

THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF
EKEGUSII VERB DERIVATIONS IN THE
MINIMALIST PROGRAM //

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

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DATE

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

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5/11/2008

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DATE

DEDICATION

TO:

My God Almighty;
For His everlasting faithfulness and awesome acts.

My loving husband
Joseph Wambua.

And my beloved children;
Zanetta Mutheu
And
Carson Sila.

For their prayers, love and support.
You made this academic achievement a reality.
God bless you.

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I am much indebted to my parents; Hezron Otiso and Priscillah Moraa for laying a strong educational foundation. Their belief that 99% is not good enough has always spurred me in taking extra steps. My sister, Rose and her family did a lot in ensuring that I had comfortable accommodation and a conducive academic atmosphere. I cannot thank them enough but only say “May God richly bless and reward you.”

I feel obliged to acknowledge the encouragement of my class-mates: Akwala, Anyango, Audrey, Beatrice, Cedric, Chebii, Emily. Erick, Idah, Issac, Kamau, Leah, Lee, Linda, Macharia, Mureithi, Ngugi, Patricia, Pauline, Sultan, Wachera and those in the Kiswahli

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My loving husband Joseph deserves special recognition. He has been very supportive, understanding and encouraging. My daughter, Zanetta and son, Carson have patiently put up with a busy mother. Their constant words, “Mom, do your best,” were like a leading light in my entire study. I cannot overlook my pastor, John Mugo who stood with my family during my study period.

Finally, I appreciate all those who ^{see} names, I have not mentioned here. Your contribution too was worthwhile that mentioning you here does not measure up to my appreciation.

To you all, ‘Mbuya mono’ and God bless.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation was to analyze Ekegusii morpho-syntactic verbal derivation within the Minimalist Program. The study is divided into four chapters each pursuing specific aims related to the study.

Chapter one provides the background to the study which comprises a description of the language, statement of the problem, rationale of the study, the objectives and the hypotheses, scope and limitation, the theoretical framework, literature review and the methodology.

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Chapter two examines the general Ekegusii verb ^{//}morpho-syntax, ^{//}which is vital in understanding verb derivation.

Chapter three analyses the Ekegusii verb derivation in regard to those which increase and those which decrease the valency of a verb. The morphological markings for these derivations are presented and checked within the minimalist framework.

Chapter four is an examination of the co-occurrence of valency adjusting operations within the same verb.

Chapter five gives a summary of the study. It also outlines the findings and the recommendations for further research.

ABBREVIATIONS

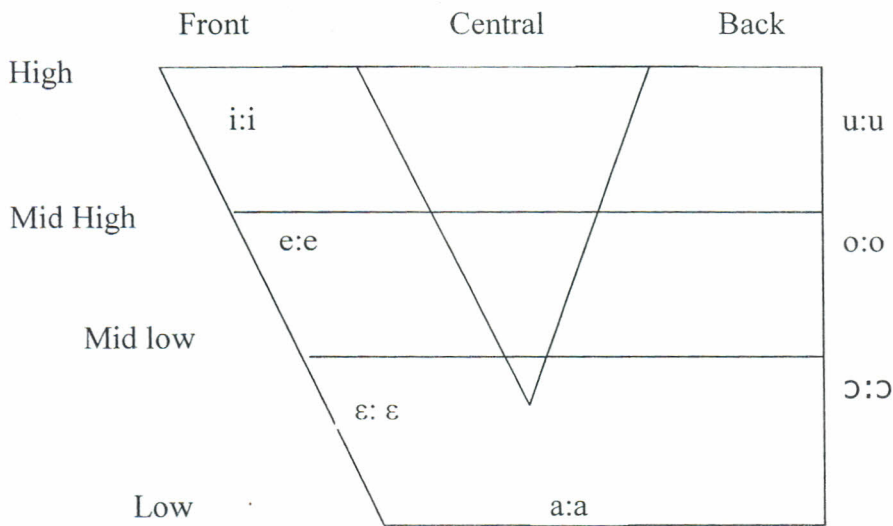
1PP	First Person Plural
1PSO	First Person Singular Object
2PP	Second Person Plural
2PPO	Second Person Plural (object)
2PS	Second Person Singular
2PsO	Second Person Singular (object)
3PP	Third Person Plural
3PS	Third Person Singular
AGRs	Agreement subject
AGRo	Agreement Object
AGRop	Agreement Object Phrase
AGRsp	Agreement Subject Phrase
BEN	Benefactive
FOC	Focus
Fv	Final Vowel
GB	Government and Binding Theory
Inf	Infinitive Marker
IPS	First Person Singular
LF	Logical Form
MP	Minimalist Program
neg	Negation Morpheme
NEGP	Negation Phrase

