

**THE INTERFACE BETWEEN SYNTAX, SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS IN
NANDI**

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for the purpose of the award of a degree in any other university.

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This thesis has been written under our supervision and has been submitted for examination with our approval.

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DR PRISCA JERONO

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

My father,

the late

Samwel Kipketer Arap Mariot

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed at describing the interface between syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the Nandi simple sentence using the Role and Reference Grammar. The study sought to test the adequacy of the RRG in accounting for the Nandi simple sentences particularly on the interface between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. It also aimed at describing the focus structures of the Nandi simple sentences so as to account for the variations in the word order in the language. The data used in the analyses of simple sentences were collected through qualitative methods. The supplementary data were generated by the researcher who is the native user of the language through introspection. Other native speakers were also invited to help in data verification in order to avoid subjectivity. The data used in the analysis of word order and focus structures were collected in Nandi Hills Constituency by use of the questionnaire. The specific areas where the data were collected were Lessos, Nandi Hills and Sochoi. The simple sentences with VSO and VOS structures were administered to the both female and male native speakers of the Nandi language of ages above twenty five for them to mark right word order. Among the 15 respondents selected using simple random sampling, 9 out of 15, representing (80%) chose the VSO as the marked word order, 3 i.e. (20%) as marked while the remaining three (20%) indicated that the two word orders were used interchangeably. The conclusion from these findings established that the VSO is the canonical order whereas the VOS and other constructions are used mostly in focus constructions. As such, the focus domain was shown to greatly influence the arrangement of elements in Nandi. The findings on the components of a simple sentence in Nandi pointed to the fact that, a simple sentence is greatly affected by the morphological behaviour of the verb. The study established that the morphological operations that affected the sentence by increasing the number of logical arguments of a verb were mainly the applicatives (instrumental, locative and benefactive). Those that were identified to delimit the number of arguments were statives, reciprocals/reflexives, passives and antipassives. In terms of RRG account of the Nandi simple sentences, the study established that the theory was generally adequate in describing the Nandi simple sentences and all the inflectional elements of a verb. The theory, however, showed some inadequacy in accounting for the derivational affixes and some pronouns in the language. The study, therefore, had to resort to using a modified version of the operator projection so as to accommodate these elements.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	-	Agent
ABS	-	Absolutive
ACC	-	Accusative
ACT	-	Actor
AFD	-	Actual focus domain
ARG	-	Argument
ASP	-	Aspect
AUH	-	Actor undergoer hierarchy
BEN	-	Benefactive
DCA	-	Direct core argument
DEF	-	Definite
DF	-	Distance future
DP	-	Distance past
ECS	-	Extra core slots
IF	-	Illocutionary force
IMP	-	Imperfective
INDEF	-	Indefinite
IN	-	Infinitive
INST	-	Instrument
IP	-	Immediate past
IUs	-	Information units
LDP	-	Left detached position
LS	-	Logical Structure
LSC	-	Layered structure of the Clause
NEG	-	Negation
NF	-	Near future
NOM	-	Nominative
NP	-	Near past
NUC	-	Nucleus
OBJ	-	Object
PART	-	Particle
PERF	-	Perfective
PFD	-	Potential focus domain

PH	-	Phase
PL	-	Plural
POCS	-	Post core slot
PRCS	-	Pre core slot
PRED	-	Predicate
PROG	-	Progressive
PSA	-	Privileged syntactic argument
RDP	-	Right detached position
RP	-	Referential phrase
RRG	-	Role and reference grammar
SF	-	Suffix
SG	-	Singular
STAT	-	Stative
SUBJ	-	Subject

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study was aimed at investigating the interaction between syntax, semantics and pragmatics in Nandi language using Role and Reference Grammar. The Nandi language, which also refers to people, belongs to the Nilo-Saharan language family. The Nilotic group of languages forms part of Eastern Sudanic family. This Nilotic language family is further sub-divided into Western, Southern, and Eastern branches. Nandi is part of the Southern Nilotic group.

The Southern Nilotic speakers generally practise cattle keeping as their main economic activity. They are said to have originated from ‘emetab burgei’ in the northern part of Kenya. The term ‘emetab burgei’ refers to a ‘hot country’ which is speculated to be either Sudan or Egypt (Chesaina 1991:1). Another scholar Sambu (2007) who also conducted a research on the name of the deities, symbols and numerals among the Egyptians and the Kalenjin concluded that there is a striking resemblance between the terms used to refer to deities, symbols and numerals, pointing to the fact that indeed the Kalenjin might have originated from Egypt. This idea is also corroborated by other scholars such as Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973:94) who claim that the Kalenjin originated from the present day Ethiopia and Sudan before finally settling in the Rift Valley region of Kenya. During their migration, they moved downwards following River Nile up to Mount Elgon where the Sebei settled (Chesaina 1991: 1), while the rest proceeded to the South where they settled at various points along the Rift Valley. According to Boen (2014), it is this separation that led to the creation of new dialects. The issue of the number of dialects that comprise Kalenjin, however, has not been conclusive with some scholars indicating nine while others proposing thirteen. Towett (1979: xiv) for instance classified Kalenjin into nine dialects.

Otterloo (1979: 2) offers a different classification of Kalenjin dialects. According to him, Kalenjin is composed of thirteen dialects, namely Terik (TE), Nandi (NA), Kipsigis (KI), Keiyo (KE), South Tugen (ST), NorthTugen (NT) (also called Arror), Sabaot (SA), Cherang'any (CH), Talai Marakwet (TM), Endo Marakwet (EM), Sambirir Marakwet (SM), East Pokot (EP), and West Pokot (WP).

For the subsequent scholar (Creider 1982: 9), Kalenjin is made up of eleven dialects. Based on his genetic studies, he offered the following classification as shown in the diagram below.

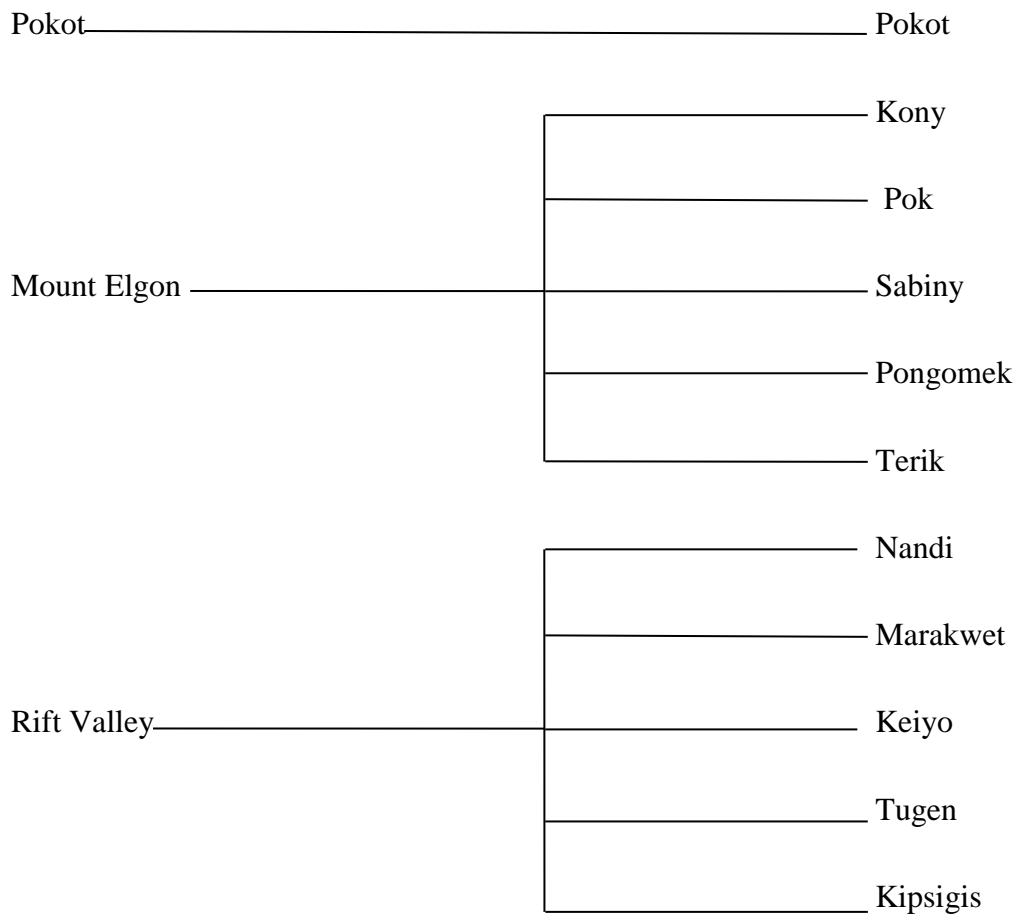


Figure 1: Creider’s classification (Adapted from Creider (1982: 9))

From these classifications, it is evident that the majority of language scholars still differ on the dialect classification particularly in Kalenjin. According to Trudgill (2000:4), ‘‘if two speakers cannot understand one another, then they are speaking different languages. Similarly, if they can understand each other, we could say that they are speaking dialects of the same language’’. The former refers to the fact that for speakers to be regarded as speaking the same language there must be a mutual intelligibility between them. Within the Kalenjin linguistic family what is actually regarded as the dialects of Kalenjin do not have any mutual intelligibility. The intelligibility for instance between a Nandi speaker and a Sabaot speaker is almost zero.

The reason behind this can be attributed to the fact that the creation of the term Kalenjin was in essence political and not linguistic, Kipkorir and Welbourn (1973). According to Kattam (2016), ‘the choice of the word Kalenjin was guided by the need to find a term that was common to all the dialects’ irrespective of their mutual intelligibility. Prior to the formation of this term, the people who are now referred to as the Kalenjin speakers were referred to as Nandi-speaking tribe Matutu (2011).

In the present times, Nandi language is widely spoken in Nandi, Uasin Gishu and Trans Nzoia Counties. Other counties where a substantial number of Nandi speakers are found include; Kericho, Nakuru, Kisumu and some parts of Elgeyo Marakwet. Nandi is one of the Kalenjin languages that was first to be documented and thus was used as a mode of instruction and teaching other dialects. The first Kalenjin bible and the first radio and TV station to be opened used Nandi as a medium of communication. For this reason Nandi was taken as the most standard form among the Kalenjin languages. However, there are some scholars who argue that Kipsigis is the standard variety (Koskei 2006).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Nandi is a VSO language, and according to (Carnie and Guilfoyle 2000: 3) such languages comprise ten percent of the world languages. The structure VOS is also a possible construction in Nandi and other languages in the Southern Nilotic language family. Jerono (2011) notes that in Tugen language, a sister language to Nandi, the VSO and VOS constructions alternate but with no difference in meaning. Jeptoo (2014: 2) also notes that Nandi has an alternation of VOS and VSO. She gives the following examples to support her argument.

1. a) Ko- piir Mary lakwet (VSO)

PST beat Mary child-DEF/SG

‘Mary beat the child.’

b) Ko- piir lakwet Mary (VOS)

PST beat child-DEF/SG Mary

‘Mary beat the child’

According to the two scholars, the structures can be used interchangeably without any change in meaning. In fact Jerono (2011) argues that many users of the language do not even notice this difference. It is, however, my suspicion that in Nandi language, the change in the structure seems to have a semantic and pragmatic implication. The current study, therefore, seeks to investigate the interaction between syntax, semantics and pragmatics within the Nandi simple sentences so as to try to describe the significance of the variation of word orders in Nandi language.

1.3 Research Questions

In view of the statement of the problem above, the research questions are:

1. What are the components that make up the Nandi simple sentence?
2. Can a Nandi simple sentence be adequately described using Role and Reference Grammar?
3. Which pragmatic factors influence the constituent order in the Nandi simple sentence?

1.4 The Objectives of the Study are:

1. To analyze the components that make up the Nandi simple sentence
2. To describe the Nandi simple sentence using the Role and Reference Grammar
3. To investigate how pragmatic factors influence constituent order in Nandi language

1.5 Justification of the Research

The study of the interaction between syntax, pragmatics and semantics within the Nandi simple sentence is relatively new. As such, there is need to conduct a systematic analysis so as to ascertain how these elements interplay. Although significant studies have been carried out on the Nandi simple sentence, no research has been done on the interface between syntax, semantics and pragmatics. In spirit of this, this study aims at describing the Nandi simple sentences using the framework offered by the Role and Reference Grammar. The research also aims at determining the adequacy of the Role and Reference Grammar in accounting for the various verbal elements found in Nandi language.

The findings of this research are aimed at contributing to the existing knowledge of the Nandi Simple sentence and Grammar. As such, it is expected to benefit a number of scholars and those interested in Nandi language. The people who are likely to benefit from this study are those interested in the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the Nandi language and particularly how these levels can be linked. The findings will also be beneficial to those who

are interested in how the Role and Reference Grammar theory works in Nandi for purposes of conducting comparative studies. The comparative studies can be done across the other dialects with the aim of ascertaining the findings of this research. The researchers who could be interested in this work could be those who wish to test the extent, the adequacy and the applicability of RRG in other southern Nilotic and perhaps the Nilotic groups of languages in general.

Another area where this study is expected to be useful is on pedagogy. Since the analysis focuses on the Nandi simple sentence and some general aspects of the Grammar, the findings are projected to be useful as the material for pedagogy especially to those who wish to instruct or learn Nandi language. Teaching and learning a new language means understanding the basic components and the dynamics of that language. This research therefore offers some insights on these basic elements that ought to be taught to non-native speakers or to young native speakers of Nandi.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Research

This study focuses on some aspects of the morphosyntax of the Nandi simple sentence within the confines of RRG. As such no attempt will be made to analyse complex and compound sentences as RRG offers a different approach to this. Various syntactic structures of the Nandi simple sentences are considered for this research. The syntactic aspects of the constituent projection focus, projection and the operator projection are analyzed. According to Matutu (2011), Nandi has three dialects, namely Nandi South dialect, the Nandi North dialect, and the Uasin Gishu-Trans-Nzoia dialect. While we appreciate this classification attempt, our study will adopt the assumption that Nandi has a uniform dialect. We will however limit our study to the Nandi speakers found in Lessos, Nandi Hills and Sochoi areas of Nandi County. The reason for this is that the dialect difference does not in any way affect the meaning or the syntax of the language.

1.7 Literature Review

In this section, the review of the work related to this study is considered. Literature on other southern Nilotic language will also be considered as they share the same structure.

1.7.1 Literature on Nandi language

The majority of the literatures found in Nandi language are those written by non-professional linguists, i.e. religious organizations and early British explorers. Very few professional linguists have actually succeeded in their attempt to describe Nandi language. Some of these works are discussed below:

Kurgat (1989) is one of the few Nandi linguists who have carried out a systematic study of Nandi language. Using Transformational Generative Grammar (Extended Standard Theory) he offers a detailed description and explanation of the kind of syntactic transformations in Nandi language. The findings from his research show that there are six types of transformational processes (movements) in Nandi, namely NP-Movement, WH-Movement, Adverb-Preposing, Raising, Topicalization and PP-Preposing. In addition, he pointed out that there are a number of conditions and constraints associated with each of these processes. Regarding the constraints, the author concludes that there is no single transformational process that can extract a constituent out of a relative clause. Still on the conditions and constraints, he observes that Nandi is subject to the subadjacency condition as well as the complex noun phrase condition. The first condition forbids the extraction of constituents from adnominal clauses whereas the second calls for cyclical application of the transformations in order to avoid creation of ungrammatical structures. On the discussion of the movements within the Nandi simple sentence, Kurgat observes that the sentences with VOS structures have their deep structures as VSO. Though the author is quite adequate in the description of the transformational process, he did not mention the pragmatic and semantic implications such transformations have in Nandi, something that is of interest to this research. Kurgat however offers a significant contribution to the study of Nandi language particularly in the field of syntax, and we find this of great importance to this study. The insights he provides about some sentence types, topicalization, and NP-Movement are very essential in our analysis of simple sentences, topic and focus.

Creider and Creider (1989) in their study of Nandi language discussed significantly the aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. On phonology, they systematically identified eleven consonant phonemes and ten vowel phonemes. In terms of noun morphology, they classified Nandi nouns into six categories, namely formative suffixes, formative affixes, stem, thematic suffixes, secondary suffixes and demonstrative suffixes. Their study on verb morphology convincingly showed that a Nandi verb is inflected for subject, object, negation, tense, mood and aspects. While discussing the verbal morphology,

the duo showed that through suffixation, the verbs in Nandi may form up to eleven different types. They identified itive, ventive, ambulative, dative, instrumental, associative, stative-potential, detransitivizers, inceptive and causatives as some of the possible verbal derivations in Nandi. In the last chapter of their work, they pointed out that there is a discourse relevance to using different word orders in Nandi though this was dealt with in a short chapter. The basic knowledge of morphology and syntax offered by these pioneering researchers greatly informs our analysis of the verbs in our current study that seeks to explore the interaction between syntax, semantics and pragmatics and how this results in alternate word orders. Their discussion on alternate word orders directly contributes to our studies on topic and focus within the Nandi simple sentence.

Jeptoo (2014) carried out a study of Nandi Determiner Phrase using Minimalist program. In her findings she noted that Nandi determiner phrase comprise eleven elements, namely nouns, numerals, pronouns, possessives, article affixes, demonstratives, quantifiers, prepositional phrases, relative clauses and genitive phrases. She argues that in the unmarked form, the Nandi DP has the noun occurring in the initial position and that the determiners and modifiers always follow the noun. Her analysis shows that a Nandi DP is underlyingly head-initial and that the existing surface form is as a result of overt noun movement. Her findings offer an incredible insight into what elements should accompany a noun in Nandi. Her findings significantly inform our analyses of the components of a simple sentence in Nandi as well as our morphosyntactic analysis.

1.7.2 Literature Review on Other Related Languages

This section discusses previous studies on the Southern Nilotic family which are relevant to the current study.

Towett (1979) in his seminal work discusses various aspects of Kipsigis linguistics in the areas of morphology, phonology and syntax. Through his analysis, we learn that the Kalenjin languages have complex verbal systems that can generate more than fifteen derivations. The knowledge of the verbal behaviour of Kalenjin that he proposes will inform our study that aims at analyzing the Nandi simple clauses.

Zwart (2004) gave a detailed and precise analysis of the morphology of Marakwet. On morphology of the verb, he argued that reduplication is one of the most attested features in the language and they express events that are either extended in term time and space. The derivational processes in Marakwet as discussed by him shows great complexity and irregularity. His analysis pointed out that there are eleven verbal derivations in the language that include denominals marked by {a} and {an}, inceptives {-iit, iitu}, causatives, statives {-ak}, sociative {-ye, -yeer}, essive {-isye, isyeer}, ventive {-u, -uun}, itive {-ta, -taar}, dative {-chi, -chin}, ambulative {-aata, -aanu} and instrumental {-ee, -a}. This study borrows greatly from the insights of Zwart especially on the areas of the derivational and inflectional morphemes in Marakwet which are more or less like the ones found in Nandi.

Jerono (2011) investigated Tugen word order using Minimalist Program. She explains that Tugen has an alternation of VSO and VOS. According to her this alternation occurs freely and with no difference in meaning. The author further states that the “arguments that are new bear information focus by default and do not affect syntax in any way” (213). In Nandi, however, as this research attempts to show, the alternation does not appear to be random but rather motivated by pragmatic and semantic factors. Her analysis of the word order was based on how the argument increasing and reducing operations affect word order. She emphasized on the role of pronominal affixes in the sentence structure arguing that pronominal affixes play an important role in the generation of the VO and V structures in discourse. As opposed to the current study which considers both isolated and connected sentences, hers was solely grounded on connected and continuous sentences.

In the discussion of topic, focus and word order, Jerono dedicated an entire chapter for the analysis of these elements using the Minimalist approach. In terms of topic, she noted that topics in Tugen are represented by the pronominal arguments which can be the benefactive argument, direct object or the subject. In relation to focus, the author explains that the isolated and presentational sentences in Tugen are new and carry informational focus. These sentences can therefore be presented by both overt lexical items and pronominal affixes in order to show the syntactic pragmatic function. The researcher explains that in Tugen there are two types of foci, namely the VP-internal and the VP-external. She describes the former as the kind of focus used in disambiguating the referents and the latter as functioning to mark contrastive and identificational focus. Jerono’s work offers an indispensable contribution to our study of pragmatics of word order in Nandi. Her insight about the notion of word order, topic and focus greatly informs our analysis of word order variations in Nandi.

1.7.3 Literature Review on the interface between Syntax, Semantics and Pragmatics

The Role and Reference theory has been applied to a number of African languages particularly those that adopt the SVO structure. Kihara (2016) dedicated an entire chapter of his work to the analysis of the Gikuyu simple sentences using Role and Reference Grammar. In his analysis of the Gikuyu simple sentences, he noted that in Gikuyu, it is possible to have subject RPs coexisting with their co-reference prefix argument markers and that the object RPs are in complementary distribution with their bound argument markers. The author describes Gikuyu language as a split-marking language because according to him the language exhibits features of both head-marking and dependent-marking features at clause and phrasal level, respectively. In terms of bound argument markers, he noted is that in Gikuyu, the object argument marker and lexical RPs are in complementary distribution. His argument is that in Gikuyu, the object argument marker is the same as the pronoun and therefore should be considered as one. About the subjects and objects, Kihara explained that the subjects in Gikuyu are pronominal anaphors (PA) and they are the first direct core arguments whereas object argument markers are the second direct core arguments in the absence of a lexical object RP. In his words, the Referential phrase (RP) serves as the second direct core argument in the absence of a pronoun.

While discussing the Extra Core Slots (ECS), he noted that the particle *ne-* is an assertive marker and is therefore used to mark topicalization. He convincingly demonstrated using sufficient examples that *ne-* is never used with negation and that it can never precede a displaced element. His further examples showed that *ne-* is a positive focus marker whereas *ti-* is a negative focus marker. The significant conclusion that can be made from Kihara's work is that in Gikuyu, the ECS are always presented as topics while PrCS accepts both plain topics as well as contrastive topics. Another important this one can note is that the LDPs bear the enclitic *re-* while the RDPs do not. The last thing that is notable is that within the operator projection, the order of operators follows the order: evidential, illocutionary force, tense, negation, modality (deontic and epistemic) and aspect.

This work offers great insight into the current study. First, it helps us in understanding the basic tenets of the RRG as applied to the Gikuyu language. Secondly, his discussion of focus types in Gikuyu informs our discussion of the word orders in Nandi and how this can be used to explain their usages.

