g-h). These suffixes bear H tones except (3b) which has a L tone. The tone patterns for most nouns are regular. Most of the indefinite nouns have L tones as seen in (3c) to (3h) while the definite ones have H tones as seen in (3c), (3e), (3f) and (3h). However, there are others with different tone patterns for example (3b) which has a LH tone in the indefinite and L tones in the definite and (3i) which has a HL in the indefinite and HLH in the definite. In the Autosegmental theory of Goldsmith (1976), the phenomenon of the succession of similar tones is as a result of one tonal feature spreading to adjacent tone bearing units. In this case, a noun like *kéélдó* (leg) which has H tones has one H tone spreading to the neighbouring segments[6]. The autosegemental theory proposes a mapping of a tonal tier with a segmental tier by means of association lines which do not cross each other. In this theory, all tonal bearing units are assigned a tone and no tonal feature is left unassigned. Similar tones spread from one tone bearing unit to the adjacent ones from left to right.

Definiteness in plural is also marked by suffixation. Table 6 below exemplifies the inflection of definiteness and number.

No.	Indefinite stem-suffix	Definite stem-suffix	Gloss

[6] In this analysis, all instances of tone spread are treated as one similar tone and diacritics are used instead of the association lines that are used in mapping the tones to the tone bearing units.

(4a)	lâágó-í	lâágó-ík	children
(4b)	séésée-n	séésén-ík	dogs
(4c)	sók	sógé-ék	leaves
(4d)	kéélyée-n	kéélyé-ék	legs
(4e)	kéél-át	kéél-ék	teeth

Table 6: Inflection for definiteness and number

Suffixes for example are added or changed when an indefinite noun is referred to as definite. The suffixes that change are seen in (3a) and (3b) of Table 5 above where {-á} changes to {-éé} in the definite in the examples above. Some of the suffixes added to the root are {*-ík*}, {*-é*} and {*-ék*) in (4a-4e) of Table 6 above. These suffixes also bear H tones except (4b) which has a HL tone. This can be seen in (4a), (4b) and (4d) of table 6 above. Some of the changes in the suffixes from the singular to plural include */k/* to */g/* and */n/* to */k/*. This can be seen in (4c) and (4d).

There are also some irregular nouns with no clear cut inflections for definiteness. These include:

	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
(5a)	t-ány	t-éétá	cow (SG)
(5b)	t-ích	t-úúgá	cow (PL)

2.4.2 Gender

In the language, gender marking is only active in names and some derived nouns. The gender prefixes are {*chèèp-*} (she) for the feminine and {kìp-}(he) for the masculine. This is seen in (6a) in Table 7 below. The gender prefix that appears in derived nouns is exemplified by (6b). Titles of persons are also marked for gender as seen in (6d) - (6e):

No.	Feminine	Masculine	Gloss
(6a)	Chèèp-kóèch	Kìp-kóèch	name
(6b)	-	kì-mít-yáá[7]	louse
(6c)	chèèp-íìyw-éé[8]	-	mad person
(6d)	chèèp-ò	árááp	daughter of/son of
(6e)	kòbòt	kwóòmb-ó	mother of/father of

Table 7: Inflection for gender

[7] The /p/ of the masculine prefix is deleted because of the adjacent sound which is also bilabial.
[8] The mid tone on ì is lower than the first on éé.

2.4.3 Loan Words

Most of the loan words fit into the regular system for nouns, i.e., they inflect for definiteness and number. Suffixes are added to the indefinite to turn them into definite nouns as in (7a-c) of Table 8 below. The vowel quality changes in some nouns for instance from /o/ to /e/ as seen in (7c) in the singular. The plural marker in the indefinite is {*-syàì*} while the plural marker in the definite is {*-syék*}. Both bear tones, the indefinite marker bears a L tone while the definite one bears a H tone.

No.	Indefinite-SG	Indefinite-PL	Definite-SG	Definite-PL	Gloss
7(a)	kálâàm	kálâàm-ˈísy-âì	kálâàmít	kálâàm-ˈísy-ék	pen(s)
7(b)	kítâbû	kítâˈbûû-sy-âì	kítâbûû	kítâˈbûû-sy-ék	book(s)
7(c)	mèèsò	mèèˈsôô-sy-âì	mèèséé	mèèˈsôô-sy-ék	table(s)
7(d)	sâà	sâàˈíí-sy-âì	sâít	sâˈísy-ék	watch(es)

Table 8: Inflection for definiteness and number in loan words

2.5 Noun Derivation

Derivation is a morphological process that gives rise to new lexical items. The processes involved in the Tugen language are affixation and suprafixation. Nouns can be derived from adjectives, nouns and verbs.

2.5.1 Noun Derivation from Adjectives

Abstract nouns can be derived from adjectives through suffixation. This is shown in Table 9 below:

No.	Adjective	Noun-SG	Noun-PL	Gloss
(8a)	páíbâì	póíbôì-yò	póíbôì-yéé	happiness
(8b)	yâ	yó-ít ꜜ yó	yó-íityéé	badness
(8c)	píríìr	pìrìr-ìndó	-	redness
(8d)	ányíìny	ónyìny-ìndó	-	sweetness

Table 9: Noun derivation from adjectives

In this derivation, some of the suffixes change depending on number. For instance, the suffix *{-yò}* changes to *{-yèè}* in the plural in (8a) of Table 9 above. Other abstract nouns that are non-count take *{-ìndò}* as a suffix as seen in (8c) and (8d). The suffixes bear H tones in the plural. The tonal pattern of some adjectives change from HL to LH when a noun is derived as seen in (8c) and (8d). The derivation also changes the vowel quality of the derived noun. This can be seen in (8a), (8b) and (8d) where the vowel /a/ of the adjective changes to /o/ in the derived noun.

2.5.2 Noun Derivation from Nouns

Nouns can also be derived from other nouns as seen in Table 10 below:

No.	Noun-suffix	gloss	Noun-INDEF	Noun-DEF	Gloss
(8e)	lɑ̀ɑ̀k-wɑ̀	child	lɑ̀ɑ̀kw-ɑ̀ɑ̀-ndíí	-	childishness
(8f)	chɔ̀ɔ̀r-wɑ̀	friend	chɔ́ɔ́rwɑ̀ɑ̀-ndíí	-	friendship
(8g)	sʉ̀ʉ̀yɔ̀ɔ̀n	mean person	sʉ̀ʉ̀yɔ̀ɔ̀-ndíí	-	meanness

(8h)	kɛ́rích	medicine	chɛ̀ɛ̀p-kɛ́rích-óó-n	chɛ̀ɛ̀p-kɛ́rích-ˈóó-ndɛ́	medicinewoman
(8i)	sáágít-yá	herb	chɛ̀ɛ̀p-sáágít-yáá-n/ chɛ̀ɛ̀p-sáágít-ˈíí-n	chɛ̀ɛ̀p-sáágít-ˈyáá-ndɛ́/ cheep-sáágít-ˈíí-nɪ́k	herbalist(s)
(8j)	kɛ́ɛ́mɔ́í	night	-	Chɛ̀ɛ̀p-kɛ́ɛ́mɔ́í/Kìp-kɛ́ɛ́mɔ́í	one of the night

Table 10: Noun derivation from nouns

Abstract nouns are derived from the indefinite nouns. In this derivation, the suffix *{-ndíí}* is used. For instance in (8e-g), this suffix bears a H tone. Other nouns are derived by prefixation and suffixation. Most of the nouns derived in this manner denote the work that the noun does. Gender prefixes are also used to signify the gender and the role of the derived noun (8a-j). The suffixes that are used indicate number and definiteness. For instance, the indefinite suffix *{-n}* of the indefinite becomes *{-ndɛ́}* in the definite in (8h) and the suffix *{-yáán}* changes to the plural suffix *{-íín}* as seen in (8i). In these derivations, the gender prefix bears a L tone

while the suffix for the definiteness and number bears a H tone as seen in (8i). Names are derived by prefixation only as in (8j).

2.5.3 Noun Derivation from Verbs

The most productive derivation of nouns is from verbs. Table (11a) and Table (11b) below show the derivations of nouns for the indefinite and definite forms respectively.

No.	Verb	Gloss	Noun-INDEF(SG) Stem-suffix	Noun-INDEF(PL) Stem-suffix	Gloss
(9a)	chòòr	steal	chòòr-íìn	chòòr	thief(ves)
(9b)	tíén	sing	tlén-íìn	tíén	singer(s)
(9c)	néét	teach	kòònét-ín	kòònét	teacher(s)
(9d)	làbàt	run	làbàt-ó	-	race

(9e)	chȧ̀m	like	chȯ̀ȯ̀m-nyȯ́	-	love
(9f)	ȧ̀m	eat	ómít-wȯ̀ȯ̀k/ ómít	-	food
(9g)	rȧ̀ȯ̀ch	case	kì-rwȯ̀ȯ́g-ín	kì-rwóók	chief(s)
(9h)	ng'ȧ̀lȧ́ȧ̀l	talk	ng'ȯ̀l-yȯ̀ȯ̀n	ng'ȧ̀l	word(s)

Table (11a): Indefinite noun derivation from verbs

No.	Verb	Gloss	Noun-DEF(sg) Stem-suffix	Noun-DEF(pl) Stem-suffix	Gloss
(9a)	chóór	steal	chȯ̀ȯ̀r-índé	chȯ̀ȯ̀r-íìk	thief(ves)
(9b)	tíén	sing	tìén-índé	tìén-íìk	singer(s)
(9c)	néét	teach	kȯ̀ȯ̀nét-ìndé	kȯ̀ȯ̀nét-íìk	teacher(s)
(9d)	làbȧ̀t	run	làbȧ̀t-éé	-	race
(9e)	chȧ̀m	like	chȯ̀ȯ̀m-nyéé	-	love

(9f)	ám	eat	-	ómìtwóóg-ík	food
(9g)	rúóch	case	kì-rwòóg-ìndé	kìrwóóg-ík	chief(s)
(9h)	ng'álàál	talk	ng'ól-yóóndé	ng'ál-éék	word(s)

Table (11b): Definite noun derivation from verbs

The derivation processes involved are suffixation in (9a-g), prefixation and suffixation (9g) in Table (11a) and modification and subtraction (9h) of Table (11b). The derived noun takes different suffixes depending on number, definiteness and the noun type. Indefinite nouns are formed in the singular by the suffix {*-íìn*},{*ín*}in Table (11a) for nouns that denote doers of actions. There are no suffixes for the indefinite plural. However, there is a change in the tone pattern to signify this. For instance in (9a) of (11b), the verb has H tones while the noun has LHL tones. In the definite the nouns that indicate doers of actions bear {*-índé}* and *{índé}* suffixes in the singular and {-íìk} in the plural. This is seen in Table (11b). Some nouns that refer to activities are formed by the suffixes {*-o*} in the indefinite and {*-ee*} in the definite These suffixes bear different tone patterns as seen in (9d-e). Others are formed by the suffixation of {*-wóók*} in the indefinite and {*-wóógík*} in the definite I plural as seen in (9g), while others modify or subtract the root as seen in the indefinite plural in (9h) where the verb *ngàláál* (talk) is shortened to *ng'ál* (words) when it becomes a noun in the indefinite.

Another kind of noun derivation from verbs is made by tonal inflection.This is exemplified below:

No.	Verb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
(10a)	kòónyít	respect	kóónyít	respect
(10b)	túúm	give birth	túúm	circumcision/ ceremony
(10c)	péét	loose	péét	day
(10d)	kéél	fry	kéél	leg

Table (11c) Noun derivation from verbs by tone inflection

In Table (11c) above, there is a change in the tone pattern of the verb when derived into a noun. In the examples above, the verbs have HL in (10a) and H tones in (10b-d) while the nouns have H tones in (10a), HL in (10b) and L tones in (10c-d).

2.6 Case Marking

Case is an inflectional category of nouns which marks their roles in relation to the verb. In Tugen case is marked by tonal inflection. The number of tones in a noun depends on the number of syllables. The subject bears nominative case. Nominative

case in Tugen is marked in four ways: by super H tones as seen in *kéétít* (tree) in (11a), *móítá* (calf) in (11b) and *péék* (water) in (12a); by H tone as seen in *láákwéé* (child) in (13a); by the default tone marking of the noun as seen in *tèètá* (cow) in (12b) and when a proper noun is used, the nominative case bears H and down stepped H tones as seen in *chéé'róónó* in (13b and 13c). In (12b) case is differentiated by means of animacy hierarchy. See the examples below:

(11a) ø-chóm'éí kéétít[9] móítá
3SG-like –IMP tree-DEF/SG calf-DEF/SG

The tree likes the calf

(11b) ø-chóm'éí kéétít móítá[10]
3SG-like –IMP tree-DEF/SG calf-DEF/SG

The calf likes the tree

(12a) Ká-ø-lá péék[11] tèètá
PST-3SG-carry water cow-DEF/SG

The water carried the cow

(12b) Ká-ø-lá péék tèètá
PST-3SG-carry water cow-DEF/SG

The cow carried the water

(13a) Ká- í- gát láákw-éé Chééróónó
PST-3SG-greet child-SG/DEF cherono

The child greeted cherono

---

[9] super H tone
[10] super H tone
[11] Super H tone

The accusative case in Tugen is left unmarked. König (2006: 658) in Schröder (2011) says that such a language is classified as a marked nominative language. In this kind of language the accusative is morphologically unmarked; functionally unmarked and is used in the citation form. The unmarkedness of the accusative is demonstrated in the citation form where it is tonally marked in the same way as the accusative. The nouns *tèètá* and *Chéérónó* bear LH and H tones in isolation. These nouns bear the same tone patterns when they represent the accusative in sentences as seen in (12a) and (13a) above. It is also seen in (13d) below. In (13b) and (13c) below, the object *làákwéé* (child) and the applied object *chèégó* (milk) bear the default LH tones. The accusative case is exemplified below:

(13b) Kå- í- gåt låákw-éé Chéé꜔róón꜔ó
PST-3SG-greet child-SG/DEF Cherono

Cherono greeted the child.

(13c) Kå- ø - íp- chí chéé-gó låák-wéé Chéé꜔róón꜔ó
PST-3SG-take-for milk-DEF child-SG/DEF Cherono

Cherono took milk for the child.

(13d) Kå -ø- íp -chí chéé-gó låák-wéé Chééróónó
PST-3SG-take-for milk-DEF child-SG/DEF Cherono

The child took milk for Cherono

2.7 Verbs and Verb Inflection

Verbs in Tugen are basically monosyllabic with a few having more syllables. The verbs bear H, LH, and L tones. For example *ám* (eat), *ít* (reach), *rám* (scoop), *chůt* (enter), *kånáp* (lift), *làbàt* (run) and *lůgúí* (swallow) and *sàch* (shake). The verbs show grammatical,inflectional and derivational features. The features are prefixed

and suffixed as seen in the sections that follow. Some of these features are person/number, and tense/ aspect.

2.7.1 Person/Number

The verb is inflected for person and number. The person prefixes are {á-} for first person singular and {*kí*-} for plural and {*í*-} for second person singular with {*ó*-} in the plural. The verbs thus have forms for singular and plural. For instance (14a) and (14c) are marked for singular while (14b) and (14d) are marked for plural. All the person /number prefixes bear H tones. The third person is not marked by any prefix in the singular or plural. This can be seen in the following examples:

(14a) á- lábát-í
1SG-run –IMP.

I am running.

(14b) Kí- rwá-é
1PL-run-IMP

We are running

(14c) í- wéénd-í
2SG-go-IMP.

You are going.

(14d) ó-béénd-í
2PL-go-IMP.

You are going.

(14e) ø- kúúr-éí
3SG/PL-call-IMP

He/They are calling.

The referent for the third person is represented by the subject noun phrase or the personal pronouns in the sentence. When free standing pronouns are used they are

mainly for focus. That is, they specify and differentiate the person under consideration from the group. This will be elaborated in chapter 5. The free standing pronouns bear HL tones as seen in (15a-c).

The free standing pronouns are:

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
(15a)	1. ânêê	âchêêk	I/Us
(15b)	2. ínyêê	ókwêêk	You
(15c)	3. ínêê	íchêêk	He/she- They

(15d) kí-bêênd-í á ꜜchêêk sùgûùl
1PL-go- IMP us school

We are going to school.

(15e) ø-wââch-êì íꜜnéé mìísíng.
3SG shout-IMP her very

She/He is shouting a lot.

The object affixes are suffixed to the verb. These are {*-ón*} and {*-éch*} for first person singular and plural, {*un*}for second person singular and {*-ók*} for plural. The third person has no overt object marker. This third object marker is envisaged to be {-ø} as will be seen in 4.2.1. The referent of the third person object is also referred to by the use of free standing pronouns. The free pronouns for the object are similar to those of the subject. Both the subject prefixes and the object suffixes bear H tones. For example, in (16a–b) the subject prefixes bear H tones and the objective suffixes bear H tones. In (16e) both the object and the subject are represented by full standing pronouns and affixes. The subject prefix bears a H tone, while the subject pronoun

bears H and downstepped H tones. The objective suffix bears H tones while the object pronoun bears HL tones. This is exemplified below:

(16a) í- ˈkéér-óó
2SG- see-1SG

You are seeing me

(16b) á- ˈkéér-óók
1SG-see-2PL

I am seeing you

(16c) kí-kéér-é íné̋
1PL-see-IMP him

We are seeing him

(16d) íˈí- sùb -ˈí íchéék[12]
2SG-follow-IMP them

You are following them

(16e) í- ˈkóón-óó áné̋ íny ˈé̋
2SG-give-ISG I you

You are giving me

There are also some verb forms which are specified for number. This is seen in (17) below. The imperfective aspectual marker may also take various forms depending on whether singular or plural. This is exemplified in (18) below:

(17a) Úí go (SG)

(17b) Bá go (PL)

(18a) ø-ríír-ˈéí
3SG-cry IMP

She/He is crying

[12] The 2SG person marker has a HˈH tone which is different from the 3SG person marker which has a H tone.

(18b) ø-ríìr-tós
3PL-cry-IMP

They are crying

2.7.2 Tense/Aspect System

2.7.2.1 Tense

The Tugen tense system is divided into past and non-past. The past is divided into the immediate, recent and distant. These are represented by the prefixes {kâ-}, {*kòò*-} and {*kìì*-} respectively on the verb. The prefixes are placed right in front of the verb before other prefixes such as the person, or negation. These prefixes bear underlying L tones.

(19a) Kâ -ø -mwâ
PST-3SG -say

He said

(19b) Kò-í-mwáá
PST -2SG-say

You said

(19c) Kìì-kâ- kí- ˈb-é
PST-PER-1PL-go-IMP

We had gone

The tense markers can also b emphasized adverbially by *àtkâí* (then), *àtkóóˈnyé* (yesterday) and *àtkííˈnyé* (long time) for the immediate, recent and distant past respectively. The prefixes can be seen in (19a), (19b) and (19c). The non-past is marked adverbially. The adverbs refer to the present and to the distant future. Some of the adverbs include *túún* which has a H tone and refers to the future, *ngùùnó* which

has HLH tones refers to the present, *mɔ̀i* referring to later has H tone and *kâârɔ̂ɔ̀n* which has a succession of H tones refers to tomorrow. *Mɔ́* and *ˈtúún* can be used together preverbally to imply a more nearer future otherwise all the adverbs appear post verbally in the default word order. These are exemplified in (19d) and (19e) below:

(19d) á-wɛ̀ɛ̀nd-í ngúùnɔ́.
1SG-go-IMP now

I am going now

(19e) mɔ́ ˈtúún ɔ̀ɔ̀- b-ɛ̀[13]
FUT-FUT 2PL- go-IMP

You will go in the future

2.7.2.2 Aspect

The Tugen aspect system can be divided into the perfective and the imperfective. The imperfective is used in the past and non past while the perfective is used only in the past. The imperfective is used to express the progressive aspect and is suffixed to the verb. The suffixes range from {*-í*}, {*-ní*}, {*-ɛ́*}, {*-ɛ̀í*} to {*-ø*}depending on the verb. The imperfective bears an underlying H tone and this can be seen in (20a) and (20b).

(20a) á- nyɔ́ɔ́-[redacted] ní
1SG-come-IMP

I am coming

(20b) Kìì -ø- mwáá-ɛ́í
PST-3SG-say-IMP.

She was saying

[13] The L tone on ɔ̀ɔ̀ is lower than the one on bɛ̀

There are instances where the verb is only a consonant and the root tone spreads to the imperfective aspect marker as seen in (19e) above. The verb root is {*-b-*} while the imperfective marker is {*-é*}. The perfective is prefixed to the verb after the tense marking. The prefixes for the perfective are */kà/*, */kò/* and */kà +kó/*. The perfective aspect bears underlying L and H tones. This is seen in (20c), (20d) and (20e) below:

(20c) Kíí -ø- ˈkà[14]- nyó Kíp-ˈkóêêch òòín
PST-3SG-PER-come M-koech recently

Kipkoech had come recently

(20d) Kôô-ø- ˈkô- nyó gàà Kí-ˈmórû[15]
PST-3SG-PER-come home M-moru.

Kimoru has come home

(20e) Kìì-ø- kà- ˈkô- nyó Chêép-ˈkôóskêì
PST-3SG-PER-PER-come F-koskei

Chepkoskei had come

2.8 Adjectives

Adjectives are words that modify nouns. In the unmarked contexts, the adjectives precede the nouns they modify. The adjectives are inflected for number. They bear L, H, HLH and HL tones. The vowel quality of /a/ in some adjectives changes to /o/; /o/ to /e/ and /i/ to /e/ in the plural as seen below. The plural is formed by the suffixes {*ên*} as seen in (21a-e) ,{*êên*} in (21f) and {*óón*} in (21g) below.

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[14] The perfective consonant /k/weakens to /g/ after a syllable with the same consonant such that (20e) is pronounced as kííˈgágónyó.

[15] The last tone on -ru of Kimoru is higher than the previous downstepped –mo-

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
(21a)	kárâárán	kóróórón-ˈén	good
(21b)	yá	yááˈchén	bad
(21c)	òò	ééˈchén	big
(21d)	nwâch	nwóˈgén	short
(21e)	párâá	póróˈén	wide
(21f)	míníìng'	méngééˈchéén	small
(21g)	kííndéé	kííˈndóón	big

The adjectives can be used in a sentence to show a characteristic of a noun phrase and in this case they they precede the nouns and appear as follows:

(22a) Kárâárán láákw-éé
Good child-SG/DEF

The child is good.

(22b) Kóróórón-ˈéén láág-óˈík
Good-PL child-SG/DEF

The children are good

(22c) Míníìng' kéét-ít
Small tree-SG/DEF

The tree is small

(22d) Méngééch-ˈéén[16] kéét-ík
Small-PL tree-PL/DEF

The trees are small tree

[16] In some usage this is reduced to méngéech.

However, in sentences that are marked they appear after nouns with relative clause that is headed by *nə̀* (that) for singular and *chə̀* (that) for plural. The number marking is reflected in the plural in the adjective by the suffix {*-éə̀n*}.This is shown below:

(23a) Lə̀ə̀kw-éə́ nə̀ kárə̀ə̀rə̀ə̀n
child-SG/DEF that good

The child that is good

(23b) Lə̀ə̀g-óík chə̀ kóróórón-ˈéén
Child-PL/DEF that good-PL

The children that are good

(23c) Kə́ə́t-ít nə̀ míˈníng'
Tree-SG/DEF that small

The tree that is small

(23d) Kə́ə́tík chə̀ mə̀ngə́ə́ch-ˈéén
Trees-PL/DEF that small-PL

The trees that are small.

2.9 Adverbs

Adverbs are words that modify verbs, and adjectives. The adverbs in Tugen bear different tone patterns. They can have HL, H, LH or HLH tones. Some of the adverbs and their tone patterns include:

	Adverb	Gloss
(24a)	óchə̀ì	very
(24b)	kóˈgə́ny	again
(24c)	mììsíng'	very much
(24d)	mùùtyó	slowly

(24e) ngúúnó now

(24f) átkáí then

Adverbs appear after the words that they modify as seen in the following sentences:

(25a) Ká- ˈít- ú átkáí
PST-arrive-IMP then

He /she arrived then/earlier.

(25b) ø-mwáá kóˈgény
3SG-say again

Say again

(25c) Lóò mìisíng' óínéé
Far very river

The river is very far

2.10 Prepositions

Tugen has very few prepositions. *Éèng* (at) is the main preposition and it bears an underlying H tone. This preposition is used with other locative adverbs. The prepositional suffix {*-én*} may also be used to denote location or an instrument. For example:

(26a) èèng' kóót
at house-SG/DEF

At the house

(26b) Kó -ø-télél èèng tái Kípˈkóèèch
PST-3SG-stand at front M-Koech

Kipkoech has stood in front.

(26c) Kå- í- ˈpůt- ěn lǎǎkw-ěě sǎǎngˈ[17]
PST-3SG-fall-LOC child -SG/DEF outside

The child fell outside.

2.11 Conjunctions

Tugen has few conjuncti ns. The conjunctions bear H tones. These include:

		Gloss
(27a)	åk	and
(27b)	kǒbǒtǒ	with
(27c)	ngǒt	if
(27d)	åsí/sí	so that

2.12 Conclusion

This chapter has given a brief overview of the basic linguistic features of Tugen. It highlights Tugen phonemes and their features, word categories and their tone patterns, and the various inflectional features of nouns and verbs and their tone patterns. Two patterns of nouns have been discussed; the definite and the indefinite as well as their differences in terms of their inflection. Case marking and gender are other features that have also been discussed. Case marking is done by the use of tone where the language was found to have a marked nominative system where the accusative case is not marked. Gender was found to be marked by use of gender prefixes. Verbal features such as tense, aspect and number have also been explained with examples together with their tone patterns.

[17] The tone on put is lower than that of -i-(3SG).

CHAPTER THREE

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter the sentence structure of Tugen is analysed. In order to do so, various aspects of the sentence will be investigated. These will include case marking, tense, agreement, aspect, negation, functional heads and basic sentence structure, the complementizer phrase, complex sentence structure and co-occurrences of verbal derivations in sentence structure and the pronominal system in sentence structure.

3.1 Basic Sentence Structure

The Tugen sentence structure is verb initial. The verb is inflected for agreement, tense, aspect, and negation and agreement does not head the sentence structure. The basic sentence structure in Tugen is VSO/VOS. In this structure, the subject and object can trade places. This is as shown below:

(28a) Kȁ-ø- lȗ-ø chêê-gó láákw-éé (VOS)
PST-3SG-drink-3OB milk-DEF child-SG/DEF

The child drank milk

(28b) Kȁ -ø- lȗ-ø láákw-éé chêê-gó (VSO)
PST-3SG-drink-3OB child-SG/DEF milk-DEF

The child drank milk

In the Minimalist Program, the basic sentence structure is as follows:

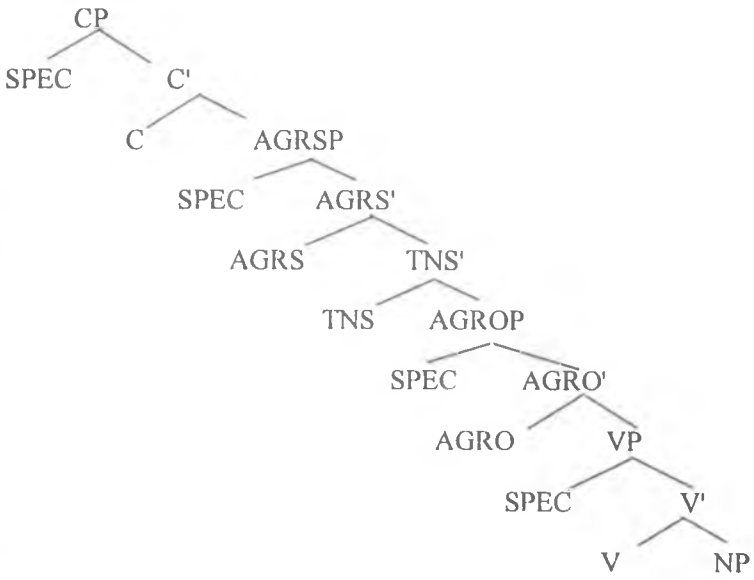

Fig. 5: Source: Chomsky 1995: 7

The basic sentence structure above was developed on the basis of SVO languages, whereby the AGRS head c-selects TNS head. In the Minimalist Program, the issue of word order is influenced by the morphological features that are found in a verb. The sentence structure is built up in a bottom up process. In this process, morphological and lexical features are combined in a process of select and merge in the lexicon. For example, morphological features such as tense and agreement are selected and are merged with the verb and the verb selects and merges with other constituents such as noun phrases in the building up of the sentence structure. In the structure of a sentence, each of these morphological features bears a functional head. The functional heads bear abstract bundles of respective features which have to be checked and eliminated in the course of derivation; otherwise the derivation crashes. The morphological features on the verb force the movement of the verb to the various functional heads to check for the abstract features. This is done by matching and

elimination. The relation between functional heads is that of head-head while the relation between a lexical argument and a head is that of specifier-head. The verb moves through the various functional heads for feature checking while the lexical arguments move to the specifier positions to check for case features. The interaction between the various features on the verb is responsible for the rise of various word orders. In the structure above, the verb moves to AGRS to check agreement features while the lexical subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The subject therefore heads the sentence. This situation happens in languages such as English and Kiswahili as seen in example (29) below. This results in the subject heading the sentence hence SVO word order. Tugen unlike the SVO languages is verb initial with a VSO/VOS word order. It cannot adequately fit into this structure therefore a way has to be designed to accommodate languages with this word order.

3.1.1 Tense and Agreement

Tense and agreement are some of the inflectional elements that are found in a verb and are responsible for verb movement. Tense is a category that marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. Agreement is a category that marks the syntactic relation between words and phrases which are compatible in a given construction. It may have features of person, number and gender. The interaction between these two inflectional elements has been seen to determine the surface order of syntactic constituents. Ouhalla (1991: 13) puts it that any attempt to classify languages along typological lines should take into consideration the properties of functional categories rather than those of substantives (lexical categories). The order of inflectional categories of tense and aspect differs from one language to another

along typological lines. It was Ouhalla who found out that there is a correlation between the order of AGR/TNS and the surface position of the subject in the sense that in languages where AGR is inside TNS, i.e., occurring in a position after TNS in the verb template, the subject is placed after the verb while in languages where AGR is outside TNS, i.e., AGR appears first in the morphological order of the verb, the subject appears before the verb in the sentence structure. This means that languages that have the agreement features preceding the tense features are verb medial while those languages where the tense precedes the agreement features are verb initial. The difference between a SVO language and a VSO language in relation to the position of tense and agreement in the verb will be demonstrated with Kiswahili (SVO) and Tugen (VSO) below:

(29) M- toto a- li- u- imba w-imbo
3SG-child AGRS-PST-AGRO-sing SG-song

The child sang a song

In Kiswahili which is an SVO language {*a-*} agrees in person, number and class with the subject and appears before {*-li-*} which is the tense marker carrying past tense features and followed by objective marker{*-u-*} and the verb root {*-imba*}. Unlike in Kiswahili, the order of tense and agreement is opposite in Tugen .This is seen below:

(30) Kå- ø- tíén-ø låákw-éé tìén-dó
PST-3SG-sing-3OB child-SG/DEF song-SG/DEF

The child sang a song.

In Tugen, which is a VSO/VOS language, {kå-} is the tense marker of the recent past tense which appears before the {-ø-}which is the agreement marker for third person singular and followed by the verb root {*-tíén*} and the objective marker {-ø}.

These examples show that the difference in the languages lies in c-selectional properties of AGR and TNS as suggested by Ouhalla (1991: 17) who says that the difference between AGR –initial and TNS initial languages involve the c-selectional[18] properties of AGR and TNS. In AGR-initial languages AGR c-selects TNS as seen in example (29) for Kiswahili while in TNS-initial languages like in example (30) the reverse relation is found. The difference in the c- selectional properties of AGR and TNS results in a difference in clausal structure. In Tugen, as a verb initial language, the sentence structure changes according to the ordering of TNS and AGR as follows. In Tugen AGR appears after TNS position so the verb heads the sentence and the tense features have to be checked last by the verb moving from the VP to AGRS' to check for agreement features and then to TNS to check tense features. This is shown by the structure exemplifying (30) below:

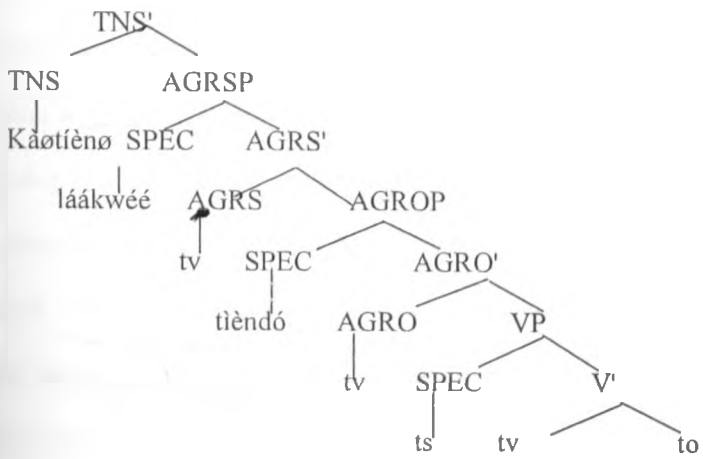

Fig. 6

[18] Ouhalla (1991:14) selection in terms of syntactic categories.

In the structure above, the order of the heads from the top to bottom is TNS', AGRS', AGRO' and then V'. This means that the tense features are the ones that begin the sentence followed by the agreement features. The tense features head the verb morphology and are then followed by the agreement subject features. All these are found within the verb and therefore reflecting on the verbal morphology, the sentence in the language is headed by the tense and not the subject. The subject features are checked before the tense features. In the structure, the verb moves from the VP then to AGRO to check for AGRO' features then to AGRS' to check for agreement subject features and finally to TNS for tense features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. The object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case checking.

3.1.2 Functional heads

In The Minimalist Program, functional categories have grammatical features (phi-features) associated with AGR, TNS, C and SPEC elements. These features play a crucial role in determining grammatical relations and processes. A given category may select a specific category in one language and another in a different language; thus giving rise to differences in the structural properties of constructions. The Minimalist Program represents functional categories in the relations of spec-head and head-head. All the constituents of a sentence are base generated in the VP with the external argument appearing in the SPEC/VP. Under the split INF-hypothesis (Pollock 1989), INF was split into AGRS, TNS and AGRO heads. These functional heads do not dominate the inflectional morphology; rather they form bundles of phi-features which have to be checked in the course of the derivation and thus necessitate

verb movement. Baker (1988) sees that some morphological processes like the verb derivations influence syntax. These processes produce constructions that have more than one internal argument. The morphological affixes that produce these arguments project their own functional heads with abstract features that have to be checked in the course of derivation. The derivational affixes are treated as independent functional categories. The number of heads that a structure has depends on the morphological affixes that are found in the verb. The verb moves through these heads to check for the features so that they are eliminated before they appear at PF and LF. The functional heads that are found in the Tugen sentence include TNS', ASP', AGRS', AGRO', BEN' etc as seen in the example below:

(31) Kòò-ø- là -ø Chéé'rúúto pàándèk[19]
PST-3SG carry-3OB FE-ruto maize

Cheruto carried maize.

From the example above, the functional categories that are developed are TNS', AGRS and AGRO'. In Tugen, the third objective marker is not overt. The structure that is derived from the example above is as shown below:

[19] The tone on –to of Cheeruto remains at the same level with the downstepped –ruu-.