PF	Phonetic Form
PFI	Principle of full interpretation
RT	Root Verb
TNS	Tense
to	trace object
ts	trace (subject)
tv	trace (verb)
ti	trace instrumental
tb	trace benefactive
UG	Universal Grammar
CAUS	Causative
ASP	Aspect
PASS	Passive
M	Mood
LOC	Locative
INST	Instrumental
REF	Reflexive
REC	Reciprocal
INFL	Inflectional Phrase
COND	Conditional mood
NEGST	Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology

The Vowel system of Ekegusii

Eshun (2007:34) considers Ekegusii to have seven vowels. These are, i, u, e, ε, o, ɔ and a. These vowels have their long counterparts and this fact has made some studies to argue that the language has fourteen vowels.

The vowels can be represented in the vowel chart as shown below:



Examples

IPA Symbol	Orthography	example	Transcription	Gloss
/i/	i	igoro	/iɣɔɔ/	Yesterday
/u/	u	omorugi	/omoruyi/	Wife, cook
/e/	e	eke	/eke/	this one
/ε/	e	ekee	/εke:/	a straw plate
/ɔ/	o	omoro	/ɔmɔɔ/	a panga
/o/	o	omoko	/omoko/	sycamore tree
/a/	a	abana	/aβana/	children

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	vi
ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
 CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	 1
1.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND.....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.	2
1.3 OBJECTIVES	4
1.4 HYPOTHESES	4
1.5 RATIONALE	5
1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	6
1.6.1 The Minimalist Program.....	6
1.6.2 The need for the Minimalist Program	7
1.6.3 The X-bar theory and the MP	9
1.6.4 The main principles of the Minimalist Program	10
1.6.5 The place of morphology in MP.....	13
1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION	15
1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW	15
1.8.1 Ekegusii and other studies related to verb derivation.....	15
1.8.2 Literature on the verb valency	18
1.9 METHODOLOGY	20
1.10 SUMMARY	20
 CHAPTER TWO: EKEGUSII VERB MORPHOSYNTAX.....	 21
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	21
2.2 THE VERB ROOT.....	21
2.3 THE INFINITIVE	23

2.4 THE FINAL VOWEL	25
2.5 VERB AGREEMENT (PREFIXATION).....	26
2.5.1 Subject Agreement	26
2.5.2 Object Agreement.....	28
2.6 NEGATION	30
2.7 FOCUS	34
2.8 SUFFIXATION	35
2.8.1 The Past tense	36
2.8.1.1 The near past tense	36
2.8.1.2 The recent past tense	36
2.8.1.3 The remote past tense	37
2.8.1.4 The past tense by prefix ka – or ga-	38
2.8.2 The present tense	38
2.8.3 Aspect.....	39
2.8.2.1 The perfective aspect.....	39
2.8.2.1.2 The perfect aspect.....	40
2.8.3 Mood	40
2.9 VERB REDUPLICATION	42
2.10 TONE	43
2.11 QUESTIONS.....	44
2.12 SUMMARY	44
 CHAPTER THREE: VALENCY CHANGING PROCESSES.....	 46
3.1 INTRODUCTION	46
3.2 VALENCY INCREASING OPERATIONS	46
3.2.1 The causative	46
3.2.2 Applicatives.....	50
3.2.2.1 The Benefactive.....	50
3.2.2.2 The Locative.....	52
3.2.2.3 The Instrumental.....	53
3.3 VALENCY DECREASING PROCESSES.....	56