Lastly, his work contributes to the overall comparative study of this study as it seeks to test the adequacy and efficiency of the RRG on an African language (Nandi) with a different word order from Gikuyu.

Odhiambo (2012) using the RRG investigated the interplay between syntax and pragmatics in Dholuo. In her discussion of the interaction between the negation *ok* and the focus structure, she explains that in Dholuo, the negation *ok* can function both as an internal negation or clausal negation. She further noted that when the wh-word questions and focus structure interact in the language, it influences the placement of the dislocated constituents such as the PrCS, PoCS, LDP and RDP. Odhiambo further explains that when the wh-word occurs in the initial position of the sentence it must always be placed at the PrCS. On the hand, when the wh-word appears sentence medially or in situ, they act as direct core arguments. The researcher also discussed the influence of pragmatic factors on the variation of Dholuo constituent order where noted that the SVO is the canonical word order and that the topic is always the initial part of the sentence whereas the rest of the sentence is focus. The particles ‘e’ and ‘ma’ were shown to be significantly used in focus marking. In her conclusion, Role and Grammar theory was adequate in accounting for the morphosyntactic elements in Dholuo language.

Otunga (2014) analyzed Lunyala ‘K’ simple sentence using the Role and Reference Grammar. While discussing the focus projection of the Lunyala ‘K’ language she convincingly showed that there is a close relationship between the focus structure and the arrangement of elements in the language. She further posits that the constituent projection greatly determines the focus domain in the language under consideration. Finally, using adequate examples she was able to demonstrate that in Lunyala ‘K’ there is an inherent relationship between the focus projection and the operator projection. Her finding on the relationship between the focus structure and the arrangement of elements in the Lunyala ‘K’ informs our study on pragmatics of a Nandi simple sentence.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The emergence and growth of the Role and Reference was inspired by both theoretical and typological concerns. Unlike other linguistic theories, RRG does not take the notion of subject for granted as they consider it non universal. In fact the primary concern of the RRG was the universality of the subject and the cross linguistic validity of grammatical relations in

general (Foley & Van Valin 1984). According to (Van Valin 2005, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), RRG developed with the aim of answering the following fundamental questions.

- i) How would a linguistic theory be if it was based on other languages rather than English?
- ii) How effective can the interrelation between syntax, semantics and pragmatics be best captured and explained in different grammatical systems?

The first question is of primary concern to our study as most of the studies on RRG have been done on SVO languages. There's limited literature on the study of VSO languages using this theory and so this research seeks to broaden the understanding of RRG using a language with a different linguistic structure.

One of the strengths of the RRG is that it takes into consideration both structure and function of the language. It sees language as a communicative social action and that there is only one level of syntactic representation to a language. While RRG can be said to be a theory that offers new perspective on the analysis of sentences, their ideas are not completely different from the formalist theories. In other words, RRG is a theory that stands in between extreme formalist and radical functionalist. Some of the ideas from RRG are borrowed from Formalist while some from Functionalists. As compared to Chomsky's theories which consider syntax to be autonomous, RRG holds that grammatical structure can only be understood by its reference to semantic and pragmatic functions. Kihara (2010) describes RRG as a rigorous, typologically semantic grammatical theory that highly regards semantics and syntax. Thus, in addition to syntax, which is the surface structure of the sentences, understanding an utterance calls for semantic and pragmatic interpretation. In this sense, RRG posits a direct mapping between the semantic representation of a sentence and its syntactic representation. It disregards all intermediate levels of representation such as Bresnan's (2001) 'D-structure' and f-structures in Functional Grammar, deep and surface structures as in Chomsky. The following is the overall organization of the RRG framework

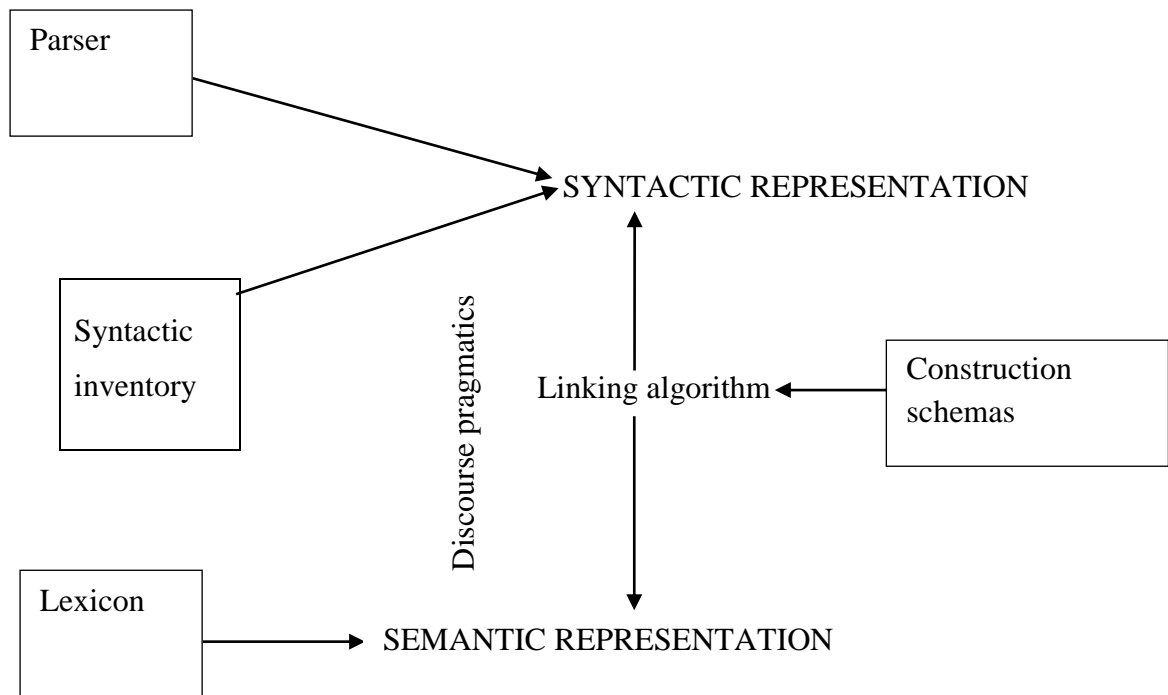


Figure 2: Representations in RRG (From Van Valin 2005: 131)

The figure illustrates the three levels of analyses posited by the RRG, namely syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. The constituent and operator projections are represented at the syntactic level while semantic representations are hinged on the logical structures at the predicate section. The linking algorithm maps elements directly from semantics to syntax and vice versa. The pragmatic factors which involve informational structure are captured in the focus projection.

At the syntactic level, the actual utterances are represented. As noted above, the representation does not involve any derivational abstracts. In addition, there are syntactic templates within the syntactic inventories that help in syntactic representations. These syntactic inventories are crucial when mapping elements from syntax to semantics and vice versa. Once this is done, the speaker's utterance is then semantically represented where further interpretation is done. The theory also posits that the constructional schemas are language-specific and can thus be modified to suit each language. These constructional schemas contain syntactic, morphological, semantic and pragmatic information of the given construction. The discourse pragmatics on the other hand parallels the linking algorithm as it connects syntax to semantics and vice versa. Its role varies cross linguistically and it is the interest of this study to describe how it works in Nandi language.

Important to note is that before the linking process begins, there must be an interaction between the lexicon and the semantic representation. This is summarized in the diagram below.

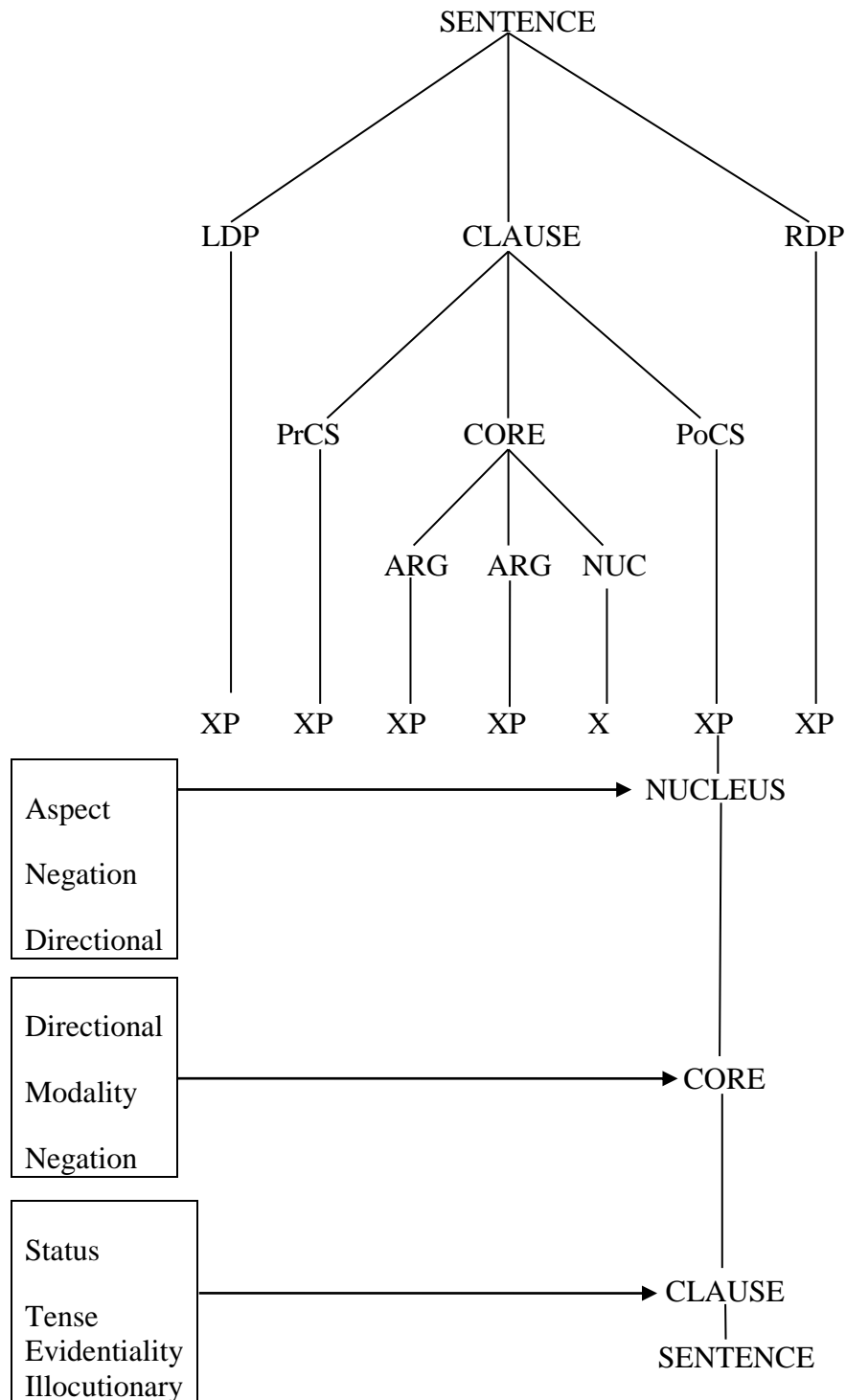


Figure 3: Overall Structure of the RRG (from Otunga 2014: 13)

1.8.1 Syntactic Representation of Sentences

The syntactic representation within the RRG theory adheres to two conditions as general considerations for a theory of clause structure. First, a theory of clause structure should take into consideration all the universal features of a clause. This ought to happen without the imposition of the features on a language in which there is no evidence for them Van Valin & Lapolla (1997: 22). Secondly, a theory should represent comparable structures in different languages in comparable ways.

The syntactic representation is represented in a functionally based theory known as the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC) which contains the constituent projection, operator projection and focus projection. The clause structure is semantically motivated and it is composed of the NUCLEUS, which hosts the predicate, the CORE, which comprise the nucleus plus the arguments of the predicate in the nucleus and the PERIPHERY, which is made up of the adjunct modifiers of the core. The following is a summary of this.

Table 1: Syntactic units and semantic elements in LSC (from Van Valin 2005:5)

Semantic element (s)	Syntactic unit
Predicate	Nucleus
Argument in semantic representation of predicate	Core arguments
Non-arguments Periphery Predicate + arguments	Core Predicate + arguments + non-arguments

1.8.1.1 Constituent Projection

This level of representation contains the primary components of the LSC, namely the nucleus, the core and the periphery. The nucleus is the predicate which is typically a verb, the core, on the other hand, is made up of the nucleus plus its arguments, while the non-arguments such as the modifiers that indicate the adjunction, temporal and location are found in the periphery.

Van Valin (2005) claims that all natural languages can adequately distinguish between the core and the periphery elements. According to him what differs among the languages is the order in which the predicate and its arguments take. English for instance can use the following template to represent the syntactic elements.

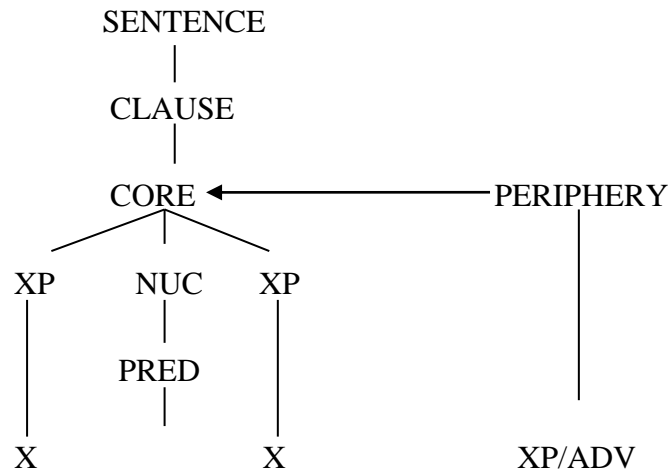


Figure 4: The Structure of the Clause (from Van Valin 2005: 7)

Additionally, Van Valin (1997) claims that languages vary in the way elements are arranged in a sentence. According to him, there are some languages which have a ‘Pre-core slot’ (PrCS). This is the position of WH-words in languages like German and English. Languages such as Japanese which their verbs appearing at the end, have a post core slot (PoCS). He further notes that there are other languages which have a Right Detached position (RDP), which is a position of the post clausal element in a right detached dislocation. Others have a Left-Detached position (LDP), which is the position of the pre-clausal element in a left-detached location. Otunga (2014), notes that the LSC applies to both free and fixed order languages as well as head-marking and dependent-marking languages.

1.8.1.2 Operator projection

Operators are those closed-class grammatical elements which modify different layers of the LSC Van Valin & Lapolla (1997: 52–67). The grammatical categories found at the operator projection include aspect, negation, tense, directionality, event quantification, status, tense, evidentials, and illocutionary force.

The following diagram shows a summary of this.

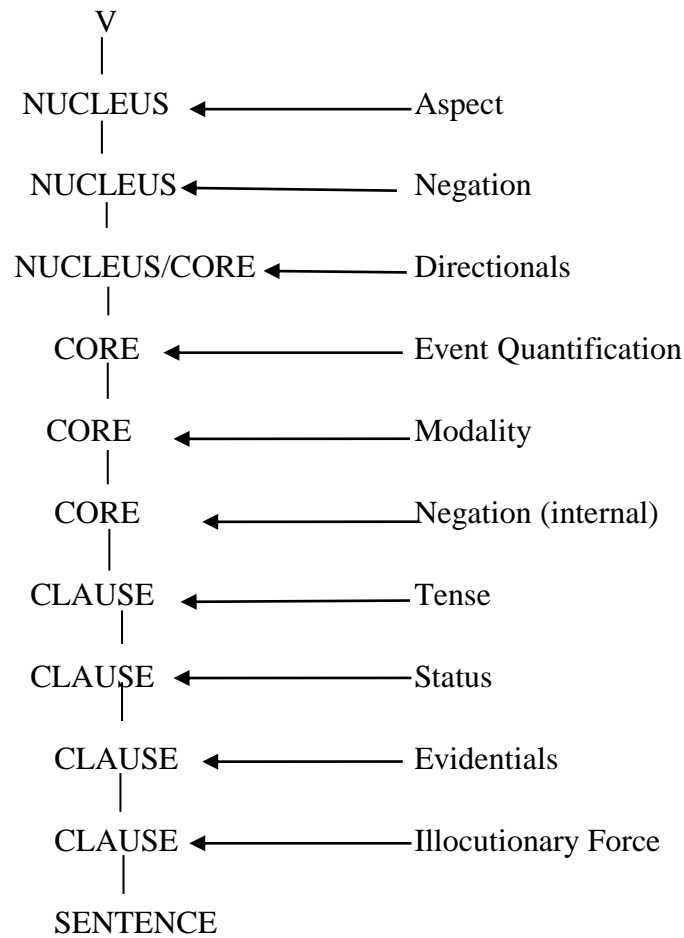


Figure 5: Operators in RRG (Van Valin 2005:9)

What this means is that in a simple sentence, the grammatical elements such as the aspect, negation and directionals are modified within the nucleus of a sentence. The event quantification, modality, internal negation and directionals are interpreted at the core. Lastly, all other elements which include the illocutionary force, tense, status and evidentials are modified at the clause level.

1.8.1.3 Focus Projection

In addition to operator and constituent projection, RRG has focus projection which specifies the type of information expressed in an utterance. The RRG theory of information structure was borrowed from Lambrecht's (1994). Focus is seen as occupying a particular structural position in a clause. Saeed (2004) identifies focus as a constituent occupying a specific syntactic position and also identified by an accompanying focus morpheme.

He further noted that the constituent that is focused is the one that is marked for higher salience than other constituents in the same utterance or sentence. Focus is mainly used to mark new information in a sentence as well as providing contrastive focus on one member of a set off information (old) or given information. RRG identifies the following types of foci; narrow focus, predicate focus and sentence focus. Narrow focus often identifies a referent while predicate focus comments on a topic.

Finally, the sentence focus reports an event or presents a new discourse referent. In sentence focus, both the subject and the predicate are in focus. The three types of foci are categorized as either narrow focus (marked on a single constituent) or broad focus (predicate and sentence focus). In RRG framework, there are two types of focus domains that are the 'potential focus domain' (PFD) and 'actual focus domain' (AFD). The PFD shows the possible domain where focus may occur while AFD is the part that is focused in an utterance. Languages differ in the way they represent an important part of a sentence. Otunga (2014) notes that foci types play a crucial role in communication since they help in identifying a referent, commenting on a topic and reporting an event or presenting new discourse referent.

1.8.2 Semantic Representation of Sentences

In RRG theory, the semantic representation of a sentence is greatly influenced by the lexical representation of a verb and other predicating elements (Van Valin 2008). This representation known as the theory of *Aktionsart* is based on Vendler (1967). According to the theory, there are four major classes which are the state, achievement, accomplishment and activity verbs. The four classes are supplemented by two extra classes that is the semelfactives (punctual events) and active accomplishments (telic uses of activity verbs e.g. devour, run to the store) Smith (1997). Additionally, each of the verbs has the causative aspects. Important in RRG is that system, both state and activity predicates are treated as basic.

The arrow points to the increasing possibility of an item being realized as a macrorole. The elements on the extreme left are the actors while those at the extreme right are the undergoers.

1.9 Methodology

This research utilized both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The qualitative approach was used when collected data on the word orders in Nandi. A total of fifteen respondents were consulted. Five respondents were drawn from Lessos, five from Sochoi and the remaining five from Nandi Hills. The number was felt to represent the entire Nandi region since the respondents were from various sub-counties of Nandi.

1.9.1 Data Collection

The data for this research were collected within Nandi Hills Constituency particularly in the areas of Sochoi, Nandi Hills and Lessos. The choice of these areas was informed by the fact that the native speakers of Nandi are believed to live here. Secondly, these are the areas within the environs of the researcher and thus were cost effective in terms of money and time. In addition, these people speak the same dialect and therefore the data elicited did not affect the word order and can thus be generalized to other parts of Nandi. The target population was both male and female speakers of above the age of twenty five. The main reason why this age group was selected was because they represented a group that has good grasp of the language.

The additional data was also collected from the previous researches on Nandi language. Random simple sampling and purposive sampling methods were used to generate data more data from the respondents. The researcher also used natural observation and participation in spontaneous discourses in order to further elicit more data. This was done intentionally and without the knowledge of the participants. The last methodology that was used was the use of questionnaires. A list of words with varied structures was issued to the target respondents (15) and asked to pick the one they thought had the correct sentential structures. The respondents were also asked to identify the point of focus in the sentences generated by the researcher who is the native speaker. This data was then used to test the focus structure in the Nandi simple sentence. Ten native speakers were used to verify the data for objective purposes.

1.9.2 Data Analysis

Various syntactic constructions of the simple sentences collected were subjected to rigorous analysis using the framework provided by the Role and Reference Grammar where the aspects of syntax, semantics and pragmatics were considered. The data was sorted out in terms of the word orders. The sentences with varied word orders were used to explain focus structure in the language under study. The simple sentences were also analyzed for the syntactic, pragmatic and semantic components.

For pragmatics, the correct and non-correct focus points were computed and relevant conclusion made from them. The questionnaires were also computed in order to establish the focus structures, word order and semantics aspects that make up the Nandi simple sentence. The results were later converted into percentages for easier interpretation.

CHAPTER TWO

SOME BASIC ASPECTS OF THE NANDI MORPHOSYNTAX

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the background to the Nandi people and culture was presented. The theory that will be used in this study was also proposed. This chapter introduces the verbal system of the Nandi language and its relationship to the simple sentences. The tense, the aspectual system and the various affixes that can attach to the verb are discussed. There will also be a discussion on the valence where a number of derivational processes that affect the argument structure of the verbs will be presented. The valence operation devices discussed include passives, antipassives, applicatives, statives, reflexives/reciprocals and causatives. The investigation and discussion of the basic components of the Nandi simple sentence are also dealt with in this chapter. A number of simple sentences such as the interrogatives, imperfectives, exclamatives, declaratives, yes-no questions and WH-questions are presented. A brief discussion of the case marking in the language and how it relates to the overall structure and the interpretation of the nouns in relation to the verbs is discussed.

2.2 Nandi Verbal System

Nandi has a highly complex verbal system that may generate over ten verbal derivations. The verbal system is extremely regular with a small number being irregular. The following is the discussion of the aspectual system in Nandi.