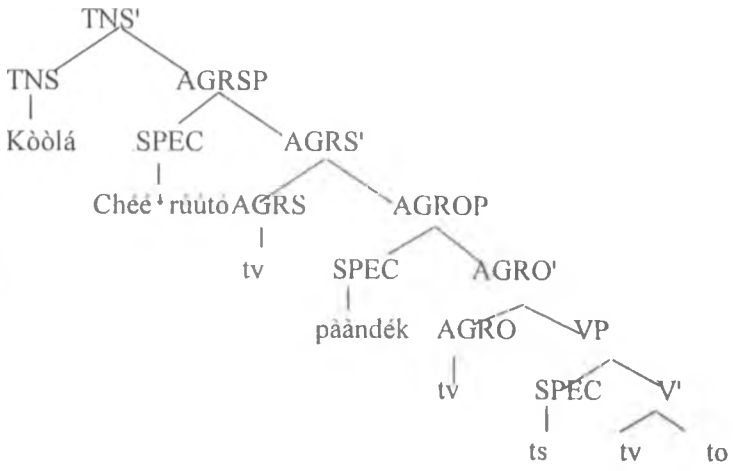

Fig.7

In this structure, all the elements of the sentence are contained in the VP, i.e., the subject (*chêé ꜜ rûtô*) the verb *kòòlá* (carried) and the object *pàándék* (maize). The functional categories of AGRO', AGRS', and TNS' have their own heads that bear bundles of abstract phi features. The features of AGRS', AGRO' and TNS' have to be eliminated in the course of the derivation by feature checking so that the construction converges. Feature checking forces the verb to move through each of these functional heads. In Tugen, the verb heads the sentence with the tense feature being prefixed to the verb before the agreement features. The agreement features for both the subject and the object for the third person are marked by a zero morpheme. The movement for checking of AGRS' and AGRO' features is therefore done covertly. The subject moves from the SPEC/VP to the SPEC/AGRSP to have its nominative features checked. The object moves from the VP to the SPEC/AGROP to have its accusative features checked. The verb moves from the VP to AGRO' to check for agreement object features covertly for there are no overt features for the object then to AGRS' to check for agreement subject features and finally to TNS to check for the tense

features. After checking, the features are eliminated so that they don't appear after spell-out. This arrangement of the order of the heads results in the VSO word order. To have the VOS word order there is trading of places in the order of the heads in the structure between the AGRSP and AGROP such that the verb moves from the VP to AGRS then AGRO to check for agreement and object features respectively and finally to TNS' to check for tense features. The object moves to SPEC /AGROP to check for accusative case while the subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case. This results in a VOS word order. This is exemplified in Fig. 9a & 9b respectively.

Other than the lexical subject, the Tugen sentence can also appear only with the morphological subject. The morphological subject appears as a prefix after the tense morpheme. The morphological subject for the third person is realized as a zero morpheme[20]. See the following inflectional paradigm:

(32a) Kìì- á- ˈwé[21]
PST-1SG-go

I went.

(32b) Kìì- ó- ˈbé
PST-2PL-go

You went.

(32c) Kìì -ø -bá[22]
PST-3SG-go

They went.

[20]This morpheme is -i- and has undergone changes historically. It may be found in a few instances for example before /r/ and /g/ in words like / ka-í-ro (he saw) and kō- í-gēn (he waited)
[21] /w/ strengthens to /b/
[22] The tone on the 3SG is transferred to the verb therefore downstep does not surface on the verb root.

In the above structure the subject is represented by a pronominal argument. For the structure (32a), the heads that are created for feature checking are : TNS' {Kìì-}and AGRS' {-à-} as shown below:

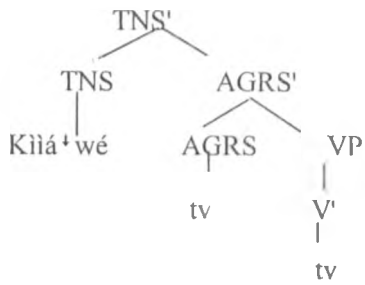

Fig.8

The verb moves from the VP through AGRS' and lands at TNS' to check for agreement and tense features. There are no overt arguments; therefore the construction is only a verb.

3.1.3 Aspect and Negation

The Minimalist program also deals with the other inflectional and derivational affixes in a verb by requiring each to have their own head and thus allowing for the verb and argument movements for feature checking. Following Pollock (1989) on verb movement, there has been an explosion of functional categories as part of the clausal projection. In line with this, Tugen bears other inflectional elements than tense and agreement that also create new heads in the sentence structure. These include aspect

and negation. Aspect appears inside tense as {*-ka̋-*} (perfective) and post verbally as a {*-éí*}[23](imperfective). This is shown in (33a) & (33b):

(33a) Kíí - ˈkå- ø- íp-ø kwèèn-ík chíítò[24]
PST-PERF-3SG -carry-OB firewood-DEF/PL person-DEF/SG

The person had carried firewood.

(33b) Kìì -ø -íp- ø- ˈéí chíí-tó kwèèn-ík[25]
PST-3SG-carry-3OB-IMP person-DEF/SG firewood-DEF/PL

The person was carrying firewood.

The negation affix {*-má-*}[26] appears inside tense and after the perfective aspectual affix {-kå*}*. This is shown below:

(34) Kíí -ˈmā -ø - íp –ø- ˈéí kwèèn-ík chíí-tó
PST-NEG-3SG - carry-3OB- IMP firewood-DEF/PLperson-DEF/SG

The person was not carrying firewood.

According to the morphology of the verb, heads like negation and aspect are created in the structure as follows:

[23] {e} and {ni} are its allomorphs. {e} is used when referring to 1st and 2nd person singular and plural while {ni} is used when preceded by a vowel.
[24] The tone on –ip is higher than the downstep on –ka-
[25] The tone on chiito is at the same level with the previous downstep on the imperfective aspect.
[26] {mé} is its variant. This occurs where the vowel in the negation marker {a/}and the 3sg marker {i} fuse together.

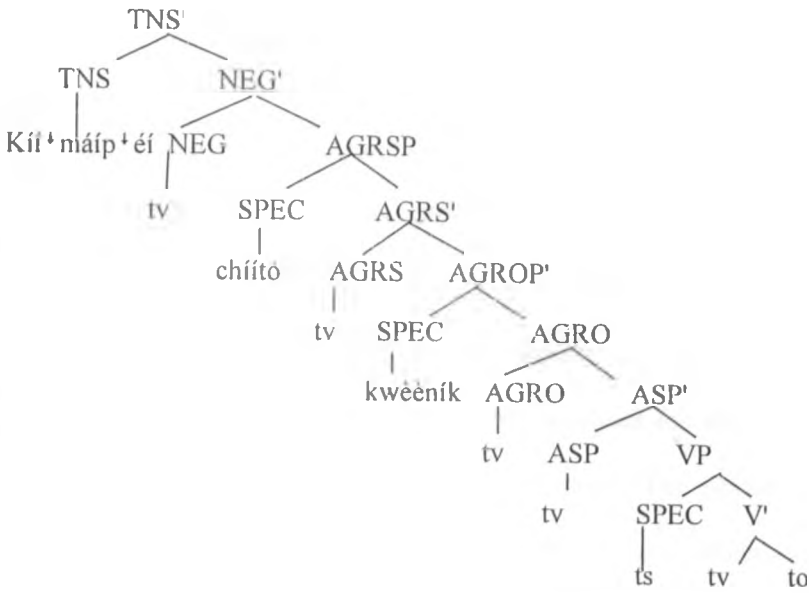

Fig. 9a

The order between the AGROP and AGRSP can be interchanged to allow for the VOS word order in (33a) as shown below:

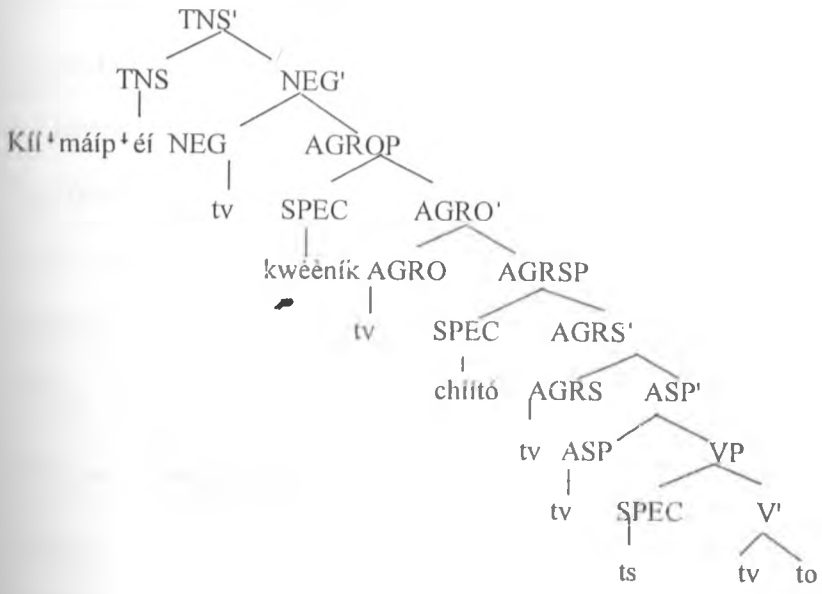

Fig. 9b

In Fig. 9 above, the verb moves via ASP' to check for aspectual features, AGRO' to check for agreement object features, AGRS' to check for agreement subject features, NEG' to check for negation features and finally to TNS' to check for tense features. The subject moves from the SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features while the object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case features. This results in VSO word order. In Fig. 10 above, the verb moves via ASP', AGRS', AGRO', NEG,'and TNS' to check for aspect, agreement subject, agreement object, negation and tense features. The object moves to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case while the subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case. This results in VOS word order.

3.1.4 Complementizer Phrase (CP)

To complete the structure of the sentence the question of the Complementizer Phrase (CP) has to be addressed. The CP is usually the position for a wh-word and the conjunction of a sentence. In the Minimalist Program, all constituents of a sentence are generated in the VP. In SVO languages, the wh-elements move out the VP to have their features checked at the CP above the AGRSP. In Tugen, the wh-words remain in situ and are checked covertly at LF. However, conjunctions occupy the CP position. There are various wh-elements in Tugen. These include: *ngóò* (who), *néè* (what), *ngìró* (which), *á↓nó* (where) and *áú* (when). The *wh*-elements *ngoo, nee, ngiro, ano* and *au* have different tone patterns. These are HL, LH, H↓H and H. These elements can be positioned immediately after the verb or sentence-finally. For example:

(35a) ø -wéé ˈnd-í á ˈnó láákw-éé?
3SG-go-IMP where child-SG/DEF

Where is the child going?

(35b) Ká -ø- áál-ø Kí-ˈmóru kálámí-t ngìró?[27]
PST-3SG-buy-3OB M-moru pen-SG/DEF which

Which pen did Kimoru buy?

In English, the object wh-element is base generated in the VP and moves to its position at CP above AGRSP thereby creating a SVO word order. In Tugen, on the other hand the object wh-element is base generated in the VP and does not move but remains in situ. The CP position above TNS is therefore empty and the object wh-element moves covertly at LF to this position for feature checking. The position of the object and subject wh-element is exemplified in (36a) and (36b) below:

(36a) Ká í- ˈró-ø láák-wéé ˈng'óó?[28]
PST-3SG see-3OB child-DEF/SG who

Who has seen the child?

(36b) Ká -ø -íp- ø- ú chíító néé?
PST-3SG-take-3OB-ALL person/DEF what

What did the person bring?

In (36a) the wh-element is functioning as a subject while in (36b) the wh-element is an object. In the structure, all the wh-elements move covertly at LF to CP position for feature checking except in marked structures with identificational focus where they move overtly to SPEC/ CP position. This will be shown in chapter five. In the structure, therefore the CP position is not created and the structure therefore for (36a) is as shown below:

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[27] The tone on the syllable –ru of kimoru is higher than the previously downstepped tone.
[28] Downstep appears on the verb root when the third person marker is present unlike in (36c) where it is absent.

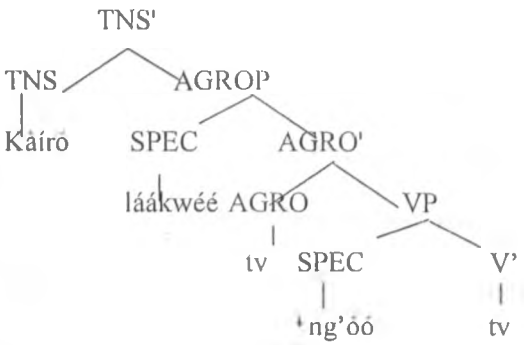

Fig.10

In the structure, the verb moves from the VP via AGRO' to TNS' to check for agreement object and tense features. The object moves from VP to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case checking. The subject which is a wh- element remains in situ at SPEC/VP. This gives rise to a VOS word order. Where the wh- element refers to an object as in (36b) it remains in situ while the subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP thereby creating a VSO word order. The wh- elements move to SPEC/CP covertly at LF for feature checking.

3.2 Complex Sentence Structure

Complex sentence structure is seen in verb derivation. Verb derivation is a morphological process that is used to create new arguments. These arguments determine the valency of a verb. Valency relates to the number of core arguments that a verb can take. Katamba (1993: 214) says in verbal morphology the prime candidates for derivational expression are grammatical function changing rules. These rules involve processes that alter the number of noun arguments that a verb can take. The derivation processes increase or decrease the number of arguments. There are also co-occurrences of argument increasing and argument decreasing devices in a verb result in a complex verb morphology. The derivational processes are marked by morphemes

in the verb structure. Baker (1988: 1) says that the derivational processes such as the passive, antipassive and the applicative are grammatical function (GF) changing in that they alter the grammatical encoding of referential expressions. He says these processes do not exist in a fundamental sense; rather they are a side effect of incorporating one word into another through movement transformations. When more than one GF changing process takes place in a single structure, the processes obey the Mirror Principle (Baker 1988: 4) which states that morphological derivations must directly reflect the syntax through the argument structure of the sentence and vice versa. This implies that the order of the arguments in the sentence follows the order of morphemes in the verb. In Tugen, there are argument-increasing and argument-decreasing devices that result in complex sentence structure. These are discussed below.

3.2.1 Argument Increasing Devices

The argument increasing device in Tugen is the applicative. This is also the case with other Kalenjin languages like Kipsigis and Nandi. This situation is however different from other Nilotic languages like Toposa which also have the causative.

3.2.1.1 Applicative

The applicative is a grammatical function changing rule which promotes an element from the oblique to the role of an object with the verb being derived to show the new status of the arguments. In Tugen, the applicative is represented by the benefactive, the locative and the instrumental.

3.2.1.2 Benefactive

The benefactive can be described as a valence increasing operation that brings a peripheral participant onto center stage by making it a direct object (Payne 1997: 186). In Tugen, the benefactive is represented in the verb by the morpheme {-*chi*}(for) and introduces an applied object. This is exemplified below:

(37a) Kòò- ø- sóómáán-ø Kíp-ˈtóó kìtábúú (VSO)
PST-3SG-read-3OB M-too book

Kiptoo read a book

(37b) Kòò- ø- sóóˈmán-chí-ø Kíp-ˈtóó Kìp-kóéèch kìtábúú(VSO$_a$ O$_d$)[29]
PST-3SG-read-BEN-3OB M-too M-koech book-SG/DEF

Kiptoo read a book for Kipkoech.

The verb as a result of derivation results in the sentence having three arguments: *Kiptoo, Kipkoech* and *kitabu* (book).These are the subject, direct object and the benefactive argument. The morpheme {*-chi*}(for) is suffixed after the verb root.[30] The benefactive morpheme bears a H tone. According to the Mirror Principle, the order of the morphemes in the verb should mirror directly the order of the arguments. In this example, the morphemes {-ø-},{-chi} and {-ø-} are ordered to mirror the order of the arguments as subject >benefactive>direct object. Tugen however does not always obey the mirror principle in that the order of the arguments can be moved around. This can be seen in (37c) where it can be benefactive>subject>direct object. The order can also be direct object>subject>benefactive or direct object>benefactive>subject as in (37d) and (37e) respectively.

[29] a in this case is the applied while d is the direct object.
[30] This affix can also be used for the Allative role (movement towards) depending on the semantic notions associated with a particular verb.

(37c) Kòò -ø-sóó ˈmán-chí-ø Kìp-kóéèch Kíp-ˈtóó kìtàbúú(VO_aSO_d)
PST-3SG- read-BEN-3OB M-koech M-too book

Kiptoo read a book for Kipkoech.

(37d) Kòò -ø-sóó ˈmán-chí-ø kìtàbú-ú Kíp-ˈtóó Kìp-kóéèch (VO_dSO_a)
PST-3SG- read-BEN-3OB book-SG/DEF M-too M-koech

(37e) Kòò -ø-sóó ˈmán-chí-ø kìtàbú-ú Kìp-kóéèch Kíp-ˈtóó (VO_dSO_a)
PST-3SG- read-BEN-3OB book-SG/DEF M-koech M-too

The benefactive affix {*-chí*}(for) changes the structure of the verb by increasing the number of arguments from two to three. The argument *Kipkoech* is introduced into the sentence as an applied object. In (37b) another head BENP is introduced into the structure of (37a) to check for the abstract benefactive features carried by the benefactive morpheme {*-chí*}. The benefactive head also provides for SPEC/BENP where the accusative case features of the applied benefactive argument are checked. This is shown in the tree structure below:

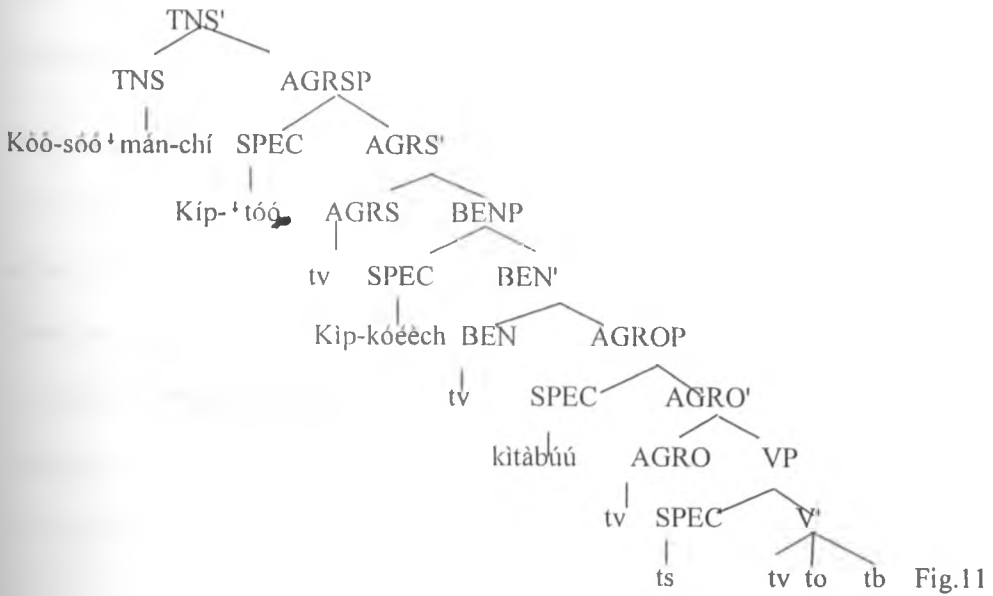

Fig.11

According to the Mirror Principle, the order of the morphemes in the verb should determine the order of the arguments. The morphemes on the verb are tense>subject >benefactive>object. This means that the subject should precede the benefactive with the object being last. But as shown in (37c) the order of the arguments in Tugen can change. This means the position of BENP, AGRSP and AGROP can trade their positions without affecting the meaning of the sentence because the meaning of the sentence is not fully carried by the structure of the sentence like in English constructions. Thus in Tugen the Mirror Principle is not obeyed.

In the structure, the verb overtly moves to TNS via AGRO' and BEN' and AGRS' to check for agreement object features, benefactive features, agreement subject features and tense features. The subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case while the direct object moves to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case. The benefactive object moves to the SPEC/BENP for benefactive case checking. Both the applied and the direct object bear accusative case. Because there are no morphological markers for AGRO', feature checking is done covertly at LF.

3.2.1.3 Instrumental/Locative

The instrumental is an applicative that shows what instrument is used to perform an action. The locative on the other hand indicates the location of an action. Both the instrumental and locative in Tugen are represented by the morpheme *{-én}*(at) which is suffixed to the verb. This morpheme bears an underlying H tone. The instrumental morpheme changes the verb from being transitive to being ditransitive by introducing the instrument in example (38b) *kìróktó* (stick). For example:

(38a) Kóó-ø- mâàs-ø chíí-tó tèètá (VSO)
PST-3SG- hit-3OB person-DEF/SG cow:DEF/SG

The person hit the cow.

(38b) Kóò- ø- mâàs -én-ø chíí-tó kìrók-tó tèètá (VSO_aO_d)
PST-3SG-hit-INS-3OB person-DEF/SG stick-DEF/SG cow-DEF/SG

The person hit the cow with a stick.

The locative morpheme {*-én*} is suffixed to the verb and in this example it introduces the locative argument *bátè* (back). For example:

(39a) Kìì-ø- lá-ø pàând-ék chéép-yóósé(VOS)
PST-3SG-carry-3OB maize-DEF/PL FE-womanDEF/SG

The woman carried maize.

(39b) Kíí -ø- láà -én-ø pàând-ék bát-é chéép-yóó-sé (VO_dO_aS)
PST-3SG-carry-LOC-3OB maize-DEF/PL back-DEF/SG FE-woman-DEF/SG

The woman carried maize on her back.

According to the Mirror Principle the order of the arguments in the sentence should follow that of the morphemes on the verb. Like with the benefactive this is not the case. The order of the morphemes in the verb is subject >instrumental/locative>direct object. The order of the arguments in the structure does not always follow that of the morphemes in the verb. The order of the arguments in the sentence can be direct object> instrument/locative>subject; instrument/locative>subject>object and subject > object > instrumental/locative. The order of the arguments is interchangeable just as the order of the arguments in the benefactive construction.

The instrumental/locative {*-én*} (at) introduces a new argument into the sentence. So the structure needs a new head to check for the instrumental/locative head features and the case features of the locative/instrumental argument. In the structure therefore

a new head SPEC/LOC/INS' is created to check for the locative/instrumental head features and the case features of the locative/instrumental argument. Because the order of the arguments in the sentence is relatively free, their order in the structure is also relatively free. The structure for the co-occurrence in (38b) is as shown below:

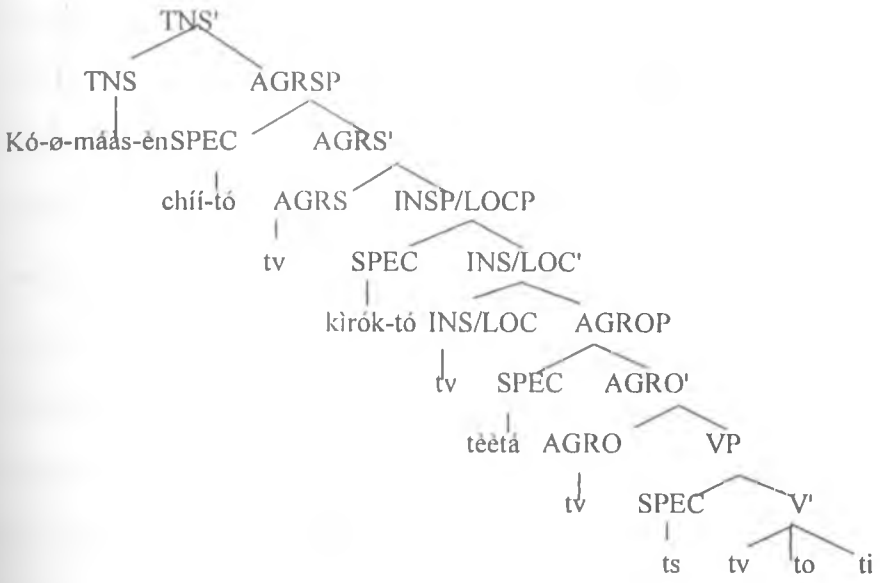

Fig.12

In the structure the verb moves from the VP via AGRO' to check for agreement object features, the INS/LOC', to check for instrumental/locative features via AGRS' to check for agreement subject features and finally to TNS' to check for the tense features. The subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. The instrument/locative argument moves to the SPEC/INSP/LOCP to check for instrumental/locative case features while the object argument moves to SPEC/AGROP to check for the accusative case.

3.2.3 Argument Decreasing Devices

There are grammatical-function changing processes that reduce the number of arguments that a verb can take. These are passive, reflexive/reciprocal and the antipassive.

3.2.3.1 Passive

The passive is a construction in which the patient argument is promoted to be the subject of the new clause. The passive is marked on the verb by the morpheme {*-kí-*} which is prefixed to the verb root after the tense marker. This passive decreases the valence of the verb by omitting the subject leaving the construction with one argument. The argument left takes the role of the subject. However unlike any subject which bears the nominative case marking, this subject bears accusative case marking as seen in (40b). The verb changes from transitive to intransitive. The word order of the construction is thus VS. This is exemplified in (40a) and (4ob) below:

(40a) Kíí -ø- bíìr-ø lâák-wéé kâámée
PST-3SG-beat-3OB child-DEF/SG mother-DEF/SG

The mother beat the child.

(40b) Klì- kí- bíìr lâák-wéé
PST-PASS-beat child-DEF/SG.

The child was beaten

As seen in (40b) the tone pattern on the word *lâák-wéé* (child) has not changed with the passive. It still has accusative case marking while the structure of the sentence is VS. This shows an ergative case marking strategy where the S of the intransitive clause in (40b) has the same case marking as the O of the transitive clause in (40a).

The passive triggers the building of another head, PASS' into the structure to check for the passive features. Because the object is promoted to the subject position, in the structure SPEC/PASSP is created to check for the accusative case features of this passive subject. In the structure below, the passive affix {*-kí-*} reduces the number of arguments from two to one by demoting the logical subject and reassigning the object with an accusative case to subject status. The passive can trade places with the object because the passive morpheme reassigns the object to the passive subject status. This is shown below:

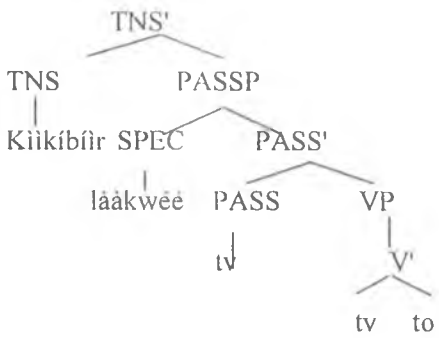

Fig.13

In the structure above, the verb moves to TNS' via PASS' to check for tense and passive features. The passive subject moves to SPEC/PASSP to check for its accusative features. This is contrary to the case of other constructions where the subject takes the nominative case. It should be expected that the subject takes the nominative subject case but this is not the case as the subject retains its objective case of LH tone[31]. The structure has no AGROP because there is no overt object in the sentence and there is no SPEC/VP for the sentence has no nominative subject.

[31] Schroeder (2008:59) discusses this as a typical ergative case marking strategy.

3.2.3.2 Antipassive

Cooreman (1994: 50) says the antipassive is a construction typical for ergative languages and occurs with ergative constructions as a morphological alternative for the same transitive proposition. Dixon (2000: 9) says in the antipassive the underlying O argument goes into the peripheral position. In Tugen the O argument is omitted and there is an affix to indicate the antipassive. The antipassive in Tugen reduces the number of arguments by omitting the object thereby leaving an intransitive construction with a VS word order. The antipassive marker {*-ísy*}[32] is suffixed to the verb root. This marker bears an underlying H tone. This is seen in (41a) and (41b):-

(41a) ø -åm-ø-ˈéí kím-nyé lååk-wéé[33].
3SG-eat-3OB-IMP food-DEF/SG child-DEF/SG

The child is eating food.

(41b) ø -åm-ˈísy- éí lååk-wéé.
3SG-eat-ANT-IMP child-DEF/SG

The child is eating.

In the sentence structure, a new head is introduced to check for the ANT' features of the verb. The sentence above also has an aspectual marker. Therefore another head ASP' is also created so as to check for its phi-features. This is shown below:

---

[32] {is}and {s} are its allomorphs.{ is} occurs in the perfective aspect and while{s} occurs in the imperfective aspect especially where the use of {isy} brings ambiguity with another similar lexeme for example-yoksei (he is asking for payment) and yogisyei (he is herding)or kwangsei (he is cooking) and kwangisyei (he is wondering)

[33] In this example, both the subject and the object have the same tone patterns and in order to different their cases he animacy hierarchy is used where animate objects take agentive roles.

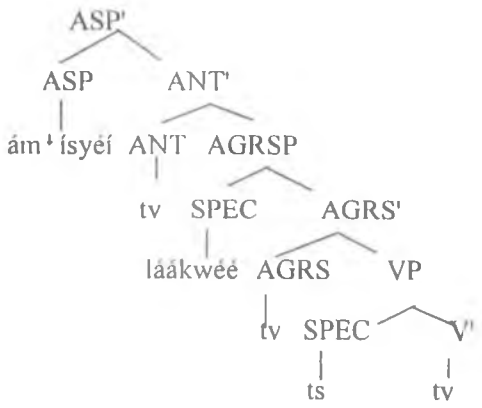

Fig.14

In the antipassive sentence the verb moves from its VP position thro AGRS', ANT' and ASP' to check for the agreement, antipassive and aspectual features. The subject moves from the SPEC/VP to SPEC /AGRSP to check for its nominative case features. There is no head for the AGROP that is created for the construction has no object. The construction is intransitive with a VS word order.

3.2.3.3 Reflexive/Reciprocal

The reflexive is a construction in which the object of the verb is integrated and therefore the sentence appears with only one argument. The reciprocal on the other hand is a construction in which the action expressed by the verb is reciprocated by the participants involved. In the reflexive, the S of the derived verb indicates co-reference between A and O for the reflexive and in the reciprocal the S which involves the set of the participants involved indicates co-reference between the A and O for the reciprocal. The reflexive/reciprocal is marked by the suffix {*-géí*}(self) in Tugen. This reflexive reduces the object in the construction by integrating it and thereby leaving an intransitive sentence. In Tugen, the object is integrated by way of this suffix which appears verb finally. This is seen in (42a) and (42b).

(42a) Kā- ø- pá -ˈéí-ø[34] Chéé-ˈróónó Chéé-róónó[35]
PST-3SG-feed-IMP-3OB. FE-rono FE-rono

Cherono was feeding Cherono

(42b) Kā- ø- pā- ˈé- gèì Chéé-ˈróónó
PST-3SG-feed-IMP-REF FE-rono

Cherono was feeding herself.

The introduction of a reflexive affix {-gèì}(self) on the verb triggers the creation of another head in the sentence structure namely the REF'. This affix also reduces the presence of the AGROP in the structure. This is because the object is incorporated into the verb by the reflexive affix. Therefore, there is no head that is created for the AGROP. The sentence also has an aspectual marker and therefore an aspectual head ASP' is also created in the structure. This is shown below:

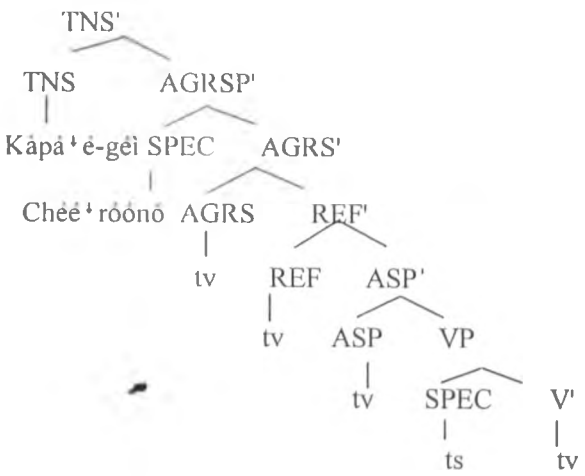

Fig.15

[34] The aspectual marker {ei} changes to {e} when not in the final position.
[35] The first Cheeroono has a super high tone than the second one.

In this structure, the verb moves from the VP to TNS' via ASP', REF' and AGRS', to check for the aspect, reflexive, agreement and tense features. The subject moves to the SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. The resultant word order is VS.

In the case of the reciprocal, two independent sentences that are coordinated by the conjunction *ák* (and) are reduced into one. The activity involved is reciprocated by each of the participants. The reciprocal affix is similar to the reflexive in Tugen. This is shown below:

(43a) ø -pír-ˈéí- ø Chéép-túúm Chéé-ˈrúútó ák kó-ø- pír-ˈéí-ø
3SG-beat-IMP-3OB FE-tum FE-ruto and TNS-3SG-beat-IMP-3OB
Chéé-rúútó Chéép-túúm
FE- ruto FE-tum

Cheptum is beating Cheruto and Cheruto is beating Cheptum.

(43b) ø- pír- ˈé- géí Chéép-túúm ák Chéé-rúútó
3PL-beat-IMP-REC FE-tum and FE-ruto

Cheptum and Cheruto are beating each other.

The reciprocal affix {*-géì*}(self) introduces the creation of another lexical head namely REC' to the structure. The object is incorporated as the affix REC' thus AGRO is not created in the sentence structure. This results in a single intransitive construction where both subjects are co-joined by the conjunction *ák* as seen in the tree structure below:

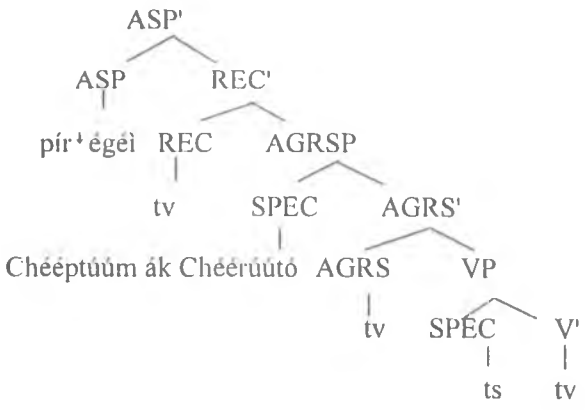

Fig.16

In the structure the verb moves from the VP via AGRS' and REC' to the ASP' to check for agreement, reciprocal and aspectual features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The resultant word order is VS.

3.3 Co-Occurrences and Sentence Structure

Tugen allows the co-occurrence of derivative affixes which increase the number of arguments in a construction. The grammatical function changing processes allow the verb to take up to five logical arguments. The co-occurrences of verb increasing arguments in the language involve the benefactive and instrumental/locative, benefactive and another benefactive and benefactive-benefactive and instrumental/locative.

3.3.1 Benefactive and Instrumental/Locative

The benefactive affix {*-chí*} (for) and the instrumental/locative {*én*} (at) can co-occur in a verb. In the co-occurrence the benefactive affix is suffixed to the verb root followed by the instrumental/locative. These co-occurrences increase the number of

arguments to four and they make the sentence structure complex. In discourse however, the arguments can be omitted and the sentence remains grammatical as long as they are represented in the morphosyntax. This co-occurrence is shown below:

(44a) Kíí -ø- róòng-chì-néén-ø Kì-béét chèè-gó kìgóòmb-éé máámá[36]
PST-3SG-pour-BEN-INS-3OB M-bet milk-DEF cup-SG/DEF mother

Mother poured milk to Kibet with a cup

The order of the derivative affixes is subject >benefactive>instrumental/locative >object. These co-occurrences do not determine the order of the arguments. Any of the arguments can trade places and the Mirror Principle is not obeyed. The order can be: subject>benefactive>object>instrument; object>benefactive>subject>instrument; instrument>benefactive>object>subject etc. This is exemplified in (44b) below:

(44b) Kíí- ø-róòng-chì-néén-ø máámá Kìbéét chèègó kìgóòmb-éé
PST-3SG-pour-BEN-INS-3OB mother M-bet milk-DEF cup-SG/DEF

Mother poured some milk to Kibet with a cup.

The co-occurrence of the benefactive and the locative/instrumental affix triggers the creation of two heads in the sentence structure. The benefactive head (BENP) is created to check for benefactive features and the instrumental/locative head (INSP/LOCP) is created to check for the instrument/locative features. The structure for (44a) is shown below:

[36] The tone on maama is super H.