3.3.1 The Passive.....	56
3.4 The Reflexive	59
3.5 The reciprocal.....	61
3.6 Summary	62

CHAPTER FOUR: CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY CHANGING

PROCESSES.....	63
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	63
4.2 CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY INCREASING OPERATIONS.....	63
4.2.1 Co-occurrence of the Benefactive and the causative.....	63
4.3 CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY INCREASING AND DECREASING OPERATIONS	67
4.3.1 Co-occurrence of the reciprocal and the causative.....	67
4.3.2 Co-occurrence of the Benefactive with various valency reducing operations	69
4.3.2.1 Co-occurrence of the Benefactive and the reciprocal.....	69
4.3.2.2 Co-occurrence of the benefactive with the passive	71
4.3.2.3 The Benefactive and Reflexive	73
4.3.3 Co-occurrence of the passive with the various valency increasing operations	75
4.3.3.1 The Passive and the causative	75
4.3.3.2 The Passive and the Applicatives.....	77
4.3.3.2.1 The passive and the instrumental	77
4.3.3.2.2 The passive and the locative.....	79
4.3.3.2.3 The Passive and the Benefactive	79
4.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF MORE THAN TWO OPERATIONS	80
4.4.1 The Benefactive, the reciprocal and the causative	80
4.5 Summary	82

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	84
5.1 SUMMARY	84
5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS	86
REFERENCES	87

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

This study investigates the morpho-syntactic verbal derivation in Ekegusii using the Minimalist Program. Ekegusii is a Bantu language mainly spoken in Nyanza province and specifically in eight administrative districts namely: Kisii Central, Kisii South, Nyamira (North Kisii), Gucha, Gucha South, Masaba, Borabu and Manga.

“Gusii” can be taken as the root (this root is meaningful) which can take the following prefixes to give various descriptions.

- Omogusii - Person belonging to
- Abagusii - People referred to
- Ekegusii(i) - The language spoken by
- Ekegusii(ii) - Issues relating to the Abagusii culture
- Gusii - The place inhabited by Abagusii

It is also mandatory to analyze the term ‘Kisii’ which refers to the oldest administrative town formerly referred to as ‘Bosongo’. The term Kisii, which seems to easily accommodate influence from both Kiswahili and English is used to refer to both the people and the language. The Kiswahili prefix ‘wa-’ is used by many non-abagusii people to refer to the speakers of this language hence ‘Wakisii’ and the prefix ‘ki-’ to refer to the language hence ‘kikisii’. ‘Kisii’ easily takes the English plural marker ‘-s’ and it is normal to hear reference being made to the ‘Kisiis’ to mean the Abagusii people. Pioneer studies like the ones done by Whiteley (1960, 1965) erroneously referred to the language as “Gusii”.

Ekegusii is a Bantu language. Bantu languages were classified by Guthrie (1967) into twenty zones and these zones were further subdivided into groups depending on the peculiar features which are not necessarily confined to the zone in question. Guthrie categorizes Ekegusii in zone E, group 40. The other languages in this group are the Lagooli (Kenya), Kuria (Kenya and Tanzania), Zanaki, Nata and Sonjo all of Tanzania.

The language has some noticeable dialects although some previous studies have ignored this fact. Bosire (1993) and Mecha (2006) have however, acknowledged the existence of the Rogoro and Maate dialects. The Rogoro dialect is considered as the standard dialect and it is spoken in six districts while the Maate dialect is spoken by the majority of occupants of Gucha and Gucha South Districts. According to the latest census conducted in 1999, there were over 1.4 million Abagusii people.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

The term valency (or valence) refers to the number of arguments that are allowed by a given verb. Arguments, as used here refer to noun phrases. Miller (1993:142) quoting Talmy (1985) says that some linguists use the term valence to refer to surface case assignments given to the NPs in a sentence. Traditional degrees of valency that have been recognized are:

- (i) Intransitive (no direct object)
- (ii) Monotransitive (direct object, no indirect object)
- (iii) Ditransitive (direct object and indirect or oblique object)

Ibid (142)

The valence of a verb can however change depending on the valence adjusting operations that the verb undergoes.