2.2.1 Aspect

Aspect is a perspective from which an action or a situation is seen. It relates the time of the event or the situation referred to some other time which is usually the moment of speaking. Aspect thus helps in identifying what is completed and what is in progress. Comrie (1976: 3) describes an aspect as “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Creider and Creider (1989: 75) while analyzing the Nandi verbal system note that the aspectual system in Nandi is divided into perfective and imperfective. They also observed that the imperfective in the language is used to mark the continuing events while the perfective marks the completed actions. The following is the discussion for the perfective and the imperfective.

2.2.2. Perfective

To Comrie (1985: 4), “the perfective looks at the situation from outside, without necessarily distinguishing any of the internal structure of the situation”. The conditions or events that are

expressed in the perfective are those that started in the past and continue to hold (Creider & Creider (1989: 104). The perfective in Nandi is marked by the morpheme {-e-} and {-i-}

2. a) *Ru - e*
sleep PROG
'He is sleeping'
- b) *Robon -i*
rain PROG
'It is raining'

The present progressive can also be used in the past. This is achieved by prefixing the past morpheme markers to the root verb as shown in the following examples.

3. a) *Ki- -a- ru- e*
DP 1SG sleep PROG
'I was sleeping'
- b) *Ki- Ø robon i*
DP 3SG/PL rain PROG
'It was raining'
- c) *Ka- -a- ru -e*
IP 1SG sleep PROG
'I was sleeping'
- d) *Ko- Ø- ru -e*
RP 3SG/PL sleep PROG
'He/she was sleeping'

2.2.3 Imperfective

Unlike the perfective, the imperfective looks at the situation from the inside and to Comrie (1985: 4), it is “crucially concerned with the internal structure of the situation”. The imperfective can be subdivided further into the habitual and continuous or durative where the latter represents the progressive or stative, Creider and Creider (1989: 101). The morpheme {ka-} and {ko} are used to mark perfective in Nandi. The tense morpheme comes before the perfective marker as shown in the following examples:

4. a) *Ka- -a ru*
PERF 1SG sleep
‘I have slept’
- b) *Ka- -ka ru*
IP PERF sleep
‘I had slept’
- c) *Ko- ka- -a ru*
NP PERF 1SG sleep
‘I had slept’
- d) *Ki- ka- -a ru*
DP PERF 1SG sleep
‘I had slept’
- e) *Ka- ka- ke- tar*
IP PERF 2PL finish
‘We had finished’

In our discussion on the perfective and imperfective above, we noted that the third person subject marker is unmarked both in singular and plural. However, there are cases where the structure of the sentence for the 3rd person and that of the singular person present is the same. When this happens, the tone is used as a grammatical feature to disambiguate the two sentences.

Consider these examples:

5. a) *Ká lú cheko*
IP drink milk
'He/she drank milk'
- b) *Ká lù cheko*
IP drink milk
'I drank milk'

As you may have noticed, these sentences have the same syntactic structure. If the tone marking is omitted, it creates a lot of confusion especially to the non-speakers who will take them to mean the same thing. This grammatical function of the tone helps in showing which of the two (subject or the object) is referred to. The high tone indicates that the action was done by someone else rather than the speaker while a low tone indicates that it is the speaker who did the action expressed by the verb. Notice that in both cases the changes in the tone behaviour does not affect the meaning of the verb *lu* 'drink'. In the next section, we look at how tense system in Nandi is represented.

2.3 Tense

Tense is an exclusive property of a verb. The various forms that a verb takes serve to indicate the time at which a situation or an event takes place. Comrie (1985: 9) describes tense as a "grammaticalized location in time". Tense in Nandi is divided into past and non-past. The past is further sub-divided into distant past marked by the morpheme *ki-*, recent past marked by the prefix *ko-* and immediate past marked by *ka-*. The present, near future and distant future are marked by *-i/-e-*, *tun* and *tatun*, respectively. The morphemes *-i-* and *-e-* are the only morphemes that are suffixed to the verb whereas the rest are prefixed. The following sentences show how tense is marked in Nandi.

6. a) *Ki a kol bandek*
DP ISG plant maize
'I planted maize'
- b) *ko a kol bandek*
NP 1SG plant maize
'I planted maize'
- c) *Ka kol bandek*
IP plant bandek
'I planted maize'

- d) A *kol* *-e* *bandek*
 ISG plant PROG maize
 ‘I am planting maize’
- e) *Tun* *i* *kol* *bandek*
 FUT 2SG plant maize
 ‘You will plant maize’
- f) *Tatun* *i* *kol* *bandek*
 FUT 2SG plant maize
 ‘You will plant maize’

In Nandi the morpheme marker {ki-} is prefixed to the verb and it expresses an action that happened a long time ago. The morpheme {ko-} has the notion of ‘yesterday’ whereas {ka-} is equivalent to English ‘earlier today’ that is an activity that has just been completed a few minutes or hours ago. The example in (e) with *tun* shows that the action will happen in the future, but the future expressed here is nearer compared to *tatun* in example (f). *Tatun* express actions which are far in the future.

2.3.2 Past Tense

The past tense indicates events and situations prior to the present moment. Nandi distinguishes three forms of the past tense, namely the distant past, recent past and immediate past. The distant past is marked by the prefix {ki-}, the recent past by {ko-} and the immediate past by the morpheme {ka-}.

7. a) *Ki* *kol* *bandek*
 DP plant maize-SG/DEF
 ‘He planted maize’
- b) *Ko* *kol* *bandek*
 NP plant maize-SG/DEF
 ‘He planted maize’
- c) *Ka* *kol* *bandek*
 IP plant maize-SG/DEF
 ‘He planted maize’

The adverbs of time may also be used to indicate the exact time an event took place in the past. *Olikinye* is used to describe events which are remote in time (no longer in memory) as opposed to *atkinye* which talks of events which can still be recalled. *Atkonye* describes events which took place yesterday and *atkei* indicates that an event took place later that day. Still, these adverbs can be used with a more sense of ‘specificity’ in terms of time. This is achieved through suffixation of *-tak* to these adverbs. This is exemplified below:

8. a) *Ka ki bar soet atkeitak*

IP 2PL kill buffalo that very time

‘We killed a buffalo at that time’ (that particular time)

b) *Ko ki bar soet atkonyetak*

NP 2PL kill buffalo that very time

‘We killed a buffalo at that time’ (that particular time)

c) *Ki ki bar soet atkinyetak*

DP 2PL kill buffalo that very time

‘We killed a buffalo at that time’ (that particular time)

The adverbs *atkei*, *atkonye*, *atkinye* and *olikinye* are used to describe the actions that happened somewhere today, yesterday, few months ago or some centuries ago respectively. They are use in general sense to refer to general time in the past with no particular reference to specific time. The suffixation of *-tak* however implies that the activity being described took place immediately after the other had stopped (few minutes after). These adverbs are placed immediately after an object in a transitive sentence and after a subject in a passive sentence.

2.3.3 Present Tense

There are two morphemes in Nandi that mark present tense. The two morphemes {-e} and {-i} are suffixed to the main verb.

9. a) *A- ru- -e*

1SG sleep PROG

‘I am sleeping’

b) *ki puch i kot*

1PL sweep PROG house-SG/DEF

‘We are sweeping the house’

According to Jepkoech (2018) the morpheme {-e} only occurs when it is preceded by {r, l, m, b, r, y,} while {-i} occur when preceded by {t, n, p, o, e,}. This is not a convincing explanation as we sometimes have cases where both {-i} and {-e} are used in the same environment as shown below.

10. a) A *sup* *i* logoiywek
 1SG follow PROG news
 'I am following the news'
- b) A *chop* *e* mursik
 1SG make PROG sour milk
 'I am making sour milk'
- c) A *marian* *i*
 1SG whistle PROG
 'I am whistling'
- d) A *one* *Kiplengwet*
 1SG chase PROG rabbit
 'I am chasing a rabbit'

In example 10 (a) and (b), the morphemes {-e} and {-i} occur in the environment after/p/. The same hold in examples 10 (c) and (d) where the two morphemes occur in the environment of /n/. This is a strong indication that this is not the only conditioning factor for their occurrence. There is no literature in Nandi that has been dedicated to the study of this phenomenon. As such, no conclusive results have been established.

2.3.4 Future Tense

The future tense indicates the situations and events subsequent to the present moment. Nandi has no inflected form of the verb for future tense. The future tense is thus expressed in two ways. The first and the most attested way involve using the present tense imperfective with a notion of the future.

To differentiate it from the present tense, it must be post qualified by the adverbs of time. The half-modals *tun* and *tatun* are also used to express the future time. The former describes the near future while the latter describes the distant future. Other semi-modals such as *nya*, *nyi* and *nyo* are used for the same reason. They are used with the first person, second person and third person respectively.

Expressing future using present tense:

11. a) A *kol* *e* *ketik* *mutai*
 1SG plant IMP trees-DEF/PL tomorrow
 'I will plant trees tomorrow'
- b) Ki *kol* *e* *ketik* *arawa* *ni* *nyon* *e*
 1PL plant IMP trees-DEF/PL month this come PROG
 'We will plant trees next month'

c) *Ki sut e tuga tungwoin*

1PL spray IMP cows-DEF/PL the day after tomorrow

‘We will spray the cows the day after tomorrow’

d) *Ki sember i karon*

1PL weed IMP in the morning

‘We will weed in the morning’

As indicated in the above examples, the adverbs of time expressing the future come after the main verb. This changes when the semi-modals are used as they must be placed before the person marker and the root verb.

Expressing future using semi-modals:

12. a) *Tun a kol -e ketik mbara -ni*

NF 1SG plant IMP trees-PL/DEF field-SG/INDEF this

‘I will plant trees on this land’

b) *Tatun a kol -e ketik mbara -ni*

DF 1SG plant IMP trees-PL/DEF field-SG/INDEF this

‘I will plant trees on this land’

c) *Nya- a- kol -e ketik koi*

Will 1SG plant IMP trees-PL/DEF evening

‘I will plant trees in the evening’

d) *Nyi- i- kol -e ketik mutai*

Will 2SG plant IMP trees-PL/DEF tomorrow

‘You will plant trees tomorrow’

e) *Nyo- o- kol -e ketik tungwoin*

Will 2PL plant IMP trees-PL/DEF after tomorrow

‘You will plant trees the day after tomorrow’

Though the two adverbs *tun* and *tatun* express future, *tun* is used for the future actions which have higher probability of happening compared to *tatun* which simply talk of the future that may not happen.

2.4 Affixes in Nandi

Still on the verb, we note that there are various affixes that can accompany a verb in Nandi. Some of these affixes are prefixed to the verb while some are suffixed to the verb. The prefixes in Nandi include those that mark subject/person, conjunction, negation, tense and phase whereas suffixes are those that mark motion, derivational morphemes, progressive and object. In this section we focus on the prefixes that mark person/subject. The discussion of these affixes is as follows.

2.4.1 Prefixes in Nandi

2.4.1.1 Person/Subject prefixes

The morphemes that mark person/subject in Nandi precede the verb root but come after the tense marker. There are forms for singular pronouns as well as plural pronouns.

13. Singular morpheme marker	plural morpheme marker	Person
i) <i>-a</i>	<i>ki/ke-</i>	1SG
ii) <i>-i-</i>	<i>-o-</i>	2SG
iii) $-\emptyset$ / <i>ko-</i>	$-\emptyset$ / <i>ko-</i>	3SG/PL

The bound morpheme {*a-*} is used to mark the first person singular. The morpheme {*ki-*}, on the other hand, marks the first person plural. The person prefix {*i-*} marks the second person singular while {*o-*} marks the second person plural. In the third person, however, the marking is optional where the person marker *ko-* is used or not. The following sentences illustrate these pronouns:

14. a) *A ru e*
 1SG sleep IMP
 ‘I am sleeping’
- b) *Ki ru e*
 1PL sleep IMP
 ‘We are sleeping’
- c) *I ru e*
 2PL sleep IMP
 ‘You are sleeping’

- d) *O ru e*
 2SG sleep IMP
 ‘You are sleeping’
- e) \emptyset - *Ru -e*
 3SG/PL Sleep IMP
 ‘He/she is sleeping’
- f) *Ka ko am bandiat*
 RP 3SG/PL maize-SG/DEF
 ‘He/she/it has eaten maize’

The example in 14 (a) shows the pronoun {a-} marking the singular person while 14 (b) shows the pronoun {ki-} marking first person plural. In example 14 (d) and (e), the personal pronouns {i-} and {o-} mark second person singular and plural respectively. The example in (e) shows that the third person singular or plural is not marked. The example in (f), however, shows the third person singular and plural being marked by the morpheme {ko-}. In the next section we discuss how suffixes are marked in Nandi.

2.4.2 Suffixes in Nandi

Suffixes in Nandi occur post verbally and they include all the derivational morphemes, progressive markers and object markers. The discussion of each of these suffixes is presented below.

2.4.2.1 Object Suffixes

There are two ways of marking objects in Nandi. The first form involves the use of free standing object pronouns. The free standing pronouns are shown below:

15. Singular forms	plural forms
a) Ane (me)	Achek (us)
b) Inye (you)	Okwek (you)
c) Ine (him/her)	Ichek(them)

These forms can be used in sentences as follows:

- 16 a) *Ka a ker icheek*
 TNS 1SG saw them
 ‘I saw them’
- b) *Ma ane*

NEG me
 ‘It is not me’
 c) *Ka inee*
 TNS him
 ‘It was him’

Another form of marking objects in Nandi involves suffixing the object affixes to the verb. The following are the sentences with these object suffixes.

17. a) *I sas -o*
 2SG hate 1SG
 ‘You hate me’
 b) *I sas -ech*
 2SG hate 1PL
 ‘You hate us’
 c) *A sas -in*
 1SG hate 2SG
 ‘I hate you’
 d) *A sas -ok*
 1SG hate 2PL
 ‘I hate you’
 e) *A sas -e*
 ‘I hate’ 3SG/PL
 ‘I hate it/him/her’

The suffix {-o} in 17 (a) marks the first person singular while {-ech} in 17 (b) marks first person plural. In example (c) and (d), the suffix {-in} and {-ok} mark the second person singular and second person plural respectively. For the third person, the object marker is the morpheme {-e} and it is used to mark both singular and plural forms. Though the object markers and the free standing pronouns occur in isolation, it is possible to find them co-occurring in Nandi. This happens especially when the speaker wishes to emphasize something or in situations where there is a likelihood of misinterpretation due to multiple referents.

18. a) *I sas ech inye*
 ISG hate IPL you (SG)
 ‘You hate us’
 b) *A cham ok okwek*
 1SG love 2PL (you) PL
 ‘I love you’

The form in 18 (a) is used especially when one wants to stress that it is *inye* ‘you’ who hates us and not anyone else. This occurs in an environment where we have so many references and the speaker wants to be clear on the person he is talking about. The same argument is true for 18 (b) where the speaker is very particular on the people he loves.

2.4.2.2 Derivational and Aspectual Suffixes

The affixes that mark derivational and progressive in Nandi occur post verbally. Consider these sentences which illustrate the occurrence of these affixes.

19. a) *Ki al -chi lakw-et ngoriet Kibet*
 DP buy BEN child-SG/DEF dress-SG/DEF Kibet
 ‘Kibet bought a dress for the child’
 b) *Ki rip e Kiprob tuga*
 DP guard IMP Kiprob cattle-PL/DEF
 ‘Kiprob was guarding the cattle’

In example 19 (a), the benefactive derivational morpheme *-chi*, the subject *Kibet* and the object *ngoriet* ‘dress’ all appear after the verb root *al* ‘buy’. The same holds for 19 (b) where the imperfective marker *-e-*, the subject *Kiprob* and the object *tuga* ‘cattle’ all appear after the predicate *rip* ‘guard’. All the other derivational morphemes and progressive markers appear in these positions. All the other affixes in the language are summarized in the table below.

Table 2: Summary of the Affixes in Nandi

Prefixes					Suffixes				
Subject /person prefixes	Negation	Tense	Phase	Conjunction	Derivational morphemes	1SG Object suffixes	2PL Object suffixes	Aspect	Motion suffixes
-a	-ma	-ka	-ta	-ak	-chi	-in	ane	-e	-e
-ki	-tomo	-ko			-e	-ok	ine	-i	-u
-ke		-ki			-w-	-o	inye		
-i					-akse	-ech	okweek		
-o					-kee	-e	achek		
-ko							ichek		

2.5 Valency in Nandi

Payne (2008) distinguishes between two types of valence, namely semantic and syntactic valence. He refers to the former as the number of arguments a verb may take and the latter as the number of participants present in a clause. His claim is that every natural language has a means of expressing the number of participants in any given construction. Nandi has a number of verbal derivations that either add or subtract the number of arguments in a construction. Despite that these derivative affixes occur in isolation, there is a possibility of them combining as will be shown shortly below.

The most attested derivational processes in Nandi are the ventive, itive, dative, instrumental, stative, associative, reciprocal/reflexive, causative and andative. Some of the derivative affixes may be used with more semantic sense as opposed to others which are only used for grammatical functions. In this study, however, we will limit ourselves to the analysis of the applicatives (instrumental and benefactive), statives, causatives, reflexives, passives and antipassives.

2.5.1 Applicatives

Applicatives are the syntactic constructions in which the oblique argument of the verb is promoted to the core object argument. In such constructions, the verb carries a morpheme that licences a semantic role which would otherwise not be possible with a lexical verb.

Jerono (2011), notes that Nandi, Kipsigis and Tugen have the same applicatives. These applicatives mark instruments, locations and beneficiaries. We begin by discussing the benefactives.

2.5.1.1 Benefactives

This is a valence increasing operation that adds one applied object to the arguments structure of the verb. In Nandi it is marked by the suffixes {-w-} and {-chi}. The morpheme {-w-} occurs with singular persons whereas {-chi} occurs with the plural person.

20. a) <i>Al</i>	<i>ngoriet</i>	b) <i>al</i>	<i>-w-</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ngoriet</i>
buy	dress	buy	BEN	1SG. ACC	dress-DEF/SG
‘Buy a dress’		‘buy a dress for me’			

21. (a) <i>Al</i>	<i>ngoriet</i>	b) <i>Al</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>lakwet</i>	<i>ngoriet</i>
buy	dress	buy	BEN	child	dress
‘Buy a dress’		‘Buy a dress for the child’			

The verb ‘al’ in 20(a) is transitive and selects one theme argument ‘ngoriet’. However, through suffixation of the applicative morphemes {-w-} and {-chi}, new object arguments {-o} and *lakwet* ‘child’ are introduced to the verbal structure in 20 (b) and 21 (b), respectively.

2.5.1.2 Instrument

This form of applicative expresses an item that is used to carry out an action. Instrument is morphologically marked by the suffix {-e} in Nandi. Just like the benefactive morpheme, this morpheme has the quality of increasing the valence of a verb.

22. a) <i>Bet</i>	<i>kwenik</i>	b) <i>Bet</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>aiywet</i>	<i>kwenik</i>
split	firewood	split	INST	axe-DEF/SG	firewood-DEF/SG
‘Split the firewood’		‘Split the firewood with/using an axe’			
23. a) <i>Mwog</i>	<i>boinet</i>	b) <i>Mwog</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>boinet</i>	<i>kipchabet</i>
shoot	antelope	shoot	INST	antelope	arrow
‘Shoot the antelope’		‘Shoot the antelope with an arrow’			

INF buy ITV chicken-DEF/SG

‘To sell a chicken’

b) *Ko al ta e ngokiet bokol tisap*

TNS buy ITV prep chicken-DEF/SG hundred seven

‘He sold the chicken for seven hundred shillings’

Using {-e} to indicate **location**

The morpheme {-e} can also be used in Nandi to indicate the place in which an action took place.

27. a) *Ki ai -e tuiyet Eltret*

DP do LOC meeting Eldoret

‘The meeting is being held in Eldoret’

b) *Ki rut -e tuga tip*

DP inject LOC cattle dip

‘The cows are vaccinated at the cattle dip’

c) *Ka tep- e ng’echeret lakwet*

IP sit LOC chair child

‘The child was sitting on the chair’

The morpheme {-e} in 27 (a), (b) and (c) all point to a location where an action will take place. This morpheme is equivalent to the English prepositions *in*, *at* and *on*. In the section that follows, the passive and the antipassives constructions will be discussed.

2.5.2 Passive Constructions

Payne (2008: 250) describes this operation as that “that downplays a controlling participant”. As such, the agent doesn’t have the control of an action. In these constructions, the verb is semantically transitive with either the subject being omitted or demoted to an oblique role rendering the verb grammatically intransitive. Austin (1981a: 151) notes that the “passive tends to be used when the instigator (underlying subject) is inanimate or left unexpressed”. It is predominant in the languages such as Nandi which have the nominative/accusative systems. In these languages, when a nominative argument in a transitive clause is omitted leaving a verb and an accusative argument. The passive constructions in Nandi are denoted by the prefix {-ki} which comes immediately after the tense marker.

The following are examples:

28. Transitive:		Patient	Agent
		↓ O	↓ A
<i>Ki</i>	<i>ald-a</i>	<i>teta</i>	<i>Kibet</i>
PST	sell	cow-DEF/SG/ACC	NOM+
‘Kibet sold the cow’			

29. Transitive:		Patient	Agent
		↓ S	↓ Ø
<i>Ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ald-a</i>	<i>teta</i>
PST	PASS	sell	cow-DEF/SG/ACC

The cow was sold

The construction in 28 is a transitive construction with two arguments *teta* ‘cow’ and ‘Kibet’. Sentence 29 is an example of a morphological passive necessitated by the morpheme {-ki}. Notice that the prefixation of this morpheme has an effect of changing the argument structure of the verb by demoting one participant ‘Kibet’ as in 29.

The significance of this operation is that the centrality of the agent ‘Kibet’ is downplayed thus leaving the sentence devoid of the actor.

2.5.3 Antipassive Constructions

This is a valence-reducing operation and according to Payne (2008:255) “downplays the centrality of an object (O) argument rather than an agent (A) argument”. This means that unlike in the passive construction where the subject is demoted, here, the object is omitted. The centrality of one participant O is downplayed leaving the sentence without an object. The resulting construction therefore has the verb that is grammatically intransitive since the object argument has been omitted. Its main use is to mark non-volitionality on the part of the underlying subject NP Austin, (1981a: 151). The antipassive in Nandi is marked by the suffix {-isy} which comes immediately after the tense marker that marks imperfective.

30. Transitive:		Patient	Agent
		↓ O	↓ S
<i>Tem</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>mbaret</i>	<i>Kibet</i>
slash	IMP	field-DEF/SG/ACC	DEF/SG/NOM
‘Kibet is slashing the field’			

2.5.5 Statives

The morpheme {-akse} signals stative constructions in Nandi. When it is suffixed to the verb, it eliminates the logical subject in the sentence making the logical object the subject. Such constructions render a sentence subject-less.