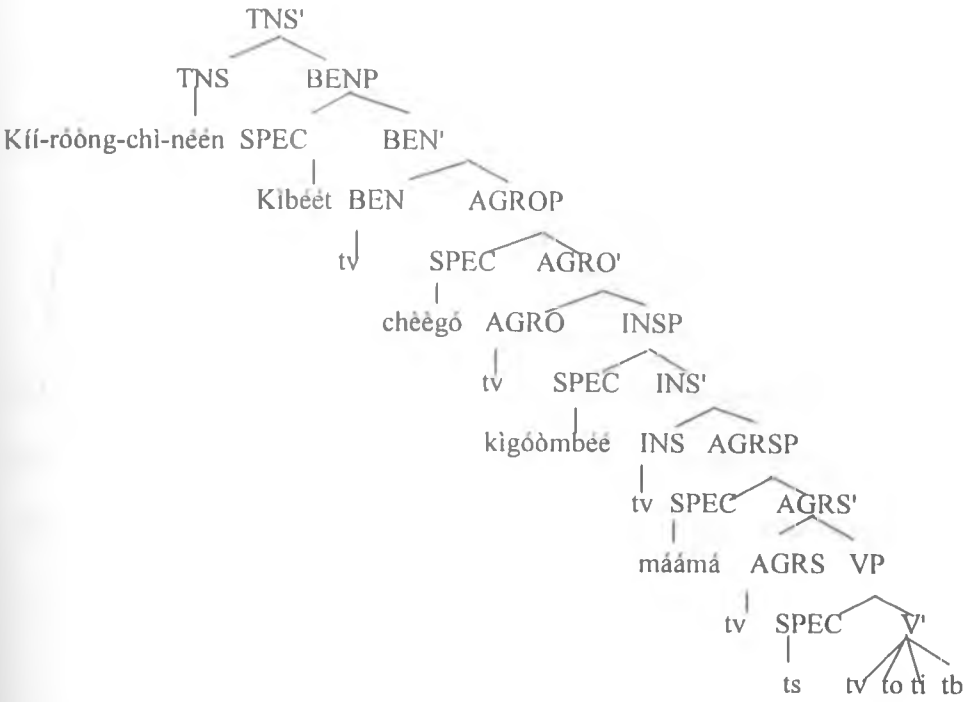

Fig. 17

In the structure the verb moves from the VP to TNS' through AGRS', INS', AGRO' and BEN' to check for agreement subject, instrumental/locative, agreement object, benefactive and tense features. The benefactive object moves to the SPEC/BENP to check for benefactive accusative case, the direct object moves to the SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case, the instrumental/locative object moves to the SPEC/INSP/LOCP to check for locative or instrumental accusative case while the subject moves to the SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case. The co-occurrences result in VOOOS. Since the order of the arguments can be traded the order can also be VOOSO or VSOOO word orders.

If the instrumental or locative argument is left in an oblique position as a prepositional phrase, the locative or the instrumental argument is being emphasized. This is shown in (44c) below:

(44c) Kíí- ø-róóng-chì- néén-ø Kìbéét chéégó máámá éng kìgóómbéé
PST-3SG-pour-BEN-INS-3OB M-bet milk mother PREP cup

Mother poured some milk to Kibet with a cup.

This co-occurrence can appear in a reduced version depending on the arguments that can be recovered from context. Those arguments which cannot be recovered appear lexically while those that can be recovered contextually appear morphologically. For example:

(44d) Kíí- ø-róóng-chì- néén-ø Kìbéét máámá
PST-3SG-pour-BEN-INS-3OB M-bet mother

Mother poured something to Kibet with it.

(44e) Kíí- -ø-róóng-chì- néén-ø chéégó máámá
PST-3SG-pour-BEN-INS-3OB milk mother

Mother poured some milk to someone with it.

3.3.2 Benefactive and Benefactive

The benefactive morpheme {*-chí*}(for) can co-occur with another benefactive morpheme. The verb structure therefore has two similar affixes co-occurring together. This co-occurrence has the meaning of someone doing something for somebody else on behalf of another person. This co-occurrence increases the number of arguments to four as the two benefactive objects become part of the core arguments. These arguments are required for semantic interpretation so all of them are overt. The benefactive morphemes are separated by the aspect {*-nèè-*}. This is shown below:

(45a) Kòò -ø-sòòm- chí- ø Kìpkóéèch ròpìsíék kàámèé éng kwándá
PST-3SG-borrow-BEN-3OB M-koech money mother from father

Mother borrowed money for Kipkoech from the father

(45b) Kòò-ø -sòòm-chì- nèé-chí-ø Kìpkóéèch ròpìsíék kwándá kàámèé
PST-3SG-ask- BEN-IMP-BEN-3OB M-koech money father mother

The mother borrowed money for Kipkoech from the father.

The co-occurrence of benefactive and benefactive does not dictate the order of arguments relative to the affixes in the verb. The arguments in the structure can trade their positions.

In the sentence structure, the PP *éng kwándá* (from father) in (45a) has been promoted to become one of the core arguments of the verb. The verb therefore has two derivational affixes.All applied objects take accusative case marking. Therefore new heads are created in the structure for feature checking. These are BENP1 and BENP2. This is seen in the structure below:

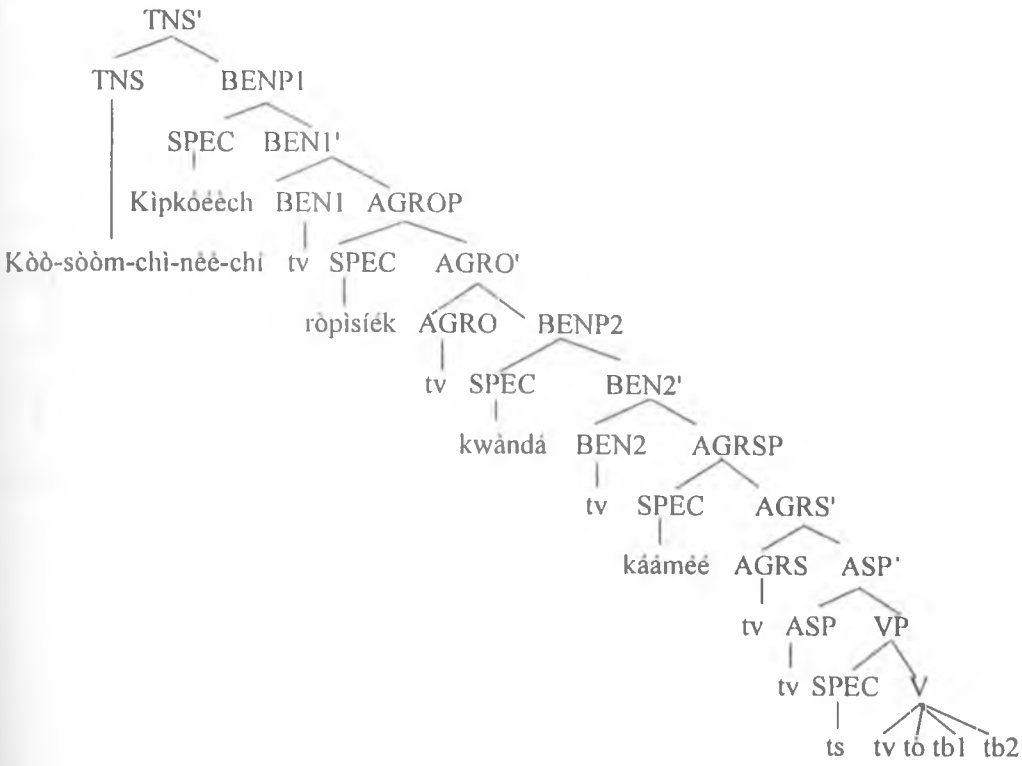

Fig.18

In the sentence structure the verb moves to TNS' via ASP'/AGRS'/BEN1'/AGRO' and BEN2' to check for aspect, agreement subject, benefactive 1, agreement object and benefactive 2 features. One benefactive object moves to the SPEC/BENP1 to check for benefactive accusative case. The second benefactive object moves from VP to SPEC/BENP2 to check for benefactive accusative case features. The direct object moves from VP to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative while the subject moves from the SPEC/VP to the SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. This results in VOOOS word order.

3.3.3 Benefactive-Benefactive- Instrumental/Locative

This co-occurrence is slightly different from the previous co-occurrence in that the locative/instrumental affix {*-nɛ́ɛ́n*}(with) is added to the verb[37]. The verb in this process bears five arguments. However in most cases this appears unnatural so the second benefactive or the instrumental/locative appears in the oblique position by the use of the preposition *ɛ́ng'* (from) as shown in (46c). Between the two benefactives is the aspectual suffix. The instrumental/locative affix bears a H tone. Both benefactives bear H tones. This is exemplified below:

(46a) Kòò-ø- sòòm - chì-nɛ́ɛ́- chí-ø Kìpkóɛ́ɛ́ch ròpìsíɛ́k káámɛ́ɛ́ kwándá
PST-3SG- borrow-BEN1-IMP-BEN2-3OB M-koech money mother father.

The mother borrowed money for Kipkoech from the father.

(46b) Kòò-ø-sòòm - chì- nɛ́ɛ́-chì- nɛ́ɛ́n-ø Kìpkóɛ́ɛ́ch kwándá ròpìsíɛ́k òòréɛ́
PST-3SG-borrow- BEN1-IMP-BEN2-LOC-3OB M-koechfather money road
káámɛ́ɛ́
mother

The mother borrowed money for Kipkoech on the road from the father.

(46c) Kòò -ø-sòòm - chì- nɛ́ɛ́-chì- nɛ́ɛ́n-ø òòréɛ́ ròpìsíɛ́k Kìpkóɛ́ɛ́ch káámɛ́ɛ́
PST-3SG-borrow-BEN1-IMP-BEN2-INS-3OB road money M-koech mother
ɛ́ng' kwándá
PREP father

The mother borrowed money for Kipkoech on the road from the father.

In (46b) the order of the affixes in the verb is subject {*-ø-*}, benefactive 1{*-chi-*}, aspect{*-nee*}, benefactive 2{*-chi-*} and the instrument/locative {-neen}and object {*-ø-*}. The arguments do not necessarily obey the order as postulated by Mirror Principle.

[37] The instrumental/locative affix {en} appears as {neen} due to phonological constraints. This is to break the occurrence of a vowel sequence. This constraint is further replicated with the aspectual affix which appears as {nee}.

The arguments can occur in any position. However, a sentence having five arguments in discourse never occurs. Though correct grammatically, the structure is too heavy for processing. For this reason, the applied objects namely the instrumental/locative, the benefactive or the beneficiary of the benefactive role is usually left in the oblique position as shown in (46c).

The co-occurrence of the benefactive-benefactive-locative/instrumental affixes in (46b) calls for the creation of heads to check for the features carried by these affixes. Therefore in the structure the heads BENP1', BENP2' and LOC/INSP' are created. This is shown below:

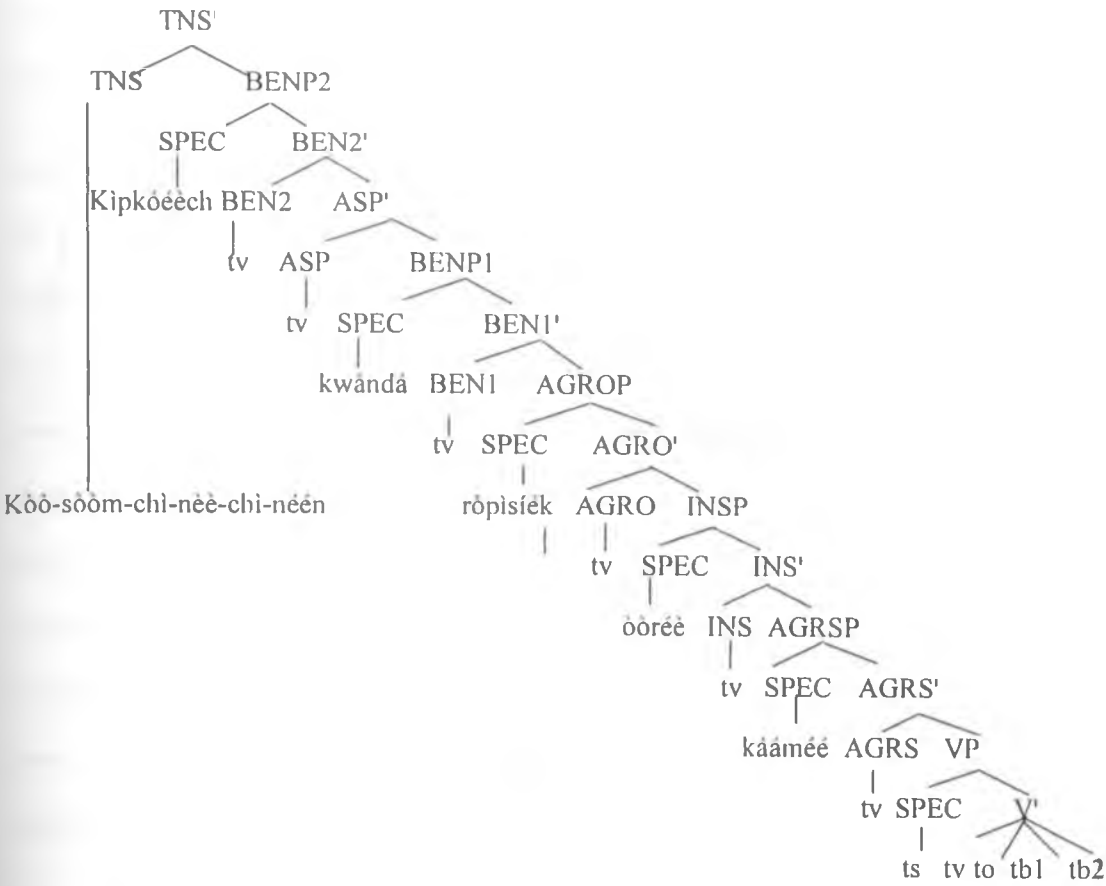

Fig.19

In the sentence structure the verb moves to TNS' via AGRS', LOC/INS', AGRO', BEN1', ASP' and BEN2' to check for the tense, agreement subject, locative/instrumental, agreement object, benefactive 1, aspect and benefactive 2 features. The subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case. The direct object moves to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case. One benefactive object moves to SPEC/BENP1 to check for benefatıve case while the other benefactive argument moves to SPEC/BENP2 to check for the other benefactive case.

The instrument/locative moves to the SPEC/INSP/LOCP to check for instrumental/locative case.

3.3.4 Conclusions on Word Order

The co-occurrence of derivative affixes in the verb that increase the number of arguments in a sentence makes the sentence structure complex. This has also been reported in the Arror dialect of Tugen by Chebii (2008). These co-occurrences are the benefactive and locative/instrumental, benefactive and benefactive and benefactive-benefactive- locative /instrumental. These co-occurrences create logical arguments which have word orders like VOOOS and VSOOO. The arguments in the sentence can trade places without affecting the meaning of the construction. However, the co-occurrence that creates five logical arguments usually has one of the applied objects being in the oblique. The argument in the oblique is usually the one being emphasized.

3.4 Co-occurrence of Increasing and Decreasing Devices

There are co-occurrences of derivative affixes that increase and decrease the number of arguments in a sentence and thereby affecting word order. In these co-occurrences the benefactive can co-occur with the reflexive/reciprocal, the pas ive, the antipassive and also with the antipassive and the reflexive/reciprocal. The passive can co-occur with the instrumental/locative, the antipassive, and the benefactive together with the instrumental, the antipassive together with the benefactive and the instrumental/locative and the passive and benefactive also together with the antipassive and instrumental/locative. The locative/instrumental can co-occur with

the reflexive/reciprocal. These co-occurrences change word order from VOSO/VSOO to VSO/VOS, VO, VS and V.

3.4.1 Benefactive- Reciprocal/Reflexive

The benefactive morpheme *–chí* introduces a benefactive object into the sentence structure. The reflexive/reciprocal {*-gêì*}(for) reduces the object. The benefactive which is argument increasing and the reflexive /reciprocal which is argument reducing can co-occur in the verb. In this co-occurrence, the benefactive suffix {*-chí*} comes before the reciprocal/ reflexive. These co-occurrences result in the reduction of the arguments to two. In both the reciprocal and reflexive the applied objects are integrated by the use of the affix {*-gêì*}(self). The benefactive object is integrated into the verb by the reflexive/reciprocal affix. In this process, the reflexive/reciprocal affix bears HL tones. In these co-occurrences, the word order changes from VOSO/VSOO to VSO/VOS. This is seen in (47a) & (47b).

(47a) Kìì -ø -ìp -chí-ø kàlâám-ít Chéé-ˈlágát Chéép-kóórîìr ágó
PST-3SG-take-BEN-3OB pen-DEF/SG FE-lagat FE-korir and

kìì-ø - ìp -chí-ø Chéép-ˈkóórîìr kàlâám-ít Chéé-lágát
PST-3SG-take-BEN-3OB FE-korir pen-DEF/SG FE-lagat

Chelagat took a pen to Chepkorir and Chepkorir took a pen to Chelagat

(47b) Kìì-ø- ìp -chí-ø - gêì kàlâám-ìsyék Chéé-ˈlágát ák
PST-3PL-take-BEN-3OB -REC pen-DEF/PL FE-lagat and
Chéép-ˈkóórîìr(VOS)
FE-korir

Chelagat and Chepkorir took pens for each other.

(47c) Kìì -ø- ìp - chí- ø gêì Chéé-ˈlágát ák Chéép-ˈkóórîìr
PST-3PL- takeBEN-3OB- REC FE-lagat and FE-korir

kàlàám-ìsyèk(VSO)
pen-DEF/PL

Chelagat and Chepkorir took pens for each other..

The co-occurrence of the benefactive and the reciprocal does not determine the order of the arguments in the sentence as shown in (47b) and (47c). In the sentence structure, the heads created for feature checking are the subject, object the tense and the reciprocal. This is shown below:

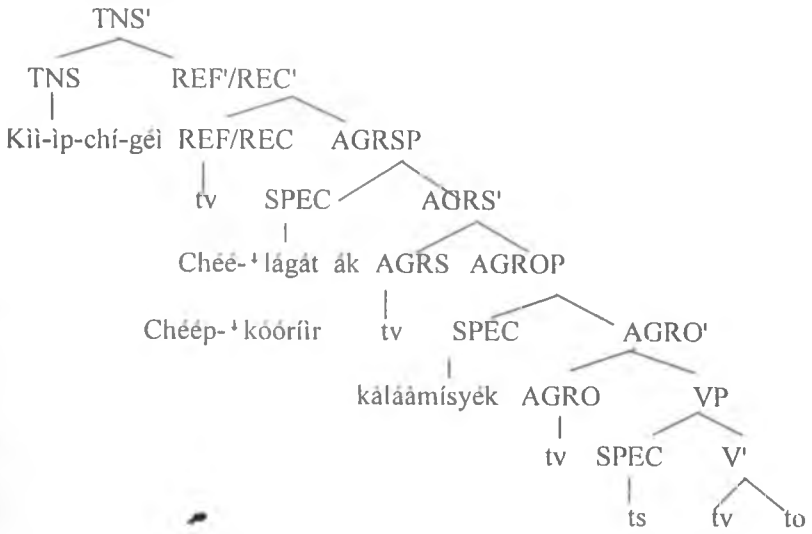

Fig.20

In the structure the sentence has only two arguments-the subject and object. The verb moves from VP to TNS' via REF'/REC', AGRS' and AGRO' to check for tense, reciprocal/reflexive, agreement subject and agreement object features. The subject moves to the SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking while the object moves to the SPEC/AGROP for accusative case checking. The word order is VOS/VSO.

3.4.2 Benefactive and Passive

The passive morpheme {*-kí-*} can occur with the benefactive morpheme {*-chí*} in a verb. The passive construction reduces the subject while the benefactive introduces the applied object. In this construction, the subject is demoted with the construction having an intransitive subject with accusative marking and an applied object as seen in below:

(48a) Kòò-kí- ǎǎl ngòr-íé[38]
PST-PASS-buy dress-DEF/SG

A dress was bought.

(48b) Kòò- kí- ǎl- chí ngòr-íé kǎǎ ˡ m-éé (VSO)
PST-PASS-buy BEN dress-DEF/SG motherDEF/SG

A dress was bought for mother

(48c) Kòò- kí- ǎl- chí kǎǎ ˡ m-éé ngòr-íé (VSO)
PST-PASS-buy-BEN mother-DEF/SG cloth-DEF/SG

A dress was bought for mother

The co-occurrence between the passive and the benefactive morphemes in the verb does not dictate the order of the passive and benefactive arguments in the sentence as shown in (48b) and (48c). In the structure, the heads created for feature checking are: BENP, PASS' and TNS'. This is shown below:

[38] The Low tone on the last syllable of ngorie is H hanging.

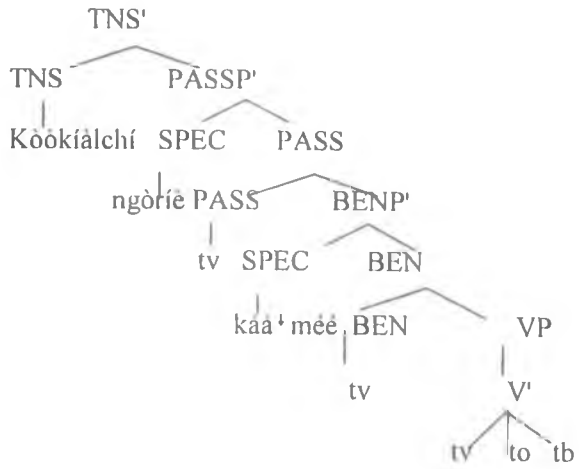

Fig.21

The direct object moves from the VP to the SPEC/PASSP for accusative case checking as a passive subject. The benefactive argument moves to the SPEC/BENP for benefactive case checking. The verb moves from the VP via BEN' and PASS' to TNS' to check for, benefactive, passive and tense features. The word order is VOO.

It is also possible to turn the benefactive object into the passive. When this happens the direct object is omitted as seen below:

(49a) Kìì- kí- nôp- chí lól-éé lâákw-éé
PST-PASS-sew-BEN bag-DEF/SG child-DEF/SG

A bag was sewn for the child.

(49b) Kìì- kí- nôp-chí lâákw-éé
PST-PASS-sew-BEN child-DEF/SG.

The child was sewn for.

The sentence structure for the sentence is as follows:

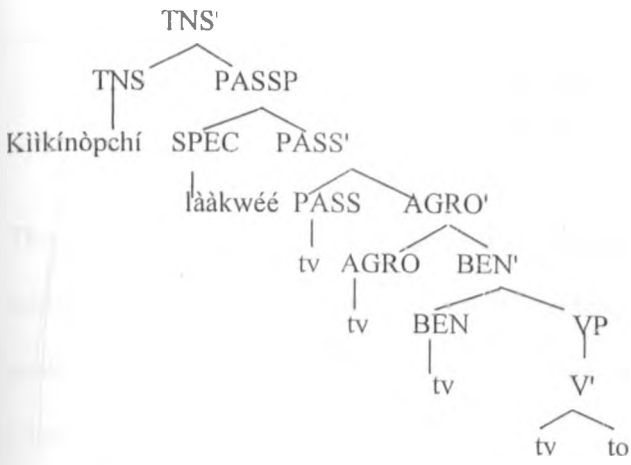

Fig.22

The sentence is intransitive with a VS word order where the S has accusative case marking.

3.4.3 Benefactive and Antipassive

The antipassive {*-ís-*} reduces the object while the benefactive {*-chí*} introduces the applied object thus increasing the number of arguments. When the two co-occur the direct object is eliminated leaving the construction with the subject and an applicative object. Thus the resultant verb has two arguments. The co-occurrence has the antipassive suffix coming before the benefactive. This is seen in the following examples:

(50a) Kòò -ø- sír- ís chéép-t-ó
PST-3SG-write ANT FE-girl-DEF/SG

The girl wrote.

(50b) Kòò-ø- sír- ˈísyé- chí chéép-t-ó tùùpch-éé[39] (VSO)
PST-3SG-write-ANT-BEN FE-girl-DEF/SG brother-DEF/SG

[39] The co-occurrence of BEN and ANT affixes alter the morphological form of the antipassive from {ís} to {isye} when it occurs before another affix that begins with a consonant.

The girl wrote for the brother

(50c) Kòò-ø- sír- ˈísyé- chí tùùpch-éé chéép-t-ó (VOS)
PST-3SG- write-ANT-BEN brother FE-girl-DEF/SG

The girl wrote for the brother

The co-occurrence of the antipassive and benefactive affixes is not necessarily mirrored in the order of the arguments in the sentence. The arguments can trade their positions. In the structure, the antipassive and the benefactive heads are created for (50c) as exemplified below:

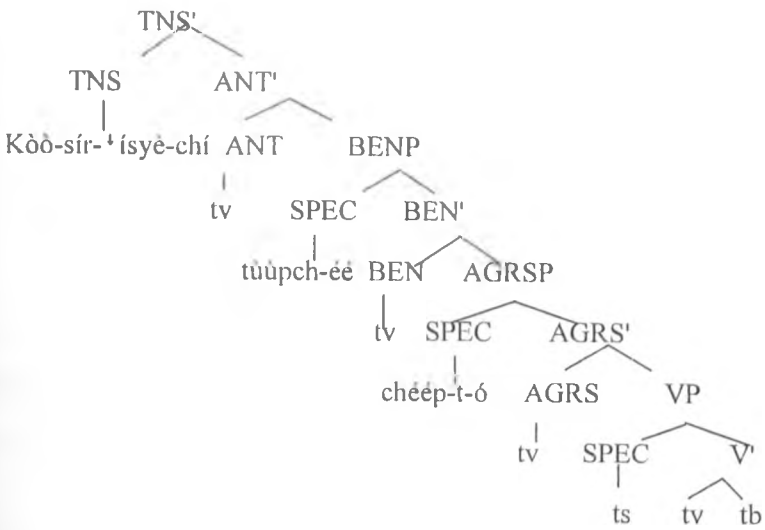

Fig.23

In this structure, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRS',/BEN' and ANT' to check for benefactive, antipassive, agreement subject and tense features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking while the applied object moves to the SPEC/BENP for accusative case checking. The resultant word order is VSO/VOS.

3.4.4 Benefactive- Antipassive –Reflexive/Reciprocal

Unlike the previous co-occurrence of antipassive and benefactive, this co-occurrence introduces another reciprocal/reflexive affix to the verb structure. The antipassive affix comes first, followed by the benefactive and finally the reflexive/reciprocal. The order of the affixes is fixed. The antipassive takes off the direct object. The benefactive introduces the applied object which is incorporated through the reflexive/reciprocal affix into the verb as an object. This process results in the verb being intransitive. This is shown below:

(51a) ø- óm-ɬísyé-chí- ní- tó-éék tó-éék[40]
3PL-eat-ANT-BEN-IMP visitor-DEF/PL visitor-DEF/PL

The visitors are eating for the visitors.

(51b) ø -óm-ɬísyé- chí- ní- gêì tó-éék
3PL-eat-ANT-BEN-IMP-REC visitors-DEF/PL.

The visitors are eating for themselves.

In the sentence structure the only argument head that is created is AGRSP. This is shown below:

[40] The tone on the second toeek is super H.

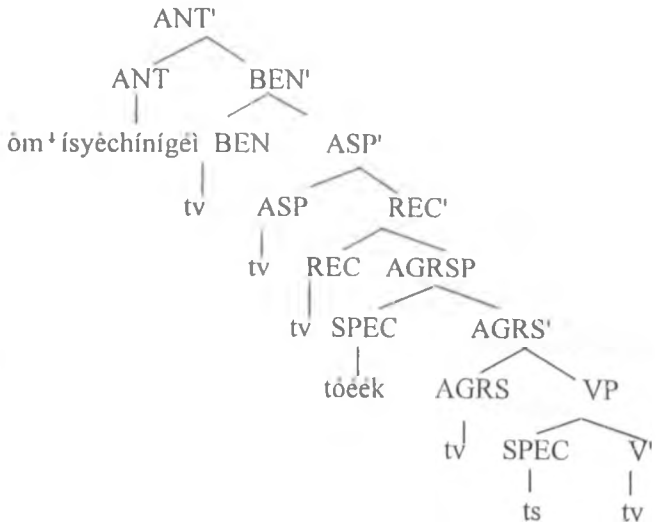

Fig. 24

The only argument in the structure is the subject and it moves from the SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case. The verb moves from the VP through AGRS', REC', ASP', BEN' and finally to ANT' to check for agreement subject, reflexive, aspectual, benefactive and antipassive features. The resultant word order is VS.

3.4.5 Passive and Instrumental/Locative

The passive {*-ki-*} can co-occur with the instrumental/locative {*-en*}. In the co-occurrence the subject is omitted and the direct object takes the position of the passive subject. Unlike the nominative subject the passive subject takes the accusative case. The instrumental/locative introduces an applicative object therefore the structure is transitive with an absolutive object and an applied object. The passive is prefixed while the instrumental/locative is suffixed to the verb. The number of arguments reduces from three to two. This is shown below:

(52a) Kìì- í-pát-éèn mbár-éè Kíp'sáàng má'rú-ú.
PST-3PL- dig-INS shamba-DEF/SG Kipsang hoe-DEF/SG

Kipsang was digging the shamba with a hoe.

(52b) Kìì- kí- pát-éèn mbár-éè má'rú-ú (VSO)
PST-PASS-dig- INS shamba-DEF/SG hoe-DEF/SG

The shamba was dug with a hoe.

The applied object can also be passivized and when this happens the direct object is omitted leaving a VS word order as seen in (52c) below:

(52c) Kìì- kí- pát-éèn má'rú-ú.
PST-PASS-dig-INS hoe-DEF/SG.

It was dug with a hoe.

The co-occurrence of the passive and the instrumental affixes does not necessarily dictate the order of the arguments in the sentence. The two arguments can trade positions. The structure for this co-occurrence is as seen below:

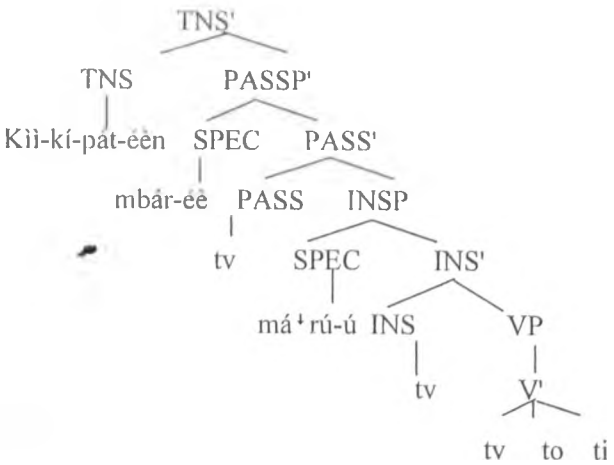

Fig.25

In the structure there is no head for the SPEC/VP for there is no nominative subject. The passive takes the position of the accusative subject in SPEC/PASSP. The verb

moves from the VP via INS', PASS' and finally to TNS' to check for instrumental, passive and tense features. The object moves to the SPEC/PASSP to check for accusative case checking. The instrumental object moves to SPEC/INSP to check for accusative case. In this co-occurrence, the word order is VSO of an absolutive object and an applied object.

3.4.6 Passive-Antipassive

The passive {*-kí/-*}and the antipassive {*-ísy-*} can co-occur in a sentence. The antipassive reduces the object while the passive reduces the subject thereby leaving the verb without any argument. The passive is prefixed while the antipassive is suffixed after the verb root followed by the aspectual marker. This results in the verb being intransitive.

(53a) Kìì-ø- òm- ˈísy- éí lɑ́ɑ́kw-ɛ́ɛ́
PST-3SG-eat –ANT-IMP child-DEF/SG

The child was eating.

(53b) Kìì- kí- òm-ˈísy- éí.
PST-PASS-eat-ANT-IMP

Eating was going on.

The sentence structure has no heads for both the subject and the object as shown below:

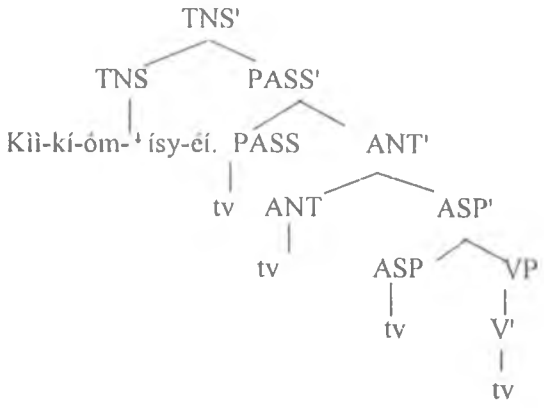

Fig.26

The verb moves from the VP to TNS' through ASP', ANT' and PASS' to check for aspectual, antipassive and passive features. The resultant word order is V.

3.4.7 Passive-Benefactive-Instrumental/Locative

A verb can be made complex by combining the benefactive {*-chí*},(for) passive {*-kí-*} and the instrumental or locative {*-één*}[41](with/at). In this co-occurrence, the subject is reduced by the presence of the passive. The direct object becomes the passive subject with an accusative case. The benefactive introduces one applied object while the instrumental/locative introduces another applied object. This is shown below:

(54) Kìì- kí- kúúr-ˈchí-néén kímny-éé sááng' tóórúsí-ék
PST-PASS-call-BEN-LOC/INS ugali-DEF/SG outside initiate-DEF/PL

The initiates were called to pick ugali outside.

The co-occurrences of the passive, benefactive and the instrumental/locative affixes do not necessarily determine the order of the arguments. The order of the arguments can be direct object>benefactive > locative or benefactive> locative > direct object.

[41] The locative /instrumental is word final and has a long vowel with a super H tone and ends with /n/

In the sentence structure the heads for the passive, benefactive and instrumental/locative arguments are created. This is seen below:

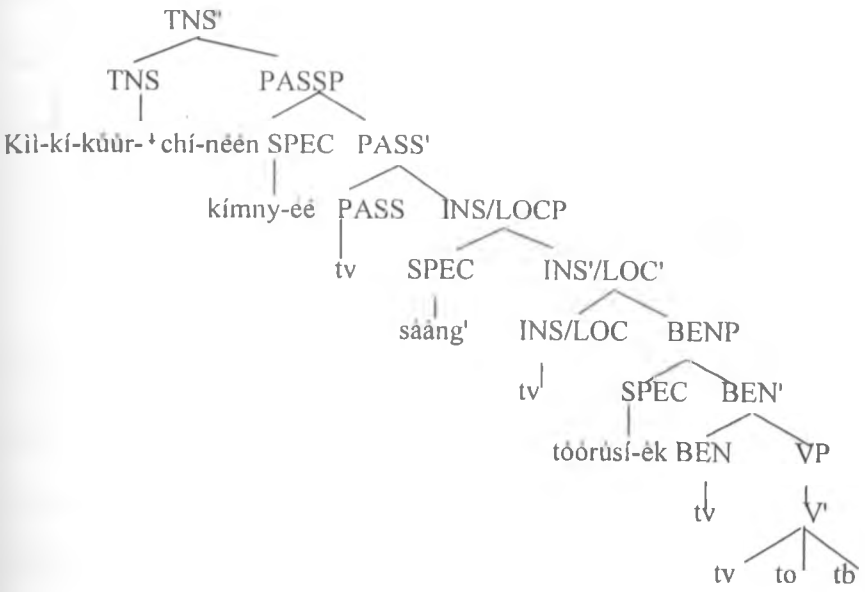

Fig.27

In the structure, there is no SPEC/VP for there is no nominative subject. The direct object moves from the VP to SPEC/PASSP as a passive subject with an accusative case. The verb moves from the VP to TNS' via LOC/INS', BEN' and PASS' to check for locative/instrumental, benefactive, passive and tense features. The benefactive applied object moves to SPEC/BENP for accusative case. The locative/instrument moves from VP to SPEC/LOC/INSP to check for accusative case. The resultant word order is VSOO.

3.4.8 Passive-Antipassive-Benefactive-Locative/Instrumental

The co-occurrences of various argument increasing and decreasing devices can see up to four affixes appearing on a single verb. The passive which is prefixed reduces the subject while the antipassive which is suffixed next to the verb root reduces the

direct object. The benefactive affix introduces the applied object and follows the antipassive. The instrumental/locative introduces the locative/instrumental applied object and appears finally as a suffix. One of the applied objects becomes the passive subject. The structure then has one passive subject and one applied object[42]. This is shown below:

(55) Kòò-kí- kwòòng-sé-chí- nèèn píík sàáng'
PST-PASS-cook-ANT-BEN-INS people/DEF/PL-outside

People were being cooked for outside.