The valence adjusting operations are common and almost a universal feature in verbal morphology. These operations are realized by derivation in many languages although there are a few languages that show verb valence by verb inflection. Verb valence is also closely linked to the idea of transitivity. Payne (1997:169) points out that “every language has operations that adjust the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in a clause”.

It is on this assumption that this study seeks to examine the valence adjusting operations that the Ekegusii verb displays so that we can assess the maximum number of valents that the verb can allow. It is also necessary to examine if there will be a match between the logical order and the natural order of arguments. The basic word order in Ekegusii is SV (O). This study will, however, analyze how verb derivation affects this word order especially with the operations that increase the valency of a verb.

While the major focus is analyzing the Ekegusii verbal morphology, the study will seek to answer the following questions:

1. Is there any relationship between the semantic roles and grammatical relations in one hand and the valency adjusting operations on the other?
2. How do verb derivations affect word order in Ekegusii?
3. Is the minimalist feature checking theory adequate in accounting for verb derivational operations in Ekegusii?

The sentences below exemplify valence changing operations in Ekegusii verbs. Sentence 1a is the normal SVO sentence in the active voice, while sentence 1b takes the SVOO

word order after the causative derivational process. Sentence 1c is an SV resulting from passivization.

1a) Moraa o - rug - ir - e obokima - Active
3PS - RT - ASP.- Fv.

Moraa has cooked ugali

1b) Kerubo o - rug - ir - i - e Moraa obokima -Causative
3PS - RT - ASP - CAUS - Fv

Moraa has made Kerubo (to) cook ugali

1c) Obokima bwa- rug - ir - w - e - Passive
AGRo- RT - ASP.- PASS.- Fv

ugali has been cooked.

1.3 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To explore the valence adjusting operations in Ekegusii verbal morphology.
2. To examine how valence adjusting operations affect the word order in Ekegusii.
3. To check if there is co-occurrence of various valence adjusting morphemes within the same verb.
4. To test the appropriateness of the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program in handling verb derivations.

1.4 HYPOTHESES

The study will test the following hypotheses:

1. The valence adjusting operations in Ekegusii verbal morphology are mainly by affixation.

2. The derivational operators affect word order in Ekegusii.
3. There are cases of co-occurrence of various valences with the same syntactic structure.
4. The checking theory of the Minimalist Program can adequately analyze Ekegusii verb derivations.

1.5 RATIONALE

Traditionally, grammar is subdivided into two different but inter-related areas of study. These are morphology and syntax. This relationship seems to have received unanimous scholarly recognition that has made it necessary to merge the two into what has become a new area of study - morpho-syntax. This is especially evident in agglutinating languages like Ekegusii in which one word can represent a whole sentence hence the need for lexical and syntactic analysis at the same time. It is on this observation and development, that a morpho-syntactic study on Ekegusii within the Minimalist Program is vital, especially since the Minimalist Program is morpho-syntactic in nature. This study will show this relationship between morphology and syntax which previous studies have treated as separate areas. The study will also be an inspiration to future scholars who may have an interest in morpho-syntax, the minimalist program and the Ekegusii language. This study too makes a contribution to theoretical linguistics and Ekegusii linguistics in particular.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.6.1 The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program (MP) aims at making use of minimal theoretical and descriptive apparatus in language description. This is done with an intention of minimizing the acquisition burden placed on the child. This kind of agreement is based on Chomsky's belief of the existence of each individual's mental lexicon, which enables him/her to acquire lexical knowledge. This lexical knowledge ensures that when one knows a word, he/she knows what it sounds like, its spelling, its meaning, its morphological behavior and its syntactic function. An individual who attains this level can be said to have internalized that lexical knowledge (Singleton 2000: 161). It is important to note that Chomsky's desire has been to develop a Universal Grammar (UG) which will specify what languages have in common. Such a development will aid linguists in devising a descriptively adequate grammar for every natural language.