<p>33. Non-stative</p> <p>a) <i>a til -e ketit</i> 1SG cut IMP tree-DEF/SG ‘I am cutting a tree’</p> <p>34. a) <i>i -bat -i Keter mbaret</i> 1SG cultivate IMP Keter land-DEF/SG ‘Keter is cultivating the field’</p>	<p>Stative</p> <p>b) <i>til -akse ketit</i> cut STAT tree-DEF/SG ‘The tree can be cut’</p> <p>b) <i>bat -akse mbaret</i> cultivate STAT field- DEF/SG ‘The land can be cultivated’</p>
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In 33 (a) and 34 (a) the verb *til* and *bat* take two arguments, *a* and *ketit*, *Keter* and *mbaret* respectively. However, on suffixation of the stative morpheme {-akse}, the syntactic valence of the verb changes giving the structure where the logical subject/agent has been deleted. In the next section, the reflexives/reciprocals are discussed.

2.5.6 Reflexive/Reciprocals

Reflexives are valence-reducing constructions in which the agent and object are the same entity. In these constructions, the semantic roles expressed by the verb are fulfilled by the same entity. Reciprocals, on the other hand, are the constructions in which the participants equally act upon each other, Payne (2008: 244). In Nandi reflexives and reciprocals mean the same thing unless the context makes it clear which one is being referred to. The ambiguity arises because of the fact that both reflexives and reciprocals are morphologically expressed by the same suffix {-kee}. When suffixed to the verb, it reduces the number of arguments the verb takes.

<p>35. Non-reflexive</p> <p>a) <i>Kii - -un</i> INF clean ‘To clean’</p> <p>36. Non-reciprocal</p> <p>a) <i>Kii- kat</i> INF greet</p>	<p>Reflexive</p> <p>b) <i>Kii- -un -kee</i> INF clean REF ‘To clean oneself’</p> <p>Reciprocal</p> <p>b) <i>∅- ki kat- -kee</i> SG/PL TNS greet REC</p>
---	--

‘To greet’

‘They greeted each other’

The example in 35 (b) shows that when the morpheme {-kee} is suffixed to the root verb, the action expressed is from agent to patient and vice versa. In 36 (a) the same suffix {-kee} is used but the context helps in understanding whether it is being used in a reflexive or reciprocal role. It is apparent that a person does not greet himself and therefore this must be an action that is reciprocated. Another example that shows that reciprocity can be understood logically is by use of the verbs that are inherently reciprocal.

Consider;

37. a)	<i>Kee-</i>	<i>tuiy-o</i>	b).	∅-	<i>Ki</i>	<i>tuiy-o</i>
	INF	meet		3SG/PL	TNS	meet
		‘To meet’				‘They met’

In this example, the action of meeting was reciprocal which means that both participants played the roles of agent and patient. It is possible for a reciprocal morpheme to co-occur with the benefactive morpheme {-chi}. When this happens, it shows that the action expressed by the predicate comes back to the agent who is also the beneficiary.

38. (a)	Non-reflexive		Agent		Patient
			↓		↓
			A		O
	<i>Ki chop</i>		<i>Kibet</i>		<i>amitwogik</i>
	TNS prepare		DEF/SG/NOM		food-DEF/PL/ACC
			Kibet prepared a meal		
(b)	Reflexive:		Agent		Patient
			↓		↓
			∅		O
	∅- <i>Ki chop chi kee</i>		<i>Kibet</i>		<i>amitwogik</i>
	3SG/PL TNS		prepare BEN REF		
			He/she prepared a meal for himself		

The example in 38 is a basic transitive sentence with a subject and the object. The sentence thus does not specify the recipient of the action expressed by the predicate.

In 38 (b), however, through the incorporation of the benefactive morpheme {-chi} and the reflexive morpheme {-kee}, the sentence can be understood as having a recipient who is the direct beneficiary of the action expressed by the verb. The action is reflected back to the subject.

2.6 Clause Patterns in Nandi

Van Valin (1997) defined a simple sentence as “a sentence that contains a single clause”. From this, different clause patterns may be realized depending on whether one or more clausal elements are obligatorily present or not. Nandi language has an alternation of VOS/VSO clause patterns. And as we pointed out in the previous chapters, scholars such as Jerono (2011), Simotwo (2011) and Sitienei (2018) consider these alternations as being used interchangeably. However, some scholars such as Jeptoo (2014) mentioned though not in details that both alternations are frequently used but one may be chosen over the other for purposes of emphasis. Creider & Creider (1989) also argue that although the two word orders exist in Nandi, they are never used in the same way.

For this to be adequately established, we would like to present and discuss various clause patterns in Nandi and how they are different or similar to one another. From this, we can determine whether the two structures actually express the same thing. First, we begin by discussing the basic components of a clause in Nandi. Let us consider the following diagram that shows the elements found in a basic single clause in Nandi.

39. TNS	VERB	PSA	DCA	Adjunct	Arg-Adjunct
	(RP)		(RP)	(RP/PP)	(RP/PP)
	Agent		patient	location	instrument

This is a simple description of what ought to be present in a simple sentence in Nandi and in what order. The first element that is found in a single clause is the tense marker followed by the predicate. This is then followed by the PSA (instigator) which comes right before the DCA (recipient). After the DCA is the slot for any adjunct which can either be an RP or PP.

40. Ki	bar	Kibet	soet	eng	timin
TNS	kill (V)	Kibet (S)	buffalo (O)	in (Prep)	the forest (RP)
‘Kibet killed the buffalo in the forest’					

A typical Nandi sentence does not contain more than two arguments within a single clause. However, depending on the argument structure of the verb, up to four elements can be expressed in a single clause.

The instrument morpheme {-e} for instance, introduces an additional argument to the sentence whenever it is suffixed on the verb. This morpheme must be placed just before the agent instigating the action. If the sentence contains the negation marker, then it must occur pre-verbally. Consider this sentence:

41. Ki ma bar -e Kibet soet kipchabet eng timin
 DP NEG kill INST Kibet buffalo-DEF/SG arrow-DEF/SG in forest- DEF/SG
 ‘Kibet did not use an arrow to kill the buffalo in the forest’

This sentence shows that whenever an instrument morpheme {-e} and the negation morpheme are incorporated in a sentence, they must occupy the slots before the PSA and before the main verb, respectively.

This is the acceptable sentence structure in Nandi although the arrangement of elements may vary depending on the needs of the communication as will be shown in chapter five. Now that we have seen what entails a simple clause in Nandi and in what order these elements occur. We show a variety of sentences that can be generated using this structure. Some of the sentences that we will deal with in the next section are the interrogatives, declaratives, imperatives and exclamatives. Their functions will also be discussed.

2.6.1 Interrogatives

These sentences are uttered with an intention of getting some information or answers from the other person. Greenberg (1963) argues that a language which has a dominant VSO order in declarative sentences always puts interrogative words or phrases first in interrogative word questions. Keenan (1978: 2), on the other hand, maintains that languages with VOS/VSO structures allow the interrogative phrase to appear first but can also appear in-situ. Interrogatives in Nandi are introduced by the following interrogative words; *Ng'o?* (Who?), *Au?* (When?), *Ngiro/Ngoro?* (Which one?), *Nee?* (What?), *Ano?* (Where?), *Ngircho/ngorcho* (Which ones), *Amu nee* (Why), and *Ata* (How much).

It will be important to point out that ‘ngorcho’ may be used to refer to two things; ‘where are they?’ and ‘which ones?’ The determining factor is the tone of the word. If the word is

uttered with a high tone, *ngórchó*, the meaning that is brought out is ‘where are they?’ but if marked by a falling tone *ngórchò* it means ‘which ones’. Interrogatives are divided into two: yes-no interrogatives and *wh*-interrogatives.

2.6.2 Yes-No questions

These forms of questions are those that expect an affirmation or a negation as a response. In Nandi, interrogatives assume the structure of a declarative clause. To differentiate it from a declarative sentence, a morpheme {-í-} is attached to the final part of the word if that word ends in a consonant. Notice that this morpheme is articulated with a high tone.

42. a) *i lakwet -ap sukul-i?*
 2SG child-DEF/SG GEN school
 ‘Are you a student?’
 b) *i ru -e?*
 2SG sleep IMP
 ‘Are you sleeping?’
 c.) *i labat- i ?*
 2SG run IMP
 ‘Do you run?’

In some exceptional situations, there are words which inherently end in a vowel /i/. In such environment, the morpheme {-í-} is merged with the vowel /i/. Consider these examples which show how this process takes place.

43. a) *i wendi + -í? = (i + í) = {-í}*
 2SG going
 ‘Are you going?’
 b) *O bendi -í? = (i + í) = {-í}*
 2PL going
 ‘Are you going?’
-

The verbs *wendi* and *bendi* are exceptional in Nandi and are exclusively used to refer to the second person singular and the second person plural respectively. If unmarked for person, they refer to the third person singular and plural respectively. In the examples above, the vowel /i/ in the words *bendi* and *wendi* merge with the question-making morpheme {-í} and

this merging is followed by lengthening. But as the merging process takes place, the tonal qualities of the morpheme {-í} is not affected.

2.6.3 WH-questions

Unlike YES-NO question where the form of a question takes the structure of a declarative clause, here the question word may fall in any part of a sentence depending on what is being topicalized. What this means is that in languages like Nandi, there are options on where to place *wh*-element. The *wh*-element may be placed at the initial part of the sentence, medial or the final position. Consider the following example:

44. a) *Ng'o ne ko bir lakwet?*
Who PRO TNS beat child-SG/DEF
'Who beat the child?'
- b) *Ko bir ng'o lakwet?*
TNS beat who child-SG/DEF
'Who beat the child?'
- c) *Ko i bir ng'o?*
TNS 1SG beat who
'Who did you beat?'

The example in 44 (a) shows the *wh*-word *ng'o* 'who' appearing sentence initially while 44 (b) has the *wh*-word '*ng'o* 'who' appearing sentence medially. In example (d), the interrogative word appears at the end of the sentence. The next to be discussed among the Nandi simple sentence types are the imperatives.

2.6.4 Imperatives

Greenbaum & Quirk (1990:237) defined an imperative as a sentence which has no overt grammatical subject, and whose verb has a base form. In other words, a subject in an imperative sentence is taken for granted because it is understood from the context. Imperative sentences are often used to give a command or an order.

45. a) *Sis* 'be silent!'
- b) *Nyo!* 'Come!'

2.6.5 Exclamatives

The exclamative sentences are those sentences which have an initial phrase introduced by *what* or *how*. These types of sentences serve particular discourse functions ranging from showing the extent to which a person is impressed, disgusted or surprised by something or someone.

46. a) *Tia teta no e!*
 what size cow-DEF/SG that
 ‘What a huge cow this is!’
- b) *Ka ko siir!*
 TNS 3SG/PL win
 ‘‘He has won!’’
- b) *Chamune garit ni e!*
 What sort of car-DEF/SG that
 ‘What a nice car this is!’

2.6.6 Declaratives

A declarative sentence normally has the subject which is, but not always preceded by a verb. These sentences are usually used to make statements.

47. a) *Mian- i Kibet*
 Sick IMP subject
 ‘‘Kibet is sick’’
- b) *A kol- e bandek*
 1SG plant IMP maize-SG/DEF
 ‘‘I am planting maize’’

This discussion has highlighted various sentence patterns in Nandi and their functions in language. Now that we have an idea of what a simple sentence in Nandi is, we would like to show how the relationship between different parts of the sentence is realized through case marking.

2.7 Case Marking in Nandi

According to Jerono (2015), case is mainly used to indicate the relationship between a verb and the noun phrase. Case therefore can be considered to be a property of language that helps in showing how nouns function in a sentence. Nandi belongs to what the majority of scholars refer to as the marked-nominative language. Such kinds of language, most of which are verb-initial, according to (Konig 2008: 251) can adequately distinguish between two cases, namely the nominative and accusative. Languages with this system mark A (subject of transitive sentence) and S (subject of an intransitive sentence) in the same way while the O

(object) is left unmarked. In other words, the nominative case has zero allomorph or realization and is functionally marked while the accusative case, which is the default case, is morphologically and functionally unmarked. This is also the form that is used in citation Dixon; (1994: 62). In Nandi, the isolated nouns (also the form used in citation) and nouns in the absolutive case all bear the same tonal patterns.

Jerono, (2015), explains that the absolutive case is the form often used with the NPs that can function as direct objects, indirect objects, those that occur in isolated forms or even the nouns that have been topicalized or emphasized. In Nandi, nominals that function post verbally as subject NPs, are assigned nominative case and they often exhibit distinct tonal shapes since they involve getting rid of all lexical tones and superimposing them with the fixed invariant forms, Creider & Creider (1989: 41). The tonal shapes in all the nominative cases involve an addition of a high tone to the final syllable of the noun.

As an illustration, let us consider the following examples that show how absolutive and nominative cases are assigned in Nandi. First, let us begin with the intransitive sentences. In Nandi, the intransitive sentences with the VS structure have their subject marked for the nominative case.

48. \emptyset *ru -e* *mòsét*

3SG sleep IMP baboon: DEF: NOM

‘The baboon is sleeping’

On the other hand, the transitive clauses, with an agent and the overt object, will mark A with nominative case and O with the absolutive case. This is illustrated in these examples:

49 a) *On* *-e* *mòsét* *chépyósét*

Chase IMP baboon: NOM woman: ABS

‘The baboon is chasing the woman’

b) *On* *-e* *chépyósét* *mósét*

chase IMP woman: NOM baboon: ABS

‘The woman is chasing the baboon’

In example 48, the noun *moset* ‘baboon’ is used as a subject of an intransitive clause and receives the same marking as in example 49 (a) where it is used as a subject of a transitive clause. In example 49 (b) however, the same noun *moset* ‘baboon’ is used as an object of a transitive clause and must therefore be marked differently. The tone assigned to the noun *moset* ‘baboon’ in 49 (b) is a high tone as it is used in absolutive case. This information can be summarized as follows:

50. Citation form	Accusative
Nominative	
<i>mòsét</i>	<i>mósét</i>
<i>mòsét</i>	

The noun in 50 is in its basic form and thus receives the case marking similar to that in the absolutive case. This is the state of a noun without any syntactic function. When the same noun is used in a sentence to represent the accusative, a different nominal marking is required. The tone changes to a high tone in the accusative form.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the general introduction to the Nandi language was discussed. The discussion focused on the tense and aspectual system, affixation, valence operations, clause patterns and case marking. Within the verb system, the discussion established that the verb root in Nandi can take numerous affixes. The prefixes that were shown to accompany the verb were those that mark person/subject, phase, conjunction, negation and tense. On the other hand, the suffixes that can accompany the verb root are those that mark person objects, aspect, motion and all the derivational morphemes. The tense system of Nandi was shown to be divided into of past and non-past. The past tense was further shown to have three degrees, namely the immediate past, near past and distant past marked by the morphemes *ka-*, *ko-*, and *ki-* respectively. It was also shown that the present tense is marked by the morphemes *-e-* and *-i* whereas the future tense was shown not to have the future inflected form of the verb. The discussion on the aspectual system established that the aspect is divisible into two i.e. the perfective and imperfective. On the derivational morphology, we noted that there are various derivational morphemes that can either increase or decrease the number of arguments within the Nandi simple sentence. The operations that were shown to decrease the number of

arguments were passives, causatives, statives, reflexives/reciprocals and antipassives while those that increase the number are the benefactives, instrumentals and locatives.

On the discussion of the clause patterns, we presented different sentence structures and their uses in Nandi. The components of a simple sentence and the order of elements were also discussed. Different sentence types discussed are the interrogatives, yes-no questions, *wh*-questions, imperatives, exclamatives and declaratives. On the discussion of the case marking, the chapter has shown that case is used in differentiating the role of a noun in a sentence. It showed that the absolutive case is the case used with the basic form of the noun and that it is also the case used with subject noun in an intransitive sentence. It was also shown that when the same noun functions as an object of transitive sentence, it should be assigned a different case, in this case accusative form.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NANDI SIMPLE CLAUSE

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the valences of the Nandi verbs were discussed. The valence increasing operations such as the applicatives and the valence reducing operations such as the passives and antipassives were discussed. The components of the Nandi simple clause were also investigated. In this chapter, the Nandi simple clause is analyzed using the framework offered by the RRG. RRG states that the analysis of a simple clause should factor in three projections, namely the constituent, operator and focus. However, in this chapter we will only focus on the constituent projection and operator projection. Within the constituent projection, various clause patterns are investigated and discussed. Within the operator projection, the modifiers of a single clause such as the modality, tense, aspect negation and illocutionary force are discussed. To avoid ambiguities, the term ‘single clause’ and the term ‘simple sentence’ are used synonymously.

3.2 Predication in Nandi

RRG recognizes three groups of predicates. The first group is the one-place predicate in which a verb takes only one core argument (subject). The second group is termed a two-place predicate, and this is where a verb is accompanied by two arguments (subject and the indirect object). The three-place predicates, on the other hand, are those verbs which must be accompanied by up to three core arguments. In this section, we adopt this classification and argue out the different predicates found in Nandi. The following are the discussions of the various predicates found in Nandi and their representations in RRG.

3.2.1 One-place Predicates

These types of sentences evoke scene that require only one participant. As such, an intransitive clause takes only one noun phrase. In these constructions, the agent is always the subject.

Consider the following example:

51. a) *i- luu- assista*
 2SG Shine sun-DEF/SG
 ‘The sun is shining’

b) *Rir- e lakwet*
 Cry IMP child-DEF/SG
 ‘The child is crying’ (lit., It is shining the sun)

Sentence 51 (a) has the noun *assista* ‘sun’ which is the only core argument of the verb *luu* ‘shine’. The same is true of sentence 51 (b) which has only one argument *lakwet* ‘child’ (also the subject) and the verb *rir* ‘cry’. This information can be represented in a constituent projection as follows:

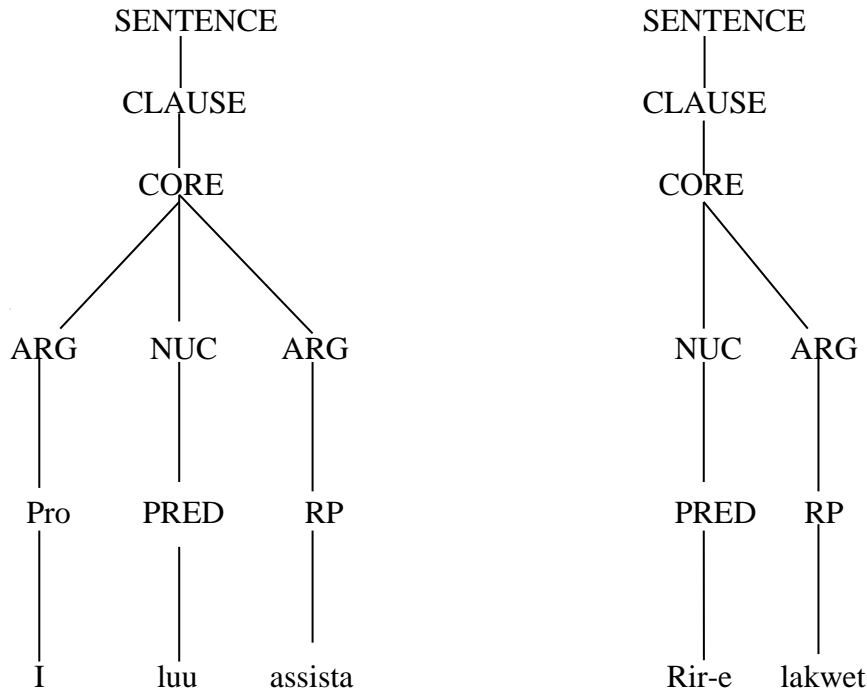


Figure 8: One-place predicates in Nandi

In the diagrams above, each of the verbs takes only one argument. The verb *rir* ‘cry’ selects only one subject argument *lakwet* ‘child’. The same applies to the verb *luu* ‘shine’ which takes a single argument ‘*assista* ‘sun’.

In the diagram, however, the verb *luu* ‘shine’ is indicated to take two arguments i.e. the second person pronoun *i* ‘you’ and the subject *assista* ‘sun’. In Nandi, it is possible to have a noun and a pronoun both referring to the same subject. And because RRG treats pronouns and nouns as separate arguments, when it comes to sentences with double subject representations as the one above, it becomes really problematic for the theory.

3.2.2 Two-place Predicates

As pointed out earlier, a transitive clause in RRG terms contains a single independent clause which is made up of a subject and an indirect object. In terms of semantic roles, RRG recognizes only two primary arguments in a transitive clause, namely the ACTOR and the

UNDERGOER. The actor is the most agentive argument while the undergoer is the most affected (patient-like) argument.

Consider this example:

52. a) *Ka- eny Keter kirgit*
 TNS slaughter Keter bull-DEF/SG
 ‘Keter slaughtered a bull’
- b) *Ki- lu chego lakwet*
 TNS drink milk-DEF/PL child-DEF/SG
 ‘The child drank milk’

These sentences can be represented diagrammatically as follows;

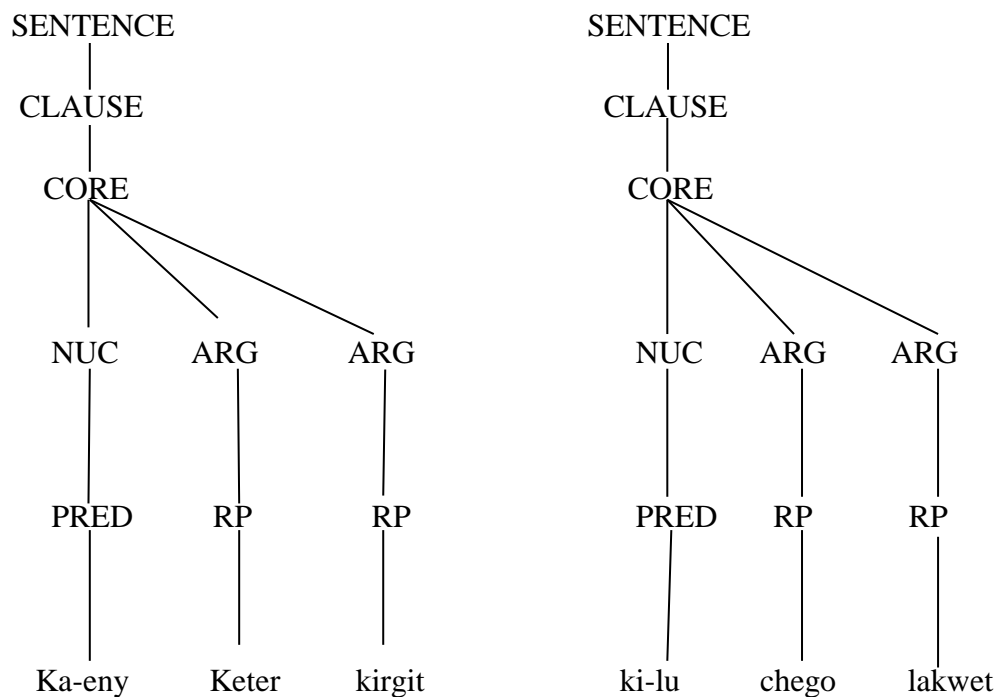


Figure 9: Two-place predicates in Nandi

The diagram shows that the verbs *yat* ‘open’ and *eny* ‘slaughter’ each take two core arguments (i.e the subject and the object). The actor of the verb *eny* ‘slaughter’ is *Keter* while the one of *yat* ‘open’ is *lakwet* ‘child’. The recipients of the actions expressed by the predicate are *kirgit* ‘bull’ and *lakwet* ‘child’, respectively.