In the structure, one of the applied objects becomes the passive subject while the other one is the applied object. The SPEC/PASSP is therefore created in the structure to check for the passive subject. In our example, the benefactive becomes the passive subject and SPEC/LOCP is created for locative case checking as shown below:

[42] However in discourse one applied object occurs especially where the other applied object can be inferred from context .In this case the verb becomes intransitive with VS word order where the S is absolutive.

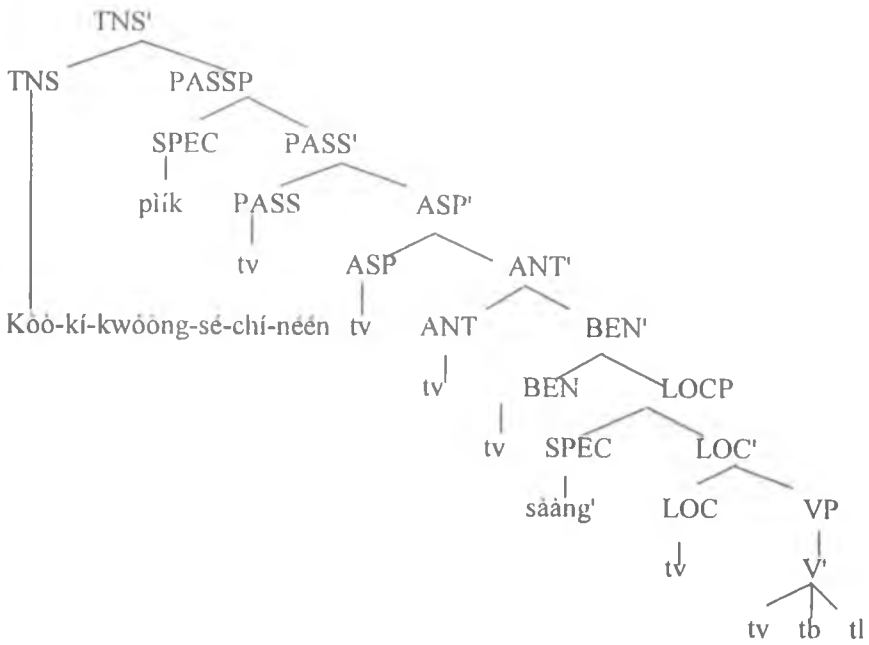

Fig.28

In the structure the locative/instrumental argument moves from VP to the SPEC/LOCP for accusative case checking. The verb moves from the VP to LOC' to check for locative features, then to BEN' for benefactive features, ASP' for aspectual features PASS' for passive features and finaliy TNS' to check for tense features. The benefactive object moves from VP to SPEC/PASSP as the passive subject with an accusative case. The word order is VSO or VOS.

3.4.9 Passive-Antipassive-Instrumental/Locative

There are co-occurrences of derivative affixes on the verb where the benefactive is not involved. The passive-antipassive and locative/instrumental is such an example. In this co-occurrence the passive is prefixed while the antipassive and locative/instrumental are suffixed respectively. The presence of the antipassive with a

downstepped H tone is followed by the locative /instrumental morpheme with a HL tone in the final position.[43]

This is seen in the following example:

(56) Kìì- kí- bó- ˈísy- éèn sìnjìl-yéé
PST-PASS-use-ANT-INS blade-DEF

A blade was used.

In the structure, the only head created is SPEC/PASSP for the locative object becomes the passive subject as shown:

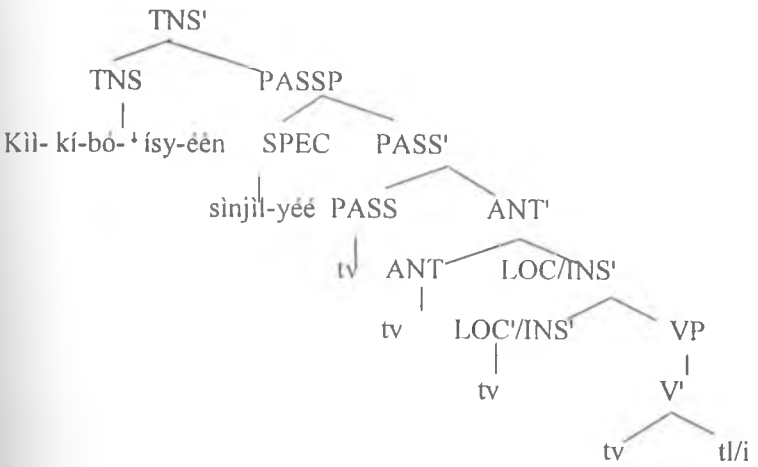

Fig.29

In the structure the verb moves from VP through LOC'/INS', ANT' PASS' and TNS' to check for locative/instrumental, antipassive, passive and tense features. The locative/instrumental argument moves from VP to SPEC/PASSP to check for accusative case as an absolutive subject. The word order that appears is VS.

[43] The passive morpheme {kí} weakens to {gí} in speech.

3.4.10 Locative/Instrumental -Reflexive/Reciprocal

The instrumental {-*én*}(with) and reflexive {-*gèì*}(self) can co-occur. In the co-occurrence the instrumental/locative morpheme {-*én*} bears a super H tone while the reflexive/reciprocal morpheme {-*gèì*} bears HL tones. The reflexive/reciprocal is incorporated as an object thereby reducing one of the applied objects. The instrumental introduces another applied object into the sentence. The locative/instrumental morpheme is suffixed after the root followed by the reflexive /reciprocal. The number of arguments in the sentence reduces from three to two. This is exemplified in below:

(57a) Kóó-ø-máás-én Kí-ˈmórú síìt-éé Kì-mórú
PST-3SG-hit- INS M-moru stick-DEF/SG M-moru

Kimaru hit Kimoru with a stick

(57b) Kóó-ø-máás-én-géì Kí-ˈmórú síìt-éé
PST-3SG-hit- INS-REF M-moru stick-DEF/SG

Kimoru hit himself with a stick

In this co-occurrence, the order of the arguments in relation to the order of the affixes is not fixed. The order of the affixes is subject {-ø-}, instrument{-*én*-}and reflexive/reciprocal{-*gèì*}.The instrumental {-*én*-} appears before the reflexive/reciprocal {-*gèì*}. The reflexive/reciprocal incorporates the direct object while the reciprocal causes two sentences to become one. This leaves the sentence with the subject and the applied instrumental object. This is shown in the following sentences:

(58a) Kóó-ø- máás-én chéép-tó ng'éét-éé síìt-éé ák
PST-3SG- hit- INS FE-girl-DEF/SG boy-DEF/SG stick-DEF/SG and

kóó-ø- máás-én ng'éét-éé chéép-t-ó síìt-éé
PST-3SG- hit-INS boy- DEF/SG FE-girl-DEF/SG stick-DEF/SG

The girl hit the boy with a stick and the boy hit the girl with a stick.

(58b) Kóó-ø-máás-én-géì chéép-tó ák ng'éét-éé síìtó-íìk(VSO)
PST-3PL-hit-INS REC FE-girl-DEF/SG and boy-DEF/SG sticks-DEF/PL

The boy and the girl hit each other with sticks.

The order of the arguments in the sentence can also be interchanged to give rise to a VOS word order. In the sentence structure, the heads that are created for feature checking are AGRSP and INSP/LOCP. For example (57b).This is shown below:

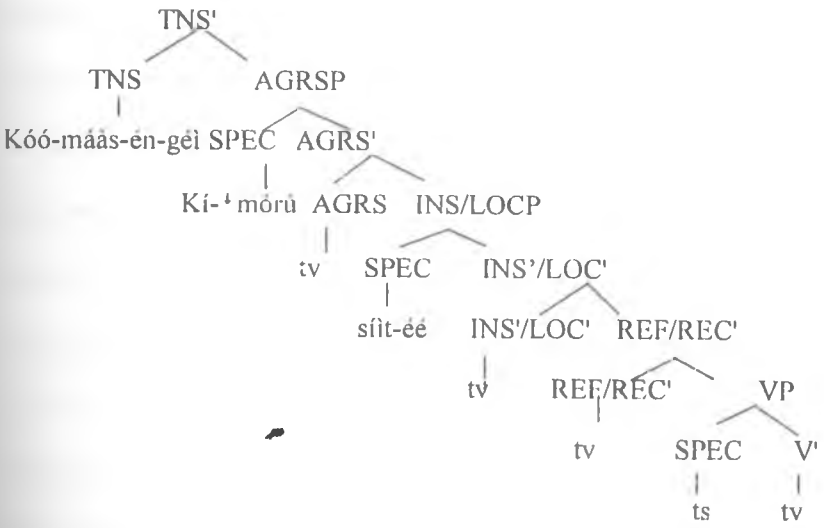

Fig. 30

In the sentence structure, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via REF'/REC', LOC'/INS' and AGRS' to check for reflexive/reciprocal, instrumental/locative, agreement subject and tense features. The subject moves from the SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The instrument/locative moves from the VP to

SPEC/INSP/LOCP to check for instrumental/locative case features. The resultant word order is VSO/VOS.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the Tugen sentence structure has been examined within the Minimalist Program. Various functional heads are created for feature checking. These include, tense, agreement object, agreement subject, negation and aspect. The verb heads the sentence in Tugen language thus resulting in a VSO word order. The order between the subject and object in the sentence can be interchanged. The complementizer phrase is not created for wh- elements for in Tugen these elements remain in situ and only move for checking covertly at LF. However, for sentences that contain conjunctions the complementizer phrase is created for they move overtly to CP. Various derivational affixes make the sentence structure complex by increasing and reducing the number of arguments that a verb can carry. These include the passive, the benefactive, reflexive/reciprocal, antipassive, locative /instrumental. These derivational affixes do not determine the order of the arguments in the sentence. The co-occurrences of the derivative affixes result in the increase and decrease of the logical arguments that a verb can take. In these co-occurrences, the order of the arguments does not necessarily depend on the order of the affixes. The word order that surfaces is an alternation between the subjects and the applied objects with the verb heading the sentence.

CHAPTER FOUR

WORD ORDER IN DISCOURSE

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed how argument increasing and argument reducing processes affect the word order in the language. This resulted in an increase in the number of overt logical arguments to a maximum of four and a reduction of the same to none. This chapter investigates how word order is realized in connected sentences as opposed to isolated ones. It investigates the role of pronominal affixes in sentence structure. It shows how the pronominal affixes contribute to VO and V word order in discourse. In this chapter the basic word order in discourse, subject and object arguments, pronominal arguments and verbal derivations in discourse word order are investigated. Amongst the verbal derivations that are considered are the applicative, the reflexive/reciprocal, passive and antipassive.

4.1 Word Order Parameters

Greenberg (1963) refers to the basic word order as the linear ordering of the verb, the subject and object arguments in a declarative sentence. He came up with six basic word orders *viz*: SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OVS and OSV. Of these orders the majority of the languages fall into the first three.

Comrie (1989), while commenting on Greenberg's language universals, says that all languages have a basic word order whereby the word order of statements is the most basic one. He proposes that VSO and VOS be merged into a single word order for they both have prepositions, and adjectives and genitives follow the nouns.

Dryer (1997) proposes an alternative typology of OV/VO and VS/SV basing on the most frequent order found in discourse. He acknowledges the fact that there are methodological issues of dealing with frequency but nevertheless he argues that this alternative typology is superior in that it allows for the collapsing of the VSO/VOS which in most cases bear similar characteristics. It also allows for the classification of languages which would otherwise not be classified under the traditional classification and that this classification does not depend on the subordinate clause type.

Du Bois (1987: 818) rejects the classification of word order based on the declarative sentence or clause type by arguing that in discourse the presence of two nominals in a sentence is not normal. He proposes that discourse pragmatic factors should be taken into account in the classification of word order in languages.

In Tugen, the basic word order on the basis of a declarative sentence is VSO/VOS as shown in the previous chapters. This means that the permutation of arguments is possible as also documented before. A questionnaire administered to the speakers[44] showed that these people are hardly aware of the alternation of word orders. For example:

(59a) Kâ -ø- lû- ø chèè-gô pûsíí
PST-3SG-drink-3OB milk-DEF cat-DEF

The cat drank the milk

(59b) Kà-ø -lû- ø pûsíí chèè-gô
PST-3SG-drink-3OB cat-DEF milk-DEF

The cat drank the milk

[44] Tugen speakers from Lembus area of Koibatek district of ages between 12 and 70.

In the example above, the difference between the two word orders is shown by the arguments having different tone patterns for the nominative and the accusative. In both sentences, the subject *púsíí* (cat) bears a H tone sequence while the object *chèègó* (milk) has LH tone sequence.[45] Where there is a direct and an applied object both objects bear accusative case marking and to resolve the ambiguity of the arguments with accusative marking then the semantics of the lexical items in terms of animate and inanimate help in resolving this. In the example below, both the direct and the applied objects have accusative case where the applied object is animate while the direct is inanimate:

(60) Kìì- í- ˈgó- ø- chí chéép-ˈt-ó làák-wéé chèè-gó
PST-3SG-give-BEN FE-girl-SG-DEF child-SG/DEF milk-DEF

The girl gave the child the milk

In this example, both the direct object and the applied object have a LH tone sequence. The semantics of the lexical items tell that the child is animate and the one receiving the milk. The relative ordering of the arguments in this sentence can be permuted to allow for VSOO/VOSO/VOOS word orders.

Applied objects are created by an applicative that is morphologically marked on the verb as a head bearing suffix. All applied objects bear accusative case marking as shown in chapter 2. This is repeated again below:

(61a) Kìì- ø- síìl- ø- én pèè-k kìgòòmb-éé Kí-ˈmórú
PST-3SG-draw-3OB-INS water-DEF cup-DEF M-moru

Kimaru drew water with a cup

[45] The nominative and accusative marking was shown in chapter 2.

(61b) Kòò-ø- pìr- ø- chí lâák-wéé Chéé-ˈróónó òmìt-wóógík
PST-3SG- force-3OB-BEN child-DEF FE-rono food-DEF

Cherono forced the food on the child

(61c) Kòò-ø- sóòmán-ø- één kìtábúú[46] lâák-wéé súgúúl
PST-3SG- read-3OB-LOC book-DEF child-DEF school

The child read the book at school.

In the above examples the verb suffixes are head bearing affixes that create the instrumental, benefactive and locative arguments respectively. The locative suffix can be omitted and be replaced with the preposition *éng'* (at) to show the locative.

4.2 Basic Word Order in Discourse

Discourse according to Mathews (1997) is any coherent sequence of sentences, spoken or (in most usage) written. In speech or conversation, the way a speaker uses language is different from the way it is used in declarative sentences. This in a way affects the word order of the language in question. In discourse the basic word order of Tugen is VO/VS with a predominant occurrence of VO/V. There are fewer instances of VSO/VOS and even far fewer for the occurrences of both the direct and applied objects with a subject such as VSOO/VOOS. This occurrence is exemplified in discourse that has been segmented into clauses below:

(62) S1 Kìì- míì-ø chíí-tó âgé. (VS)
PST-be-3OB person-SG/DEF another.

S2 Kó- kíí-ˈká- í- túún-ø kwóón-dó né òò (VO)
SEQ-PST-PER-3SG-marry-3OB wife-SG/DEF that big.

[46]The definiteness of this noun is by tonal inflection. A definite one is LH while an indefinite one is LHL.

S3 Kó- ˈmó- ø- í (V)
SEQ-NEG-3SG -bear.

S4 Kó-nyíl! kòò- ø- tǔǔn-ø àgé. (VO)
SEQ-again SEQ- 3SG-marry-3OB another.

S5 Kó- ˈná- í- tǔǔn-ø nè míˈníng' (VO)
SEQ-CON-3SG-marry-3OB that small.

S6 Kó- ø- ˈléé- njí-ø kwòòndó- né- ˈóó (VO)
SEQ-3SG- tell-BEN-3OB wife-SG/DEF that big

S7 Sí kò- · ø- bá-í -ø (V)
so SEQ-3SG-feed-IMP-3OB

Once there was a man. He had married one wife. She didn't bear. So he married another. When he married the younger one he told the big one to feed her.

In S1 of (62) the introductory sentence has the subject argument *chíító* (person). This argument is represented by a zero subject pronoun in S2 and an object argument *kwòòndó nè òò* (elder wife) is introduced. This object argument in S2 takes the role of subject in S3 and is represented by a zero pronominal argument. In S4, the subject in S1 is represented as a pronominal argument and the sentence introduces another object argument by way of a demonstrative pronoun *àgé* (another). In S5, the subject *chíító* (person) is represented by third person pronominal argument and the object pronoun *age* (other) in S4 is elaborated by an adjective. In S6, the subject *chíító* (person) is represented by a zero pronominal argument while the object *kwòòndó nè òò* (elder wife) from S2 is repeated as a full lexical argument. In S7, both the subject and the object are represented by zero pronominal arguments. In this text, the subject is represented by a zero pronominal argument once it has been introduced lexically. The object also is introduced lexically after which it is also represented by zero

pronominal argument. In the text, only one lexical argument appears per clause such that in S1 it is only the subject while in S2, S4, S5and S6 it is only the object. The word order progresses from VS where the subject is introduced, then VO when the subject is pronominal and the object is being introduced and finally V when both the subject and the object have been introduced.

The lack of more overt arguments also appears even where there are derivative affixes in the verb as seen in S3 of (63) where the sentence has no overt subject, object nor the benefactive argument.

(63) S1 Kò- ø - ˈlèè- njí-ø Kíp-lèèk-wèè.
SEQ-3SG say-BEN-3OB M-hare-SG/DEF

S2 ø -kòò- n- óò-ø sûˈp-û.
3SG-give-1OSG-3OB soup

S3 Kòò-ø- ˈgò- chí -ø
SEQ-3SG-give –BEN- 3OB

The hare told him, Give me soup. He gave him

In S1 of (63) the subject is represented by both the zero pronominal argument and a full lexical argument *Kíplèèkwèè* (hare) and the object by zero pronominal argument. In S2 the sentence is imperative and the object is represented by both a pronominal argument {-ø} and a lexical argument *súpú* (soup) and the subject *Kíplèèkwèè* (hare) in S1 becomes the applied object and is represented by pronominal argument {-óò-}. In S3 the subject and the object *súpû* (soup) are represented by zero pronominal arguments while the applied object *Kíplèèkwèè* (hare) is represented by the pronominal suffix {-*chí*}. The question now that begs to be answered is why there are

no overt arguments in S3 of (63) and S3 and S7 of (62) and also why there appears only one lexical argument in S1 and S2 of (63) and S1, S2 S4 and S6 of (62).

4.2.1 Subject Arguments

In Tugen, the subject argument in an isolated declarative sentence is represented by a lexical argument as well as a pronominal argument on the verb. In some sentences in discourse, the subject can be represented only by the pronominal argument on the verb. This phenomenon of not having an overt argument is called traditionally, pro-drop[47]. It has been argued that pro-drop in essence involves the presence of a subject that is not expressed phonetically. This unexpressed subject was given the name 'pro' in GB. The occurrence of pro-drop is not universal for all languages. Rizzi (1986a) in Ackema et al (2006: 12) says that there are three types of pro-drop. The referential pro is a null pronoun bearing a full theta role. The quasi argumental[48] pro is a null pronoun which ideally is generated as a subject of a weather verb and which bears a quasi theta role. The third type is the expletive pro which has no theta role. These three kinds differ in their content such that the referential pro requires that for its licensing the person and number features have to be identified, the quasi-argumental pro requires that only the number features have to be identified while the expletive pro has no features. Because of the conditions of pro and quasi pro the licensing of pro therefore can be achieved through the rich inflection of person and number features on the verb. This licensing is done if:

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[47] Ackema et al (2006) says this term was given by Chomsky (1981).

[48] Chomsky (1981: 327-328) says a quasi-argumental pro is a pro that does not take any value or denotata as a matter of of a grammatical principle. It is base generated as the subject of a weather verb in a pro drop language. He therefore meant an expletive.

> ..... each affix is uniquely specified for a particular person/number feature set- in other words, if the paradigm shows no syncretism. Ackema et al (2006: 5)

Speas (1995) in Ackema (2002: 294-295) says that in language with verbal agreement an AGRP must be projected where agreement is checked under a specifier-head relation with the subject either covertly or overtly. In languages where the agreement paradigm has no syncretism, i.e. it is rich in that it contains a lot of affixes for its various cells, the affixes are listed as independent items in the lexicon and can be generated directly in the head position of AGRP. In this case, no overt specifier is required to license AGRP and so the subject can remain empty. If agreement has syncretism i.e. it is not rich enough then the affixes are not listed as independent items in the lexicon and can only be merged as part of the verb which heads a VP. In this case the necessary AGRP can be licensed by giving it an overt specifier and this means that a lexical subject must move to this position in overt syntax and pro drop is not possible.

In Tugen, the verbal agreement has syncretism of the third person. The full pronouns and the person and number agreement features on the verb for the subject is shown below:

(64a) 1st SG I (ánéé) -á- PL- Us (áchéék) -kí-

(64b) 2nd SG You (ínyéé) -í- PL –You (ókwéék) -ó-

(64c) 3rd SG He/she (ínéé) -ø- PL They (ichéék) -ø-

In the above paradigm there is a gap in the paradigm in the third person[49]. Some scholars refer to this as partial pro-drop. This argument of syncretism has been discussed by several scholars[50]. Koeneman (2006: 85-89) says languages with partial pro-drop have argumental subject drop but only partially so. He gives the example of Hebrew and Standard Finnish which have six distinctions in their agreement paradigm. In these languages thematic subjects can be dropped only in the first and second and not in the third person contexts and such languages have argumental subject drop but only partially. Koeneman (ibid) says that this partial pro drop can be accounted for by referring to the properties of the agreement paradigms. Another argument about partial pro drop is that some languages have overt and integrated arguments where two independent paradigm representations of agreement affixes and overt arguments are connected. In Hebrew and Standard Finnish the first and second agreement affixes share one property with the third person agreement affixes by being bound morphemes which must be generated in the verb. At the same time they share the similarity with pronouns in that they can function as a subject of the clause on their own. The third person affixes are not directly connected to the pronoun system. The fact that first/second person affixes have these two properties combined in them has a consequence that the paradigms of personal pronouns and agreement affixes are intertwined. This is similar to Tugen in that the agreement affixes and the full

[49] In some instances the morpheme-i- indicating the 3rd person subject is found in some verbs e.g. -i-gat-i (3SG-greet-IMP) H*e is greeting*. This is evidence that historically the agreement marker was there but is now non existent in most contexts. Ex. S2 of (68) also attests to this.

[50] On the same argument Alexiadou (2006: 155) discusses the issue of EPP (the requirement that every sentence must have a subject in GB) in Finnish and says that the third person verbal morphology belongs to a different paradigm that lacks person/ pronominal specification. The verb morphology in such a case is insufficient to check EPP. EPP is seen as a personal feature on a functional projection. Whenever the verb does not contain the relevant feature then an XP must be merged

pronouns have a morphological similarity. The first and second agreement affixes are provided by the first and second person pronoun prefixes. The second person prefix –*i*- is also shared by the third person This agreement morpheme already appears as the second person singular agreement affix and cannot be taken up by the third person again. This agreement morpheme can be found only in specialized contexts for example in before certain verbs beginning with /r/, /n/ or /g/. As such for other instances a zero agreement affix is envisaged for the third person. Koeneman (ibid) suggests that for Hebrew and Standard Finnish the first/second person agreement affixes are marked +pronominal while the third person is marked -pronominal. The consequence of this is that in third person the nominal arguments are obligatory.

In Tugen, however, this assumption does not seem to hold. In the paradigm, the integrated arguments for the first and second subject person shows similarities with the first and second person pronoun prefixes and can be marked as +pronominal. However, though the third person is posited to bear a gap and we follow Baker (2006: 310) by completing the paradigm with a zero affix that enters into the same obligatory agreement relation that the overt affixes do[51]. The third person shows a gap in the

[51] Another argument on pro is by Hoffherr (2006: 236). While modifying the classification of Rizzi (1986), he distinguishes three kinds of pro: deictic pro, anaphoric and non anaphoric pro. The deictic pro are null pronouns marked {+speaker]/[+hearer}. The deictic pro in essence involves the first/second person pronouns. The anaphoric pro are null third persons pronouns that take up a discourse referent previously introduced in discourse. Non-anaphoric pro are null third person pronouns that do not take up a discourse referent previously introduced in the discourse. She says the non anaphoric form is used

paradigm by appearing as a zero argument as illustrated by the argument above. While following this argument we argue that Tugen falls within the pronominal argument languages as envisaged by Jelinek (2006:263).While discussing the polysynthesis parameter Baker (2006: 289) states that:

> Every argument of a head element must be related to a morpheme in the head containing that head (a pronominal agreement morpheme or an incorporated root).

Baker says that agreed with NPs are not found in canonical argument positions but rather in positions adjoined to the clause just like clitic left dislocated NPs in Romance languages. He argues that these NPs can occur in either side of the clause and can be omitted without rendering the clause incomplete. This is because full agreement creates a kind of non- configurational syntax. He concedes that not every argument in polysynthetic languages is associated with a manifest agreement morpheme on the verb. In such a case, null morphology can be posited in obvious paradigmatic holes i.e. cases in which every cell of a paradigm except one has an overt morpheme.

Another paradigm that deals with zero arguments and pro was introduced by Jelinek. In discussing about the Pronominal Parameter, Jelinek (2006: 261-288) says that there are languages that have an agreement system where there is no subject–object asymmetry with respect to agreement such that both the subject and object are always represented by some pronominal argument. The co-referent noun phrases may be

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with proper nouns, unique entities and kind -referring NPs' . In Tugen the anaphoric pro are referring to zero third person pronouns that take up referents already mentioned in previous discourse.

present for either each argument but need not be there if the reference is unambiguous in the context. The subject and object pronominal inflection are absolutely necessary for grammaticality while the adjoined noun phrases are present only when the speaker judges that they are needed to establish reference. The integrated pronouns in the verb are obligatory for the sentence while the noun phrases are not. The integrated pronouns represent the arguments of the sentence. In these pronominal arguments (PA) languages the pronominal affixes are all backgrounded and discourse anaphoric. In Tugen, the third person pronominal inflection is phonologically absent but logically present and is represented by zero anaphora when discourse anaphoric. When arguments are not discourse anaphoric then lexical arguments are necessary to establish reference. This parameter is therefore important for Tugen because in discourse arguments that have been established prior in discourse are only realized as integrated arguments while those that are being introduced are represented lexically.

Schröder (forthcoming) postulates that similarly the subject affix is not an agreement marker in Bantu, Eastern and Southern Nilotic languages but is better called an incorporated argument which represents the subject core argument in the clause. She calls the languages exhibiting this phenomenon partial –argument languages because the subject is the only pronominal argument. In Tugen however both the subject and object for first and second person are incorporated. The third personal pronominal affix for both the subject and object are not overt but logically present. The Tugen paradigm can show that there is a gap in the third person for both the subject and the object as shown below:

Subject	Object

(65a) 1st SG -á- PL -kí- 1st SG -ón PL -éch

(65b) 2nd SG -i- PL -ó- 2nd SG -ín PL -ók

(65c) 3rd SG -ø- PL -ø- 3rd SG -ø- PL -ø-

Baker (2006: 295) goes on to say that when a language that is otherwise a pro drop language happens to lack an agreeing form for a particular combination of a person and number an overt noun is sometimes required in such environments. He argues that clauses are complete without the overt NP and that the arguments of the verb are inherently pronominal. The same is also true with clauses that have overt NPs only that they have the status of dislocated phrases[52] which are adjoined to the clause as extra topics. He claims that dislocation in head- marking languages in turn produces free word order to varying degrees for example in Chichewa. He says that the reason why agreement forces dislocation is because it absorbs the case features of the head that it attaches to.

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[52]The overt NPs cannot appear in the corresponding argument positions; only null NPS or a trace can. Baker concludes that overt NPs can only appear in clause peripheral positions to which case filter does not apply. While agreeing that the arguments of the verb are pronominal we would like to point out that this happens only when they are anaphoric. Furthermore, we posit that in Tugen the third person agreement morpheme is an instance of a null argument and there is evidence showing that this morpheme in singular is present in the language; however we haven't found evidence showing its presence in plural.

Tugen clauses are complete without the overt lexical arguments and their presence serves to identify an argument that is not anaphoric. Concerning dislocation[53], the dislocated elements in Tugen are marked for case so the case filter does apply. Left dislocation in Tugen is specifically for emphasis and any argument can be dislocated including wh- elements. All left dislocated elements bear accusative case. The left dislocated arguments are followed by the particle *nɛ́* as shown below:

(66a) Lɑ̊ɑ̊k-wɛ́ɛ́ nɛ́ kɑ̊- ø- ˈnyɔ́
child -DEF that PST-3SG-come

It is the child that has come.

(66b) Mbíìr-ɛ́ nɛ́ kɑ̊- ø- ˈwíìr-tɑ̊ lɑ̊ɑ̊k-wɛ́ɛ́
ball-DEF that PST-3SG throw-ALL child-SG/DEF

It is the ball that the child has thrown

(66c) Ngˈɔ̀ɔ̀ nɛ́ kɑ̊- ø- ˈnyɔ́?
Who that PST-3SG-come

Who is it that has come?

Because case in Tugen is manifested in overt syntax we want to agree with Borer (1986: 378) that subject agreement with the verb is a manifestation of nominative case. This means that the phi-features that are part of the subject agreement serve as identifiers for the already case marked NP category in the matrix sentence. Alexiadou (2006: 135) supports this position by saying that verbal agreement actually spells out the features of the subject much as the particle *nɛ́* (that) spells out the features of the left dislocated arguments. The presence of the agreement and overt NPs is an instance

[53] For Baker arguments which are not in an A position are dislocates; for Tugen we take dislocation to be any movement of an argument from its canonical position.

of feature movement. He further claims that this configuration permits the case checking of subject without DP movement. In our analysis however we take the position that the subject agreement serves as an identifier for the overt subject which is overtly marked for case and which is already checked for this feature in the preceding sentences. The relationship between the overt subject and its subsequent incorporated argument on the verb is captured by the Principle of Reference. Schröder (2008: 110) derived the Principle of Reference to describe the relationship between an overt subject and its subsequent morphological marking on the verb. Its properties are quoted below:

α is an antecedent to β if and only if:

(a) α is a referring expression (nominal category)

(b) α is a checked nominal category

(c) α licenses the checking domain for β

This means that if a morphological argument marked as an affix in the verb has an antecedent lexical argument in a previous matrix sentence which has already been case checked then this lexical argument licenses the checking of the morphological argument and thus disallowing any other similar nominal argument from occurring in the sentence[54]. In discourse new subject NPs in Tugen are introduced by pronominal arguments and overt NPs. In subsequent sentences they are represented by pronominal arguments. The pronominal argument doesn't spell out the phi-features of

[54] This is in line with the Strong Minimalist Thesis where once an argument has been checked it is no longer eligible for further checking and the Phase Impenetrability Condition of Chomsky (2000).

the subject for these are already spelt out in the matrix sentence. This is exemplified in the following text:

(67) S1 Kìì- kâà- kó- ngèèt- èì kò kìì- ø- míì chíí-tó ágé
PST- PST-PER get- IMP SEQ PST-3SG -be person-SG/DEF-another

S2 Né- kìí- ø- bât- mbâr-éé- ˈnyíì[55]
That PST 3SG-dig farm- SG/DEF-GEN

S3 Kò -kíí- ˈnâ- í- bât
SEQ PST-CON-3SG dig

S4 Kò- ø- gòòl t-ùgúù-k- ˈchíík
PST-3SG-plant thing-PL/DEF-GEN

Once upon a time there was another man who dug his farm and when he had dug he planted his things.

In the S1 the subject is introduced by both the null pronominal argument –ø- and an overt nominal subject *chíító ágé*. In the subsequent sentences S2, S3 and S4 the pronominal argument serves to identify the full subject whose phi-features are checked in the matrix sentence. In the structure therefore the phi-features are checked against the subject NP in S1 and SPEC /AGRSP is projected. The lexical subject moves from SPEC/VP to this position as shown in S1. In S2, S3 and S4 the SPEC/AGRSP is not projected because the phi-features of the pronominal arguments are identified by the Principle of Reference as shown in S2 of (67) below:

[55] In this sentence the past tense morpheme has a LH tone. We posit that the morpheme for the 3 person subject which is missing has its floating tone attached to the past tense morpheme,

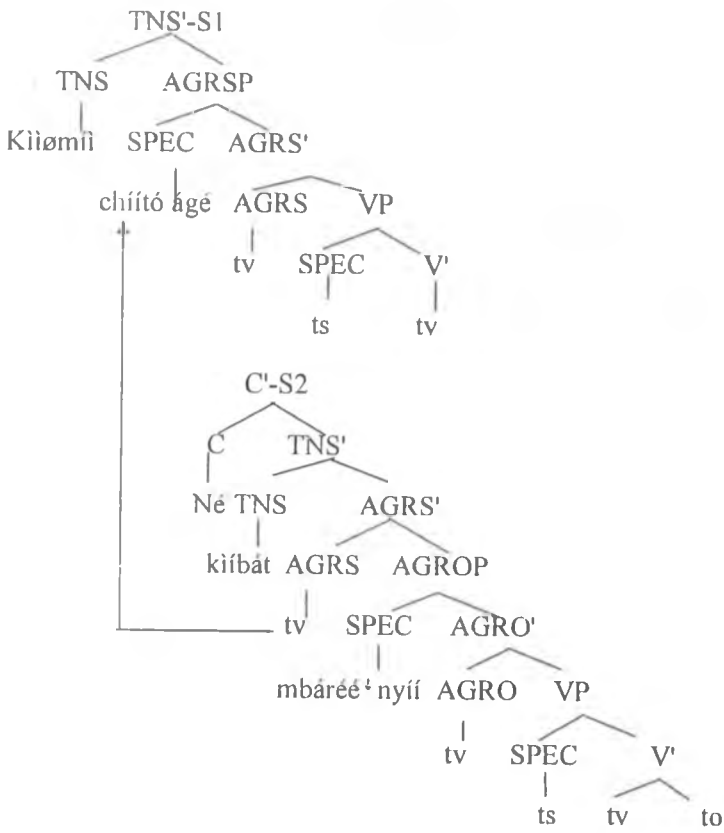

Fig.31

In S1 the verb moves from VP to check for agreement features in AGR' and then to TNS' to check for tense features. The phi -features of the subject are checked under the SPEC/AGRSP. The resultant word order is VS. In S2 there is no overt lexical subject therefore SPEC/AGRSP is not projected for there is no need to check for the phi-features of the subject for this is already done in the matrix sentence. The Principle of Reference is used to identify the case features of the pronominal argument by referring to the lexical argument *chíító ágé* (another person) in the

matrix sentence as shown. Therefore there is no case checking of pronominal arguments on subsequent sentences. The verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRO' and AGRS' to check for agreement subject, agreement object and tense features. The direct object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP to checking for accusative case. This results in V as the word order.