The Minimalist Program is morpho-syntactic in nature and it postulates that movement of elements is possible only if it is necessary for the purposes of feature checking. The Program does not allow vacuous positions and the structure building projects only the relevant features which are present in any given syntactic structure.

The principles and parameters model (P&P), which Radford (1997) argues gave rise to the Minimalist Program is also termed as Government - Binding (GB) theory. Chomsky (1995) however, points out that this is misleading. He argues that the term GB gives prominence to the two elements of Government and Binding, whose status "was not

fundamentally different from others that entered into the discussion or others that did not” (Cook and Newson 1988:41). The terms GB and P&P will be used synonymously in this study. According to Borsley (1999) the guiding assumption of P & P is that any movement is possible unless it violates some constraint. It has a single transformational rule formulated as:

Move α

1.6.2 The need for the Minimalist Program

The MP is a reaction to the problems that faced the GB theory. One of these problems concerns the definition of A-position and A-bar position. A-position was a potential θ -position such as the complement of the verb (the object position) and the specifier of INFL (the subject position). An A-bar position could not receive theta roles such as the specifier of CP. This distinction is problematic as the specifier of CP is not a less potential θ -position than the specifier of INFL given that the two specifiers are landing sites for various XP movements and are both specifiers of functional heads.

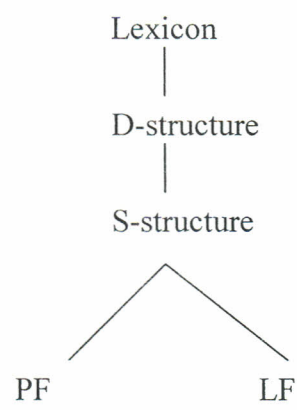
Another problem centres on the concept of government and case assignment. Since case is assigned under government, some NPs of grammatical constructions will not be case marked and this will violate the case filter. This is especially so in sentences which have two objects such as:

2) Grace bought Mary samosas

The INFL which governs the subject ‘Grace’ will case mark it nominative and the finite verb will case mark the indirect object ‘Mary’ accusative. The direct object, ‘samosas’

will not be case marked as it has no governor. The Minimalist Program solves this by abandoning the notion of government.

The Minimalist Program further seeks a reduction of the levels of representation realized in GB. GB theory has a set of four levels: the D-structure, S-structure, the logical form (LF) and the Phonological form (PF). These are reduced to two interface levels in the MP namely, the Logical Form and the Phonological Form (hence forth referred to as the LF and PF). The LF specifies meaning while the PF specifies pronunciation.



Chomsky’s (1981) model of GB representation.

The reduction of the representations in the MP can be represented as shown:

Lexicon



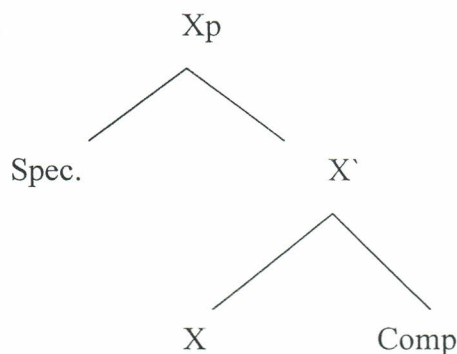
LF (Semantic component) (Adapted from Cook and Newson 1988:314)

Pollock (1989) introduced the split INFL hypothesis into the verb. INFL does not exist in the MP but it is instead realized as TNS (Tense), Agreement subject (AGRs) and Agreement Object (AGRo) projections.

1.6.3 The X-bar theory and the MP

The Minimalist Program maintains the specifier- head and head- head relationships of the X-bar theory which represents categories in layers¹. The structure is composed of projections of heads selected from the lexicon. The items from the lexicon are kept in two relations namely: Spec(ifier) –head relation and head- complement relation.

Chomsky (1993:6) schematizes this model as:



This new X-bar model does not allow any vacuous positions.