3.2.3 Three-place Predicates

A ditransitive sentence according to Van Valin (2008) has three arguments namely the actor, the theme and a proto-recipient. But since RRG recognizes only two macroroles, (the actor and the undergoer), the third argument is treated as a non-macrorole and contains the features of a recipient. The following sentence illustrates this:

53. a) *Ke ko- chi Jemutai lakwet cheko*
 TNS give BEN Jemutai child-DEF/SG milk-DEF/SG
 ‘Jemutai gave the child milk’
- b) *Ki yok- chi Kibet Jemutai baruet*
 TNS sent BEN Kibet Jemutai letter-DEF/SG
 ‘Kibet send a letter to Jemutai’

These sentences can be illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

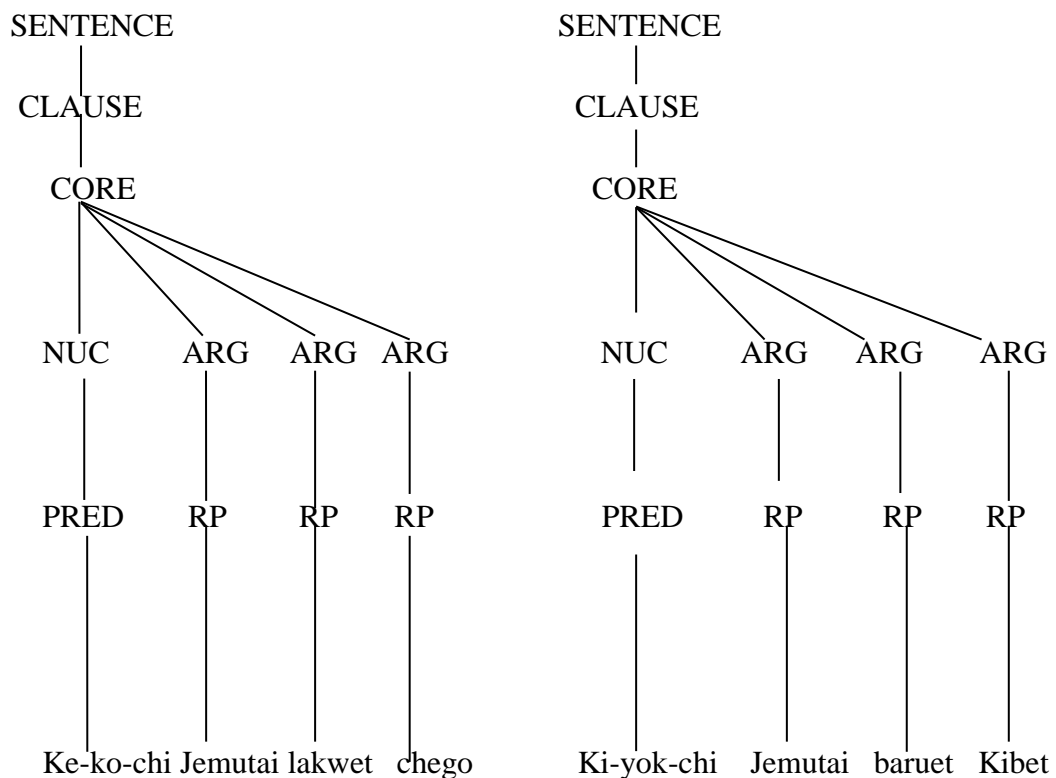


Figure 10: Three-place predicates in Nandi

In RRG terms, sentence 53 (a) has three lexical arguments. *Jemutai* performs the role of an agent, *lakwet* ‘child’ acts as a recipient and *chego* plays the role of a theme. In AUH scale the lowest ranking argument *chego* ‘milk’ is selected for the role of the patient but *Jemutai* remains as the actor. The same holds for 53 (b) where the verb takes three core arguments ‘Jerotich’ *baruet* ‘letter’ and *Kibet*. So far, RRG has proven somewhat sufficient in accounting for the various elements within the Nandi simple sentence. In the next section, the analysis of the Nandi simple sentences with derivational morphemes presented.

3.3 Derivational Affixes in Role and Reference Grammar

In the above section, various elements of the Nandi simple sentence were analyzed using the Role and Reference Grammar. It was shown that the theory can adequately account for a number of these elements.

However, it was also shown that the presence of double subjects in a sentence is a bit problematic to the theory. Another area where the theory has not shown much success is on the sentences with derivational affixes. The operator projection has proven adequate in handling all the inflectional aspects of the verb. The theory, however, does not offer any methodology for the analysis of the derivative affixes. In light of this, this study proposes that the derivational affixes be captured in the operator projection together with other operators. The study also proposes that in order to account for all derivational morphemes in Nandi, the layered structure of the verb be represented as follows:

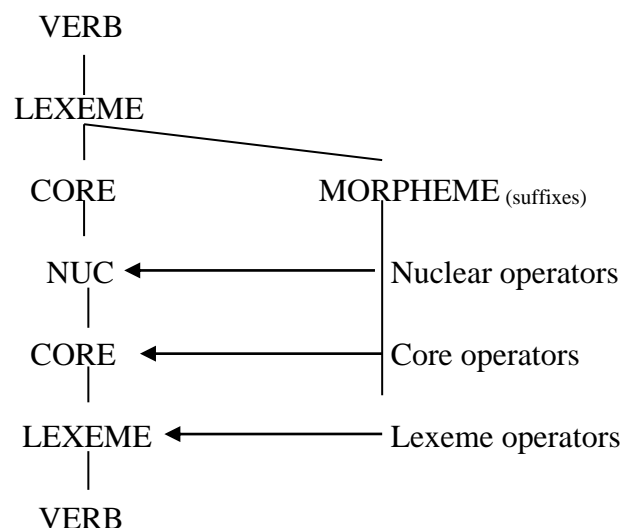


Figure 11: Layered structure of the verb (adapted from Boutin (2011: 86))

The diagram gives a suggestion on how derivative affixes within the verb can be captured in RRG. The lexeme in this case refers to the verb. This verb is capable of hosting derivational affixes which are then accounted for in the lexeme projection. The core operators and nuclear operators are already represented in the operator projection and thus not necessary to be accounted for at this level. The information from this verb schema can be incorporated into the overall structure of the RRG as shown as follows:

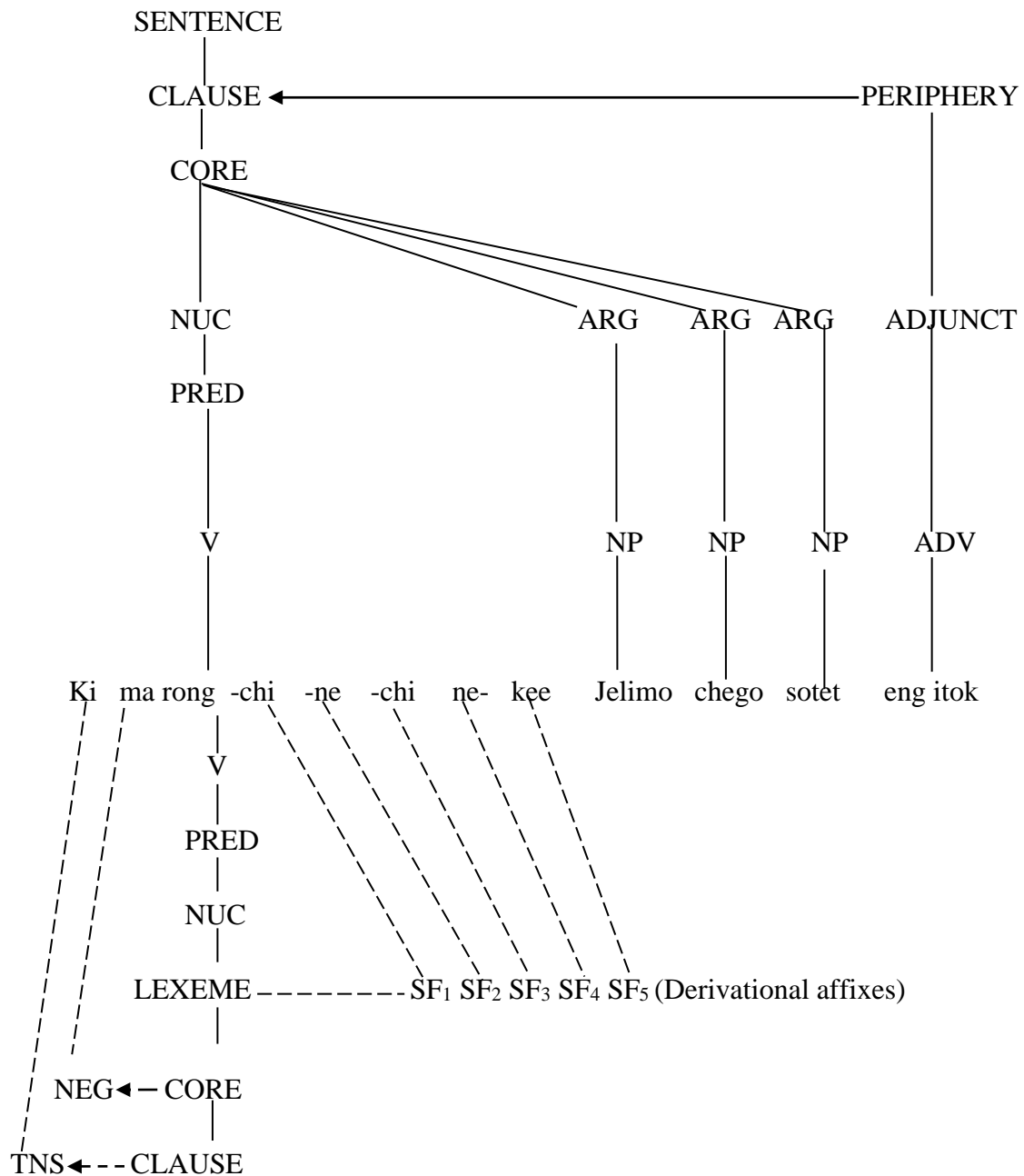


Figure 12: Derivational affixes in RRG (source: Researcher’s concepts)

In this diagram, both inflectional and derivational affixes of the verb *rong* ‘pour’ are represented. The abbreviations SF stands for suffix and the numbers represent the number of affixes that a verb can take. The derivational morphemes are taken to be operators that modify a lexeme and must therefore be accounted at the lexeme operator projection. The benefactive suffix {-chi} licences the subject Kibet while the morpheme indicates that the action expressed by the predicate is reflected to the subject. The instrumental {-ne} which is the allomorph of {-e} licences the object *sotet* ‘gourd’. The inflectional morphemes {ki-} and {-ma} are captured in the usual operator projection. It is only through such representation the derivational affixes can be accounted for in Nandi. The arguments presented and analyzed so far are all clausal internal arguments. This means that only those arguments that are found within the clause have been discussed. In the following section the analysis of the clausal external arguments is advanced.

3.4 Extra-core and Extra Clausal Elements in Layered Structure of the Clause

The RRG theory recognizes four extra clausal elements in the layered structure of the clause. They include extra core slots which appear next to the core, pre and post core slots positioned slightly further from the core and the right and left detached positions occurring at the far end of the core. The extra core slots (ECS) hosts the lexical RPs since this is the position for the internal subject topics. The right detached position (RDP) is the positions preserved for the arguments outside the clause and are used to mark contrast in discourse. The RDP therefore must appear at the initial position of the sentence. The left detached positions (LDP) like the RDP are the positions for the external discourse topics. The RDP appears in the initial position of a clause whereas the LDP appears at the final position. The details of these elements are presented below.

3.4.1 Left Detached Positions (LDP)

In RRG framework, the LDP appears at the initial position of a sentence and may comprise a subordinate clause, a single word or a complete reference phrase. They introduce topical constituents which are to be talked about later in the following utterance. When used in discourse, it serves a number of pragmatic functions such as, topic activation, topic contrast or orienting participants to time and space. Another importance of the LDP in discourse is that it helps a speaker to first mention an entity before commenting on it.

Before we discuss how this can be accounted for in Nandi, let us consider the word order position for Hebrew provided in Sebastian (2004: 50) which closely mirrors that of Nandi. Sebastian gave the following word order for the Hebrew:

P₂ P_{dp} P₁ V S O

What this means is that in VSO languages such as Nandi and Hebrew, the P₁ position is the marked position for all the preverbal elements, especially the topical constituents. The fronted objects, adverbial phrases (spatial and temporal) can also be found in this position. The P_{dp} on the other hand is the position for the discourse particles while P₂ is the position for the dislocated constituents and those constituents that are external to the clause.

The basic word order in Nandi is VSO with an alternation of VOS which is used in some pragmatically motivated contexts. As such, objects and subjects rarely begin a sentence unless for the purpose of emphasis or topicalization. Prototypically, the position before the verb in Nandi is always empty. This is the position that will be occupied by the element that is moved as a result of focus, emphasis or topicalization. Consider the following sentential constructions illustrating how topicalization is achieved in Nandi.

54. a) *Ka la -e Kipleting kwenik*
 IP carry IMP Kipleting firewood
 ‘Kipleting was carrying firewood-DEF/SG’
 b) *Kipleting, ka la -e kwenik*
 Kipleting IP carry IMP firewood-DEF/SG
 ‘Kipleting, he was carrying firewood’
55. a) *Ma- nyon-e Chesumbai mutai*
 NEG go hunt tomorrow
 ‘Chesumbai won’t come tomorrow’
 b) *mutai ma- nyon-e Chesumbai*
 tomorrow NEG go hunt
 ‘Chesumbai won’t come tomorrow’

The sentence in 54 (a) has the VSO structure which is the default structure for Nandi sentences. In 54 (b) however, the subject *Kipleting* has been moved to the initial position (topicalized) thus generating the VSO structure. The explanation for 55 (a) and (b) is the same as in 54 only that the fronted element in 55 (b) is an adverbial. The following is the diagrammatic representation of these sentences.



Figure 13: Clauses with LDPs in Nandi

The first diagram shows the agent *Kipleting* which is also the topic of the sentence appearing in the clause initial position. Creider & Creider (1989: 162), noted that in Nandi, this is a form of a marked topicalization since the NP occurs in the initial position, and not its canonical position. Creider & Creider used the term topicalization in the sense of object fronting. Based on this definition, the element that has been fronted does not lose its status of a topic. This is supported by Lambrecht (1994) who noted that the fronting of the NP can either be in topic relation or in focus relation. Lambrecht (1994: 31) further explains that topicalization occurs if a noun phrase (which is normally placed after the verb), is made to appear before a verb in a sentence-initial position. As a result of this fronting, the NP is now taken to be a topic. Lambrecht also noted that it is not only objects and subjects that can be fronted but also adverbial phrases. This can be seen in 53(a) where the fronted constituent is an adverbial.

Another scholar Givon (1990: 756) used a different term ‘left dislocation’ to refer to items that have been fronted. But Givon cautions readers and researchers that a left dislocated items do not always introduce a new topic into the discourse.

This claim is true of both examples as no new topics were introduced after the new items were fronted. We conclude that fronting in Nandi is for focus and not necessarily topic relation.

Creider & Creider made another important observation about NP fronting in Nandi. They noted that when an NP occurs in the preverbal position, it must be set off from the rest of the clause by the morpheme {-ko-}.

Consider the following examples:

56. a) *Kiptuiya, ka rip e tuga*

Kimutai IP watch IMP cattle-DEF/SG

‘Kimutai, he was watching the cows’

b) *Kiptuiya ko ka rip e tuga*

Kimutai 3SG/PL IP watch IMP cattle-DEF/SG

‘Kimutai was watching the cattle’

Though the two forms may appear very similar in form and meaning, we observe that their use is somehow different. First, we note the form without {ko} carries a higher degree of emphasis than the form without. Secondly, we note that the form without {ko} is used in situations where the topic *Kiptuiya* is available for comment and where the focus is on the noun itself. The same holds for the forms with {ko} except that the focus of such constructions is on the action and not the subject. Closely related to LDP is the RDP. This is presented below:

3.4.2 Right Detached Positions (RDP)

Unlike LDP, RDP appears sentence-finally and comprise elements such as tag questions or clarifying RPs. Hyman (1975) termed the right dislocated items as ‘afterthoughts’ or ‘repair devices’. Dik (1989) on the other hand uses the term ‘tail’ to refer to the right dislocated elements. Lambrecht (1994) uses the term ‘antitopic’ because he argues that dislocated elements are associated to a proposition and are therefore meant to provide additional information to the discourse. To him, they are not different entities but are rather intricately linked to the proposition. In most cases, the RPD elements are characterized by the intonation breaks and serve the pragmatic functions of confirming, explaining or clarifying something.

Let us consider the following sentences:

57. a) *A cham- e nea chep- -o*
 1SG love IMP much girl-DEF/SG that
 ‘I love her so much, that girl’

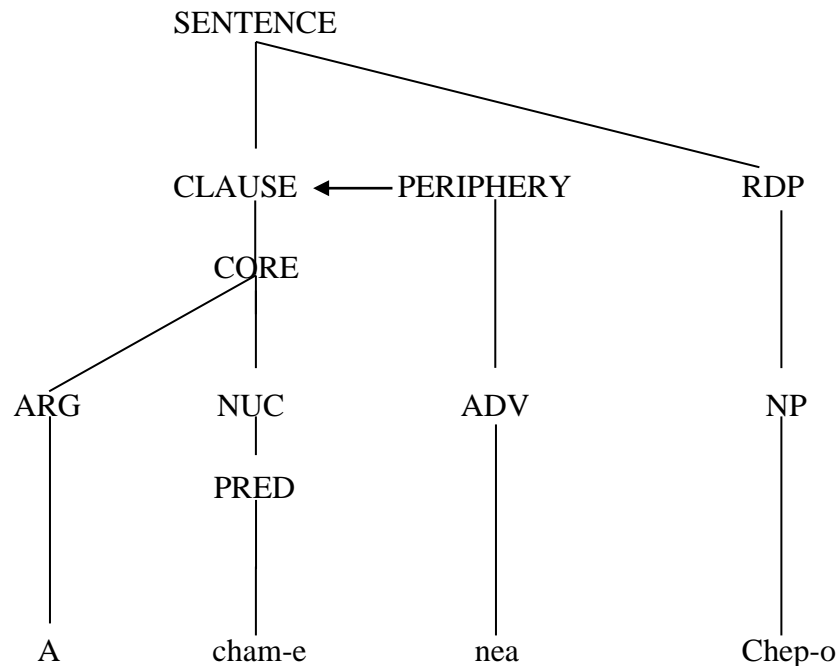


Figure 14: RDP Clause in Nandi

Unlike LDP, RDP appears on the right side of the clause. The RP *chep-o* ‘that girl’ is used contrastively and helps in clarifying the items previously mentioned in the main clause. This eliminates the confusion that might be created on the referring phrase. The last to be discussed among the extra-clausal arguments are the pre and post core slots.

3.4.3 Pre and Post Core Elements

Languages vary in the way narrow focused elements and *wh*-words are expressed. Languages that allow question words to appear in ex-situ have PrCS preserved for narrow elements. For those that permit *wh*-words to occur after the core, they have PoCS position preserved for narrow elements. In Nandi, the *wh*-word can appear sentence –initially, medially or finally as shown in the following examples.

58. a) *Ke am nee?*
 2PL eat what
 ‘What did you eat?’

b) *Ka am nee lakwet?*

TNS eat what child-DEF/SG

‘What did the child eat?’

c) *Nee ne ka am lakwet?*

What Pro TNS eat child-DEF/SG

‘What did the child eat?’

The question in 58 (a) has the *wh*-word occurring in situ. Such kind of constructions is only used when a question is directed to the second person. When a third participant is involved 50 (b) and (c) are preferable. In (a) and (b) the verb *am* precedes the question word *nee*. This is the canonical position for the *wh*-word in Nandi. In (c), the question word *nee* ‘what’ has been displaced to the position before the core and as a result occupies the PrCS. When it remains in-situ, it occupies the PoCS. Displacements of this sort are possible when marking focus in Nandi.

The meaning expressed in 58 (b) and (c) is the same though they differ in the sentential structures. Different sentential constructions are chosen depending on the needs of a discourse. When the pronoun {*ne*} is placed after the interrogative word *nee* it has the emphatic use. As such, (c) is preferable when the speaker is interested in the *nee* ‘what’ while (b) is applicable when the speaker is interested in the *am* ‘eat’. The following are the diagrammatic representations of these sentences.