4.2.2 Direct Object Arguments

In Tugen, the object argument is represented by objective suffixes for the first and second person. For the third person, the object is represented by a full pronoun or lexical arguments and when discourse anaphoric by a null pronominal suffix. Where emphasis is involved the first and second person suffixes are accompanied by the full pronouns. The language does not have an overt third person pronominal. Unlike the subject affix which has a residual phonological realization in some contexts, there is no phonological evidence for the object suffix. It is only logically represented. For this reason, we posit two possibilities. It may happen to be the case of complementary distribution where the null pronominal argument is logically present when there is no overt lexical argument and if the overt NP occurs, the logical representation is not there. The other option would be that it is logically present all the times such that when the lexical argument appears it is a case of an identification of the logical pronominal argument. In our study, we chose the latter position. Following the argument we made regarding the subject arguments we posit that the lexical objective arguments have null pronominal agreement markers that serve to identify the lexical NPs. These lexical objective arguments are marked for case. The full object

arguments have a HL tone sequence while the pronominal objective suffixes have H tones as shown below:

(68a) Kòò-ø- kúúr-ech áchéék
PST-3SG-call-1PL us

He called us

(68b) Kòò-ø- kúúr-ín ínyéè
PST-3SG-call-2SG you

He was calling you

(68c) Kòò-ø- kùùr- ø -èì ínéè
PST-3SG-call -3SG-IMP him

He was calling him

The position of the objective suffix for the first and second person gives us a clue for the position of the third person objective suffix which occurs directly after the verb root. The lexical objective arguments in the sentences are optional since the referents can be identified from context. The behaviour of the lexical objective argument in discourse is not reflected in the above example. In discourse, the object argument is represented by a lexical argument when new and by a null pronominal argument when anaphoric. This is exemplified below:

(69) S1 Á- chúút- ø- é chèèbólóléè ák
1SG-enter-3OB-IMP pumpkin-SG/DEF and

S2 á- téb- ø- én
1SG-sit-3OB-INS

I will enter the pumpkin and sit in it

In (69) above, S1 has both a logical pronominal object {-ø-} and a lexical object *chèèbólólèè* (pumpkin). In S2 only the logical object is present. The lexical object has to be checked for case in S1 and therefore in the structure SPEC/AGROP is projected. In S2 the lexical object is absent so SPEC/AGROP is not projected. The logical pronominal object refers to the lexical object in S1 for its case features through the Principle of Reference. This is shown is the structure below:

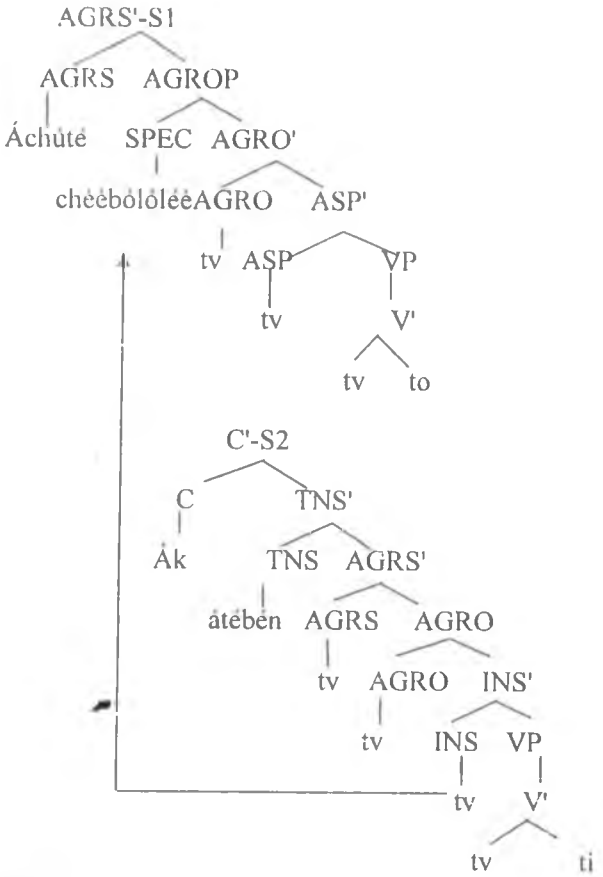

Fig. 32

In S1 of (69) the verb moves from the VP to AGRS' via ASP' and AGRO' to check for agreement subject, agreement objective and aspectual features. Case features are

checked the SPEC/AGROP. The word order is VO. Where the object is discourse anaphoric, the lexical object is not necessary as shown in S2. The sentence in S2 refers to the matrix sentence for the identity of the lexical object which is already checked for case through the Principle of Reference. This same lexical object is the instrumental object which has already been checked for accusative case in S1. The verb moves from the VP to TNS' through INS'/AGRO' and AGRS' to check for agreement subject, agreement object, instrumental and tense features. This results in the word order being V because SPEC/AGROP and SPEC/INSP are not created.

4.2.3 Pronominal Arguments

The case of pronominal arguments can best be exemplified where the first and second persons take the role of subject and object. In this case the first and second pronouns are deictic and take the referent from the context. The pronominal arguments therefore need not be checked for case in the sentence for they are taken to be anaphoric. Case is checked when the participants are introduced into the discourse. Therefore, the Principle of Reference serves to identify the phi-features of the first and second persons from the matrix sentence. In the following texts, the relative role of the pronominal and lexical arguments is shown.

(70) S1 Kìì- ø- lɛ́ɛ́- nj- ˈɔ́n kàámɛ́ɛ́nyúú
PST-3SG-say-BEN -1SG mother-GEN

My mother told me

S2 Kì í- mʉ́t- ˈán ɛ́ng mɔ́ɛ́- ˈnyí árɑ́ɑ́w-ɛ́k tɑ́ˈmɑ́n ák ɑ́ɛ́ng'.
PST-3SG-carry-1SG in stomach-GEN month-PL/DEF ten and two

She carried me in her stomach for twelve months.

In S1, the null pronominal argument represents the subject which also has a lexical argument while the first person pronominal argument represents the object. In S2, the subject and object are represented only by pronominal arguments. In the structure therefore there are no lexical subject and object arguments .The sentence in (70) S2 is represented as follows:

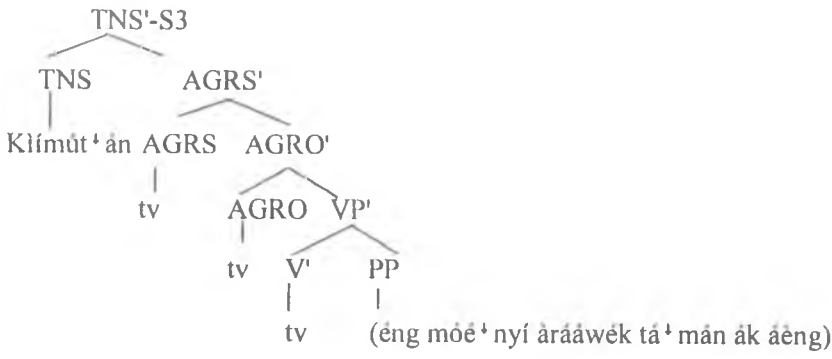

Fig.33

In the structure the verb moves from the VP to TNS' through AGRS', and AGRO' to check for pronominal subject, pronominal object and tense features. The subject and object case features have already been checked in the matrix sentences therefore no longer necessary by economy conditions. The resulting word order is V.

4.3 Derivational Arguments in Discourse

The verbal derivations in discourse that affect the word order are the argument increasing and argument reducing affixes. The argument increasing are the applicative and the argument reducing include the passive, and the reciprocal/reflexive. These affixes contribute to the VO and V word order in the language.

4.3.1 Applicative

The applicative that affect word order in discourse are the benefactive and the locative/instrumental. Baker (1988: 250) analyses the applicative construction as the incorporation of a PP into V (by head movement). This leads to a structure in which the integrated preposition licenses the object. This means that the applicative receives case from the complex verb. Baker (ibid) posits that there are languages which can assign structural case to more than one NP in a VP such that both the applied and basic object are both governed by the complex V and are as igned structural case by it at S-structure. While agreeing with this O'herin (2001: 488) proposes that the applied object is licensed by the head of the preposition (P) which incorporates into the Agreement head of the preposition (AGRP) immediately dominating the Preposition before incorporating into the verb. The agreement relationship is mediated at (AGRP) which also licenses the NP complement of the pre- or post-position. He defends this position by saying that unlike Bakers' proposal, multiple applicative are also possible on the verb because each external object has an external source of licensing which is not limited in the same way as verbs in their head-marking[56] abilities. Various orders are also allowed depending on which PP adjoins higher. Furthermore, the verb's transitivity is unaffected since the applied objects do not need to be licensed by the verb. This situation is observed in Abaza, a north-west Caucasian language. Logically, multiple applicatives are also possible on the verb in Tugen as shown in the previous chapter but in discourse this is not possible. Our analysis differs from that of Baker in that in Tugen, the applicative is represented by

[56] Nichols J.(1991) discusses the notion of morphological marking of grammatical relations which may appear either on the head or the dependent member of the constituent. In Tugen grammatical relations are marked on the head.

head-marking suffixes which introduce the respective applicative objects. This will be shown again in the next section. The Principle of Reference can be used to explain how these head marking suffixes are identified in discourse in cases where the head marking suffix is present on the verb but the applied object is omitted. Furthermore, these arguments are omitted in discourse for their cases have already been checked.

4.3.1.1 Benefactive

The benefactive morpheme {*-chí*}(for) is suffixed to the verb thereby licensing a benefactive argument in the sentence structure. This morpheme is a preposition that introduces an NP argument only that it is morphological in nature. It can be regarded as an incorporated preposition that leaves an accusative object behind. This morphological preposition introduces a morphological NP when the NP is overt shown in (71) below:

(71) S1 Kó- ˈlé kà- á- nyóò á-tép-ˈchí chíì àmú néè?
SEQ-say PST-1SG- come 1SG-sit-BEN person-INDEF/SG because what

S2 Kó-ˈlé chéép-yóós-ˈé-gáí "Sí ˈá- lyóò-njí-ø?
SEQ-say FE-woman-SG/DEF-DEM so-1SG do- BEN

S3 Kó-ˈlé káígáí á-kwóóng-chí
SEQ-say better 1SG-cook-BEN

S4 Kó-ø-kwáàny ák
SEQ-3SG-cook and

S5 kó- ø- ìp-chí kímny-éé
SEQ-3SG-take-BEN ugali-DE

She said why am I bothering with somebody? That woman said, "what do I do with her?" She said it is better if I cook for her. She cooked and took the ugali to her.

In (71) above S1 has a benefactive morpheme {*-chí-n*}[57] (for) introduces a benefactive argument *chìí (person)* which is also represented by the pronominal suffix {*-n*}. In S2, the verb has a benefactive suffix introducing the benefactive argument which is not represented lexically. This situation pertains in S3 and S5. In S1, the benefactive argument is checked for case at SPEC/BEN. In S5, the benefactive suffix refers back to the benefactive argument in S1 which has already been case checked through the Principle of Reference. This principle provides for an argument that already has been mentioned earlier in discourse to be omitted in subsequent sentences. In the Principle of Reference, once an argument has been licensed and case checked in the introductory sentences, the omission of subsequent mentions of the argument is provided so long as there is some overt marker to signify the status of this argument. The overt marker reminds us that there is an argument that is missing. It therefore forces us to refer back to the matrix sentences for the identification and case checking of the relevant argument. This is the case in S5 where there is no head that is created for SPEC/BEN for it has no content as shown below:

[57] This suffix is in the process of deletion in Tugen . It is only present in some specialized contexts.

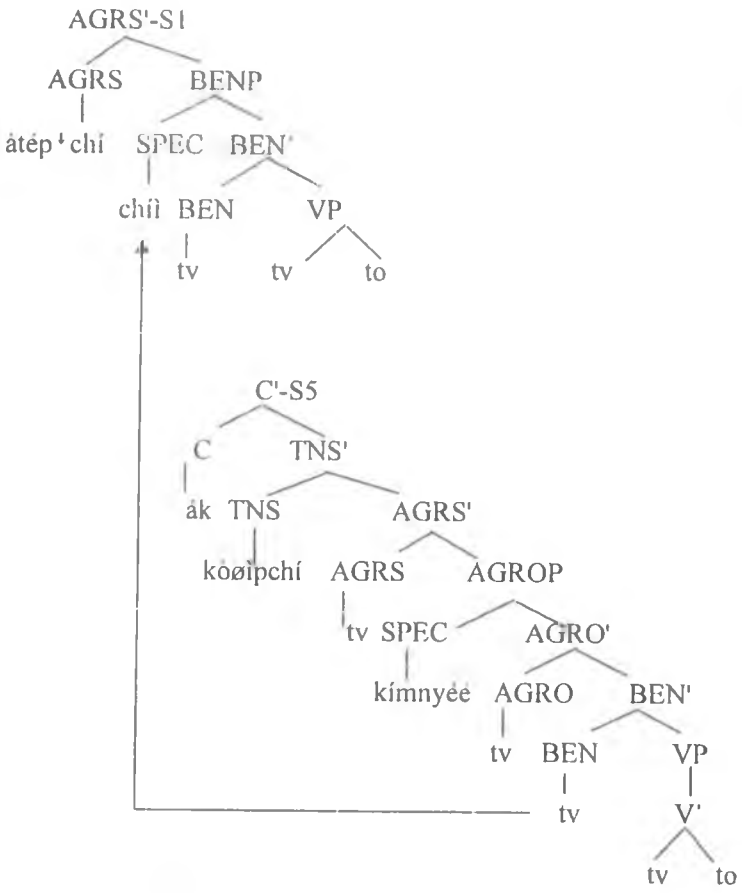

Fig.34

In S1, the verb moves from VP to AGRS' via BEN' and AGRS' to check for benefactive, subject and tense features. The benefactive argument moves from the VP to SPEC/BEN to check for benefactive case features. The resultant word order is VO with an applied object. In S5 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRS', BEN' and AGRO' to check for tense, agreement subject, benefactive, and agreement object features. The applied head being anaphoric refers back to the benefactive object in S1 for case checking. The resultant word order is VO with a direct object.

4.3.1.2 Locative/Instrumental

The locative/instrumental is another applicative. The morpheme {*-én*}(at/with) is suffixed to the verb and introduces the instrumental/locative argument. This morpheme is a case of preposition incorporation where an oblique argument is incorporated as part of the core arguments of the verb. This suffix reminds us of omitted locative/instrumental argument which is represented by {*-ø-*} when discourse anaphoric as shown in S2 of (72) below:

(72) S1 Kìì- -í pât-ø-én mâ↓rúú mbáréè
PST-3SG-dig-3OB-INS-fork farm

He dug the farm with a fork.

S2 Kìì- í- pât-ø-én- ø kìtìrâ-ít
PST-3SG--dig- 3OB INS virgin land-SG/DEF

He dug the virgin land with it.

In S1 of (72) the instrumental morpheme {*-én*} (at) introduces the instrumental argument *mâ↓rúú*. In S2 the instrumental argument is omitted. The logical instrumental argument is represented only by suffix {*-én*} which reminds us of its absence. The Principle of Reference refers back to *mâ↓rúú* (hoe) in the matrix sentence and to check for its case. The difference in the incorporated arguments is as shown in the representation below:

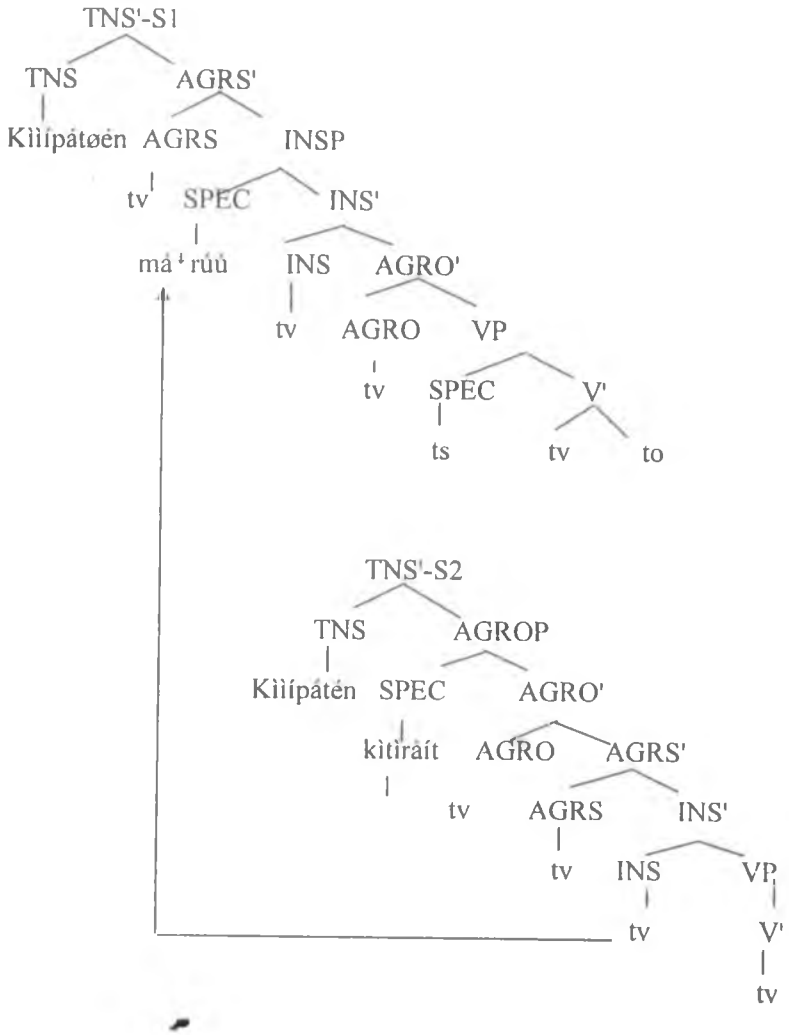

Fig.35

In S1 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRO', AGRS' and INS' to check for tense, agreement object, agreement subject and instrumental features. The instrument moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/INSP to check for instrumental case. The object being marked by a null argument has its case checked in the matrix sentence through

the Principle of Reference. The word order is VO and not VOO. In S2, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via INS', AGRO', and AGRS' to check for tense, instrumental, agreement object and agreement subject features. The instrumental suffix refers back to its antecedent in S1 for instrumental case checking. The object argument moves from the VP to SPEC /AGROP for accusative case checking. The resultant word order is VO. In S1 the word order involves an applicative object while in S2 the word order involves a direct object.

4.3.1.3 Reflexive/Reciprocal

The reflexive/reciprocal affix {*-gèì*}(self) reduces one of the arguments in a construction as seen in the previous chapter. Baker (1988: 210) says that the reflexive/reciprocal takes the subject as an antecedent. The subject in our data is represented by a pronominal argument in S1. In S2 the verb incorporates the object argument as the reflexive/reciprocal suffix; the suffix has the status of a pronominal argument. This is shown in (73) below:

(73) S1 Kó- ø- kéèr-ø chìì- t- kâí
SEQ-3SG-see 3OB person-SG/DEF-that

S2 Kó- ø- ûny-géì
SEQ-3SG-hid-REF

He saw the person. He hid himself

The reciprocal suffix in S1 of (74) below refers back to the lexical subject argument and to the pronominal object argument as shown below:

(74) S1 Kíí-ˡtûûn kôô-ø- yûm- gèì bôí-ˡsyék.
PST-long SEQ-3SG-gather-REC-oldmen-PL/DEF

S2 Kó- ø- ˈlée- njí- ø -gèi
SEQ-3PL say-BEN-AP-REC

Long time the old men gathered themselves and told each other

In SI of (73) the sentence has both the reflexive affix {*-gèi*}(self) and a lexical subject argument. This lexical subject argument has a{-ø-} pronominal agreement marker. In S2 the sentence does not have an object because the roles of subject and object have been collapsed into one. The object is incorporated by the reflexive affix. The reflexive in this case is an integrated argument that represents the object. The sentence therefore bears the pronominal subject and a pronominal object in the form of a reflexive suffix. The situation is similar in (74) where the reciprocal is an integrated argument that represents a complex lexical argument with two NPs. In the structure therefore, the reflexive/reciprocal takes the position of the object as shown below:

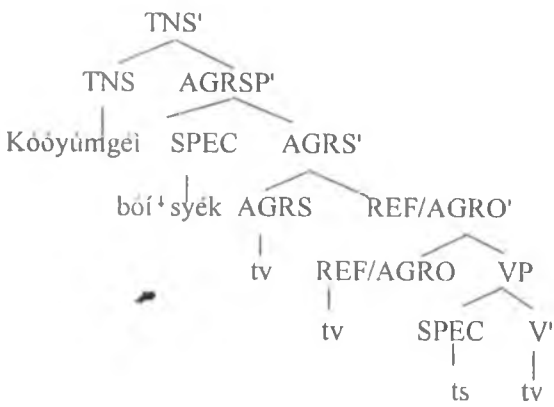

Fig.36

In the structure the verb moves from the VP to TNS' via REF/AGRO' and AGRS' to check for reflexive/reciprocal/object arguments features, pronominal subject and

tense features. The lexical subject is checked for case at SPEC/AGRSP. The reflexive/reciprocal takes the role of the direct object which is represented as an incorporated argument. The resulting word order is VS. Where the subject is anaphori,c the resulting word order is V as shown in S2 of (73/74) where the lexical subject has already been case checked in S1.

4.3.1.4 Passive

The passive morpheme {*-ki-*} reduces the subject. In the passive construction the patient usually takes the role of the subject, in Tugen however the patient keeps the accusative marking. In Government and Binding Theory, the passive is explained in terms of thematic roles. Baker (1988: 307-315) argues that the passive affix is a fully fledged nominal argument which is subject to the theta criterion because it is generated under the INFL node. This INFL node is outside the maximal projection of V and must therefore receive an external theta role. The verb later combines with the passive morpheme by incorporating into the INFL node.

In the Minimalist Program, all the morphological features of the VP get their own feature heads. The passive affix therefore bears its own head which bears grammatical phi-features that must be checked and eliminated in the course of derivation. The verb moves to this passive head to check for these features. The patient becomes the passive subject but with accusative case marking[58]. In discourse this situation pertains as seen in (75) below:

[58] This is a feature of absolutive case marking where the subject and the object share the same case features.

(75) S1 Mé- lé-n kì- gíí[59]- túí-ø- tôòs pêè-k ák pàànd-ék.
NEG-say -ASP PST-PASSmix-3OB-COM[60] millet-PL/DEF and maize- PL/DEF

Not that maize and millet were mixed.

S2 Kìì- gí- pché- ø- ˈéí.
PST-PASS-separate-3OB-IMP.

They were separated

In the passive, the patient takes the role of subject with an accusative case. Because the arguments of the verb are pronominal and may not have lexical arguments then the passive subject is represented by the passive morphological marker. This being the case the structure therefore does not have an AGRS' head but a PASS' head. The verb therefore has no morphological object. The lexical object moves from the VP to SPEC/PASSP to check for case and becomes the passive subject. This subject has absolutive case marking because it is marked like an object. Being anaphoric the passive subject is omitted in S2. Therefore SPEC/PASSP is not created. The Principle of Reference is used to identify the already case checked the passive subject in S1. This is exemplified below:

[59] /k/ weakens to /g/ in front of a syllable beginning with a consonant.
[60] COM- comitative

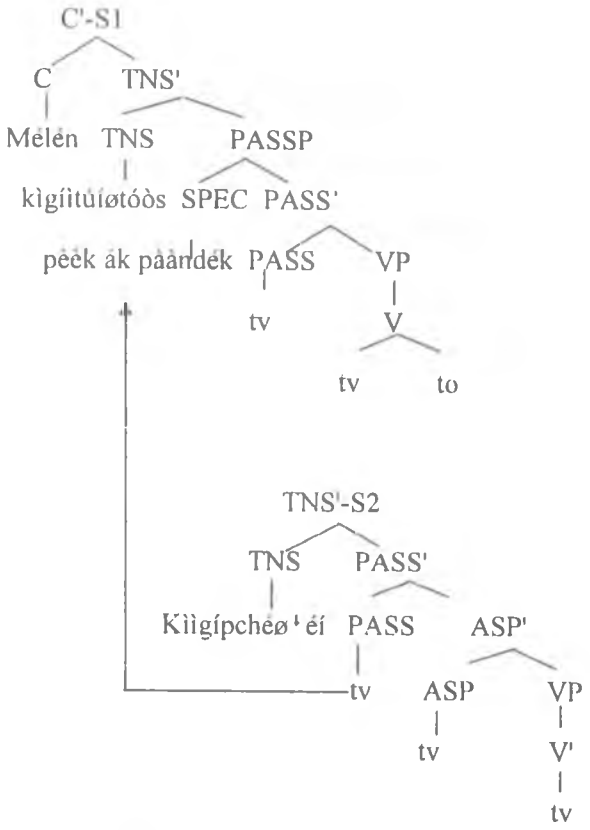

Fig.37

In S1 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via PASS' to check for passive, and tense features. The passive affix checks the case features of the absolutive subject. The object moves to SPEC/PASSP to check for absolutive case and becomes the passive subject. The word order is VS. In S2 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via PASS' and ASP' to check for passive, aspectual and tense features. The object is anaphoric and therefore SPEC/PASSP is not projected because its case features can be identified through the Principle of Reference. The word order that results in this case is V.

4.3.1.5 Antipassive

The antipassive is a construction which applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive clause. In this construction the underlying agent becomes the subject while the object is relegated to some peripheral function and there is some explicit formal marking of this status. In Tugen, the use of the morpheme {*-ís/ísy-*} signifies this change of status. With the antipassive construction the verb changes from being transitive to intransitive as shown:

(76a) Kó-ø-ˈíp-chí àmìt-wógík Chéèp-yóós-é
PST-3SG-take-BEN food-PL/DEF FE-woman-SG/DEF

She took the food to the woman

(76b) Kó- ø- ám- ís chéép-yóós-é-gâì.
SEQ-3SG-eat-ANTP FE-woman-SG/DEF DEM

That woman ate.

In discussing incorporation, Baker (1988: 133) sees the antipassive as an instance of noun incorporation. He posits the antipassive as both an affix and a noun. The antipassive is base generated into the object position where it is assigned the object theta role and then it undergoes head movement where it adjoins the verb. In some languages, the affix is doubled by an overt oblique patient. In Tugen however, there is no overt oblique patient as shown above.

Different from Baker, we posit that the antipassive morpheme is an incorporated argument of the direct object. ANT' therefore takes the place the AGRO' in the structure as shown below:

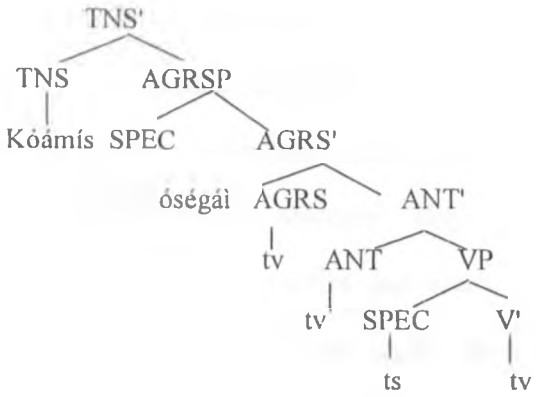

Fig.38

In the structure the verb moves from VP to TNS' through ANT' and AGRS' to check for tense, antipassive and pronominal subject features. The subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. This results in a VS word order. This is because the object argument is integrated as an antipassive affix in the verb. The antipassive affix forces the deletion of the object and as such in Tugen, the lexical object does not appear. In this case, there is no case checking but the head features of the object are checked under the ANT head. Where lexical subject is anaphoric then the pronominal subject argument is licensed through the Principle of Reference and in such a case the word order is V.

4.4 Co-occurrences of Verbal Derivations in Discourse

In the elicitation of data many verbal derivations can co-occur as shown in the previous chapter but in discourse the co-occurrences are limited to two. This is because many co-occurrences result in semantic ambiguities especially where the same affixes are used to refer to different entities and also because the human mind is constrained in processing complex information. Du Bois (1987) says that constraints on information flow typically single out new information. He says that new

information appears to be more difficult to be processed and hence must be subject to constraint. He proposes that, in general, languages avoid more than one lexical argument per clause. In Tugen, there are only a few instances of co-occurrences of verbal derivations that can be attested in discourse. These specifically are the antipassive and locative/instrumental, the passive and locative/instrumental, the locative/instrumental and the reflexive/reciprocal, the passive and the benefactive and the benefactive and the reflexive/reciprocal. Most of these co-occurrences are argument reducing derivations because the argument reducing derivations serve to limit the amount of new information produced per clause for easier processing. Some of the co-occurrences are shown below:

4.4.1 Antipassive and Locative/instrumental

In this co-occurrence the antipassive and the locative/instrumental suffixes co-occur. The antipassive marker reduces the object by incorporating it while the instrumental/locative marker introduces the instrument/locative argument. The instrumental/locative argument is overt when not anaphoric as shown:

(77) Kìì-chám ké- bó- ˈísy- én Kìp-chóóngéé.
PST-like 1PL-use-ANT-INST M-hoe
In the past, we used a hoe

In the structure, the ANT' replaces the AGRO' as an integrated object while the subject is represented by the pronominal argument which has changed to {*ké-*}(we)

due to vowel coalescence The instrumental marker {*-ɛ́n*} introduces the applied instrumental argument as shown[61].

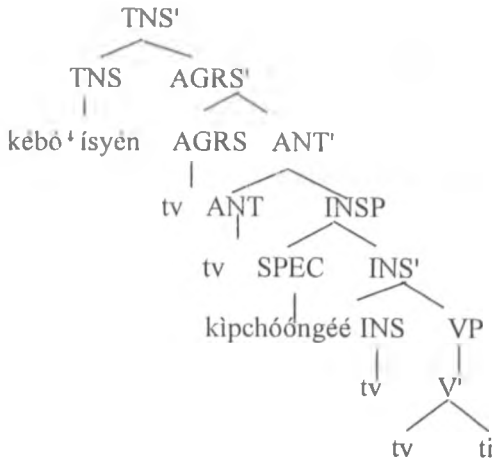

Fig.39

In the structure the verb moves from VP to TNS' via INS' and ANT' to check for tense, instrumental and antipassive features. The subject and direct object are integrated arguments. The instrumental argument moves to SPEC/INSP for accusative case checking. This gives a VO word order with an applied object.

4.4.2 Passive and Locative/Instrumental

In this co-occurrence, the passive marker reduces the lexical subject and promotes the object to be the passive subject while the locative /instrumental affix introduces the applied lexical/instrumental object. The instrumental/locative in this case is discourse anaphoric so the full lexical argument is not present. The Principle of Reference can be used to refer to the instrument/locative in the matrix sentence for case checking.

[61] The complementizer section heading the verb has been omitted in the structure

The object takes the role of subject but with accusative case. This passive subject is checked for its phi-features in SPEC/PASSP as seen in the following example:

(78) Kìì - kí- syách-éèn kèròòn-áìk.
PST-PASS-open- INST fence- PL/DEF

It was used to open up the fences

In the above example, the passive subject is checked for its case under SPEC/PASSP in the structure as shown:

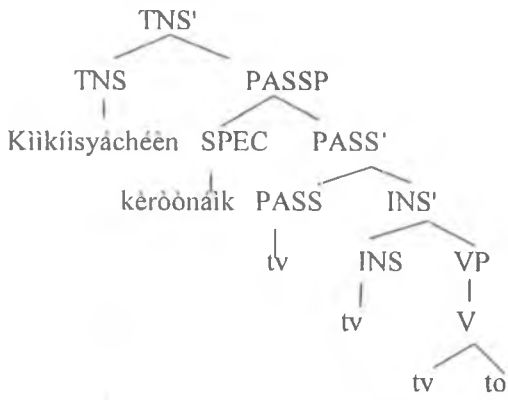

Fig.40

In the structure, the subject under SPEC/PASSP bears the accusative case features. This is because it is the object which has been promoted to subject status after the passive marker demoted the logical subject. The verb moves from the VP via INS' and PASS' to TNS' to check for passive, instrumental and tense features. This gives rise to a VS word order.

4.4.3 Locative/Instrumental and Reflexive/Reciprocal

Another co-occurrence that can be found in discourse involves the locative/instrumental and the reflexive/reciprocal. The reflexive/reciprocal is an argument-reducing operation while the instrumental/locative is argument-increasing.

The reciprocal/reflexive reduces the object argument by integrating it while the locative /instrumental affix introduces an applied locative/instrumental argument. In this co-occurrence, the locative/instrumental affix comes before the reflexive /reciprocal. This co-occurrence can be seen in the following example:

(79) Kó- ˈlé- í- ˈrápách-én- gèì sàáng'
SEQ-that 3SG-slap -LOC-REF outside

He said, "He will slap himself outside.

In the above example, the locative affix *-én* introduces the locative argument *sàáng'*(outside). The reflexive {*-gèì*}(self) integrates the direct object which refers back to the third person subject in AGRS' as shown in the structure:

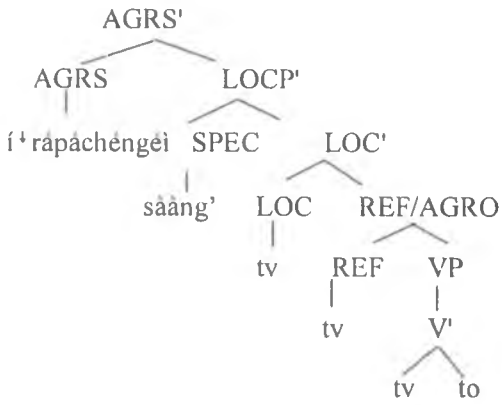

Fig.41

In the structure, the reflexive takes the role of the object as an integrated argument. This reflexive has the subject under AGRS' as its antecedent. The lexical subject is anaphoric and is licensed to appear morphologically through the Principle of Reference. The locative affix introduces a locative argument. The locative argument has its case features checked under SPEC/LOCP. The verb moves from VP to AGRS'

via REF' and LOC' to check for agreement subject, reflexive and locative features. The word order that results is VO with an applied object.

4.4.4 Passive and Benefactive

The passive and benefactive also co-occur in discourse. The passive marker demotes the logical subject and promotes the object to be the passive subject while the benefactive marker introduces a benefactive argument. The benefactive argument can be left out when discourse anaphoric for this can be accessed through the Principle of Reference by referring back to the matrix sentence in discourse. This can be seen in the example below:

(80a) Kó- mí'ón -ø- í chíí-tó
PST-sick-3OB-IMP person-SG/DEF

When a person was sick

(80b) Kò kìì- kí- chór- chì- ní tèètá
SEQ-PST-PASS-pierce-BEN -IMP cow-SG/DEF

A cow was pierced for him (literally, blood was drawn out for him from a cow)

In (80a) the sentence begins with a dependent clause that has an subject argument. This is followed by (80b) which is the main clause. The main clause is in the passive and has an integrated benefactive argument. The passive demotes the logical subject while the direct object becomes the passive subject. In this example the SPEC/BEN is not created for the lexical benefactive argument is not present. The integrated benefactive object refers back to the matrix sentence in (80a) for its antecedent through the Principle of Reference. The object becomes the passive subject and appears at SPEC/PASSP for accusative case checking. This is shown below:

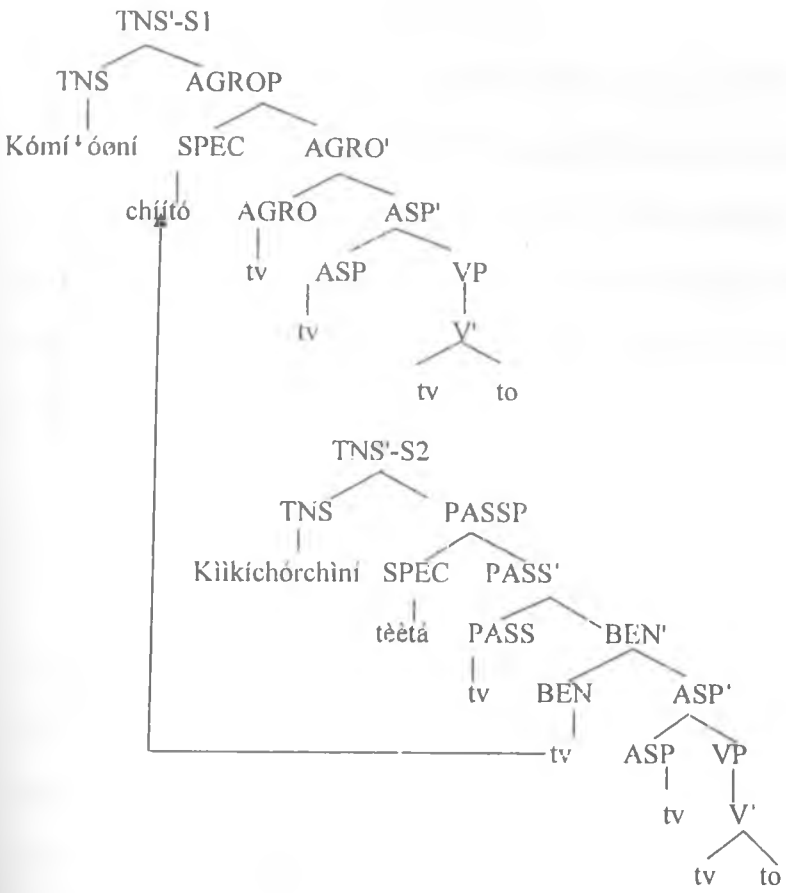

Fig.42

In structure S2, the object takes the role of the subject but bears accusative case. This object moves from the VP to be checked for case under SPEC/PASSP. The benefactive argument that is introduced by the benefactive suffix {*-chí*} (for) is represented by a null integrated argument because the lexical argument has already been case checked in S1 under SPEC/AGROP therefore in S2 the SPEC/BEN is not projected. The verb moves from VP to TNS' through ASP', BEN' and PASS to check for tense, aspectual, benefactive and passive features. This results in a VS word order with a passive subject.

4.4.5 Benefactive and Reflexive/Reciprocal

The benefactive can also co-occur with the reflexive/reciprocal. The co-occurrence is interesting in the sense that the reflexive/reciprocal integrates the direct object. This integrated object has the subject as its antecedent. The benefactive introduces the benefactive argument which is an integrated argument. Both the benefactive and the direct object are integrated arguments that take the subject as the antecedent. This is seen below:

(81) Kò- ø- nè ˈrèk- chí - gèì píík- áàp kàíˈtà-gàí
SEQ-3PL-annoy-BEN- REC person-PL/DEF-GEN house-DEM

The people of that house got annoyed with each other.

In the structure therefore the REC' reduces the object by integrating it. The subject, which is modified by a genitive phrase appears at the SPEC/AGRSP while the benefactive introduces the benefactive argument which is also an integrated argument. The reciprocal object has the subject as its antecedent which is the only lexical argument. This subject is checked for case under SPEC/AGRSP as shown below:

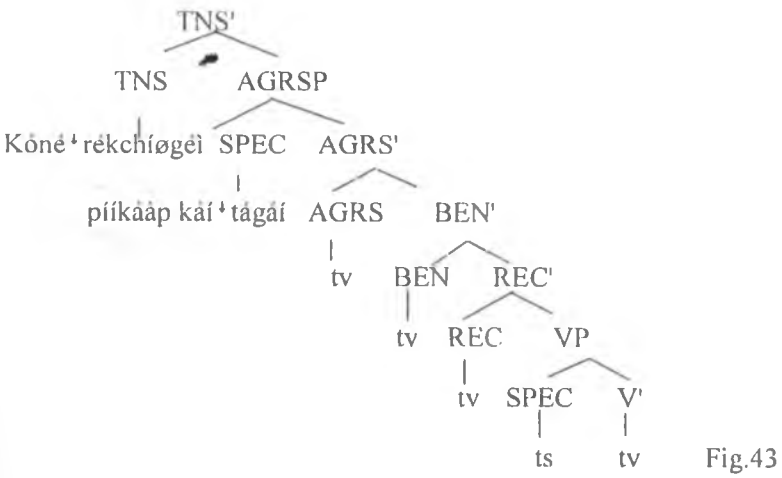

Fig.43

In the structure, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRS', BEN' and REC' to check for tense, benefactive, pronominal subject and reciprocal features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. The word order is VS because the benefactive object and the direct object are integrated arguments.

The benefactive can appear as the only integrated object on the verb thereby having a co-occurrence that results in a transitive sentence. This can be seen in the example below:

(82) Kíí- ø- ˈám- ø- chí- ø- géì ámìt-wóógík píík-áàp kái ˈtá-gái
PST-3PL-eat-3OB-BEN-AP -REC food-DEF person-PL/DEF home-DEM

The people of that house ate the food for themselves/for each other

In this construction, the reciprocal/reflexive affix only incorporates the applied object which is introduced by the benefactive. The applied benefactive object has the subject as its antecedent. This is as shown below:

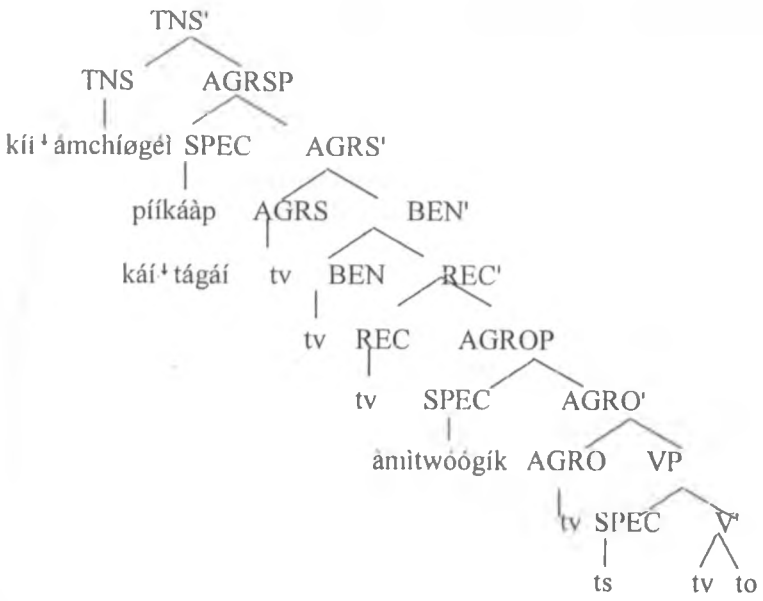

Fig.44

In the structure, the direct object is not integrated therefore the SPEC/AGROP and SPEC/AGRSP are projected. The direct object moves to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case checking while the subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The verb moves from the VP to TNS' via REF'/REC', BEN', AGRO' and AGRS' to check for reflexive/reciprocal, benefactive, object, subject and tense features. The resulting word order is VOS/VSO which involves the subject and the direct object as the only lexical arguments.

4.4.6 The Use of Pronominals in Discourse

Subject pronouns for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person can appear prefixed to the verb root while the object pronouns are suffixed to the verb. These pronouns can also undergo similar derivations as applied objects. The independent pronouns are used with these prefixes where emphasis is required; otherwise they are omitted as shown in (83a). In (83a) the applied object which is the second person is suffixed as {*-ún*} to the verb.

The subject prefix is {á-}. In (83b) the applied object appears as a first person suffix and a full pronoun as shown below:

(83a) Kìì-á-mwáá-ún ímáán
PST-1SG-tell-2SG truth:DEF

I told you the truth

(83b) Kìì - ø- íp- ø- ˈw- éch ínéé chéè-gó(VSO)
PST-3SG-take-3OB-ALL-1PL he milk-DEF

He brought us milk

(83c) Kìì -ø- íp- ø- ˈw -éch chéè-gó ínéé (VOS)
PST-3SG-take-3OB-ALL 1PL milk-DEF he

He brought us milk

The order of the affixes does not determine the order of the arguments as shown in (83b) and (83c). In the structure the heads that are created for case checking are AGRSP and AGROP as shown below:

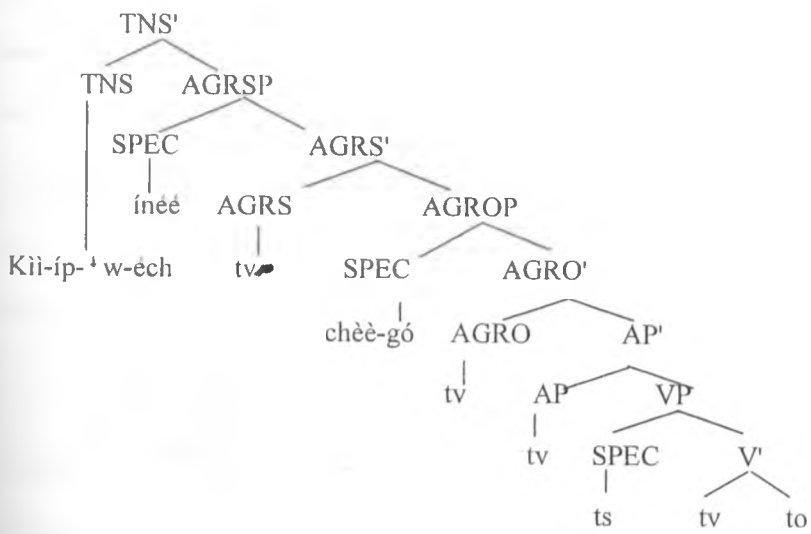

Fig.45

In the sentence structure the direct object leaves the VP and moves to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case The verb moves from the VP via the AP', AGRO', AGRS' and TNS to check for direct object, applied object, subject agreement and tense features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The resultant word order is VOS/VSO with the subject and object.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the role of pronominal and lexical arguments in the verb structure. We have found out that the pronominal arguments represent the lexical arguments of the verbs when anaphoric. The lexical arguments are assigned and checked for case in the matrix sentences and subsequently in the succeeding sentences their absence is licensed by the integrated pronominal arguments which serve to identify them. The integrated pronominal arguments refer back to the lexical arguments in the matrix sentences through the Principle of Reference for their case features. In discourse therefore full lexical arguments do not appear once they have been introduced. The lexical arguments serve to identify the referents of the verb in discourse in matrix sentences or when the referent is seen to be ambiguous. In discourse, the pronominal arguments affect the word order of the language by reducing the number of lexical arguments present in a sentence.

It has also been shown that verbal derivations affect word order by reducing and increasing the number of arguments. The derivations that increase the arguments are the benefactive, and the locative/instrumental. These derivations increase the number of arguments by introducing applied arguments to the verb structure. This results in VSOO/VOOS word order. However, when the subject and the direct object/applied

object are anaphoric, the presence of integrated arguments gives rise to a VO word order or V when all the arguments are anaphoric. The verbal derivations that reduce arguments include the passive, antipassive and the reflexive. In the passive the subject is demoted with the object being promoted to take over the role of the subject. In the antipassive, the object is integrated by the antipassive morpheme as an argument thereby making the construction intransitive with the subject as the only lexical argument. In Tugen, the passive and the antipassive markers are marked by affixes. The reflexive/reciprocal affix integrates the direct object or the applied object thus reducing the number of lexical arguments and resulting in V, and VO/VS word orders. These integrated arguments take the subject as the antecedent. Furthermore, we have seen that there can be co-occurrences between the verbal derivations. In Tugen, most of the co-occurrences involve the argument reducing derivations. This is because they serve to limit the amount of information in the verb for easier processing. These co-occurrences give rise to a VO mostly with an applied object and V word order when all the arguments are anaphoric. The verbal derivations also occur in the use of the pronouns where these pronouns take the roles of subject and the applied object respectively. These co-occurrences give rise to a VO/VS word order and VOS/VSO word orders when emphatic. From the foregoing analysis, it is evident that the most dominant word order is VO/VS.

CHAPTER FIVE

TOPIC, FOCUS AND WORD ORDER

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the role of pronominal agreement affixes and the Principle of Reference and how they affect word order in discourse was discussed. It was argued that in discourse pronominal affixes represent the full arguments when accessible from context and as a result a change in the word order from VSO/VOS to VO and V takes place. The VO word order is used for the introduction of new participants and new information while the V word order is used when all the arguments are known and old information. In this chapter, we continue to discuss how discourse-structuring affects word order. In this chapter, the discourse pragmatic notions of topic and focus are discussed, the role of pronominal arguments in relation to topic and focus word order, the way arguments are introduced and maintained in discourse as well as how various kinds of foci contribute to changes in word order. Amongst the foci that are discussed are the identificational, contrastive, inherent, question and defocalised information.

5.1 Topic and Focus

Information structure has been studied using semantic and pragmatic approaches. The semantic approach looks at information categories of topic and focus as quantificational elements which affect the propositional content of an utterance. The pragmatic approach of topic and focus looks at how identical propositions or NPs

receive direct formal expressions in accordance with the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's state of mind. In the latter approach, the concepts of topic and focus have been described by a variety of terminologies in different theoretical frameworks: Chomsky (1971) talks of Presupposition and Focus, Halliday (1994) talks of Given and New, Danes (1974) discusses of Theme and rheme, Gundel (1988) discusses about Topic and Comment while Lambrecht (1994) explains about Topic and Focus. Although they differ in some respects all are based on the notion that utterances are about something which connects with information that the speaker can assume that the hearer is aware of and that utterances contain information the speaker is presenting as new relative to what he/she is talking about. Lambrecht (1994: 334) says that the structure of sentences is related to the communicative function in which sentences are used to convey pieces of propositional information. This relationship is governed by the principles and rules of grammar in syntax and pragmatics in a component called information structure. In this component, propositions undergo pragmatic structuring according to the discourse situations in which these states of affairs are to be communicated. The pragmatic structuring is done in terms of the speaker's assumptions concerning the hearer's state of mind at the time of an utterance. Information structure examines how information is packaged and why certain structures may be selected to convey a given piece of proposition. The pragmatically motivated propositions are then paired with appropriate lexico-grammatical structures. I suggest that in Tugen, word order differences are also due to pragmatic structuring because sentences with different word orders are used to

convey different kinds of information in discourse. This pragmatic structuring will be explained later.

There are two different aspects of information structure. The first involves the representation of entities in discourse. These representations are determined by knowledge and consciousness. Knowledge is important for the speaker's assumptions as to whether a hearer already knows a given entity at the time of the utterance while consciousness is important for the speaker's assumptions as to whether or not the hearer is aware of an entity at the time of utterance. Lambrecht (ibid) divides a proposition into pragmatic presupposition which is the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered and a pragmatic assertion which is the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence being uttered. In our analysis, pragmatic presupposition is taken to be the topic which is the constituent in a sentence that adds the least information to the communicative setting. It refers to the existing information that provides an anchor for added information and often is described as given information. The pragmatic assertion on the other hand is taken to be new. That is, the information being added to the discourse. Focus therefore is new information or information that has been put aside earlier in discourse and now being re-invoked in the utterance.

The other aspect of information structure involves the pragmatic relations between denotata and propositions i.e. the topic and focus relations. The topic relation is the relation of aboutness between a proposition and a discourse entity. The topic is

thematic information that is used to isolate among multiple topics and also to set the scene in terms of time, place etc. A topic entity must be a discourse referent with a certain degree of activeness in the discourse. In discourse, the accessibility of a referent has been proposed as a pragmatic motivation for the reduction of lexical noun phrases. Speakers use more reduced forms to code highly accessible referents. The more reduced forms are invariably reserved for more highly accessible referents (Ariel 1999: 221). The positional restriction of pronouns and the placement of words with respect to each other and the boundaries of prosodic domains reflect the aspects of information packaging of an utterance. The distribution of free pronouns compared with other types of nominals can be analysed in terms of their different discourse functions.

The focus relation is taken to be non recoverable and unpredictable at the time of utterance. The focus of a proposition is the semantic element whose presence makes a proposition into an assertion. It is also the information that is contrasted with possible alternatives. Lambrecht (ibid) categorizes focus into three types: predicate focus, argument focus and sentence focus. Predicate focus is the universally unmarked type of focus structure. It has a topic within the pragmatic presupposition and a predicate phrase which expresses a comment about the topic otherwise known as a topic-comment construction; the argument focus is the narrow focus structure where the focus structure is limited to a single constituent and any constituent can be a focused constituent and sentence focus is used for introducing a new discourse referent or a

thetic sentence[62]. In this type of construction the entire clause is within the focus domain and no pragmatic presuppositions are formally evoked by sentence- focus structures.

Gundel & Fretheim (2004: 2) describe topic and focus in terms of givenness/newness. They say that there has been confusion in conflating the types of givenness/newness. They propose that it be divided into referential givenness/newness and relational givenness/newness. Of the two relational givenness/newness involves the partition of the semantic/conceptual representation of a sentence into two complementary parts of X and Y where X is what the sentence is about (logical/psychological subject) and Y is what is predicated of X (logical/psychological predicate). That means X is given in relation to Y in the sense that it is independent and outside the scope of what is predicated in Y. Y is new in relation to X in the sense that it is the new information that is asserted, questioned etc about X. Topic and focus are used widely for relationally given and relationally new respectively. Topic in this sense is what the sentence is about. Topic and focus have been associated with various syntactic structures across languages though there is no one to one correspondence between the surface syntactic form and topic and focus.

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[62] Givon (1993) proposes a continuum whereby at one end full NPs are more likely to be used when a referent is new to the discourse (high or no referential distance) or it requires some disambiguation and or it is being referred to again in the discourse with pronouns or zero anaphora for those referents that are highly accessible.

In discussing Catalan dislocates within the Phase Theory, Lopez (2009: 34-35) says that topic and focus provide no insight into the nature of sentence grammar, crucial information structure notions are (discourse) anaphor and contrast giving rise to the binary features of ±a(anaphor) and ±c(contrast). An anaphor is a constituent that necessarily looks for an antecedent in the previous discourse or the immediate context. Topic and focus are seen as descriptive terms for particular bundles of features and not theoretical primitives. Erteschik-Shir (2006) in Lopez (2009: 32) says that a clause is divided into a topic, a focus and an update. Topic is that constituent that directs one to a salient card in the file while focus opens up a new card or makes another one salient. Update is an instruction to enter the focus into the topic card. Lopez (ibid) refutes the notion of topic and says that the topic is not necessarily equivalent to an anaphor because a constituent that accidentally happens to be co-referential with something else is not necessarily anaphoric. He says the relevant concept for the analysis of sentence grammar is anaphoricity and in Catalan only dislocates are anaphoric and the ±a and ±c are assigned by pragmatics to constituents according to their positions and the dependencies they are in. This is done after phase has been built in accordance to Phase Theory (Chomsky 2000). In Tugen however, topics are constituents that are already activated and accessible and that are represented by pronominal arguments or that are reinvoked and then in focus.

Topic and focus are discourse-linked as such they do not form part of the narrow syntax. Any argument can be topic or in focus depending on its relationship with the rest of discourse. Topic and focus therefore are post syntactic notions and various

scholars have proposed different possible locations for topic and focus. Rizzi (1997) within GB framework proposes the SPEC/TP, Zubizarreta (1994) also under the GB theory proposes the same while Lopez (2009) within the Phase Theory proposes Finite and ForceP under CP. Because none of these positions dramatically affect our study we will analyse topic and focus in terms of feature checking within the Minimalist Program (2006).

5.1.1 Topics

In Tugen topics are represented by pronominal arguments in the verb phrase. These pronominal arguments have their antecedents in the matrix sentences. The Principle of Reference is used to check the case of pronominal arguments by referring back their antecedents and therefore can be equated to anaphors in the sense of Lopez. The Principle of Reference therefore solves the case checking problem of the pronominal arguments in sentences. Overt arguments that are new are represented by both pronominal and overt lexical arguments. The overt lexical arguments are freed to take a pragmatic function. They show that the lexical arguments are not topics; rather they are either new, in emphasis or being contrasted and therefore in focus. All sentences in isolation and the presentational sentences in Tugen are new and have informational focus and therefore are represented by both pronominal and overt lexical arguments to show both the syntactic and pragmatic function. Subsequent sentences which have pronominal arguments perform a syntactic function and represent the pragmatic function of topics. This is shown below.

(84a) ø-sóó'mán-chí- ní-ø kìtábúú Chéép'kóóskéì láákwéé
3SG-read-BEN-IMP-3OB book FE-kosgei child.

Chepkoskei is reading a book to the child.

(84b) ø-sóó ˈmán-chí-ní-ø[63]
3SG-read-BEN-IMP-3OB

She is reading to her.

In (84a), the structure is sentence focus and arguments are all new and are represented by both pronominal affixes and lexical arguments. The lexical arguments are the focus representations. In (84b), all the arguments are topical and are represented by pronominal affixes namely {*ø-*}, {*-chí-*}and {*-ø*}. The pronominal affixes represent the subject, the benefactive argument and the direct object. The Principle of Economy of the Minimalist Program ensures that there are no superfluous constituents by not licensing extra lexical arguments since they have already been case checked in (84a). The Principle of Reference is used to identify the cases of the referents of the affixes by referring back to the matrix sentence in (84a).

In the Minimalist Program the topic and focus are associated with functional categories of their own. Topic and focus arguments occupy the specifier positions of their respective heads. The focus and topic interpretations are due to features assigned by V. The V is raised into Focus/Topic head positions of a functional focus/topic head where it checks the +F/+T features. This +F or +T checking can be done overtly before spell-out or later at LF for those languages with focus and topic in situ. The overt topic/focus argument moves into the SPEC/ FP or SPEC/TP. In our analysis of Tugen, topics are checked on the various head positions in the structure. These heads are associated with the functional categories in the respective sentence. Therefore, the various heads are not relabeled for topic feature because the default topic is

[63] The last syllable bears a super H tone.

associated with topic-comment articulation in all languages and does not have to be marked. In the structure therefore, the verb moves through various head positions as it checks for the features associated with the topics as it moves to TNS'. This is exemplified below:

(85) ø- mwá-ˈchí- -ø- ní
3SG-tell-BEN-3OBJ -IMP

She is telling him

In (85) all the arguments are represented by pronominal arguments and hence are topics. These arguments have the feature +T[opic]. In our analysis therefore the subject, object and benefactive heads are created to check for the features of agreement subject, agreement object and the benefactive. In addition, since these arguments are topics the verb moves through these heads to check for the topic feature as well as the other relevant features on each head namely the inherent subject, object, benefactive, tense and aspect features. The structure for (85) is as shown below:

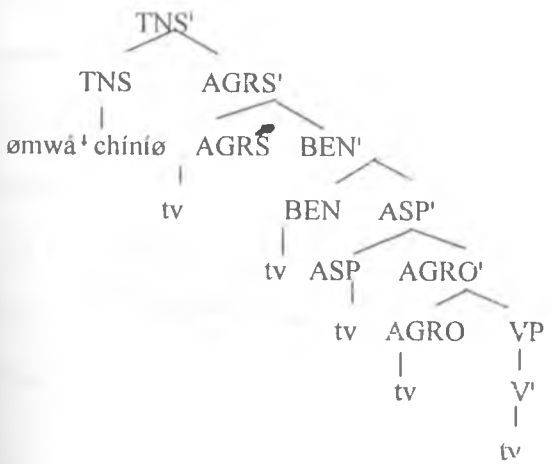

Fig. 46

In the structure above, the verb moves to TNS' via AGRO', ASP', BEN' and AGRS' to check for, agreement object, aspect, benefactive, agreement subject and tense features. The verb also checks for the inherent feature +T on the AGRS, AGRO and BEN for these are topical. This results in a V word order.

5.1.2 Focus

Kiss (1995: 15) says that focus is used to mean the part of the sentence that carries new information[64] and also as an operator expressing identification and contrast. Lopez (2009: 34) takes focus to be that which provides a resolution for a variable left open in previous discourse. This constitutes contrastive focus for him. Default focus expressing new information is not associated with any particular structural position in syntax. Kiss (1998) says information focus is present in any sentence and is not associated with any movement. Other terminologies for information focus are sentence focus by Lambrecht (1986) and presentational focus by Kiss (1998).

Focus as an operator is associated with particular structural positions in generative grammar. The focus operator operates on a set of contextually relevant entities present in the domain of discourse and identifies all and only the elements of this set of which the predicate holds. That means that it picks out an entity out of a set of known participants. This is what is known as contrastive/narrow focus. Kiss (1998: 213) says that contrastive focus occurs only if the domain of identification is a closed set of individuals known to the participants in the discourse. In discussing contrastive focus, Lopez disagrees with this position taken by Kiss (1998) by saying:

[64] Information focus in Kiss (1998) and regular focus in Lopez (2009).

> anything that can be regular focus can also be contrastive with no restriction on the domain of quantification. Regular focus simply resolves a variable left open in the previous discourse (i.e. it is an answer to an explicit or implicit wh-question) a contrastive focus is uttered when the previous discourse offers no such variable: contrastive focus does not answer a wh-question. Thus contrastive focus opens up a variable and simultaneously resolves it. Lopez (2009: 25).

Contrastive focus may occur where the speaker calls the attention of the hearer thereby evoking a contrast with other entities. This may happen where the speaker does not think that the hearer's attention is focused on some entity or because a new topic is being introduced or reintroduced. Wiesemann (1996: 125) in Schröder (2008: 130) says focus by contrast (selective focus), in general presupposes a choice of information out of known information. Contrastive focus exclusively identifies a constituent by differentiating it with other constituents in the discourse.

In Tugen focus can be VP- internal or VP- external. VP- internal focus appears within the verb phrase while VP- external focus appears outside the verb phrase. Kiss (1995: 21) points out that the focus is present both in the sentence structure of languages with structural focus and in that of languages with focus-in-situ. Green & Jaggar (2003: 202) say that focus-in-situ or ex-situ may correspond to either new information or exhaustive /contrastive focus. This is determined purely by the discourse context. Tugen has four different ways of expressing structural focus: information focus and identificational focus which is VP- internal and identificational focus and contrastive focus which is VP-external.

5.1.2.1 VP Internal Focus

In Tugen, VP- internal focus occurs within the verb phrase. The arguments under VP-internal focus are identified by the feature [+F]. These arguments move to the respective head positions for feature checking and also for focus checking. The VP-internal focus is associated with information focus and identificational focus.

5.1.2.1.1 Information Focus

Information focus in Tugen is a VP-internal focus and the constituents under focus are represented by both pronominal affixes and lexical arguments. This focus is associated with topic-comment articulation and therefore occurs in the default sentences. Since this focus is not special in any way the lexical arguments bearing information focus are projected in the various specifier positions[65] of the various arguments and are not marked for focus. This can be seen in (86) below.

(86) ø-sóó ˈmán -chí -ní - ø láák-wéé chèèp-kóóskèì
3SG-read-BEN-IMP-3OB child-SG/DEF FE-koskei

The child is reading to Chepkoskei

In (86) the subject and the benefactive arguments are represented by pronominal arguments {-ø-} and {-chi-} and lexical arguments *láákwéé* (child) and *chèèpkóóskèì*. They are therefore new and bear information focus. The object is represented only by a pronominal argument {-ø-} therefore it is topical. In the structure therefore, the AGRS'/AGRO'/BEN' and ASP' heads are created to check for subject, object, benefactive and aspectual features. SPEC/AGRSP and SPEC/BENP are created to

[65] The specifier positions for information focus in our analysis are those associated with the functional categories.

check for case features of the lexical arguments. Since these arguments also bear the pragmatic function of focus they are also checked for their inherent focus features. This is shown below:

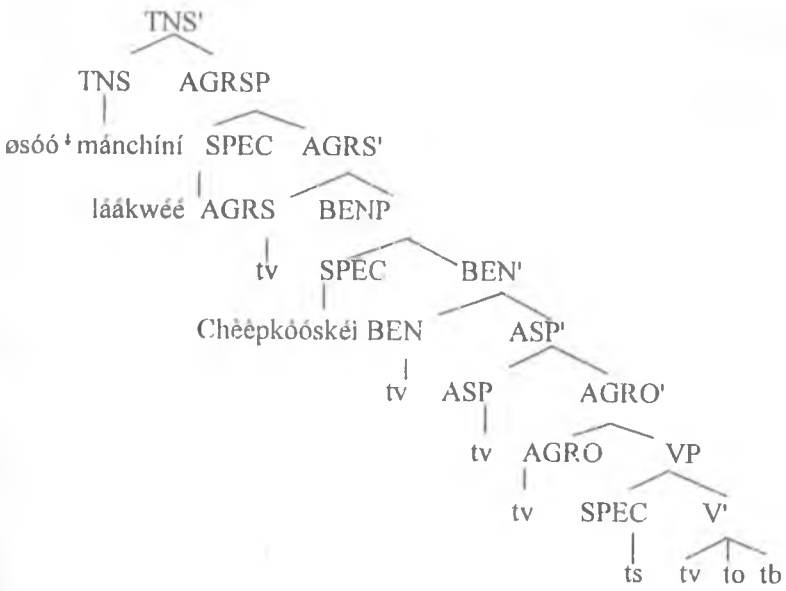

Fig.47

In the structure, the verb moves from the VP through AGRO', ASP', BEN', AGRS' to TNS' to check for agreement object, aspect, benefactive, agreement subject and tense features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case and focus features. The benefactive moves from VP to SPEC/BENP to check for benefactive case and focus features. The resulting word order is VSO.

5.1.2.1.2 Identificational focus

Tugen has both VP-internal and VP-external identificational focus positions. Focus internal is within the VP and the constituent under focus moves to the focus checking

domain to check for this feature. This is also known as counter-assertive focus where a previously mentioned argument is invoked again for emphasis. In section 4.1, we have argued that topics are constituents that look for their antecedents in the previous discourse or the matrix clause. Tugen topics are represented by pronominal arguments that have their referents in the immediate context and also the participants that are reintroduced into discourse. The referents are identified by the Principle of Reference. In cases where a pronominal argument that has its referent in the immediate context i.e. a topic is also doubled up by a lexical argument we argue that this is a case of VP internal identificational focus. The Principle of Argument Focus in Schröder (2008: 123) can be used to explain the relationship of a topic and its antecedent and the occurrence of VP- internal focus. This Principle states that:

β has a focus–checking domain if and only if:

(a) α is a referring expression to β
(b) α is a checked nominal category
(c) α licenses the morphological checking domain for β
(d) β is overt

The Principle of Reference ensures that an antecedent licenses the subject, causative or applicative arguments on the verb and after the reference on the verb is realized it licenses topichood and therefore the absence of the respective lexical constituents on sentence level. If however, a lexical argument occurs after going through the process of the Principle of Reference, the constituent carries an extra feature of focus, [+F]. In Tugen, the implicit information (topic) is syntactically marked on the verb as

subject object, benefactive, and instrumental/locative affixes as shown in the previous chapter. The subject and object affixes are pronominal arguments. If the lexical arguments of a pronoun for example occur in addition to the syntactic marking on the verb, they identify an expression by focusing on it. This focus is VP-internal[66] . The arguments have an extra feature of [+ F]. This necessitates the creation of SPEC/FP in the structure to check for this feature. The argument with this feature moves to SPEC/FP to check for it. This means that if an NP that has already been case checked and which otherwise would be represented by only an integrated pronominal argument still appears in the sentence lexically, then it carries +F feature. This focus feature is checked under the focus-checking domain and the head SPEC/FP is created to check for this feature. This will be exemplified in the section below:

5.1.2.1.2.1 VP-Internal focus in Personal Pronouns

VP internal focus can occur in the use of personal pronouns. This foci is usually associated with emphasis. This happens when an incorporated pronominal argument on the verb that has an antecedent in a atrix sentence still appears with a full pronoun in the respective sentence This means that a topic is doubled up by a lexical pronominal argument. This is seen in (87) and (88) below:

(87)[67] S1 Kí-ø-ˈgúúr- én- ón Terígí
PST-3SG-call-IMP-ISG Teriki

S2 Kìì- gí- sìch- én- ón **ánéé** Lémbúús
PST-PASS-birth-LOC-1SG I Lembus

I am called Teriki. I (not anyone else) was born in Lembus.

[66] Counter-assertive focus in the sense of Green M. & Jaggar P.J (2003: 188)citing Watters(1979).
[67] Example (73-74) also from radio conversation.

In S1 of (87) above, the object is introduced by a pronominal argument {*-ón*} and a lexical argument *Térígí*. In S2 the same objective argument in S1 which acts as a passive subject in S2 is represented by both the pronominal argument {*-ón*} and the lexical pronoun *ánéè* (I) This situation also occurs in (88) below:

(88) S1 Kì-ø- léé- ˈnj- ón Káámèè-nyúù
PST-3SG-say-BEN-1SG mother-GEN

My mother told me

S2 Kì- í- mút- ˈán éng móé- ˈnyíí árááw-ék támáàn
PST-3SG-carry-1SG in stomach-GEN month-PL/DEF ten

ák áéèng'.
and two

She carried me in her stomach for twelve months.

S3 Kì- ø- léé- ˈnj- ón **ánéè**
PST-3SG-say-BEN-1SG I

S4 Kì- í- mút- ˈán éng póróóíndó né ˈóó.
PST-3SG-carry 1SG in time that big

She told me that she carried me for a long time.

The S1 of (88) has a verb with a pronominal object affix {*-ón*}. This argument is topical. It has already been identified in S1 of (87). In S3 there is also a pronominal object affix {*-ón*} and a full lexical pronoun *ánéè* (I). The pronominal argument {*-ón*} refers to its antecedent lexical argument in S1 of (87). The sentence also has a full pronoun argument *ánéè* that doubles up the pronominal argument. This lexical argument *ánéè* is therefore under focus with the feature +F. In the structure a new head F' is created to check this feature. Kiss (1998: 20) says the focus operator is associated with a functional category of its own; it occupies the specifier position of a focus head. While citing Brody, Kiss (ibid) continues to say that focus interpretation

is due to a +focus feature assigned by V. The V is raised into F, the head position of a focus projection where it assigns its +F feature to the constituent moved into SPEC/FP. This position is also expressed in Horvath (1995: 37). While following up with this argument, the structure therefore for (87) has the F' head to check for this argument under focus as shown below:

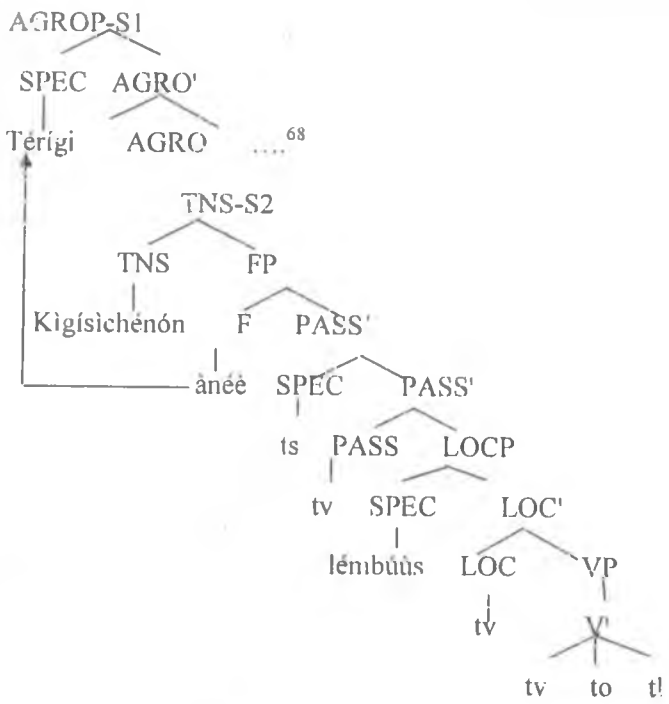

Fig.48

In the structure the object already has its antecedent in SI therefore it is a topic. The Principle of Reference is used to identify its antecedent. S2 however has a pronominal argument and another full pronoun which identifies the same object which has already been mentioned. This object takes the role of a passive subject and it moves

[68] ... unfinished sentence structure

to SPEC/PASS for accusative case as a passive subject. This occurrence of the same object again gives this extra full pronoun *ànéè* a special +F feature. This feature is checked under the F' head. The lexical object is first identified through the Principle of Reference and because it comes again with an extra argument it is checked for the +F feature under F'. The verb moves to TNS' via PASS', F', and LOC' to check for passive, focus , locative, tense and features. The locative is checked for locative case at SPEC /LOCP. This results in the word order being VOO.

5.1.2.1.2.2 VP -Internal Focus in the Applicative

VP internal focus also can occur with the use of the applicative. Here the constituent under focus is being emphasized or differentiated from others. This is seen in the use of the benefactive and the locative/instrumental. This is as seen below:

(89) S1 Kò-ø- chùl- chí-ø mùùsàrèèk Chèèp-yóós-éé
PST-3SG-make-BEN-3OB porridge-PL/DEF FE-woman-SG/DEF

She made porridge for the woman

S2 Kò-ˈlé kàígâí kò- ø- kwóóng-chí-ø kímny-éé
SEQ-say better PST-3SG-cook-BEN-3OB ugali-DEF

She said it was better if she cooked ugali for her

S3 Kò- ø- kwàâny àk
PST-3SG-cook and

S4 kò- ø- íp-chí-ø Chèèp-yóós-éé
PST-ø-take-BEN-3OB FE-woman-SG/DEF

She cooked and took it to the woman

In S1 of (89) the benefactive is introduced with a full lexical argument *chèèpyóóséé* (woman) and the benefactive affix {*-chí*}(for). The benefactive and object arguments are both new and have information focus. The subject is a topic. The benefactive is

checked for benefactive case under SPEC/BENP while the object is checked for objective case under SPEC/AGROP. In S2 the subject is a topic and is represented by a pronominal argument {-ø-} while the direct object is new and has information focus this is represented by a lexical argument *kínínyèè* (ugali) and the null pronominal object argument {-ø-} which is logical. In S3, both the subject and object are topical and are represented by {-ø-} pronominal arguments.