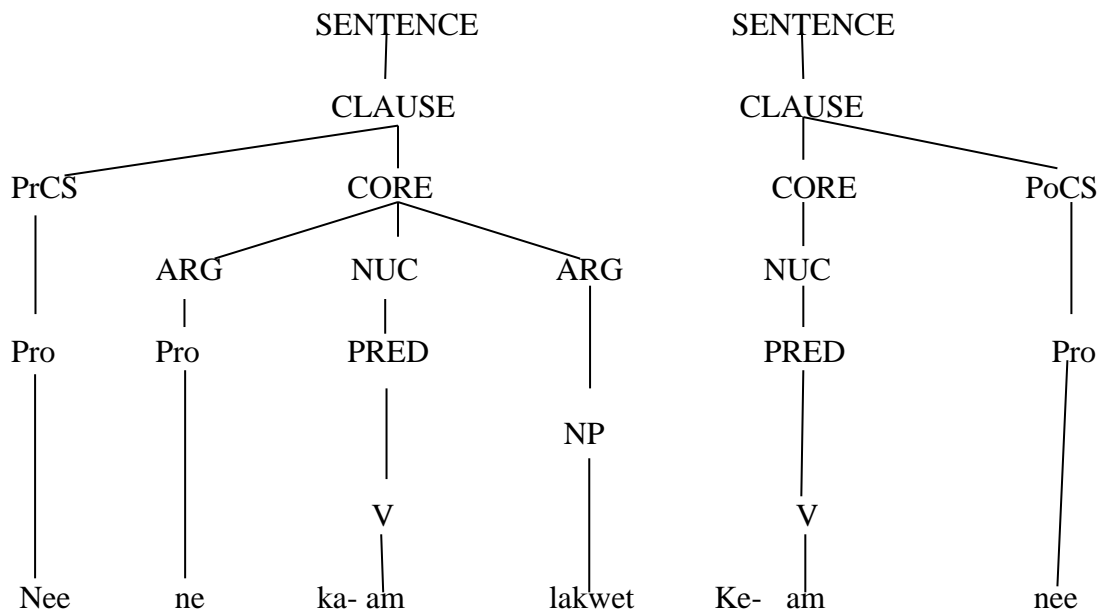


Figure 15: PrCS and PoCS sentences in Nandi

The first diagram in RRG shows the position of the pre-core elements in Nandi. This is the position preserved for the displaced *wh*-question word. The post-core elements on the other hand appear after the main verb and it is the position for the *wh*-word in its original position. All these, are the extra clausal arguments in Nandi and how they can be accounted for in the constituent projection of the RRG. In the following section we concentrate on a different projection of the RRG, namely the operator projection.

3.5 Operator Projection in Nandi Simple Clause

The operator projection is another independent projection within the RRG. In this projection, aspects such as tense, aspect, negation and illocutionary force are analyzed. These aspects are termed operators in RRG. These operators modify different layers of the clause. In this section, each one of these operators is discussed.

3.5.1 Negation

Negation in Nandi is achieved through prefixation. The morphemes {ma-} and {me-} are used to indicate negation and they precede the subject markers but come before the tense markers.

59. a) *Ma am -e*
 NEG eat PROG
 ‘I am not eating’
- b) *Me am -e*
 NEG eat PROG
 ‘You are not eating’
- c) *Mo am -e*
 NEG eat PROG
 ‘You are not eating’

The example in 62 (a) illustrates that the morpheme {ma-} negates first person singular. In 62 (b) {me-} is used to negate the singular second person.

Second person plural is negated by the morpheme {mo-} as shown in 62 (c). The negation in Nandi is determined by the person/ number. All the negation markers in Nandi end in a vowel. This phenomenon causes vowels to clash especially if the verb that is negated begins with a vowel. Two vowels in Nandi may actually follow one another but this process is much restricted in some environments. Consequently, if two vowels occur simultaneously in an environment that is somewhat restricted, a phonological process that involves the merging of vowels (coalescence) is initiated to prevent two vowels clashing. Consider the following illustrations which represent the underlying forms of the above examples.

60. a) *Ma + a + am → e* (a+a) = a
- b) *Me + i + am → e* (e+i) = e
- c) *Mo + o + am → e* (o+o) = o

These examples however raise concerns about the issue of the vowel deletion and vowel coalescence. In example 60 (a) and (c) for instance, it is not quite clear whether the process involved is that of identical vowel fusion, vowel deletion or vowel coalescence. This study argues that the processes in 60 (a) and (c) are those that involve vowel shortening/deletion and not vowel coalescence. Note, however, that the shortening of these vowels is followed by lengthening. There are good reasons why this study considers these processes to be vowel shortening. The most obvious one is that there is nothing special about two vowels of the same category, and obviously with the same features, merging since this is the most natural

way languages utilize in the preservation of the syllable structure. Important also is that the resulting vowel in the two examples do not exhibit the characteristics of the two vowels, an indication that one vowel was deleted and not coalesced. I will propose that the example in 60 (b) is the only example that represents a true example of vowel coalescence since there is a fusion of two vowels resulting in a vowel that has the characteristics of the two vowels which were merged. The change is also evident by the changes in the pronunciation of the new vowel. This process is widely attested in Nandi as can be seen in the following examples:

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| 61. a) <i>Ka-</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>we</i> | ‘You have gone’ | b) <i>ke</i> | <i>we</i> | ‘You went’ |
| | IMP | 1SG | <i>go</i> | | 2SG | <i>go</i> |
| b) <i>Ma-</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>we</i> | ‘You didn’t go’ | c) <i>me</i> | <i>we</i> | ‘Don’t go’ |
| | NEG | 1SG | <i>go</i> | | NEG | <i>go</i> |

The above examples show two vowels {i} and {a} merging to form the vowel {e} which is lengthened. From this, the study makes a conclusion that the form of vowel coalescence found in Nandi is that of place of articulation vowel coalescence since the coalescence is triggered by the need to bring two vowels with different places of articulation in harmony. This process is so important in Nandi that it is often to mark grammatical distinction in sentences as shown in the above example. Negation can also be achieved in Nandi by using the operator *tomo* which expresses the notion ‘never before’ or ‘not yet’. This dummy operator occupies the same syntactic position as {*ma*}, {*me*} and {*mo*}.

Consider these examples:

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|
| 62. a) <i>Tomo</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>lu-</i> | <i>-e</i> | <i>mursik</i> | |
| | Never before | 1SG | run | IMP | sour milk-DEF/SG/PL |
| | ‘I have never drank sour milk’ | | | | |
| b) <i>Tomo</i> | <i>ko</i> | <i>it</i> | <i>sait</i> | | |
| | Not yet | 3SG/PL | arrive | time | |
| | ‘It is not yet time’ | | | | |

Example 62 (a) shows the operator *tomo* being used to mean ‘never before’ while 62 (b) shows it being used with a completely different meaning ‘not yet’. The diagrammatic representation for these sentences is as follows:

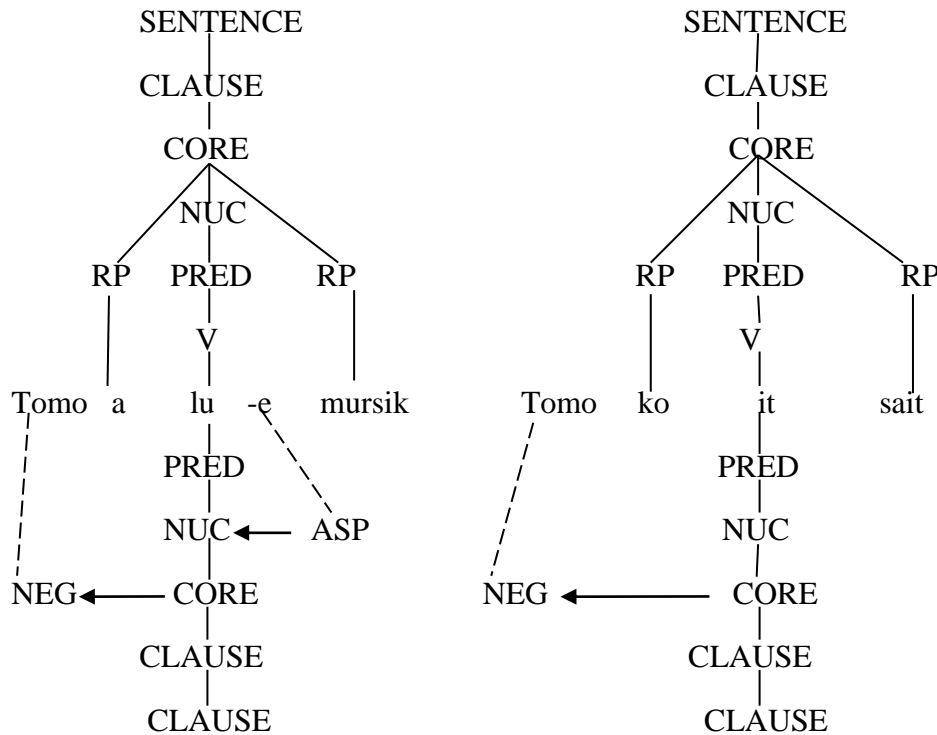


Figure 16: LSCs with negation in Nandi

The above diagrams show that unlike in the other negations in Nandi (*ma-*, *me-* and *mo-*) which modify the clause, the negation *tomo* modifies the core. The aspect, on the other hand, modifies the nucleus as it is directly from the verb. The personal pronoun *a* ‘I’ and the object *mursik* ‘sour milk’ are the direct core arguments of the verb *lu* ‘drink’ whereas the pronoun *ko* ‘he/she’ and the object *sait* ‘time’ are the direct core arguments of the verb *it* ‘arrive’.

3.5.2 Modality

According to Palmer (2001:1) modality can be said to be “concerned with the status of the proposition that describes the event”. To Portner (2009:1), modality is “the linguistic phenomenon whereby grammar allows one to say things about, or on the basis of, situations which need not be real.” RRG distinguishes between two types of modality, namely deontic and epistemic modality. Van Valin (1997: 41) notes that whereas epistemic modality expresses the notions of necessity and possibility deontic modality carries the notions of permission, ability and obligation. In essence, the modality describes the relationship existing between the subject RP and the event expressed in a verb.

Modality in Nandi is expressed using modal (auxiliary) verbs placed right before the person marker. They include those that express necessity, permission, ability and obligation.

63. a) *A- much -i a- sut -in*
 1SG can IMP 1SG lift you
 ‘I can lift you’
- b) *Much ko robon ra*
 Can TNS rain today
 ‘It may/might rain today’
- c) *Tos ko robon ra*
 May TNS rain today
 ‘It may/might rain today’
- d) *Much i poisie chu*
 Can 1SG use this
 ‘You can/may use this’
- e) *Mache i til sumeek*
 need 1SG cut hair
 ‘You need to/have to shave’
- f) *Nyolu i til sumeek*
 should 1SG cut hair
 ‘You should/ought to shave’
- g) *Makaat i til sumeek*
 must 1SG cut hair
 ‘You must shave’

In Nandi, the modal auxiliary *much* ‘can’ expresses ability, probability/possibility and permission as in example (a), (b) and (d) respectively. *Tos* and *much* in example (b) and (c) are both used to indicate possibility but the latter expresses a stronger probability than the former. *Mache* and *nyolu* in example (d) and (e) are both used to indicate necessity.

Though their use is closely related, *nyolu* is preferred when giving an advice and recommendation. Also, *nyolu* expresses more necessity than *mache*. *Nyolu* is something that is necessary while *mache* is something that is needed. *Makaat* on the other hand indicates a strong obligation and is equivalent to English ‘must’. This information can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

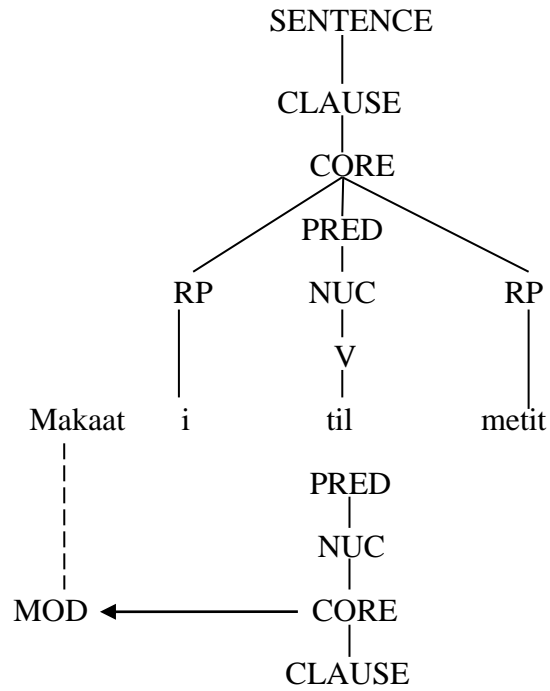


Figure 17: LSCs with a modal in Nandi

In this diagram, the verb *til* ‘cut’ takes two core arguments i.e. the second person singular pronoun *i* and the noun *sumeek* ‘hair’. The modal *makaat* ‘must’ is a core operator and therefore must be shown by the arrow that points from the core. All the other modals in the language appear in this position as well as the negation *tomo* ‘not yet’. In the next section we discuss the other operator in the operator projection, namely the illocutionary force.

3.6 Illocutionary Force

Every natural language has a way of telling whether a sentence is a question, a statement, a wish or a command. For this reason, illocutionary force is a universal operator. Chapter two dealt with illocutionary forces in Nandi. Three illocutionary forces were identified, namely imperative, interrogative and declarative. We showed that these were the main ways in which the speakers of Nandi make assertions, wishes, statements, ask questions and give commands. The next section will present the lexical decomposition of verbs in RRG and how this relates to the overall structure and interpretation of simple sentences. The constituent projection and operator projection appear as independent levels but it is possible to represent the two in the same diagram.

The following diagram illustrates this.

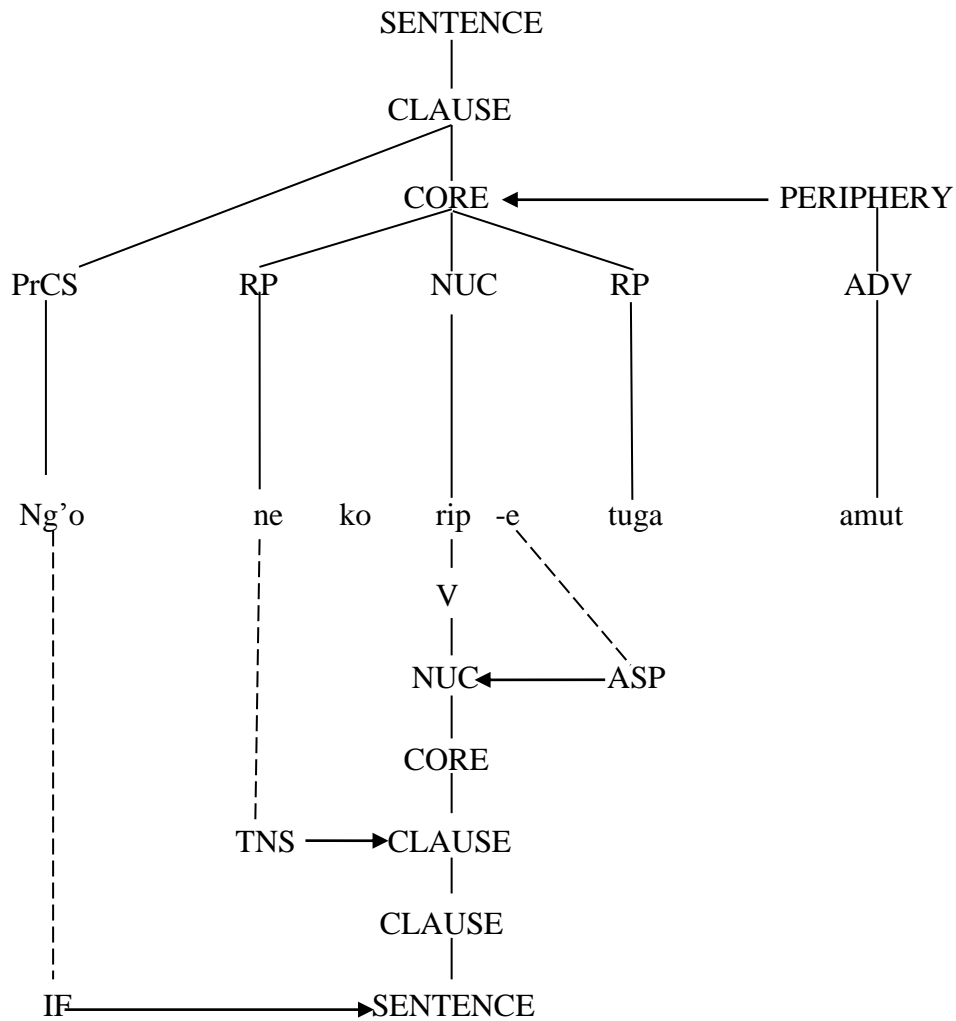


Figure 18: Operators and constituent projection in Nandi

In the above structure, the entire sentence makes up a constituent projection. The sentence begins with an interrogative word *ng'o* 'who' which makes it interrogative. The illocutionary force is the property of a sentence and is therefore modified at the sentence level. Other elements such as the tense and aspect are modified at a different level i.e. clause and nucleus level, respectively. This can be seen in the above example where the past tense morpheme *ko-* has its arrow pointing to the clause section of the operator projection while the aspect morpheme *-e-* has the arrow pointing to the nucleus section. In the next section the semantic aspect of the verbs and their logical structure are discussed. The discussion aims at showing how the argument structure of the verb can be understood on the basis of their lexical decomposition.

3.7 Logical Structures of the Verbs

The semantic representation of sentences in RRG is represented in the logical structure (LS) and links syntax to semantics and vice versa. The LS shows the semantic decomposition of the predicates and their argument structure. The LS is composed of four main divisions of the verbs, namely states e.g. *nai* 'know', achievements e.g. *yee* 'explode', accomplishments e.g. *choot* 'dissolve' and activities, e.g. *am* 'eat'. In the LS, the predicates indicating states are represented as **predicate'** while those indicating activities are represented as **do'**. The accomplishment predicates contain **BECOME** and are interpreted as *durative* whereas the achievement predicates contain **INGR** and are interpreted as *punctual*. The semelfactives are represented as **SEML**. Additionally, all the verb classes have a causative version **CAUSE** which is independent to all the classes. The following are the different representation of the verb classes and their logical structures in Nandi.

Table 3: Logical structures in Nandi

Verb Class	Logical Structure
<p>STATE</p> <p>i) <i>Ko al Murei kot</i> ‘Murei bought a house’</p> <p>ii) <i>Mii Keter gaa</i> ‘Keter is at home’</p>	<p>predicate' (x) or (x, y)</p> <p>al' (<i>Murei, Kot</i>)</p> <p>be-at (<i>gaa, Keter</i>)</p>
<p>ACTIVITY</p> <p><i>Ko am cheplanget nego</i></p> <p>‘The leopard ate goats’</p>	<p>do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])</p> <p>do' (<i>cheplanget, [am' (cheplanget, nego)]</i>)</p>
<p>ACHIEVEMENT</p> <p><i>Ki yee pugat</i></p> <p>‘The bubble popped’</p>	<p>INGR predicate' (x) or (x, y), or</p> <p>INGR do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])</p> <p>INGR yee' (<i>pugat</i>)</p>
<p>SEMELFACTIVE</p> <p><i>Ka laal lakwet</i></p> <p>‘The child coughed’</p>	<p>SEML predicate' (x) or (x, y), or</p> <p>SEML do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])</p> <p>SEML do' (<i>lakwet, [laal' (lakwet)]</i>)</p>
<p>ACCOMPLISHMENT</p> <p><i>Kinetgei Omondi Nandi</i></p> <p>‘Omondi learned Nandi’</p>	<p>BECOME predicate' (x) or (x, y), or</p> <p>BECOME do' (x, [predicate' (x) or (x, y)])</p> <p>BECOME nai' (<i>Omondi, Nandi</i>)</p>
<p>ACTIVE</p> <p>ACCOMPLISHMENT</p> <p><i>Kilabat Jeptoo siro</i></p> <p>‘Jerotich ran to the market’</p>	<p>do' (x, [predicate'₁ (x, (y))]) &</p> <p>BECOME predicate'₂ (z, x) or (y)</p> <p>do' (<i>Jerotich, [labat (Jerotich)]</i>) & INGR be-at (<i>siro, Jerotich</i>)</p>
<p>CAUSATIVE</p> <p><i>Kitiar Keter cheptulit</i></p> <p>‘Keter kicked the ball’</p>	<p>α CAUSE β, where, α, β are LSs of any type</p> <p>[do' (<i>Keter, Ø</i>) CAUSE [do' (<i>cheptulit, [tiar (cheptulit)]</i>)]</p>

The diagram below shows the semantic arguments of the verb *kochi* ‘give’ as well as its syntactic representation. The linking from semantics to syntax is also shown.

Consider the following diagram.