In S4 of (89) the subject, object and benefactive arguments being topics are represented by the pronominal arguments only. The topics identify their referents in S1 via the Principle of Reference. However, the benefactive being known and also having been used earlier appears again as a lexical argument. This argument bears an extra feature of VP- internal focus which is checked under the focus checking domain. This feature is VP–internal because it appears within the verb phrase and therefore another head SPEC/FP is created within the structure to check for this feature. This focus checking domain at the SPEC/FP assigns the +F feature to this argument that is under focus. In the structure therefore an extra head of SPEC/FP is projected. The argument in focus moves to SPEC/FP to check for the focus feature. The structure for S1 and S3 of (89) is as shown below:

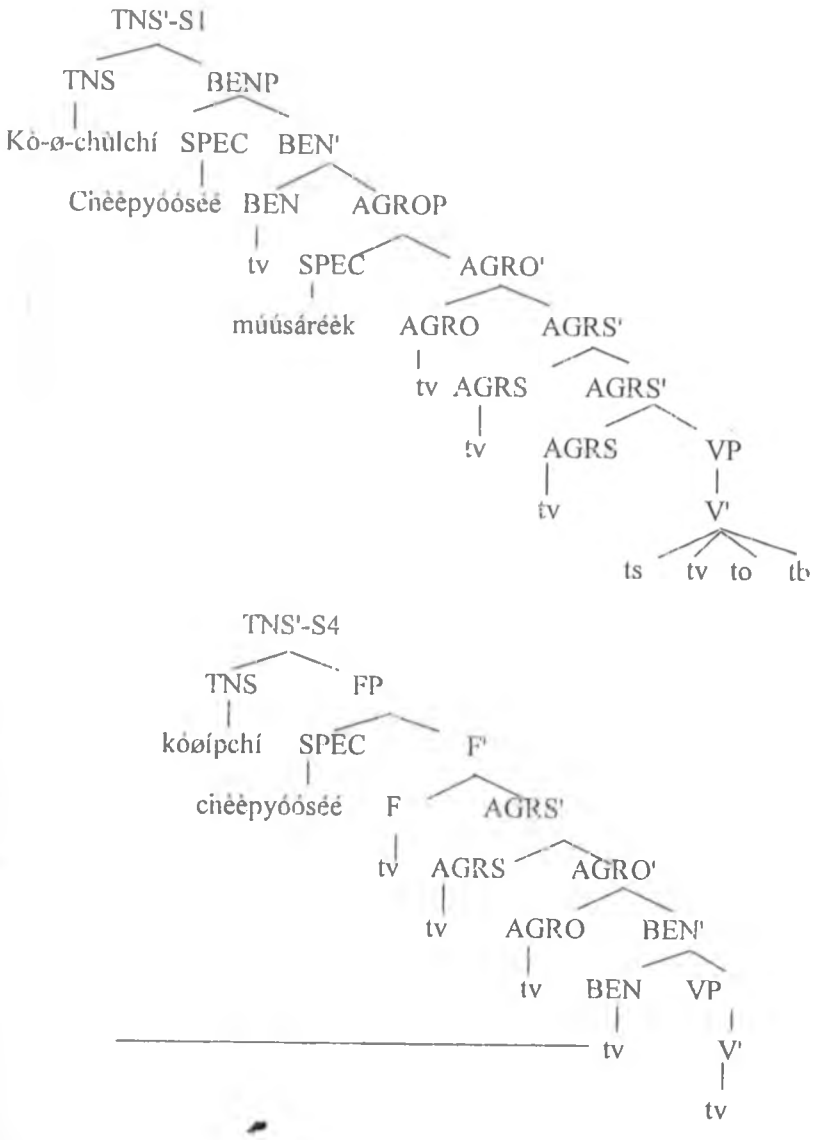

Fig.49

In S1 of this structure, the verb moves to TNS' via AGRS',AGRO' ,F' and BEN' to check for pronominal subject, pronominal object, benefactive, focus and tense features. The subject being topic is checked for nominative case via the Principle of Reference in the matrix sentence. The direct object and the benefactive object move

to SPEC/AGROP and SPEC/BENP to check for the objective and benefative case features respectively. This gives rise to VOO word order.

In S4 the verb moves from VP to TNS 'via AGRS',AGRO', F' and BEN' to check for pronominal subject, pronominal object, focus and benefactive features. The subject, object and benefactive arguments are topics. Their referents have already been checked for case at the previous matrix sentences. This is identified through the Principle of Reference. This is shown in the structure for the benefactive argument. The extra benefactive argument that occurs again is in focus and it moves to SPEC/FP to check for the feature [+F]. The word order that results is VO with an applied object.

This phenomenon is also seen in the use of the instrumental/locative where the arguments under focus are represented by lexical arguments and suffixes on the verb as shown below:

(90) S1 Kó-ø- lù- én sòt-éé
PST-3SG-drink-INS guord

She drank with a gourd

S2 Kó- ø- lù- én **sò-téé** ní⁴nó ⁴óó
PST-3SG-drink-INS gourd-DEF that big

She drank with a big gourd

In S1 of (90), the instrumental argument is introduced both as a morpheme {-*én*}(with) and as a full lexical argument *sòtéé* (gourd). This lexical argument being new has information focus. In S2, the same instrumental argument *sòtéé* (gourd) appears lexically in spite of it being a topic. The re-occurrence of this argument

lexically is for identificational purposes in that the argument is being singled out from any other by the demonstrative and extra adjectival information. This argument therefore bears the VP internal focus feature and is checked within the focus-checking domain. In the structure therefore a head SPEC/FP is created to check for this feature as shown below:

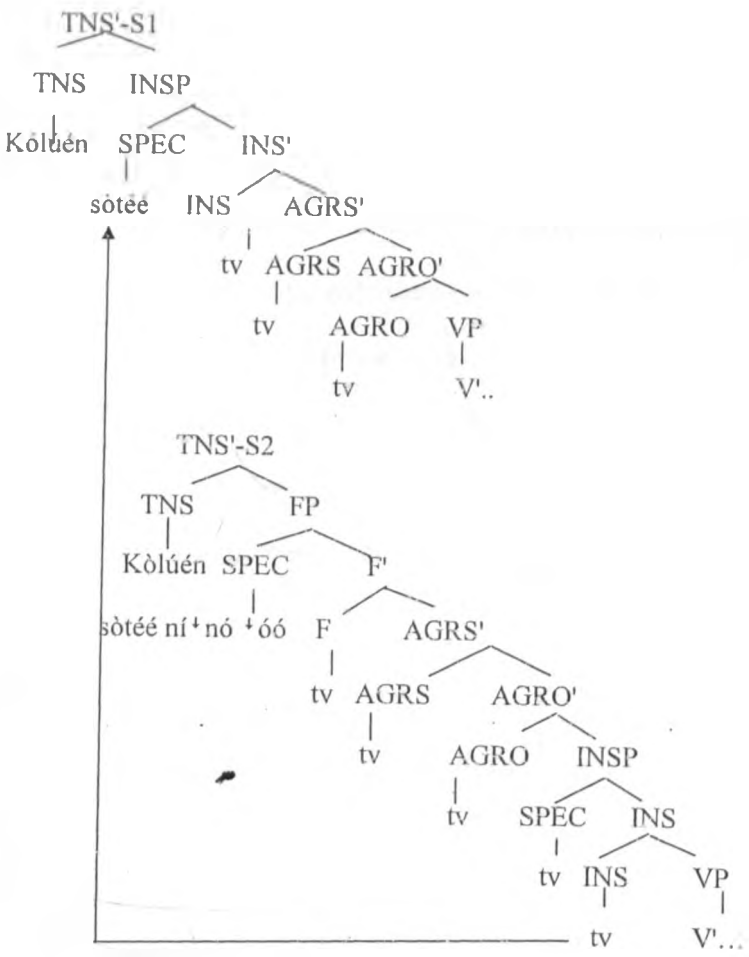

Fig.50

In S1, the verb moves from the VP to TNS' via AGRO'/AGRS' and INS' to check for tense, pronominal object, pronominal subject and instrumental features. The object

and subject are topics therefore represented by pronominal arguments. The instrument is new and under information focus. This instrumental argument moves from the VP to SPEC/INSP to check for instrumental case features. The word order is VO.

In S2 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRS'/AGRO'/F' and INS' to check for tense, pronominal subject, pronominal object, focus and instrumental features The subject and object and instrument arguments are topics and have already been checked for case and information focus in the matrix sentences. This can be identified through the Principle of Reference as shown in the diagram for the instrumental case. This is in line with the economy conditions of the Minimalist Program that doesn't allow for redundant representations in the structure. In S2, the instrumental object that is mentioned in S1 is mentioned again with a lexical argument that is complemented with an adjective. This argument bears VP-internal identificational focus. The instrumental argument therefore moves from VP to SPEC/INSP then to SPEC/FP for the focus [+F] features. This results in the word order being VO.

5.1.2.2 VP- External Focus

VP external focus is associated with a particular structural position. Languages have different parameters for the landing sites for the focus phrase (FP)[69]. Kiss (1995:23) says that the exact location for the landing site for the FP is subject to parametric variation and gives the possible locations to be SPEC/VP, SPEC/IP, SPEC/FP,

[69]Chomsky (2001b: 11) in cited in Green M. & Jaggar P.J (2003: 202) says "that a given head is assigned an EPP feature only if that yields any scopal or discourse -related properties...The feature +F therefore has a focus-EPP feature which is not an inherent lexical feature but introduced into the derivation mechanism responsible for reaching an otherwise unavailable interface goal or interpretation. This feature is uninterpretable and must be eliminated. This may be done by movement resulting in ex-situ focus or covertly resulting in in-situ focus."

SPEC/CP, a VP-adjoined position or even an A-bar position under V'. In Tugen, the structural position for VP external contrastive focus is SPEC/CP. VP external focus is associated with both identificational focus and contrastive focus. Identificational focus is for disambiguation and is not associated with any particle while contrastive focus is associated with particles and is used for differentiating a constituent from others.

As shown in the previous section the VP- internal focus necessitates the creation of FP to check for this feature. This is the case with VP external identificational focus however, VP external contrastive focus occurs with some particle associated with the functional category C'. In Tugen both the identificational and contrastive focus move to the front of the sentence at the FP and SPEC/CP respectively. Contrastive focus shares the landing site with moved wh- phrases. Wh-phrases in Tugen are in VP internal position except when under contrast when they are moved to SPEC/CP. The focus element in Tugen is a either a nominal or a pronominal element. This is explained below:

5.1.2.2.1 Identificational Focus

This is one category of VP-external focus. In this kind of focus the argument under focus is also fronted but without the use of the particle *nè*[70]. In this kind of focus the argument under focus has been moved from its canonical position to the front of the sentence and it leaves a pronoun within the VP. This is seen in the following examples:

[70] This is also known in other contexts as topicalization

(91) Kíp-tóó, ká- ø -íb -ú-ø kéét-ík
F-too PST-3SG-bring-ALL.-3OB tree-PL/DEF

Kiptoo, he brought the trees.

In this example, the argument under focus is being emphasized while the rest of the information appears as an afterthought. This argument is therefore being identified exclusively. Nominal subjects that appear pre-verbally lose their nominative case features to become accusative. The morphological heads in the checking theory carry bundles of these features. If the subject constituent moves from SPEC/AGRSP to the SPEC/FP then the nominative case features which are supposed to be carried by the subject are lost and the argument becomes accusative. This happens in structural case which changes after movement and is licensed in the position to which the argument moves. Schröder (2008: 132) introduces a head responsible for licensing this change called the focus-case marking (FCM). The subject nominative marking in (91) passes through the specifier- head relationship of this focus head to pick up the accusative case features before moving to the SPEC/FP. This necessitates the creation of FCMP head to change the case features of the constituent from the nominative to accusative. This constituent is also doubled up by a pronominal argument within the verb. Unlike the VP- external contrastive focus this kind of focus does not suit wh-elements. In the structure, therefore this argument is checked for identificational focus under the F' above the TNS' head unlike the contrastive focus which is checked for this feature under the SPEC/CP. In the structure therefore this extra head is created as shown below:

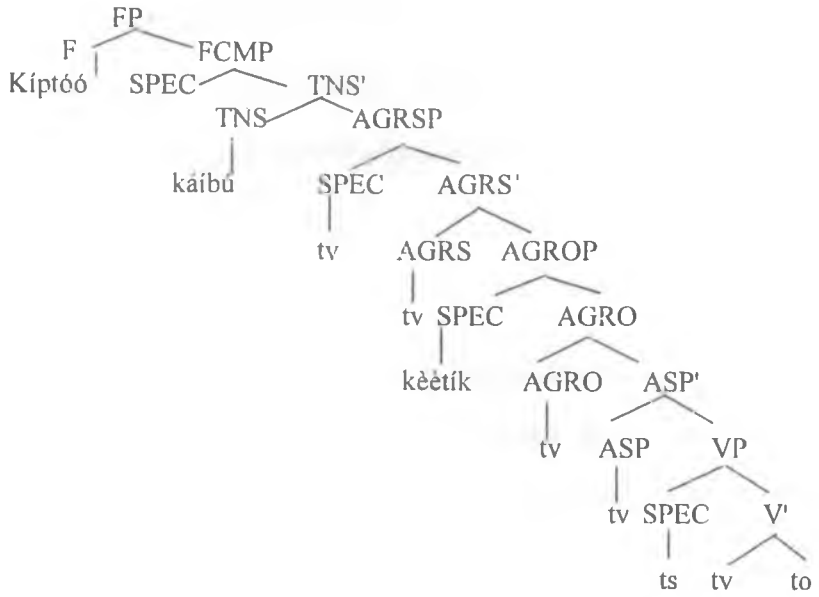

Fig.54

In (91) the verb moves from the VP through ASP', AGRO' and AGRS' to TNS' check for aspectual, agreement object, agreement subject, and tense features. The object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case checking. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP then to FCMP to have its nominative case features before landing at FP to check for focus feature. This results in a SVO word order. Identificational focus can also occur with object arguments. This is seen in the following example:

(92) Kâlâámít, kóó-ø-ˈmét-o-ø láákwéé éng óréé
pen-SG/DEF, PST-3SG-loose-PER-3OB child-SG/DEG PP way

The pen, the child lost it on the way

In (92) the focused argument is an object with accusative case and so there is no change in the case marking and therefore no FCMP head is created. This being the case the verb moves from the VP through the respective heads to TNS' for feature

checking. The focused object argument moves from SPEC/AGROP across TNS to SPEC/FP for focus checking. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The prepositional phrase remains in situ. This results in an OVS word order.

5.1.2.2.2 Contrastive Focus

The particles associated with contrastive focus constituents depend on number. The particles associated with the functional category C' in Tugen are *né* (that) and *ché* (that) respectively for singular and plural[71] arguments and *yé* (where) for the locative. These particles serve to highlight the argument under contrast and thus give the +F feature to the constituent in a spec-head relationship. Lopez (2009: 65) says that features to the left periphery that are analysed as exhaustive focus in Kiss (1988) are associated with the feature +[c]ontrast and not focus. In our analysis, we would like to analyse it as focus because contrast is shown by focus. VP external contrastive focus in Tugen is a strong feature. Therefore, it involves overt movement before spell-out to the position outside the VP. The contrastive argument is moved to the SPEC/CP. In Tugen, any argument can bear contrastive focus. This is known as clefting in other languages. This is exemplified in the following:

(93) Cheep-kooskéi né kóó-ø- píir Kimutai
FE- kosgei PRT. PST-3SG-beat-M-mutai

It was chepkoskei that was beaten by Kimutai

[71] The particle kó is used differently for identificational focus

In (93) the NP *chèèpkóóskèì* is identified exclusively from any other participant in the discourse. This argument is an absolutive subject which bears accusative case. It appears pre-verbally before the particle *nè* (that). Contrastive focus is always formed with a particle. The particle can be regarded as the head which checks for the focus feature. This particle also changes the case features of the argument and thus leaving it with accusative case. Since the argument in this example already bears accusative case there is no need to create a head that is responsible for changing the case features as in the case of (91) above. Together with focus it also brings about a change in word order. This is shown in the structure below:

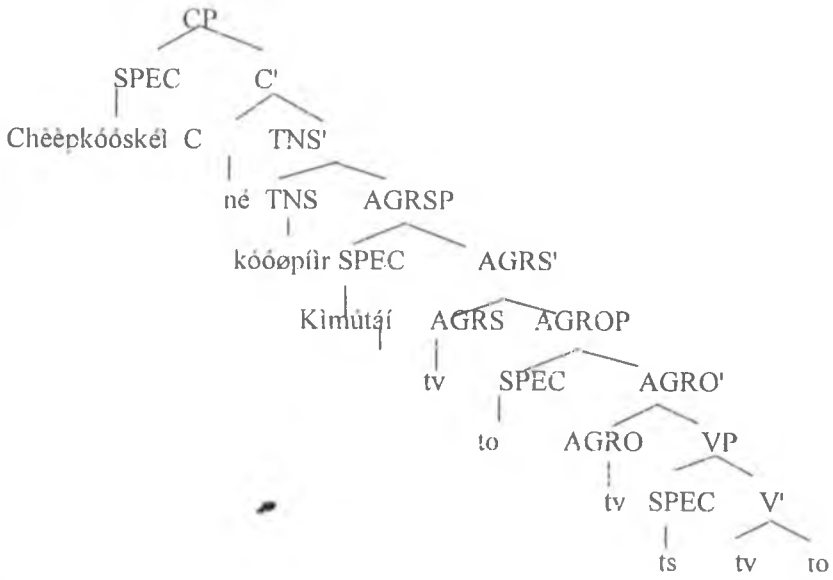

Fig.51

In the structure above, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRO' and AGRS' to check for pronominal object and subject and tense features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. The object moves

from VP to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case then to C' for case features and focus before landing at SPEC/CP. The resulting word order is OVS.

Any argument can have VP-external contrastive focus in Tugen. In the example below the contrastive argument is a subject but bears accusative case.

(94) Mùùrén-ík chè kìì-ø- àm- ˈísý- éèn sèpétá-íìk
Men-PL/DEF PRT PST-3SG-eat-ANTP-INS bowl-PL/DEF

It was the men (only) who ate from the bowls.

In (94) the men are identified exclusively from women. This argument is the subject of the sentence and when in contrast it appears pre-verbally. In the structure the SPEC/CP head is therefore created to check for this contrastive focus feature on the argument as shown below:

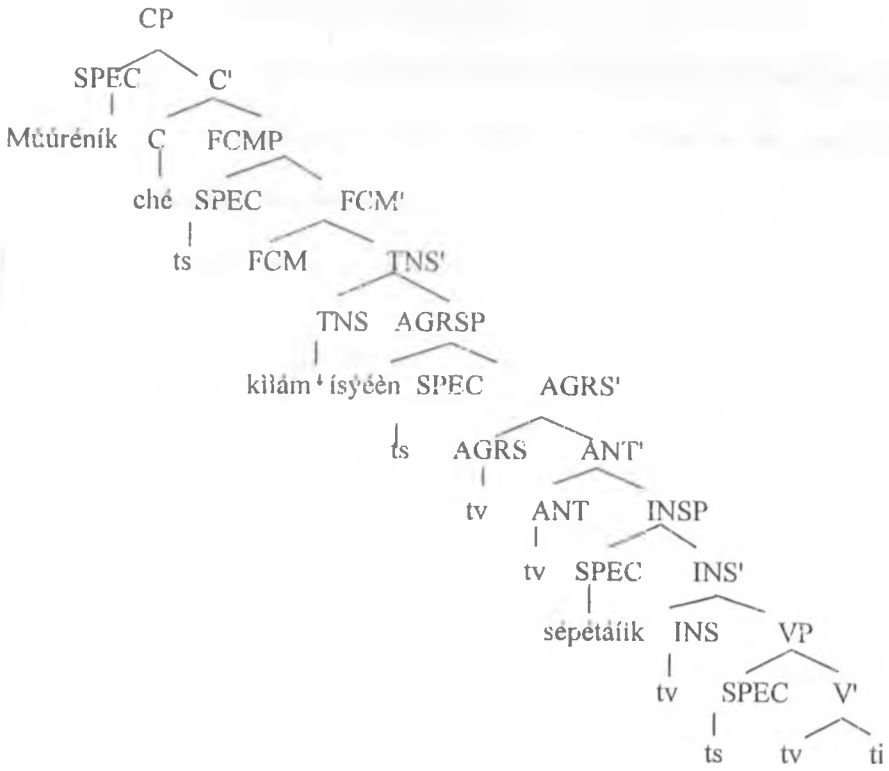

Fig.52

In the structure the verb moves from the VP via AGRS', INS' and ANT' to TNS' to check for pronominal subject, instrumental, antipassive and tense features. The instrument moves from VP to SPEC/INSP to have its instrumental case features checked. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to have its nominative case features checked before moving to SPEC/FCMP to have the nominative case features changed to the accusative case and finally landing at SPEC/CP to check up contrastive focus features. This is because the subject which bears nominative case changes its case features when it is preposed. Being under focus the focused constituent has scope over the whole sentence. This results in a change of word order from VOS/VSO to SVO.

5.1.2.2.2.1 Contrastive Focus in the Applicative

The applicative can also undergo contrastive focus by being moved to the front where they take scope over the whole sentence. This can be seen in the case of the instrumental/locative and the benefactive where they are contrastive when fronted. This is exemplified in the examples below:

(95) Chêêmbêé nè kà-ø- tìl mòòrn-ée
Jembe PRT PST-3SG-cut finger-SG/DEF

It is the jembe that cut the toe.

(96) Òìn-ée yè kà- ø- bá làág-óík
River-SG/DEF PRT PST-3SG-go child-PL/DEF

It is to the river that the children went.

In the above sentences, the locative/instrumental arguments are preposed. These arguments bear accusative case so the FCMP is not introduced in the structure. In (96) the contrastive locative argument is introduced by the particle *yé* unlike the instrumental which is being introduced by *né* (that). This particle is used both in plural and singular locative arguments. The word order in (95) is SVO because it is the instrumental subject that is fronted. In (96) the word order is PPVS because it is the preposition that is fronted. The benefactive is also another applicative that can be used in contrastive contexts. This is exemplified in the following example:

(97) Chêêp-t-ó nè kà- á- gó- ˈchí
FE- girl-SG/DEF PRT PST-1SG-give-BEN

It is the girl that I gave.

In the example, the benefactive argument is preposed to the position of moved wh-phrase at SPEC/CP therefore bearing contrastive focus. The subject and the object

are topics therefore represented by incorporated arguments. The structure for the above sentence is as shown below:

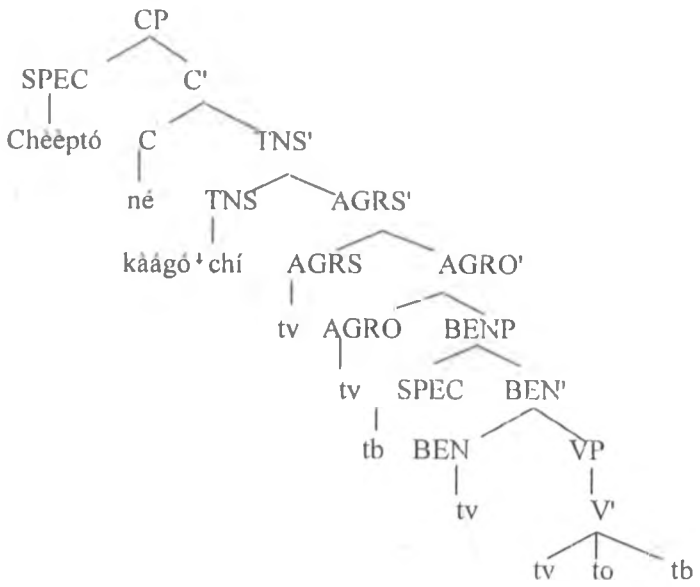

Fig.53

In the structure above, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via BEN', AGRO' and AGRS' to check for pronominal object, pronominal subject and tense features. The subject and object are represented by incorporated arguments for they are topics. Their referents have been case checked earlier in the matrix sentence which can be accessed through the Principle of Reference. The benefactive argument is being contrasted from other arguments and moves from VP to SPEC/BENP to check for benefactive case features and then to SPEC/CP where it is checked for the feature [+F] which is assigned to it by the particle *né*. The resulting word order is OV.

5.2 Defocalised Information

Dooley & Levinson (2000: 36) explain that tails (defocalised information) are right dislocated elements which are "meant to clarify or modify (some constituent contained in) the predication". The tail is a repair device or an afterthought.[72] Schröder (2008: 138) says defocalised information distracts the attention of the hearer away from the main information.

In Tugen, defocalised arguments appear at the end of the sentence as an afterthought or repair device. They are used for clarification. This is seen in the following examples:

(98) Kíí bàábá ngúùnóó kó- ˈmó -ø- tíny-ˈéí mwóólíˈmú, wéér-íí
PST- father now SEQ-NEG-3SG - have-IMP teacher- boySG/DEF

né túúpchó chèèp-ng'òótié ák ínééˈndé
that brother FE-ngotie and himself

Father did not have a teacher, it was his brother Chepng'otie and himself.

(99) S1 Ís kó-ø- ˈnyó
So SEQ-3SG-come

S2 kó -ø- téech kóót éng gáá bàábá
SEQ-3SG-build house at home father

So he came and built a house at home, father that is.

In the structure for S2 of (99) the defocalised argument remains in situ. Therefore, the subject remains in situ and does not move. It is dislocated to the right after the PP. As

[72]This is the position taken also in Lopez (2009) Lambrecht (1994) calls it an antitopic.

an after thought it comes at the end of the sentence. This is shown in the structure below:

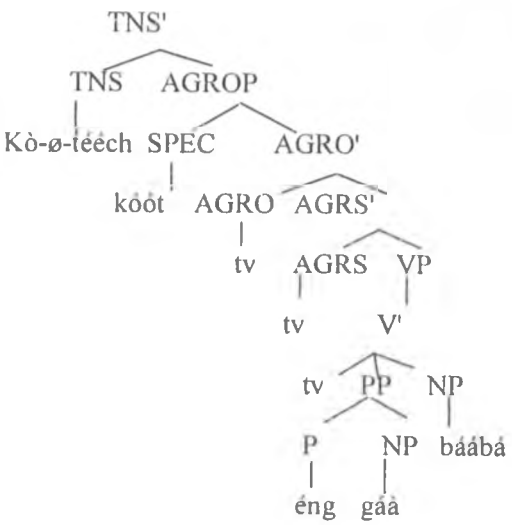

Fig 55

In the structure, the verb moves from the VP to TNS' via AGRO' and AGRS' to check for tense, pronominal object and pronominal subject. The object moves from VP to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case checking. The subject which is a topic has already been case checked previously appears again as defocalised information. This extra lexical subject remains in situ. The word order that is derived is VO.

5.3 Inherent Focus

Negative and yes and no questions are inherent in focus because they emphasize more than simple affirmations. In negation sentences there is a negation affix that is used in Tugen. This is seen in the following examples:

(100a) ø- wéénd-ì láák-wée òin-éé.
3SG- go- IMP child-SG/DEF river-SG/DEF

The child is going to the river.

(100b) Mó- ø- wéènd-í lâák-wéé òìn-éé.
NEG-3SG-go-IMP child-SG/DEF river-SG/DEF

The child is not going to the river

In the structure therefore an extra NEG' head is created for the negation feature. The verb therefore moves to this position to check for negation features. This makes the verb to land in the NEG' head and not in TNS' because it heads the sentence. This is shown in the structure below:

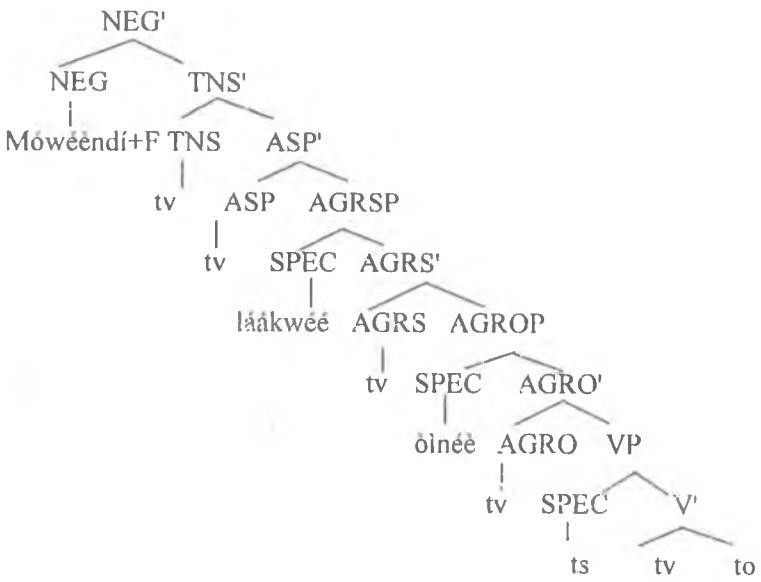

Fig.56

In the structure, the verb moves from the VP to NEG' via AGRO'/AGRS'/ASP' to check for negation, tense, pronominal subject and aspect and pronominal object features. The verb lands at NEG' and not at TNS'. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case while the object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case. The structure of the sentence does not change but the negation marker has scope over the whole sentence. The word order is

VOS/VSO. In discourse where the arguments are topics they are represented only by pronominal arguments and therefore the word order is V.

In yes and no questions the argument under focus appears sentence-finally with an extra vowel and a higher intonation. This is a feature of the Nilotic languages. Schröder (2008: 141) also attests the presence of this feature in Toposa. Where the argument under focus is a topic the extra vowel with a higher intonation is placed at the end of the verb as a clitic for the whole sentence. This is exemplified in the following examples:

(101a) ø- tíl-ˈèl kéèt-ít Kíp-ˈkóéèch
3SG-cut-IMP tree-SG/DEF M-koech

Kipkoech is cutting a tree

(101b) ø- tíl-ˈéí Kíp-ˈkóéèch-í?
3SG-cut-IMP M-koech-QUE[73]

Is Kipkoech cutting it?

(102) ø- wéèˈnd-í- í?
3SG go- IMP-QUE

Is he going?

The extra vowel which bears the QUE feature has a focus feature therefore an extra head for this feature is created. This is in line with the Principle of Full Interpretation where all the constituents of the sentence have to be fully accounted for. This is as shown in the structure for (101b) below:

[73] QUE-represents the question feature.

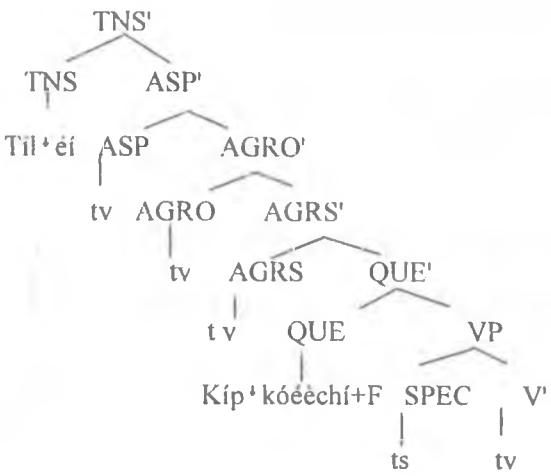

Fig.57

In the structure, the verb moves in the usual from the VP to TNS' via AGRS' and AGRO' to check for tense, aspect, agreement subject and agreements features. The subject which bears an extra QUE feature moves to the head QUE' for focus marking. This feature has scope over the whole sentence. The word order is VS. Where the arguments are topics, the verb moves via the QUE' head to be checked for this focus on its way to TNS. In this case the word order is V.

5.4 Word Order Frequency

Word order can also be analysed pragmatically by looking at the frequency of usage of the various constituents within a text as Dryer (1995) suggested or by the way information is represented in with respect to newsworthiness. Mithun (1987: 304) while analyzing the American polysynthetic languages of Cayuga, Ngandi and Coos says that in those languages pragmatically most important items; those with immediate discourse-impact come first in the clause and the elements that follow it are distributed in order of decreasing newsworthiness. This occurs in terms of

information structuring where the items that present new information are analysed as focus while those with least information are analysed as topics. These two aspects will be considered below with respect to Tugen.

In Tugen, word order can pragmatically also be analysed in terms of the occurrence of various arguments within a text. Although this criterion has been criticized to be not part of the grammar of language and also that the word order frequencies may be attributed to the idiosyncrasies of particular texts or particular speakers, we are going to defend its use in this study in the sense that it provides a reliable measure of word order for the results portray a clear preference of a particular word order in comparison with other word orders and also that the texts that are used in the analysis are of different categories of texts and from categories of different speakers. In this analysis, we are going to look at the occurrence of the subject and object constituents with respect to the verb. From texts comprising of 366 clauses from narrative, expository and procedural texts the following word orders are established

Word order	No. of usage	Percentage
VO	281	76.78%
VS	47	12.84%
VSO	8	2.18%
VOS	9	2.46%
SVO	4	1.09.%
OVO	9	2.46%
V	223	60.92%

From the above table it is clear that the second most frequent occurrence of word order is VO followed by V. The VSO/VOS word order appears minimally within the texts. The reason behind this was explained in chapter 3 where the pronominal arguments ended up reducing the subject and object arguments. The SVO/OV word order was attributed to focus where arguments under contrastive focus were moved to the front of the sentences for emphasis. As they are marked their occurrence is of less frequency. In the following section we are going to look at the above frequencies in terms of information structure of topic and focus.

5.4.1 V Word order

This is the most frequent word order. It occurs when all the arguments are topical and therefore being represented by integrated pronominal arguments. This is exemplified below:

(103) S1 Kó –ø -ít -ˡít -á ák
SEQ-3SG reach-ALL-PER and

S2 kò -ø-tóóbéén-ø
SEQ-3SG-look-3OB

He *reached there and looked at it.*

In S1 above, the subject is topical while in S2 the subject and object are both topical and represented by integrated arguments.

5.4.2 VO word order

From the frequency statistics this is the most common occurrence of word order. In terms of information structuring, this is exemplified in the texts below:

(104) S1 Kó-ˡnyó béély-ó
PST-come elephantSG/DEF

S2 Kó-ø-tóbéén chèè-bòlól-óóník
PST-3SG-look FE-pumpkin-PL/DEF

S3 Kó-ˡlé á -ám-é níˡnò kííndéé
PST-say 1SG-eat-IMP that big.

The elephant came. He looked at the pumpkins. He said I will eat that big one.

In the above text S1 is presentational having a VS word order. All the elements are new and have information focus or sentence focus that is used for event reporting. In S2, the elephant which is represented by a prononinal argument has topic status. The new information is the verb and object. This has a topic–comment structure. In a topic -comment structure the topic is an entity within the pragmatic presupposition which has the function of naming the referent that the assertion is about (Valin & La Polla 1997: 203). In this sentence the resulting word order is VO. In S3 the sentence

has a topic comment structure where the subject is represented by a pronominal argument while the object is new and in focus. The subject is represented by the first person pronominal while the object is presented by a demonstrative pronoun with an adjective. The word order is still VO. Another example is seen in the text below:

(105) S1 Kìì-míì chíít-ó ágé.
PST-be person-SG/DEF other.

S2 Kó kíí-ˈká- í-túùn kwòòn-dó né ˈóó.
SEQ PST-PER -3SG marry wife-SG/DEF that big.

S3 Kó-ø- ˈmá-í. .
SEQ-3SG-NEG-give birth.

S4 Kónyíìl kòò-ø-túùn ágé
Again-SEQ-3SG-marry other.

S5 Kó- ˈná -í -túùn né mí ˈníng'
SEQ-CON-3SG-marry that small.

S6 Kó- ø- ˈléé- njí -ø kwòòn-dó né ˈóó
SEQ-3SG-tell-BEN-3OB wife-SG/DEF that big

S7 Sí kó -ø -báí
So- SEQ-3SG-feed.

There was another man. He had married the first wife. She didn't bear. He married another one. When he married the younger one, he told the first wife to feed her.