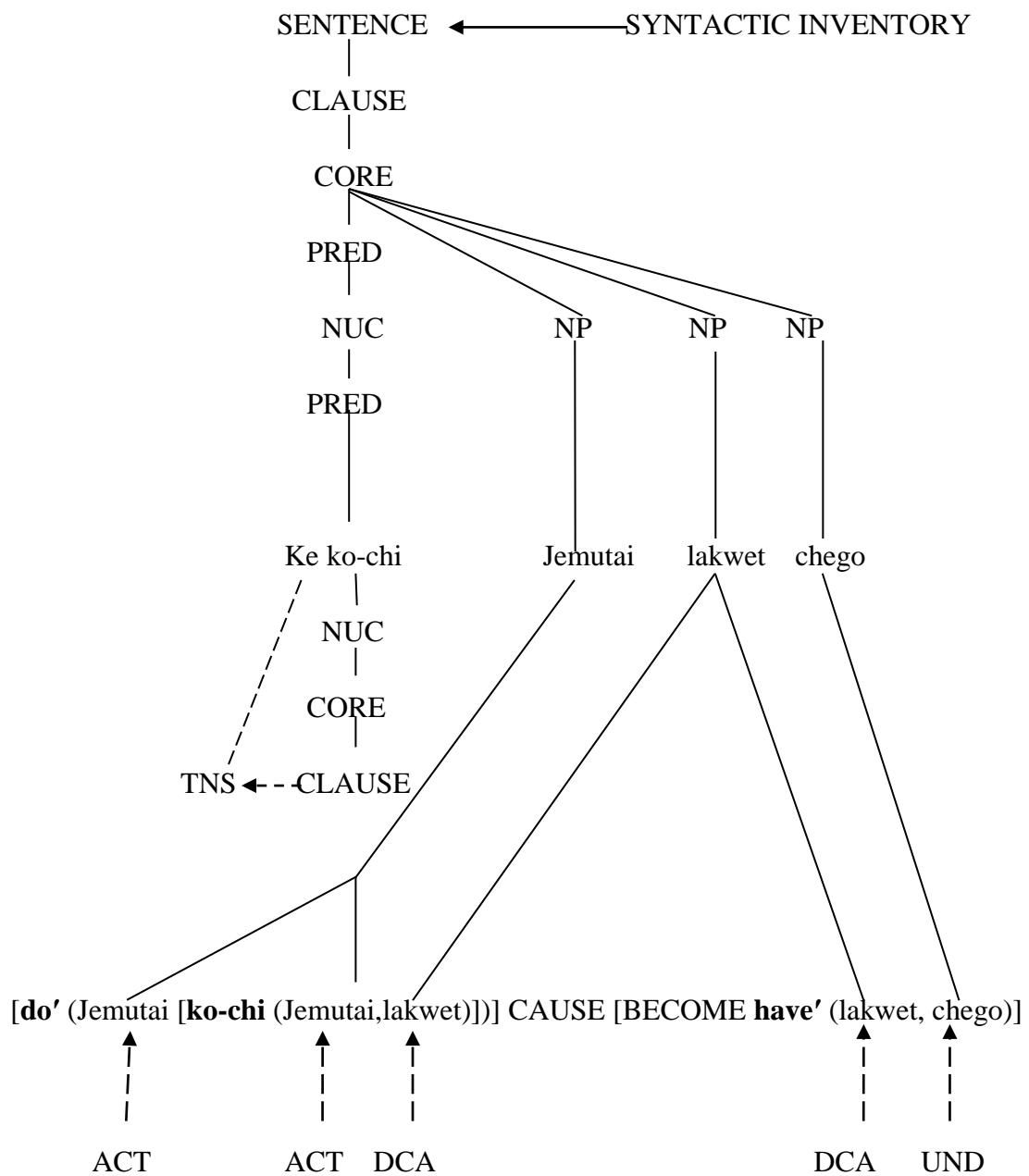


Figure19: Linking semantics -to- syntax in a three-place predicate in Nandi

The diagram above shows the LS of a three-place predicate in Nandi. The three arguments of the verb are the subject *Jemutai*, direct object *chego* ‘milk’ and indirect object *lakwet* ‘child’. In terms of the AUH scale, the argument at the left most position selects the actor role. Following this hierarchy, the argument *Jemutai* is the likely candidate for the instigator role because of its PSA status as a subject of a sentence.

Once the actor has been determined, the next task is to find the argument for the undergoer role. Following this criteria, the argument *chego* ‘child’ which is also the direct object is chosen as the most appropriate argument for the undergoer role while the indirect argument *lakwet* ‘child’ which is also the recipient receives no role as it is treated as a non-argument in the AUH scale.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the Nandi simple sentences were analyzed using the Role and Reference Grammar. Within the constituent projection, the analysis of sentence was based on the lexical decomposition of a verb. In RRG terms, the lexical decomposition of the verb determines the number of arguments the verb takes. For that reason, one-place predicates, two-place predicates and three-place predicates were presented and discussed. The extra-clausal elements such as the RDP, LDP, PrCS and PoCS were also discussed.

From this analysis, it was established that Role and Reference Grammar was to a good extent able to account for a number of elements within a simple in Nandi. However, it was noted that the theory was insufficient in accounting for the derivational morphemes in the language. For that reason, we proposed a slight modification of the theory where the derivational were incorporated in the operator projection. Having derivational affixes as part of the operators in RRG enables the theory to accommodate all the affixes in the language without which it not be accounted for. Other operators which were discussed in this chapter include the illocutionary force, negation and modality. Negation was shown to lead to a process of vowel coalescence in the language. About modality, it was shown that modals in Nandi include those that indicate possibility and ability e.g. *tos* and *much*, and those that indicate necessity and obligation e.g. *nyolu*, *makaat* and *mache*.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRAGMATIC FACTORS INFLUENCING WORD ORDER IN NANDI

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the components of a simple sentence in Nandi and how they can be analyzed in RRG. The constituent projection and the operator projection of these simple sentences were presented. In this chapter, the data that was collected on various word orders is related to the focus projections of the RRG. The main aim of this chapter therefore is to show how focus marking is achieved in Nandi. In our attempt to fulfill this, we argue that the pragmatic relations of topic and focus play a significant role in determination of word order in Nandi. The discussion also centers on how different focus structures can be expressed by different sentential structures. We try to argue that the interaction between topic and focus is greatly influenced by cognitive and pragmatic context. The three types of foci, namely narrow, predicate and sentence are also be discussed.

4.2 Focus Projection

The focus projection is one of the three projections of the RRG that must be considered when analyzing a clause. The three levels of analysis are not discussed separately since they are closely related. The constituent projection as shown in the previous chapter is concerned with the basic components of a sentence (syntax) whereas the operator projection looks at different operators that are found within a clause. The focus projection on the other hand is a component of RRG that links syntax to pragmatics. This projection is mainly concerned with utterances and the type of information expressed in those utterances. In order to understand how utterances work and particularly in focus projection, we will begin by first giving a brief recap of what the information structure entails. The two complementary components of the information structure that is topic and focus will also be discussed briefly.

4.3 Information Structure: Topic and Focus

The term information structure may be defined as the way linguistically encoded information is conveyed to the receiver. It is a component of grammar that is separate from syntax and semantics, but in one way or the other interacts with both. According to Lambrecht (1994: 6, 9, 11 &35), information structure is the most appropriate tool for explaining sentences with different word-order but which essentially express the same idea. This is in the case of passive and active sentences. To Sebastian (2004: 14) it is the interface between syntax and cognitive pragmatics. The notion of cognitive pragmatics is a very important aspect of the information structure that this study shares.

Syntax in this study is not regarded as a starting point for sentences but rather a reflection of mental representation of sentences. Our argument therefore is that the surface manifestations of syntactic structures are actually a reflection of what goes on in the mind of the speaker. The study of information structure therefore is important as it offers the idea on how information flows in a sentence. Understanding how information structure works is crucial in understanding how the message ought to be packaged and organized. This information packaging in one way or the other influences how information is received and processed. During communication, speakers try as much as possible to present their message in a manner that is free of ambiguity. They often signal to their interlocutors which part of their message/sentence or an utterance carries salience. One way of doing this is by placing a message in a relevant linguistic framework as well as providing enough contexts in order to reduce the chances of ambiguity during conversation. The speaker's judgement about the state of the listener helps them to correctly identify which part of an utterance should be stressed for a successful communication. But before delving into how utterances are structured, let us first discuss the two basic components of an utterance that is topic and focus.

Topic is one of the main components of the information structure. For a long time, scholars have not agreed on what a topic entails and consequently different terminologies have been used to refer to what seems to be the same thing. Hockett (1958) who first introduced the term topic noted that a basic sentence can be divided into two vis a vis topic and a comment. Since then, several scholars have emerged, who hold different views about the notion of the topic. Hockett regards the subject as a topic and the verb (including its complements) as the comment. Halliday & Christian (2004: 67) uses the term theme to refer to the topic and adds that a theme is the first constituent in a sentence and need not be from a particular grammatical class. The Halliday and Christian's proposal is supported by Gómez-González (2001:173) who argues that items such as the subjects, verbs and connectives may qualify as first constituents in a clause.

To support her argument, Gómez-González (2001: 180-184) gave four types of constituents that can act as sentence-initial elements. The first one she talked about is the beta themes. Beta themes according to her are those constituents that indicate temporal or spatial events.

Secondly, she talked of topical themes. Here, she argues that the sentence-initial elements such as subjects, special topical themes such as it-clefts, left-dislocated and existentials can

occupy the theme position. The third theme she discussed is the interpersonal themes which are constituents that indicate vocatives and modal adjuncts.

Lastly she identified logico-conjunctive themes (conjunctive adjuncts) as the items that can occupy the theme position in a sentence. Like Halliday and Christian (2004), Dik (1980) also considered topic as a theme and for him, it is the position for the extra clausal elements and dislocated constituents.

What is notable from the four scholars is that they all seem to subscribe to the fact that topic should entail what is given, what is context-dependent and that which the foundation of a sentence is. While this is true, some scholars have argued that the term 'given' is somewhat vague and needs to be redefined. Gómez-González (2001: 348) for instance argues that 'givenness' can be understood from different perspectives. In bid to redefine this concept she claims that givenness can be relational (i.e. between what is new and old), activated (what speaker and listener have in mind) or contextual (information that is inferable, predictable and recoverable from context).

Lambrecht's (1994) considers the topic to be what the sentence is about. He said that a topic is a referent that is identifiable because it has been activated, presupposed, and something is said about it. Lambrecht argues that a proposition should be divided into two; a pragmatic assertion and pragmatic presupposition. He defined pragmatic presupposition as "the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (1994: 52). He defined pragmatic assertion, on the other hand, as "the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered" (1994: 52).

The strength of Lambrecht's version of the information structure is the fact that he not only takes syntax into consideration but also the pragmatic aspect of sentences. Focus is another important element in the information structure. Like the topic, focus has been approached from different perspectives. Dik (1989: 277) for instance talks of focus as that part of a sentences or utterance that carries salience and as a result is given more prominence by the speaker because they consider it to be enriching to the addressee. Dooley & Levinson, (2001:62), talks of focus as that part of an utterance which serves to indicate what the speaker intends as the most important or salient.

Lambrecht (1984, 2004) identifies focus as “a constituent occupying a specific syntactic position and also identified by an accompanying focus morpheme”. Like Dooley Levinson, he noted that the constituent that is focused is the one that is marked for higher salience than other constituents in the same utterance or sentence.

Other scholars such as Danes (1970), Baker (1992), Gómez-González (2001) and Halliday & Christian (2004) used the term rheme to refer to focus. They consider theme as that part of a sentence that contains the information that is new and context-dependent. Danes (1970: 134) particularly referred to rheme as what one says about a topic which is equivalent to the comment. Lambrecht, (1994:207), on the other hand, while discussing focus noted that in a proposition (utterance) the presupposition and the assertion significantly differ. This is probably because the interpretation of sentences is context dependent. He further noted that the focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion. Lambrecht (1994: 213), concluded by saying that the focus is that part of an assertion that has “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition”. In his discussion, he identified three types of foci, namely predicate, argument and sentence.

The RRG’s theory of information structure was adopted from Lambrecht (1994). The RRG has since then added several aspects to the Lambrecht’s theory. RRG for instance improved on Lambrecht’s theory of information structure and added two types of focus domains, namely potential focus domain (PFD) and actual focus domain (AFD). The PFD is the entire syntactic domain where focus may occur for a particular language while AFD is the part of a sentence that is actually in focus, (Van Valin & La Polla 1997: 212). Languages differ in the way they mark focus in sentences and utterances. In some languages for instance, focus may fall on the initial element, medial element or the final element. What we can single out from all these definitions of topic and focus is that, elements in a sentence do not carry equal communicative status (in relation to focus), and that in every sentence, there must be something that centres on it (topic).

Now that the study has given an idea of what topic and focus are, the next section focuses on how these concepts may be manifested in Nandi. All natural languages have ways of indicating a point of focus or salience in a sentence or in an utterance. The main difference is how this is achieved. Kroeger (2003) argues that the most attested ways in which languages mark focus is via prosody, syntax or morphology.

Dik (1989: 278) also noted that prosodic prominence or emphatic accent, special constituent order, special focus markers, and special focus construction are the most attested ways in which languages use to mark focus. The prosody or word order, are intimately connected with information-structural variation and thus are important when studying the communicative aspects of a language. Languages may select one of these to mark focus or may even use a combination. As we shall see later, word order has a pro-founding effect on the information structure in Nandi language. The relationship between word order and information structure can either be optional where the constituents may be rearranged to meet certain communication goals or can be obligatory where the information-structurally marked constituents are moved to certain positions in the clause for the same reason. Many languages of the world use syntactic transformations to signal information structure while others utilize morphology to mark topic or focus. Nandi uses syntactic means to mark focus. Depending on the context and the type of information to be expressed, varied grammatical structures are elicited to indicate the point of salience. What follows is the discussion on how different constructions can be marked for focus in Nandi.

4.4 The Pragmatics of Word Order in Nandi

In relation to the sentential structures and information packaging, we noted in chapter three that Nandi has an alternation of VSO and VOS word orders. We also pointed out that there is a general consensus among some scholars such as Jerono (2011) and Jeptoo (2014) that the two word orders are used in free variation. Our study, however, proposes a slightly different perspective from these scholars. Our argument is that the order of elements in a sentence in Nandi is not free and a matter style as proposed. We argue that the word order in Nandi is greatly influenced by the context and it reflects the organization of the utterance according to the distribution of new or given information. As a result, the choice of one construction over the other is pragmatically motivated and the two sentences are never used in the same way. This choice of one sentential structure over the other in Nandi is such a natural and spontaneous process. Because of this, many have been led to believe that the two sentence structures are used in free variation.

The first people to notice the significance of choosing one sentential structure over the other were Creider & Creider, (1989: 161). The two scholars acknowledged that the VSO and VOS alternations in Nandi do not express equal information but are used to achieve certain discourse functions. In this study we propose that the VSO word order is the canonical (unmarked) word order in Nandi and that any other structure is marked and thus associated

with topicality or is motivated by pragmatic reasons. On issues on markedness, we will adopt the proposal by Miller (1996: 309) that the marked forms are those which are more complex, less prototypical and are not frequently used in the language.

Creider & Creider also noted that the unmarked topicalization in Nandi occurs when the NP (which denotes the topic) occurs in the final position of the sentence. In their analysis they claimed that different sentential structures are activated in order to meet a number of discourse functions. This is in line with that Givon (1990: 761-764) who said that topicality controls word order. According to him, topical referents that are important for the discourse to come, will be put further forward in the clause, while the more accessible referent is placed last (1990:764). Kurgat (1989: 43), however, offers a different perception of topicalization in Nandi. His argument is that, in Nandi, it is difficult to tell whether a sentence has undergone topicalization, NP-Movement or WH-Movement. According to him, the only way to differentiate between the three is by paying attention to the intonational pattern. The topicalized item is uttered with a high level intonational pattern, signalled by a pause in speech or a comma in writing, followed by low level intonational pattern (44). For the NP and WH-Movement, the intonation is fairly high whereas a cleft construction is uttered with a low level intonational pattern. The pronoun *ne* (SG) or *che* (PL) ‘which’ is obligatory in a cleft construction but optional in topicalization. The author also notes that a cleft construction has subordinate clause but topicalization, WH-Movement, NP-Movement and topicalization do not. In this study, however, NP-Movement, NP-Movement, adverb preposing and PP-preposing are all taken to be forms of topicalization because they are all fronted items.

In the following section, different Nandi sentences with different word orders are discussed. But before we delve further into this, let us consider this table that shows how participants responded to the various word orders in the questionnaire when they were asked to tick the sentences they felt represented the right word order. The total number of participants used was fifteen. This number was drawn from different places i.e. five from Nandi Hills, five from Lessos and five from Sochoi. The number was felt to be the representative of the entire population since it was not drawn from one concentrated place. The results were as follows:

Table 4: word order variation in Nandi

Word order	Total marked per word order	Percentage
VOS	3	20
VSO	9	60
VSO/VOS	3	20
Total	15	100

The table above indicates how the respondents reacted to the two word orders in the questionnaire administered to them. Of the fifteen participants, nine marked VSO as representing the right word order whereas the other three marked VOS. The remaining three questionnaire respondents indicated that both word orders were correct. When we asked the participants why they thought one word order was more correct than the other, the majority acknowledged that none of the structures was actually wrong but indicated that the usage was based on ‘what you want’. This was significant in a way because it shows that the two sentential structures are actually correct but their usage is context dependent. The choice of word order therefore can be said to be greatly influenced by the focus of the assertion. In the next section we discuss in details the relationship between word orders and focus in Nandi.

To begin with, let us consider a response to the question ‘who bought the land’ and ‘what did Chesumbai buy’ and how this question can activate various word orders in Nandi. The response to this question is as follows:

64. a) *Ki al Chesumbai mbaret*
 DP buy Chesumbai land-DEF/SG
 ‘Chesumbai bought land’
- b) *Ki al mbaret Chesumbai*
 DP buy land-DEF/SG Chesumbai
 ‘Chesumbai bought land’

The response in 64 (a) has the structure VSO while that in 64 (b) has the order VOS.

In (a) above the question can be answered by just mentioning the part of the presupposition and the referent as in *ki al Chesumbai* ‘Chesumbai bought’ or by simply giving a specific NP referent *Chesumbai*. These according to RRG are instances of broad and narrow focus.

The same applies to (b) where the optional part of the presupposition is included that is *ki al Chesumbai mbaret* ‘Chesumbai bought land’ or by just mentioning the referent NP *mbaret* ‘land. The speaker in (a) is aware that something was bought but he is not sure by who. In (b) he is aware that Chesumbai bought something but he is not quite sure what. This has a consequence on whether *mbaret* ‘land’ which is the object or or Chesumbai which is the subject should be made the first constituent. Because the response must show which part of the sentence is in focus, different sentential structures will be used to achieve this purpose. The sentence structure that is adopted places the constituent that is deemed important first and hence different sentential structures.

By way of further exemplification, consider the following sentences:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 65. a) <i>Wendi boyot siro</i> | ‘The old man is going to the market’ |
| b) <i>Wendi siro boyot</i> | ‘The old man is going to the market’ |
| 66. a) <i>Ko alda teta Kiprob</i> | ‘Kiprob sold a cow’ |
| b) <i>Ko alda Kiprob teta</i> | ‘Kiprob sold a cow’ |
| 67. a) <i>Kenaga Jemutai lakwet chego</i> | ‘Jemutai gave the milk to the child’ |
| b) <i>Kenaga chego lakwet Jemutai</i> | ‘Jemutai gave the milk to the child’ |

The sentences in 65(a) and (b), 66 (a) and (b), and 67 (a) and (b) have different structures and according to Jeptoo (2014), express the same information. A closer and critical analysis however reveals that there is inherently something different about these sentential structures. The choice of one word order over the other is pragmatically and semantically relevant in Nandi. The number of the native speakers who were confronted with these two sentences acknowledged that the two sentences did not express the same idea but could not explain why. The few number who were keen enough noted that the difference was on the point of salience (focus) and thus can never be used interchangeably.

In the first instance, the majority of the respondents reported sentence (a) as responding to the question *wendi ano boyot?* ‘Where is the old man going?’ and question two responding to the question *wendi ng’o siro?* ‘Who is going to the market?’ This is very significant as it shows how communicative and pragmatic dynamism can be achieved in Nandi by playing around with word orders contrary to the initial assumption that the two sentences have the same

communication value. Conclusively, we can argue that the relationship between the two sentences is that of focus and the new information. What is apparent in the two sentences is that idea of *wendi* ‘going’ is already presupposed which makes it information that is and what is missing is *ng’o* ‘who’ and *ano* ‘where’ which will make part of the new information.

Consequently, this is the information that a Nandi speaker bears in mind before deciding on the order to choose when conveying the information that point to *boyot* or *siro* as the point of focus. The structure in 67 (a) is used when one is interested in knowing the person who gave the child the milk unlike in (b) where the speaker is interested in what happened to the milk. If one aims at showing that he/she is focusing on the person performing the action, then the word order choice in this case is VSO while VOS/VOA is preferable when focusing on the action itself or the place where the action took place.

The analogy used in 66 (a) and (b) in choosing one sentence structure in place of the other is the same as the one used in 67. But unlike in 68 where the focus is locative, in 67 the focus is on the object and subject. The structure in (a) is appropriate as a response for the question *ko alda nee Kiprob* ‘what did Kiprob sell?’ while structure (b) is an appropriate response for the question *ko alda ng’o teta* ‘who sold the cow?’ The first question focuses on the doer (subject) while the second question focuses on the recipient (object). Since the information on *alda* ‘sell’ is already given, the new information offered by the respondent in this case may vary from a single unit to a whole clause depending on how much of the information is assume to have been provided (contextually and linguistically) and thus how much information needs to be new.

Thus in 66 (a) and (b) a single unit response *teta* ‘cow’ and *Kiprob* will suffice respectively, an indication that these are the focus points of the sentences provided. Alternatively, the response *ko alda teta Kiprob* and *ko alda teta* are appropriate when answering the first question and the clauses *ko alda Kiprob* and *Ko alda Kiprob teta* suffice for question two. In chapter three, we noted that time adverbials and noun phrases can be fronted for purposes of topicalization. Such fronting alters not only the sentential structures in Nandi but also the meaning of the sentences. Important also is that whenever some part of sentence is fronted in Nandi, it must be off-set by the particle *ko*.

Consider the following examples:

68. a) *Ma nyon- e agui mutai*
 NEG come IMP grandfather-SG/DEF tomorrow
 ‘The grandfather won’t come tomorrow’
- b) *Mutai ko ma nyon- e*
 Tomorrow PART NEG come IMP
 ‘Tomorrow, the grandfather won’t come’
- c) *Mutai ma nyon- e agui*
 Tomorrow NEG come IMP grandfather
 ‘The grandfather won’t come tomorrow’

In 68 (a) the time adverbial appears at the end, which is its canonical position. When fronted as in (b), the emphasis of the sentence shifts from ‘coming’ to ‘when’. What this means is that the person using structure a merely reporting an event or is interested in the coming rather than the actual time. If a person asking this question is interested in the time/day of the arrival of the grandfather, the structure (b) is more preferable. The fronting of *mutai* ‘tomorrow’ not only shows that this is the point of salience in the sentence but also an indication that this is a habitual event. The particle *ko* shows that this is an habit is done every day but the idea of not coming tomorrow is just an exception. Thus the meaning expressed in (b) and (c) is the same only that (c) is signalled by an intonational pause. Another element that is important when choosing the appropriate word order in Nandi is the pronoun *ne* (PL *che*). It is only applied where there are other competing Referential Phrases (RP) and the speaker wishes to achieve discreetness.

Consider these illustrations:

69. a) *Teta ne ko alda Kiprob*
 Cow-SG/DEF PRO TNS sell Kiprob
 ‘It is the cow that Kiprob sold’
- b) *seset ne ke mu o*
 Dog-SG/DEF PRO 1SG frighten 1SG (OBJ)
 ‘It is the dog that frightened me’

The construction in 69 (a) is used to single out *teta* ‘cow’ from other possible referents such as a goat, land etc. In comparison to 66 where the person asking a question wanted to know what or who sold the cow, here the person asking the question has been prompted by latest actions portrayed by Kiprop which are uncalled for. Take for instance a situation where Kiprop has been spotted spending lots money in a manner not congruent to his earnings and one wants to know where he has gotten such as an amount. A response in (a) will be appropriate as it clarifies the referent as well as giving a justification to Kiprop’s behaviour. Sentence (b) is also applicable where one has encountered say a child who is petrified and he/she wishes to know the incident behind the child’s behaviour. In such a situation where there are some many possible referents, a response such as in (b) helps in clarifying the referent being referred to.