In the above text S1 is new and the whole sentence has information focus. The word order is VS. In S2, the subject is topical and is incorporated in the verb as a pronoun. The new information is the verb and the object. The word order with a topic comment structure is VO. In S3, the object in S2 takes over the subject status. It is now topical and incorporated as a third person singular pronoun. The semantics of the verb indicates the referent being represented by the subject is the man. In S4, the subject is topical and is represented by a pronominal argument incorporated into the verb. The

object which is new is represented by an indefinite personal pronoun. Though new, this referent is accessible within context. The word order is VO also with a topic comment structure. S5 has a VO word order where the subject is represented by an incorporated pronoun while the object is new and is represented by a demonstrative pronoun and an adjective. In S6, the subject is also a topic with an incorporated argument and the comment about it is presented by a lexical object as VO structure. Though accessible this object is presented lexically to distinguish it from the object in S5. In S7, the word order is V because both the subject and object are topics. From the analysis, new information is represented by full NPs for example in S1, S2 and S6; by indefinite personal pronouns for example in S4 and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives when accessible from the context as seen in S5. Topical information is represented by pronominal arguments which are null argument and are incorporated in the verb. When the verb and subject alone are new information, the sentence has VS word order. This will be described in the next section. When the object is the only new argument being introduced the word order is VO. This involves a topic comment structure. Arguments that are topics appear as incorporated arguments.

5.4.3. VS Word Order

VS word order in Tugen occurs in presentational articulation. It is used in introducing referents into the discourse. This is seen in S1 of (106). The introduction or reintroduction of a subject argument into discourse is also done by VS word order. This can be seen in the example below:

(106) S1 Kó-ø -nââm lâákwéé
PST-3SG-catch child

S2 ák kôô -ø -mût Kip-léékw-éé.
and PST-3SG-take M-hareSG/DEF

S3 Kó-ø -ˈná -ít ôóréé.
SEQ-3SG-CON-arrive way

S4 Kó-ø -ˈléé-njí -ø Kíp-léékw-éé
PST-3SG-tell-BEN-3OB M-hare-SG/DEF

S5 Kà -ø -léé- ˈnjí -n néè kwânda-ngûûng'
PST-3SG-tell-BEN-1SG what father-SG-GEN

The child caught it and took the hare. When they were on the way the hare told him. What did your father tell you?

In the above text, S1 has presentational articulation and has a VS word order. The subject is new and is represented by a pronominal argument and a lexical NP. In S2 the subject in S1 is a topic represented by a pronominal argument while the object is new and is represented by both a pronominal and a lexical argument. The word order is VO. In S3 the subject is also topical while new information is represented by the verb and an adverb. In S4 there is a topic shift where the object as a participant in S2 acquires the subject role status. This necessitates the use of a lexical NP to avoid ambiguity because there are two participants and the one who is acting next has to be singled out thus resulting in a VS word order. In S5 there is a topic shift where new information is represented by a pronominal argument and lexical NP while the object is topical and is represented by a pronominal argument. From the analysis it is clear that in presentational sentences involving the subject the word order is VS. The VS word order is used to introduce new participants and also to disambiguate the referents involved in a discourse. The reintroduction also involves a topic shift where there are two similar arguments involved. This happens when the referents are

accessible. The disambiguation leads to the reintroduction of participants into the discourse.

5.4.4 VSO Word Order

Though this is what has been advocated as the basic word order for Tugen, it is clear from our analysis that its usage is not common. The reasons that have been found to cause this include the use of pronominal arguments and use of valency reducing operations. See some examples:

(107) S1 Kó -ø -ˈngááp tá -ˈkó-ø -tíén -í
SEQ-3SG- while CON-SEQ-3SG-sing-IMP

S2 kó -ø -ˈmóng-ú kwáˈnd-á.
SEQ-3SG-come-ALL-father-SG/DEF

S3 Kó -ø-ˈryák-tá Kíp-léékw-éé
SEQ-3SG-rush-ABL M-hare-SG/DEF

S4 ák kó -ø -úny-géí
and SEQ-3SG-hid-REF

S5 Kó -ø -ˈléé –njí -ø kwáˈnd-á làákw-éé
SEQ-3SG-tell-BEN-3OB father-SG/DEF child-SG/DEF

While he was still singing the father came in. The hare rushed out and hid himself. The father told the child.

In S1, the subject is a topic and represented by a pronominal argument. In S2, a new referent is introduced with a lexical NP resulting in a VO word order. This is a topic-comment structure. In S3, the topical subject in S1 is reintroduced with a lexical NP to avoid ambiguity with the subject in S2 resulting in VS word order. In S5 the subject in S2 is represented lexically to differentiate it from the subject in S3. New information is introduced by the lexical object *lààkwéé* (child). This results in a VSO word order. From this we find that in VSO word order topical information is

represented lexically where there is a possibility of ambiguity between two referents. It is a reintroduction of participants. This occurs especially where there is a topic shift. See another example:

(108) S1 Kó ˈbéély-óndé -gáí kó máchám kó -ø- ám -ˈát-éí
SEQ elephant-SG/DEF-DEM SEQ usually SEQ-3SG-eat-ALL-IMP

pâând-éék
maize- PL/DEF

S2 Ko ˈtúún kó kìì -míì chíí-tó
SEQ-FUT SEQ-PST-be person-SG/DEF

S3 né kíí -ˈká -gòòl mbáréé -ˈnyíí chèè-bóló ˈlóó-ník ché
that PST-PER plant farm-SG/DEF-GEN FE-pumpkin-PL/DEF that
ˈchááng'
many

S4 Kó-ø -ám-ˈát -éí bèélyóˈndé ámítˈwóógík-ˈáb mbár-ˈéé-ník-
âb
SEQ-3SG-eat-ALL-IMP elephant-SG/DEFfood-PL-GEN farm-
PL/DEF-GEN

píík
person-PL/DEF

That elephant, it usually eats maize. Then there was a man who had planted many pumpkins in his farm. The elephant went eating the crops in people's farms.

In S1 of (108) above the elephant which is already topical is singled out by identificational focus through fronting. The word order is SVO. The argument is under identificational focus. The comment is provided by the verb and object as new information. S2 is presentational with a VS word order. In S3 the subject is topical. The new information is represented by the verb and two object arguments. The word order is VOO. In S4 the subject is represented by a lexical argument though a topic.

This is to disambiguate it from the referent *chíító* (person) in S2. New information is presented by a lexical object. The word order is VSO. From this we find that when represented lexically the topic/known information follows the verb to disambiguate it from a previous participant while the object representing new information appears after the topic.

5.4.5 VOS Word Order

This word order is also taken to be basic in Tugen though in frequency of occurrence its usage is also minimal more or less than VSO. Pragmatically the occurrence of this word order is exemplified below:

(109) S1 Kíí-míì chéép-t-ó né ˈbó píík-ˈchóók
PST-be F-girl-SG/DEF that of person-PL-GEN.

S2 Né kíí-ø-búùr
That PST-3SG-pregnant

S3 Kíí -ˈná -búùr, kó -ø- kéér-ˈén-gèì báábá.
PST-CON-pregnant SEQ-3SG-close-LOC-REF father.

S4 Kéé-mút-ˈéch kóót né túúm -ˈjí -ní -ø t-ííbík
INF-take-1PL house-SG/DEF that givebirth-BEN-IMP-3OB girl-PL/DEF

tú ˈgúl
all.

S5 Kóó-øˈréég -ú -néén-ø ngór-óíìk kóbék chéép-yóós-óók.
PST-3SG remove-ALL-LOC-3OB cloth-DEF/PL all FE-women-PL/DEF

There was a girl of our people who got pregnant. When she got pregnant, father protected her. We, all the girls were taken to the house that she would deliver in. All the clothes were removed from her by the women.

In S1, the sentence is all presentational therefore having a VS word order. The subject in S2 is a topic and represented by a pronominal argument. The new information is

carried by the verb. The word order is V. In S3, there is a topic shift where a new participant is introduced. The participant takes the role of subject and is represented by a pronominal argument and a lexical argument *láá'á* (father). The word order is VS. In S4 the sentence is infinitival therefore the subject is not explicit. New information is presented by the verb and pronominal object {*-ách*}(us) and one lexical object *kóó! nè túúmjíní tibík tú'gúl* (house that all girls deliver in). In S5 both there is a topic shift where a new participant is introduced to take the role of subject. This subject is different from the one in S3 and is represented by a pronominal argument and the lexical argument *chéépyóósóók* (women). The object also involves a topic shift where a new object which is different from S4 is being introduced. This is also new information and is represented by a pronominal argument and the lexical argument *ngòróîik kóbék* (all clothes). The resulting word order is VOS. From this analysis, VOS word order occurs where the object and the subject involves a topic shift therefore new. Another occurrence of this word order is shown below:

(110) S1 Kó-ø-géèr Kíp-lèèkw-èè.
SEQ-3SG-see M-hare-SG/DEF

S2 Kó-lè- kóó-'kó- târ -é -n bèèly-ó'ndè
SEQ-say PST-PER-finish-PER-3OB elephant-SG/DEF

chèè-bòlól-èè
pumpkim-SG/DEF

S3 Àgó máá-ø-ám-éí chèè-bòlól-èè í'néè
And NEG-3SG-eat-IMP FE-pumpkin-SG/DEF him

The hare saw that the elephant was finishing for him the pumpkin. And he himself does not eat a pumpkin.

In S1, the new information is presented by the verb and the lexical subject therefore resulting in VS word order. In S2, there is a topic shift and the subject in S1 takes the

role of object as an incorporated pronoun {*-n*}. A new participant is introduced to take the role of subject and is represented by a pronominal argument and the lexical argument *bèèlyó↓ndè* (elephant). There is also a new applied object which is introduced by a pronominal and a the lexical argument *chèèhólólèè* (elephant). This results in a VSO word order. In S3 the applied object takes the role of the direct object and although it is topical it is represented by a lexical argument to disambiguate it from the lexical and object in S2. The subject of the sentence involves a topic shift where a new participant is introduced. This subject is different from the subject in S2 is represented lexically by a full pronoun *í↓nèè* (him). This is new information. The word order is VOS. From the analysis VOS word order occurs where there are possibilities of ambiguity in terms of the topical objects. Whenever there is a topic shift involving two objects, a lexical object is used. This is also the case where there is a topic shift involving subjects. However in VOS word order, the subject which is new information appears at the end while the object which is topical appears after the verb. The flexibility of VSO/VOS word orders occurs according to topicality where a topic appears lexically for disambiguation with the comment appearing after the topic. This is in line with Creider & Creider (1983) assertion that in Nandi the orders VSO and VOS are correlated with differences in the content of the assertion. In VSO the S is asserted (rhematic) and O is presupposed and thematic but with VOS the O is asserted about S. However in Tugen the opposite is true where in VSO word order S is presupposed and thematic with O is being asserted and new. In VOS word order O is presupposed and thematic while S is asserted and rhematic.

5.4.6 SVO Word Order

This word order in Tugen is not basic. Its frequency of occurrence is very minimal. It occurs pragmatically when the subject is focused by being fronted. This can be seen in the following example:

(111) S1 Kó kíí- míì pìik
SEQ PST-be person-PL/DEF

S2 ché kíí- ríb- ˈéí pêêk
that PST-watch-IMP millet-PL/DEF

There were people who were watching over the millet

(112) S1 Píik ché kíí-béênd-í kóóyógíìsyé
person-PL/DEF that PST-go-IMP herding

S2 kó kíí- póór-ˈéí
SEQ PST-thresh -IMP

The people who went herding were threshing it.

The sentence (111) is composed of a dependent clause S2 and an independent one S1. S1 is presentational and has a VS word order. In this clause, the subject is introduced lexically. In S2, the subject is represented by a relative pronoun *ché* (who). In S1 of (112) the subject is contrasted with the subject of (111) by being fronted. This contrastive focusing of the subject gives rise to a SVO word order in Tugen. This order also occurs with contrastive focus as seen in 5.1.2.3.

5.4.7 OV Word Order

This word order is also infrequent in Tugen. It occurs when the object is focused on by being fronted. This can be seen in the example below:

(113) S1 Kìl-gí-yw-ˡéí ór ˡkóó-ík.
PST-PASS-fear-IMPseer-PL/DEF.

S2 Pòòník kò mǎǎ-mǎch-éí chíí.
Sorcerer-PL/DEF SEQ NEG-want-IMP person-INDEF

S3 Pòòn-ík kò kìl- kí- sǎs-ˡéí
Sorcerer-PL/DEF PRT PST-PASS-hate-IMP

The seers were feared. Sorcerers were not wanted by anybody. Sorcerers were hated.

In S1 of (113) above, the word order is VS where the object is the passive subject. In S2 the object is singled out by being moved to the front for identificational focus. This results in an OVS word order. In S3 passive subject is emphasized by being fronted for identificational focus resulting in a OV word order. From this analysis we can see that the OV word order arises from identificational focus where the object under emphasis is fronted.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, discourse and pragmatic aspects of topic, focus and word order frequency were discussed. Grammatically, we have shown that arguments that are discourse anaphoric are topics and are represented by incorporated pronominal arguments. Arguments that are new bear information focus by default and do not affect syntax in any way. The arguments under emphasis or contrast bear an extra focus feature [+F] and are represented by a double strategy where the lexical pronoun occurs together with the incorporated pronominal argument. In our analysis, arguments that are in focus appear at SPEC/FP or SPEC/CP. We have also seen that focus in Tugen are of two kinds: VP-internal and VP-external. VP internal focus which occurs within the VP is for disambiguation of referents and is represented by

identificational focus where a referent that has already been mentioned in a previous matrix sentence is reinvoked lexically and information focus. VP -external focus occurs outside the VP is reserved for both contrastive and identificational focus. In general, VP-external focus is preferred over the VP internal identificational non default focus in Tugen and as such there are fewer occurrences of the VP internal focus in discourse

Argument focus is identificational and VP-internal, and it affects word order by allowing topics to be represented again by full lexical arguments. These lexical topics which have already been case checked in previous matrix sentences bear an extra +F feature. The feature necessitates the creation of a new head- SPEC/FP in the structure of the sentence to check for this feature. This head is projected before the TNS' head.

Contrastive focus and identificational focus which are VP-external in Tugen, have the focus operator occupying the C' and F'positions respectively. Contrastive focus which is associated with particles occurs at the SPEC/CP which is the position for moved wh-elements. The contrastive particle occupies C' and is responsible for focus feature. Identificational focus which is associated with disambiguation of referents which are under emphasis is not associated with any particle and appears at F' position. The case for arguments with identificational focus is checked at SPEC/FP Contrastive and identificational focus lead to the rise of SVO/PPVS /OVS word orders. The fronted subject in the SVO word order loses its nominative case features and becomes accusative. In this case the creation of an additional focus case marker (FCM) which changes the case marking of the subject from the nominative to the accusative is called for. The accusative case then is moved to SPEC/CP for the

focus feature. Identificational focus which is VP- external also resulted in SVO/OV word orders. Other ways in which focus is encoded grammatically in the language were also analyzed. These involved the inherent focus and defocalised information.

Inherent focus which is found in negation and yes and no questions does not change the sentence structure. In negation there was need for the creation of the NEG' head to check for the negative feature. In the structure NEG' heads the sentence, therefore the verb moves and lands at NEG' position. The negation feature has scope over the entire sentence. Another case of the inherent focus is the yes and no questions where in questions a clitic particle which assigns the focus feature appears at the end of the sentence and has scope over the entire sentence. This clitic calls for the creation of the QUE' head to check for this focus feature in the sentence structure. This gives rise to a VS/VO/V word orders.

Defocalised information, which occurs as an afterthought in Tugen was found to result in the defocalised arguments remaining in situ thereby giving rise to a VO word order.

Pragmatically it was found that in Tugen, topic-hood is presented by incorporated pronominal arguments while the default focus is presented by full lexical arguments. The VSO/VOS/ /VS word orders occur mostly in presentational sentences where the whole sentence is in focus while the VO word order was found to occur in topic-comment structures. Topic, focus and the Principle of Reference were seen to give an account for the rise of the different word orders. The occurrence of pronominal arguments in discourse gives rise to topic-comment structures with VO and V word

orders. These word orders are dominant because the subject, direct object and the applied objects that have already been case checked in previous matrix sentences do not appear lexically in the subsequent sentences but as pronominal arguments. Topic hood and the Principle of Reference explain the reason for the non appearance of lexical arguments in discourse. This is in line with the Principle of Full Interpretation which ensures that all the features of the sentence are present and are accounted for and the Principle of Economy which ensures that there are no superfluous arguments in the sentence structure.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1 Summary and Findings

This thesis analysed the Tugen word order within the Minimalist Program. Tugen which is a Southern Nilotic language has traditionally been classified as VSO/VOS word order. This thesis sought to find out the basic word order between the two word orders and the reasons behind the usage of the two word orders. Amongst the hypotheses that were given for the said word orders were that the language had ergative tendencies, that the verb heads the sentence structure with the subject and object alternating their positions and also that the pragmatic notions of focus was responsible for the usage of the different word orders.

In the analysis, the VOS/VSO word orders were found not to be basic in Tugen. The thesis proposes the classification of the word order to VO/VS in line with the proposal of Dryer (1997) who reanalyses Greenberg's classification of word order into VO/VS and VS/SV and Schröder (forthcoming) who analyses subject incorporating languages into VO/V and VS/V.

The thesis also sought to investigate how case is marked in the language. Tugen has two underlying level tones: H and L. All the tone bearing units are marked with one level tone. From the investigation, case is marked by tonal inflection whereby the nominative case is arbitrarily marked by a variety of H tones namely H, super H tones or H and downstepped H tones while the accusative case is unmarked in that it retains

the tone markings that are used in citation form. These tone markings range from L; LH and H tones. This makes Tugen to be classified as a marked nominative language because the accusative case is not marked. The case marking of verbal pronominal arguments which are linked to overt lexical arguments is not done because these pronominal arguments do not bear case. Instead, these verbal pronominal arguments refer to the cases of their lexical antecedents in the matrix sentence for their case features through the Principle of Reference.

The Minimalist program which recognizes the interplay of morphology and syntax was used to guide the analysis. The morphosyntactic features of the verb determine the number of heads that are created in the sentence structure for feature checking. Word order in Tugen is as a result of the interplay of the morpho-syntactic features of tense, and agreement which necessitate the rearrangement of the TNS', and AGRS' heads. The feature of tense which is different from other languages like English heads the verb in Tugen. This forces the verb to move and land in the position of the TNS' and is responsible for the VO/VS word order unlike SVO languages where AGRS' heads the verb and therefore the verb moves and lands in AGRS' which is responsible for the nominative case of the subject under SPEC/AGRSP. The Principles of Full interpretation ensure that all the features of the sentences are fully accounted for while the Principle of Economy ensured that no extra features or unnecessary rules are permitted in the derivation of the sentence structure.

The basic sentence structure in Tugen can be altered by the presence of valency increasing devices such as the benefactive, instrumental/locative. These affect the verb structure by increasing the number of affixes which a verbs bears. These affixes

in turn license the introduction of extra arguments in the sentence structure. The benefactive affix {*chí*} licenses the presence of the benefactive argument while the locative/instrumental affix {*én*} necessitates the addition of the locative/instrumental argument into the sentence structure. These valency increasing devices call for the modification of the sentence structure by creation of BEN' and LOC/INS' heads in the structure. The verb moves from the VP through these heads to check for benefactive and locative/instrumental features. The benefactive and locative/instrumental arguments are checked for their accusative cases at the SPEC/BENP and SPEC/LOCP/INSP respectively. These valency increasing devices are responsible responsible for the increase in the number of arguments in the sentence and the modification of word order from the basic VSO/VOS to VSOO/VOOS where one applied object is introduced into the sentence structure and VSOOO/VOOOS where there is a co-occurrence of valency increasing devices.

The presence of valency reducing devices such as the passive, antipassive, reflexive/reciprocal reduce the number of arguments in the sentence. In the structure, the creation of antipassive, passive and reflexive/reciprocal heads in the sentence structure is called for. The verb moves through these heads to check for these features. The antipassive reduces the object while the passive reduces the subject. The reflexive/reciprocal integrates the object. This alters the word order of isolated sentences from VSO/VOS to VS. Furthermore there can be co-occurrences between valency reducing and valency increasing operations. These include the benefactive and locative/instrumental, the passive and the reflexive, the antipassive and the

locative/instrumental etc. These co-occurrences contribute to the word order being VS/VO/V.

In discourse, it was found that the co-occurrence of arguments is restricted. This is due to the use of pronominal arguments. Once an argument has been introduced, subsequent reference to this argument is done by the use of verbal pronominal arguments. These verbal prononinal arguments are not checked for case. The Principle of Reference ensures that once an argument has been licensed by its respective case features being checked it is allowed to appear as an integrated verbal argument in the subsequent sentences. This is done by the pronominal verbal argument referring back to its case checked argument in the matrix sentence.

Topic and Focus are pragmatic aspects that affect word order in Tugen. Once an argument has been introduced, pragmatically it assumes the topic status in the subsequent sentences. The topics appear as verbal integrated arguments and thereby reducing the number of overt arguments in the sentence. The structure of a Tugen sentence assumes a topic-comment structure where topics are represented by pronominal verbal arguments and the comment by the verb and the object. This gives rise to a VO word order. New arguments are represented by overt lexical arguments that are also marked on the verb by pronominal arguments. Presentational sentences which serve to introduce new arguments in discourse have sentence focus and are represented by both overt lexical arguments and pronominal verbal arguments. These sentences have a VS/VSO word order. Topics which are being emphasized are presented syntactically with verbal pronominal arguments and with overt lexical arguments, i.e., they are pragmatically new information hence focus constructions.

This is the case with topic shifts in discourse because pragmatically they are new information with internal identificational focus. These topic shifts contribute to VOS/VSO word orders. Arguments that are being contrasted are also represented by pronominal verbal arguments and overt lexical arguments. These arguments have contrastive focus or identificational focus. These two kinds of foci are external to the VP and they force the movement of the argument to SPEC/CP and SPEC/FP respectively. This gives rise to SVO/OVS word order.

From this analysis, word order typology cannot be looked at only from a syntactic perspective but rather from morphological, syntactic and pragmatic perspectives. Morphologically, the TNS' and AGR' heads force the rearrangement of heads such that the verb heads the sentence. Also verbal pronominal arguments reduce the number of overt lexical arguments in the sentence structure hence changing the basic sentence structure from VSO/VOS to V and VO. The double marking of overt lexical and integrated verbal arguments at the pragmatic level of topic and focus also affects the word order of the language. Topics which have already been introduced are represented by verbal pronominal arguments which are not case marked. These integrated pronominal arguments alter the word order by reducing the number of overt lexical arguments that are present in the sentence. Pragmatically, topics license the omission of lexical arguments by the use of integrated pronominal arguments while focus ensures that arguments are represented both by integrated pronominal arguments and overt lexical arguments. The interplay of the morphology, syntax and pragmatics together with the Principle of Feature Checking of the Minimalist Program and the Principle of Reference therefore contribute to the rise of various

word orders in languages. In Tugen, this interplay shows that VSO/VOS is not the basic word order in that it is in rare circumstances where one finds more that one argument in the clause in discourse. Tugen pragmatically is a topic-comment language hence the basic word order is VO. The marked word order in Tugen is VSO/VOS which occurs in isolated sentences with the VOS word order occurring only in highly focused environments. This means that the use of VOS/VSO is not random. The analysis of word order in Tugen has been done from the morphological, syntactic and pragmatic perspectives together with feature checking which has given rise to the basic word order being VS/VO word order.

6.2 Recommendations

The interplay of morphology, syntax and pragmatics in word order should be extended to other languages that have traditionally been classified basing only on the syntactic perspective.

From the analysis, it is recommended that the case marking of nominative case by the use of tone should be carried out in depth so as to find out the tone patterns and other means that are used to mark nominative case in Tugen. The relationship of morpho-syntax and discourse should also be extended to other Southern Nilotic languages and Kalenjin in particular for dialectal differences.

The Minimalist Program in general does not deal with the case marking of morphemes. In this analysis the Principle of Reference has been used to explain the issue of case with regard to pronominal arguments on the verb. It is recommended

that more needs to be done on the theory so as to shed light on how this problem can be dealt with.

It is also recommended that the Derivation by Phase Theory which is has succeeded the Minimalist Program be critically analysed so as to find out whether or not it has lost its morphological orientation. At the moment this theory has been used in the analysis of isolating languages. This should be extended to agglutinating languages as well.

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APPENDIX I

HARE AND THE ELEPHANT (Narrative)-Rosaline Bomett

1. Kí-kény kó kí- míì Kíp-ˈléék-wéé
PST long SEQ pst-be M-hare-SG/DEF

Long ago there was hare

2 Kó kíp-ˈléé-wéé kó kíng'óòm koò-síìr tìòng-ík tùˈgùl

SEQ M hare-SG/DEF SEQ PST-clever SEQ than animal-PL/DEF all

And hare was cleverer than all the animals.

3. Kó-mí-tó beèl-yòòndé

SEQ be –IMP elephant-SG/DEF

Then there was the elephant.

4. Kó bèèl-yòòndé-gáì kó màchàm kó-ˈám- át--éí pàànd-ék, pèè-ek

SEQ elephant-S/DEF-that SEQ AFF usually PER-eat-ABL- IMP maize-PL/DEF. millet-PL/DEF

And this elephant usually goes eating maize, millet etc.

5. Kó-ˈtúún kó kí-míì chíí-tó nè kí-ˈká-góòl mbáré-nyíì

SEQ future SEQ PST be person-SG/DEF who PST-PER-plant farm/DEF-GEN

chèèbòlól-óòník chè chàáng'
pumpkin-PL/DEF that many

And there was a person who had planted his farm with many pumpkins

6. kó-ˈám-át-éí bèél-yòòndé àmìt-wóógík-áàb mbár-éník-áàb píík

SEQ –eat-ABL-IMP elephant/SG/DEF food-PL/DEF-of farm-PL/DEF-of person-PL/DEF

The elephant went eating the crops in people's farms.

7 Kó-ˈtúún kó-ˈchám chèèbòlól-éè mísìng kòsìr kìy àgè tùˈgùl.

SEQ later PER-like pumpkin-SG/DEF very than any other all

He later came to like pumpkins more than anything else.

8. Kó-géèr Kíp-ˈléék-wéé kò-lè
PER-see M-hare-SG/DEF SEQ-say

The hare saw that

9. kòò-kóˈtár-én bèèl-yòòndé chèèbòlól-éè.
PST-PER-finish-LOC elephant-SG/DEF pumpkin-SG/DEF

The elephant had finished for him the pumpkin

10. ágó má-ˈám-éí chèèbólóléè ínéè

And NEG -eat-IMP pumpkin himself.

And he himself was not eating pumpkins

11. Kó-ˈlé, kí-á-ˈám
SEQ-say PST-1SG –eat

He said I have eaten them

12 má-á-ˈmách-é
NEG-1SG -want-IMP

I don't want them anymore.

13. á-yá-é néè
1SG –do –IMP what

What do I do?

14 Sí túún á-ˈám bèènd-ááp bèèl-yòndó-ní
so future 1SG-eat meat SG/DEF-GEN elephantSG/DEF-this

So that I can eat the meat of this elephant

15 Tá túún á-ˈbár,
If future 1SG-kill,

If I will kill it

16. á-ˈám-é kényy-ísíèk
1SG-eat-IMP year PL/DEF

I will eat it for years

17. má- kó- ˈtúún kó- ám-án rúb-ó.
NEG SEQ future PER –eat-ISG hungerSG/DEF.

I will never be hungry any more

18 Á-yá-é néè sí á-ˈám bèènd-ááp bèèl-yó?"
1SG do –IMP what so 1SG -eat meatSG/DEF-GEN elephantSG/DEF

"What do I do so that I can eat the elephant's meat?"

19 Tós kó-chám ˈú néè bèènd-ááp bèèl-yó ?

QUE SEQ taste what meat-SG/DEF-GEN elephant-SG/DEF

How does the elephant's meat taste?

20 Bèèl-yòndó-ní kó- chám-éí néè?

Elephant-SG/DEF –this SEQ like-IMP what

What does this elephant like?

21. Kó-ˈlé chám-éí bèèl-yòòndé chèèbólól-óóník

SEQ-say like-PGR elephant-SG/DEF elephant-PL/DEF

He said the elephant likes pumpkins.

22. ínéè kó-ˈbút-éí kìy tú ˈgúl

He SEQ destroy-IMP any all

He cuts everything

23 ák kó-wíìr-chí mò-é,
and SEQ-throw-BEN stomach SG/DEF

And throws it into the stomach

24. mǎ-ítár- í
NEG-chew-IMP

It doesn't chew

25. á-chŭt-é chèèbòlól-éè
1SG enter-IMP pumpkinSG/DEF

I will enter into the pumpkin

26. ak á-tèb-én.
and 1SG stay-LOC

And stay inside it

27 Kó-chéèng kííndé nè yòm-éí.
SEQ look big that enough-IMP

He looked for a big one that he could fit in

28 Kó-ˈnáktá-é chèèbòlólóò-ník tûˈgúl éng ór-éè nè bún-ú bèèl-yòòndé.
SEQ-remove-IMP pumpkin-PL/DEF all on path-SG/DEF pass-ALL elephant –SG/DEF

He removed all the other pumpkins on the way the elephant passed.

29 Kó-tór.
SEQ-pierce

He made a hole

30 Ák kó-tèb-é
and SEQ-stay-IMP

And stayed inside

31 Kó-nyó bèél-yó.
SEQ-come elephant SG/DEF

The elephant came

32 Kó-tòòbén chèèbòlól-òòník
SEQ- looked pumpkinPL/DEF

He looked at the pumpkins

33. kó-ˈlé á-ˈám-é níˈn-ó kííndé.
SEQ-say 1SG-eat-IMP that-DEF big

He said I will eat that big one

34. Kó- náám
SEQ-catch

He held it

35. ák kó-wíìr-chí mô-é.
and SEQ throw-BEN stomach-SG/DEF

And he threw it into the stomach

36. Míì Kìp-léék-wéé óríít.
Be M-hare-SG/DEF inside

The hare being inside

37 Kó-ˈám chéébòlól-óòník á-lák

PER-eat pumpkin-PL/DEF other-PL

He ate other pumpkins

38 ágó má-bár Kìp-léék-wée.
and NEG-kill M-hare-SG/DEF

And he did not kill the hare

39 Kó-ˈám-chí-géì Kìp-léék-wá bèèn-dó .

SEQ-eat-BEN-REF M-hare-SG/INDEF meat-SG/DEF

The hare himself ate meat

40 Kó-ˈam- át- éí bèèn-dó éng òríít bèèl-yòòndé

SEQ-eat-ABL-IMP meat-SG/DEF in inside elephant-SG/DEF

He went on eating meat inside the elephant

41. Kó- w-éénd-í ágóí túún kó –mé
SEQ-SG-go-IMP until future SEQ-die

While it was going until it died.

42 kó-lúúl bèèl-yòòndé.
SEQ-fall elephant-SG/DEF

The elephant fell

43. áléé-n kí- ˈkó-tár kény-ísyék ,

1SG-say-IMP PST-PER-finish year-PL/DEF

May be it had finished years,

44 kó-lúúl bèèl-yòòndé
SEQ-elephant-SG/DEF

The elephant fell

45 Kó-ˈmá-mé.

SEQ-AFF-die

It then died

46 Kó-ˈlé píík
SEQ-say person-PL/DEF

The people said.

47 kí-ˈám-é pány-ék ché cháàng'.
1PL-eat-IMP meat-PL/DEF that lot

We are going to eat a lot of meat

48 Ké-ény.

INF-slaughter

It was slaughtered

49 Kó-nái Kíp-ˈléék-wéé kó-ˈle
SEQ-know M-hare-SG/DEF SEQ-say

The hare knew that when it was cut to slaughter the stomach.

50 má--ké-tíìl
AFF-INF-cut

They would cut him

51 kóí ná-kí-tíì! ké-ény mò-é.
when -CON-PST -cut INF-slaughter stomach-SG/DEF

When it was cut to slaughter the stomach

52. Kó-yá-í ákíli

SEQ-do-IMP brain

He used his brain

53. Kó-ˈnái kó-ˈlé má-kí-síp ké-tíìl-éí mò-é
SEQ-know SEQ-say NEG-PST-begin INF-cut-IM stomach-SG/DEF

He knew that the stomach was not going to be cut immediately.

54. Kó-chút mò-è

SEQ-enter stomach-SG/DEF

So he entered the stomach

54 Ké-ném-ú mò-é.

INF-remove-ALL stomach-SG/DEF

The stomach was removed

55 Ké-sút mò-é, kó-ˈw-ó tábán
SEQ-carry stomach-SG/DEF SEQ-go-IMP aside

The stomach was carried to the side

56 sí ké-bá ké-kéréér.
so INF-go INF-open

So that it could be opened

57 Yè ká-kí-íp

When PER PST-take

When it was taken

58 kó-ˈtóòr Kìp-léék-wéé
SEQ-pierce M-hare/SG/DEF

The hare pierced it

59 ák kó-ˈwé-chí-géì.
and SEQ-go-BEN-REF

And went on his way

60 Kó-ˈbék àtìndyó-ndé.
SEQ-end story-SG/DEF

The story ends.

APPENDIX II
QUESTIONNAIRRE

Name: (optional)

Age:

Locality:

Instructions: Tick the appropriate answer.

Key: NC-Not correct C- correct SC-comehow correct. NS-Not sure.

1(a) Sóó ꜜmání láákwéé kìtábúú

NC C SC NS

1(b) S óó ꜜmání kìtábúú láákwéé

NC C SC NS

1(c) Kìtábúú sóó ꜜmání láákwéé

NC C SC NS

1(d) Láákwéé sóó ꜜmání kìtábúú

NC C SC NS

(1e) Láákwéé kìtábúú sóó ꜜmání.

NC C SC NS

The child is reading a book

2(a) íbátén mbáré láágó ꜜík mògómbé

NC C SC NS

2(b) íbátén láágó ꜜ ík mbárè mògòmbè

NC C SC NS

2(c)) íbátén mògòmbè láágó ꜜ ík mbárè

NC C SC NS

2(d) íbátén mògòmbè mbárè láágó ꜜ ík

NC C SC NS

2(e) íbátén láágó ꜜ ík mògòmbè mbárè

NC C SC NS

The child is digging the farm with a hoe

3(a)Kâí ꜜ únén láákwéé sàbùní ngòríé ngúúnó

NC C SC NS

3(b) Kâí ꜜ únén ngòríé sàbùní láákwéé ngúúnó

NC C SC NS

3(c) Kâí ꜜ únén sàbùní láákwéé ngòríé ngúúnó

NC C SC NS

3(d) Kâí ꜜ únén ngòríé átkâí sàbùní láákwéé

NC C SC NS

3(e) Kâí ꜜ únén átkâí sàbùní láákwéé ngòríé

NC C SC NS

3(f) Kâí ˈúnén ngòríé átkáí láákwéé sábùní

NC C SC NS

The child was washing the cloth with soap that time

4(a) Kòókùùréí Kíˈptóó láákwéényíì

NC C SC NS

4(b) Kòókùùréí láákwéényíì Kíˈptóó

NC C SC NS

4(c) Kíˈptóó Kòókùùréí láákwéényíì

NC C SC NS

4(d) Láákwéényíì Kòókùùréí Kíˈptóó

NC C SC NS

4(e) Láákwéényíì Kíˈptóó Kòókùùréí

NC C SC NS

4(f) Kíˈptóó láákwéényíì Kòókùùréí

NC C SC NS

Kiptoo was calling his child

5(a) Kíipírchí láákwéé Kípˈkóéech ámìtwóógík

NC C SC NS

5(b) Kíipírchí Kíp꜔kóéèch làákwéé àmìtwóógík

NC C SC NS

5(c) Kíipírchí àmìtwóógík làákwéé Kíp꜔kóéèch

NC C SC NS

5(d) Kíipírchí làákwéé àmìtwóógík Kíp꜔kóéèch

NC C SC NS

5(e) Kíipírchí Kíp꜔kóéèch àmìtwóógík làákwéé

NC C SC NS

5(f) Kíipírchí àmìtwóógík Kíp꜔kóéèch làákwéé

NC C SC NS

Kipkoech made the child to eat the food