Lastly, there are cases where the factors determining the choice of a particular sentence structure over the other is suggestive. Consider the following:

70. a) *Ki al chi Kibet lakwet ngoriet*

b) *Ki al chi ngoriet lakwet Kibet*

c) *Ki al chi lakwet ngoriet Kibet*

The sentences of this nature which contain a BEN *-chi* guides the speaker and the hearer on the most appropriate word order.

When these sentences were administered to the respondents, the majority agreed that the three vaguely refer to the same thing but (b) was less appropriate of all. The choice of (c) as the most appropriate and ultimately the most correct has to do with the direction of the actions in the sentence. It is uncommon for the inanimate object *ngoriet* ‘dress’ to come immediately after the *-chi* because it is not a thing that benefits directly from the action expressed by the predicate.

This leaves *lakwet* ‘child’ as the most appropriate thing that should come immediately after the benefactive marker since it is the only thing that the action is intended to. This is then followed by the item presented to the benefactor and, lastly, the actor instigating the action. This procedure yields the structure in (c) and is applicable to all Nandi sentences with the BEN *chi*.

Now that we have showed how and why different word orders are activated in Nandi, we wish to now discuss different points of focus in the sentences as proposed by Lambrecht (1994). Here we focus on three types of foci presented in the RRG, namely narrow focus, predicate focus and sentence focus.

4.5 Focus Constructions in Nandi

In the previous section, we argued that the sentence structure in Nandi is highly influenced by the focus the focused element. In the next section, we discuss where focus domain in Nandi might fall in. The analysis is based on Van Valin (1993) discussion of the three types of foci, namely narrow, predicate and sentence. The aim is to show how RRG can account for these foci. In our discussion, we begin by discussing narrow focus.

4.5.1 Narrow Focus

Narrow focus is another name for argument focus. In this type of focus a single constituent (argument) is in focus. This type of focus is marked and falls on an element in an unmarked position for any language. The elements of a sentence that can be in focus include the reference for time, place, manner, verb, objects (direct and indirect), subjects, adverbial and prepositional phrases. It is very similar in form to sentence focus. Its main function is to help the interlocutors to refer, to correct or to contrast particular information in an utterance. It occurs in situations where a speaker creates a statement which might be correct except that one constituent is false.

71. **A:** *Ke-le ke-al tetā?*

‘Did you say you bought a cow?’

B: *Mbaret ne ka al*

‘It’s a land I bought’

The question in (2) indicates that there are a number of items that can be bought. The focus of the answer ‘mbaret’ picks out one of these referents. The response ‘mbaret’ is not presupposed but the hearer is aware that something was bought. The pragmatic assertion in this conversation thus is that the speaker bought something (mbaret) while the pragmatic presupposition is that it is the land that was bought and nothing else. The focus therefore is the unpredictable information that is added to the presupposition ‘mbaret’. The relationship between ‘mbaret’ and ‘al’ is asserted though not the focused element.

A relationship of something being bought is already presupposed by the speaker. The focused element ‘mbaret’ in the assertion gives new information in relation to the presupposed elements. Narrow focus is used for unexpected, contrastive identification, and for the announcement of theme macrowords. We can, therefore, generate the information structure from this conversation as follows;

72. Sentence: ‘*MBARET ne ka al*’

Presupposition: ‘speaker bought X’

Assertion: ‘X=*mbaret*’

Focus: *mbaret*

Focus domain: RP

In this example, the focus domain is restricted to the RP *mbaret* ‘land’. The narrow focusing of the object or subject in Nandi sentence lies solely on whether one is interested in the doer of the action or the action itself. If the WH-question appears in situ, then the focus is on the object whereas if it occurs in ex situ the focus is on the action itself. The example in 75 can be represented diagrammatically as follows:

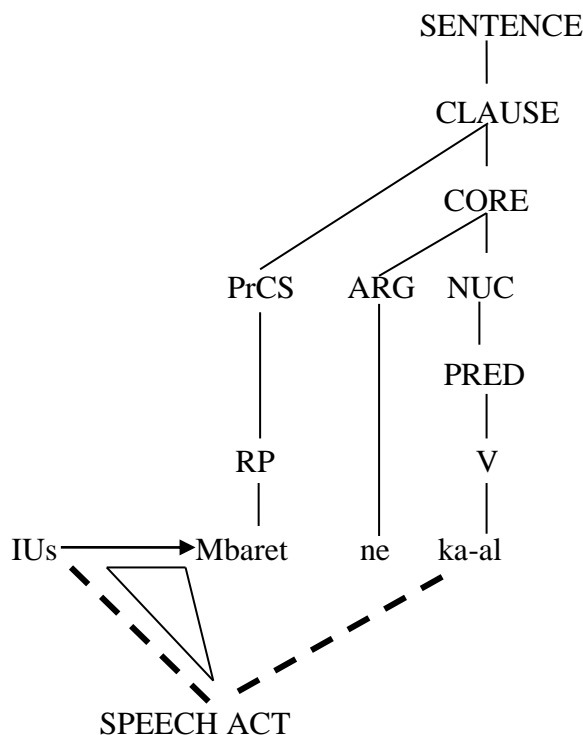


Figure 20: Narrow focus in Nandi

In the above diagram, the entire sentence is taken to be a speech act. This speech act is composed of Information units (IUs). The focus of the assertion falls in the noun *mbaret* ‘land’ as shown by the triangle-like shape just below the word *mbaret* ‘land’.

4.5.2 Predicate Focus

According to Van Valin (2001), this type of focus is universally unmarked and in which the focus domain is the predicate phrase or part of it. The presupposition in this type of focus is the subject and all other topical elements, Lambrecht (1994: 222). Thus the subject is the topic and the predicate expresses new information about that topic. They are used in commenting in topic-comment constructions. This can be illustrated in the answer to the following question.

73. a) *Ka am nee tetā?*

IMP eat what cow

‘What happened to the cow?’

b) *Ka chas /ka chas tetā*

IMP slip

‘The cow slipped away’

The question in the above sentence concerns the addressee’s cow. It is this cow that forms the presupposition for the answer. The response clarifies what happened to it *ka chas* ‘it slipped away’. Since the assertion in this sentence encompasses the presupposition in addition to what happened to it, the focus is hence *ka chas* which is added by the assertion in relation to the presupposition. The topic of the sentence is the cow which is also the subject. This subject may be omitted since the referent is already presupposed and can easily be deduced by the listener. The predicate of the sentence is *ka chas* and it carries the focus of the assertion since it expresses a comment on the topic which is already activated.

The focus domain thus lies on the core. Within predicate focus, two types of focus can be distinguished. The first is the broad predicate focus in which the verb and its complements whether presupposed or not are asserted as new information. In narrow predicate focus, only one constituent (verb) is asserted as new information. The verb arguments are either absent or not uttered at all. The information structure for the above sentence is as follows.

It is mostly used in presentational constructions since they serve to introduce new participants in the discourse. The introduced new participants is the new information altogether. This type of focus is marked and they are used for presentational sentences, and for theme redirecting and theme-supporting event-reporting and state-reporting sentences.

Consider the following example from Nandi

75. **A:** *Ka lya*

TNS happen

‘What happened?’

B: *Ka riep -o kirgit*

IMP hit 1SG bull

‘I was hit by the bull’

In this sentence there is no presupposition involved since the speaker does not assume prior knowledge of the previous events. The entire utterance is in focus since the subject of the sentence is not presupposed and that the topic is commented on by the asserted predicate. The subject, the predicate and the object are all in focus since and they comprise new information.

The following is the information structure for the above sentence.

76. Sentence: *Ka riepo kirgit*

Presupposition: none

Assertion: *Ka riepo kirgit*

Focus: *Ka riepo kirgit*

Focus domain: clause/sentence

Notice from the above information structure the pragmatic presupposition is lacking because the assertion and focus are similar and so is the focus domain. This sentence can be represented as follows:

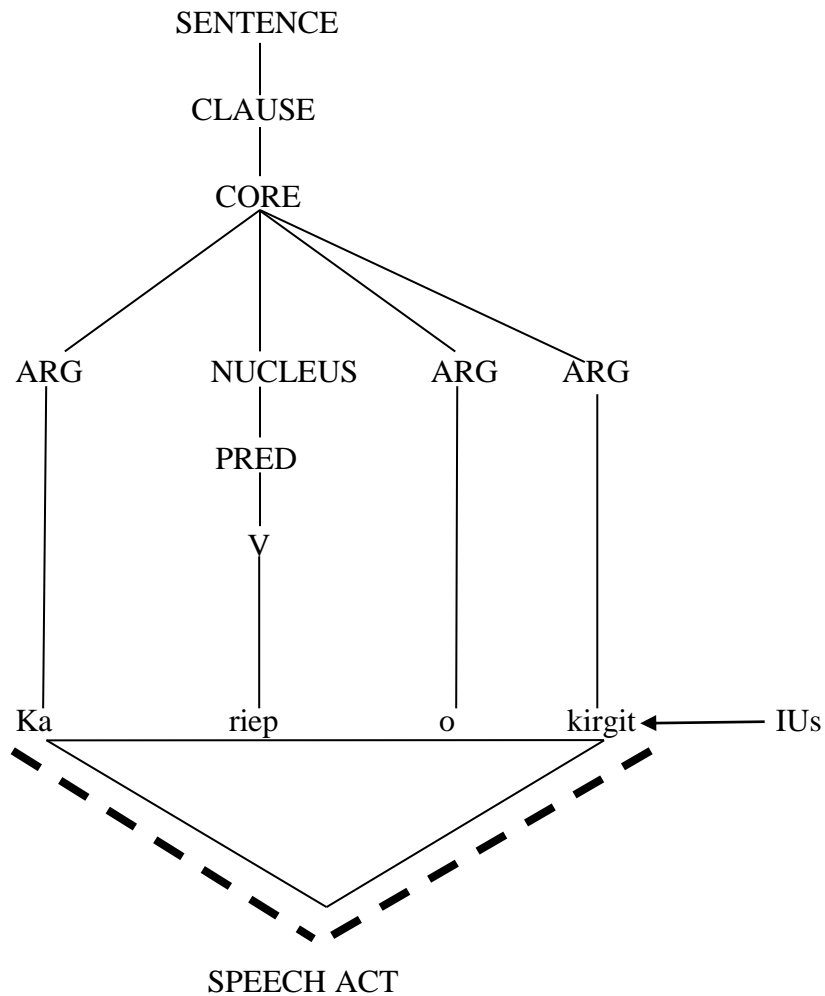


Figure 22: sentence focus in Nandi

In this diagram, the entire clause is marked for focus as shown by the triangular shape that covers the whole speech act. This is because in sentence focus what is expressed by the information units is entirely new. The next section attempts to show how all these elements can all be captured in a single layered structure.

As preceding chapters have shown, the elements of a single clause (constituent projection) and the lexical decomposition of the verbs (semantic representation) can be represented independently. In this chapter, it has also been shown that the focus projection can occur independently. The discussion of the focus projection in this chapter was also used to indicate how focus can be identified and marked in Nandi. In the following section, the discussion focuses on how these three projections can be represented in a single clause. The following sentence is used for this purpose.

77. *Nee ne ko i ko -chi Keter lakwet amut*

What pro TNS I give BEN Keter child-DEF/SG yesterday

‘What did Keter give the child yesterday?’

The following is the RRG representation of this sentence:

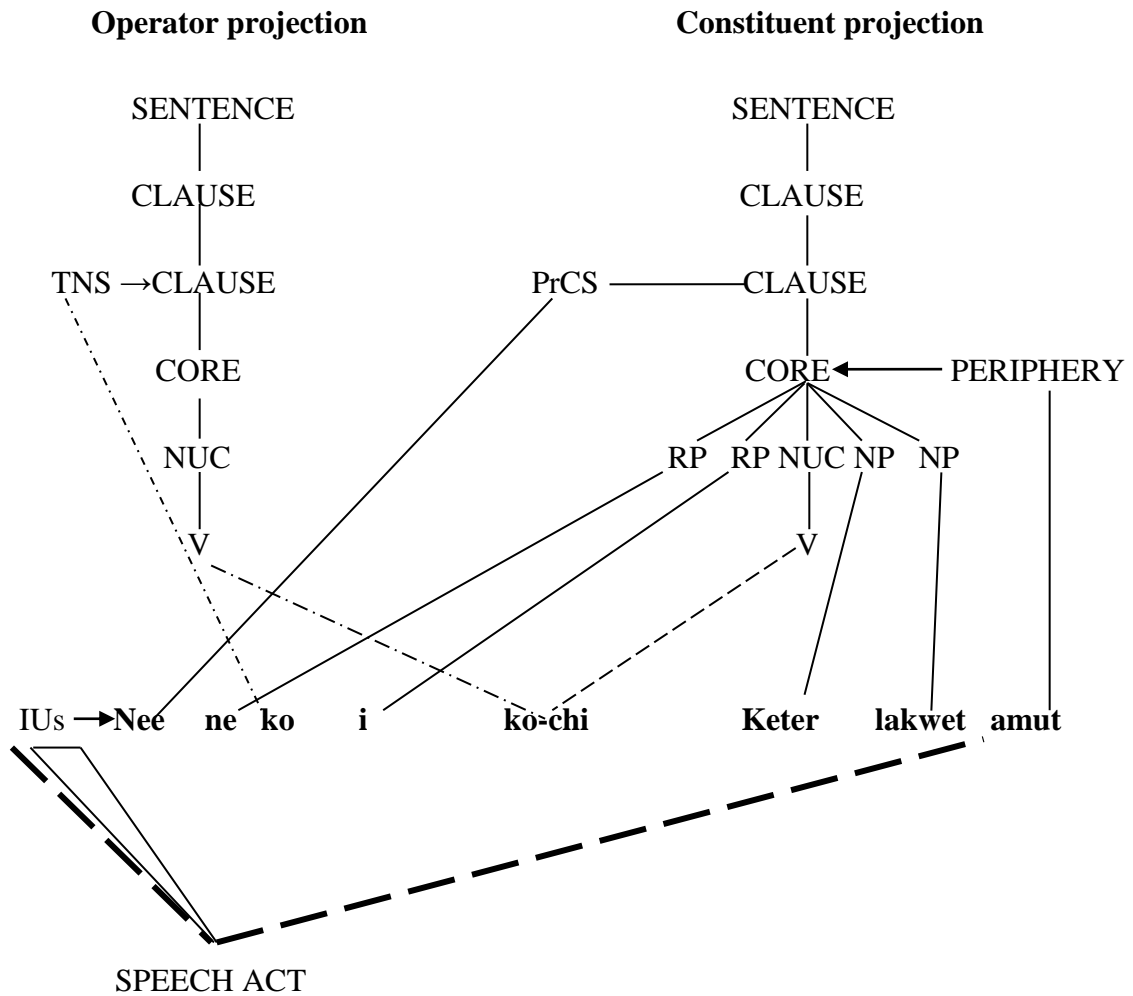


Figure 23: Focus projection in Nandi with all three projections

Figure (23) shows the representations of all the three projections in a single clause. In the operator projection, the tense operator *ko-* is captured at the clause level. The whole sentence is a constituent projection and it comprises syntactic arguments. These syntactic arguments can be assigned different roles based on the semantic roles they take. Based on the AUH scale, PSA selects Keter as the instigator (actor) of the action. The ‘child’ *lakwet* is the indirect object and is therefore selected for the recipient role. In this sentence, the subject is represented by both the second person pronoun *i* and a full NP Keter.

As the stud has indicated previously, these elements are treated as separate arguments in RRG something that is not necessary in the Nandi as they are both understood to refer to the same entity.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the projection of the Role and Reference Grammar. Nandi simple sentences with various word orders were analyzed. It was shown that within the simple sentence, the focus domain can fall in any segment. These segments could be noun or a verb phrases such as in narrow focus, verb phrase or predicates e.g. in predicate focus or the entire proposition i.e. sentence focus. The chapter has also shown that the VOS and VSO structures in Nandi are not used freely as suggested but has argued that their use is pragmatically motivated. It was argued that the VSO is used in environments where the subject is the focus of the sentence while VOS is mainly used when the focus of the sentence is on the object. We also argued that the VSO is the most frequent, less complex and unmarked structure and consequently the default or the canonical word order in the language.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the conclusions to our study on the interface between syntax, semantics and pragmatics in Nandi are provided. The summary of the results and findings will be presented as well as the suggestions for further studies.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

This study sought to investigate the relationship between syntax, semantics and pragmatics within a Nandi simple sentence. The research was guided by the following objectives: (i) To analyze the components that make up the Nandi simple sentence (ii) To describe the Nandi simple sentence using the Role and Reference Grammar (iii) To investigate how pragmatic factors influence constituent order in Nandi language.

On objective number one the findings showed that the components of a simple sentence in Nandi can greatly be affected by the morphological behaviour of the verb. The morphological operations that were identified to affect the components of a simple sentence were; the applicatives (instrumental, locative and benefactive), statives, reciprocals/reflexives, passives and antipassives.

On the second objective, the findings of this research established that the aspects of the Nandi simple clause, namely the constituent projection and operator projection can adequately be described by the Role and Reference Grammar. The research further noted that the focus projection provided by the RRG was adequate in handling all the inflectional aspects of the Nandi verbs. The theory was, however, not without its limitation. In our investigation the study noted that the theory was inadequate in:

- i) Accounting for the derivational morphemes in Nandi
- ii) Accounting for the double subject reference

In view of the first problem, the study suggested using a modified version of the RRG where the derivational morphemes are taken to be part of the operators of the verb. These operators can be captured on the Layered structure of the Verb (LSV) borrowed from the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC). It is through such modification that the derivational affixes can be accounted for in Nandi.

On the third objective, the study established that the variation of the VSO and VOS word orders were not random as suggested by previous researchers such as (Jeptoo 2014) and Dryer (1996: 106) who state that two word orders might differ in relative frequency but not in pragmatic markedness. The findings from this research proved the proposition by Gisbert (2008: 2) that the information structure in one way or the other greatly influences the syntactic shape of a sentence. In Nandi therefore, the two word orders were shown to express different information and the consequently the choice of one over the other was pragmatically motivated. The questionnaire containing the VOS and VSO word orders administered to the respondents showed that 60% marked VSO as the default word order. The research therefore concluded that the VSO structure is the default structure whereas VOS and other constructions are generated based on the discourse requirements.

On the discussion of focus, the study established that the focus projection was adequate in accounting for various focus constructions in Nandi. The findings also pointed to the fact that in Nandi the focus domain may fall in any constituent depending on the element that is being focused. This was shown in situations where the focus projection could fall on a single constituent such as the verb, adverb or noun phrase (narrow/argument focus), or on a predicate (the verb, or the verb and the complement), or even the entire sentence where the entire proposition carries new information.

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, we note that the RRG is to some extent adequate in accounting for a number of features in a Nandi simple sentence. All the verb inflections of the Nandi simple sentence can be represented using the RRG. While RRG can be said to be sufficiently universal, it was observed that within the LSC, the derivational morphemes could not be catered for in Nandi. It was also observed that the RRG assumes that all the languages have a single reference of the subject but this was not the case with Nandi. In cases where the example had the same pronoun and noun phrase, the theory treated them as separate arguments. This in turn affects how the sentences are interpreted as the diagrams suggest that the sentence has two arguments when in reality there is one. This study therefore proposes that the theory of Role and Reference Grammar be further tested and developed so as to truly represent and account for each and every language uniquely. The model that should be developed should consider these disparities in natural languages.

5.4 Recommendations and suggestions for further research

Since our study was majorly constrained to the analysis of the simple sentences, this study recommends the following be done on Nandi language and Role and Reference Grammar in general. First, we recommend that the theory of Role and Reference Grammar be used to analyze complex and compound sentence in Nandi. Second, we propose that the analysis of Nandi Determiner Phrase be done using this theory. Third, we suggest that the issue of case marking be systematically conducted using RRG. The fourth thing we recommend is that RRG be applied to other southern Nilotic languages for dialectal difference and for comparative studies. Lastly, this study suggests that RRG be modified to accommodate all the derivative affixes and double subject reference in Nandi.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

This research is an investigation of the word order variation in Nandi language and is solely meant for academic use. The information provided is kept confidential and shall not be used for personal interests.

Instructions

Please answer the following questions by crossing (✓) against the information relevant.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This section of the questionnaire refers to the background or biographical information.

Although we are aware of the sensitivity of the questions in this section, the information will allow us to compare groups of respondents. Once again we assure you that your response will remain anonymous.

Your co-operation is truly appreciated.

Q1. Gender Male Female

Q2. Approximate age

21 – 35

36 – 45

46 – 55

56 and above

Q3. In which ward do you reside?

Nandi Hills

Lessos

Sochoi

Q6. Do you speak Nandi Language?

Yes

No

Q7. If yes, how did you acquire it?

By birth

By marriage

By interaction

Any other (specify)

Q8. How often do you communicate in Nandi Language?

Everyday

Frequently

Less frequently

Rarely

SECTION B:

Circle the sentence (s) that are correctly constructed

1. Kenaga Jemutai lakwet chego
2. Kenaga chego Jemutai lakwet
3. Kenaga lakwet chego Jemutai

4. Wendi siro boyot
5. Wendi boyot siro
6. Siro kowendi boyot

7. Ko alda teta Kiproop
8. Ko alda Kiproop teta
9. Teta ne koalda Kiproop
10. Nee ne ka am lakwet?

11. Ka am nee lakwet?
12. Lakwet ko kaam nee

13. Ka bir ng'o Jeptoo?
14. Ng'o ne ka bir Jeptoo?
15. Jeptoo ko kabir ng'o?

16. Wendi ng'o tinga?
17. Ng'o ne wendi tinga?
18. Tinga ko wendi ng'o?

19. Kialchi Kibet lakwet ngoriet
20. Kialchi ngoriet lakwet Kibet
21. Kialchi lakwet ngoriet Kibet

22. Kiyokchi Jerono kamet baruet
23. Kiyokchi kamet Jerono baruet
24. Kiyokchi baruet kamet Jerono

25. Mutai ko manyone agui
26. Manyone agui mutai

27. Kimutai karipe tuga
28. Kimutai ko karipe tuga

Thank you for your co-operation in filling this questionnaire