¹ The layered representation gave rise to immediate dominance and immediate precedence (Haegeman 1991)

1.6.4 The main principles of the Minimalist Program

Chomsky argues that each individual is endowed with a lexicon. This lexicon is like a mental dictionary which has entries of all the lexical items in the language of the native speaker. According to Abraham et al, (1996), each lexical entry consists of at least a set of three sets: a semantic-feature set, a phonological-feature set and a syntactic-feature set. The morpho-syntactic nature of the MP assumes that verbs and nouns receive their inflectional and derivational properties in the lexicon and this justifies the absence of the deep and surface structures in the MP.

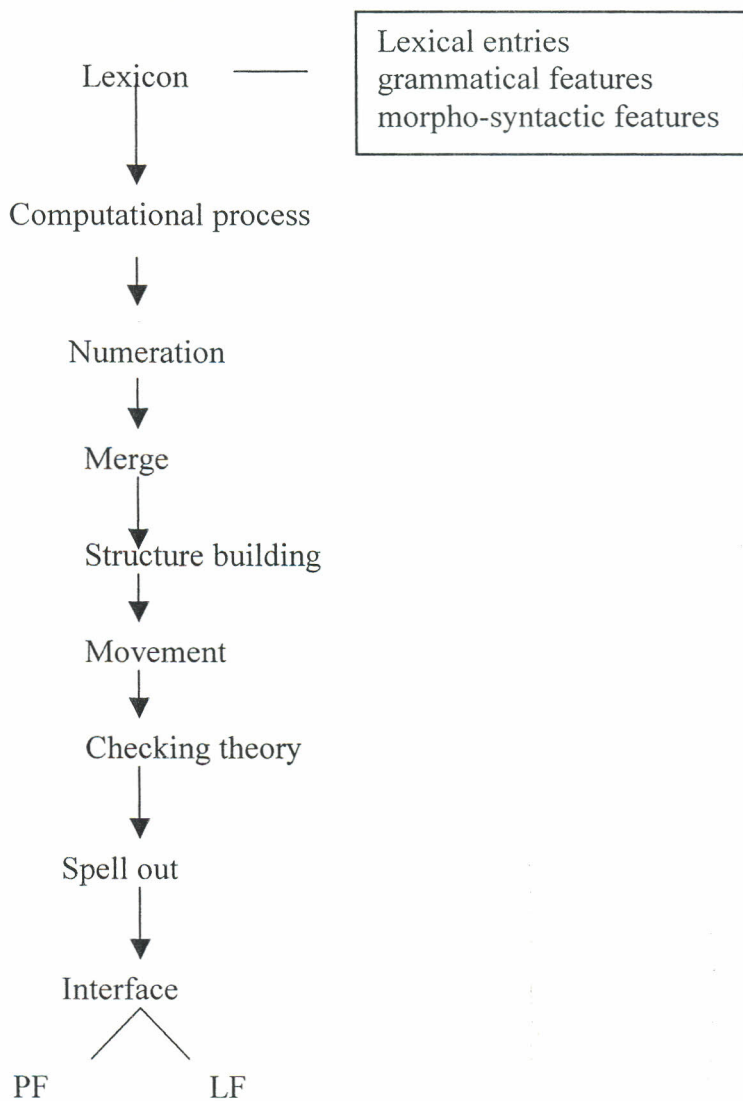
The generative procedure consists of a merge and move. This movement which is necessitated by the need to check off features, is controlled by the principle of economy, the minimal link conditions and the principles of procrastinate and greed. The principle of economy overrides the other principles since they all work together towards achieving economy. The minimal link condition is related to the shortest move principle which dictates that a constituent must move to the first position of the right kind up from its source position. According to Webelhuth (1995: 357), the procrastinate principle “prefers derivations that hold off on movements until after spell out, so that the results of such movements do not affect PF.” Greed is another principle of economy which does not allow a constituent to move to satisfy the needs of some other constituent; since movement is motivated for selfish reasons to satisfy the needs of the moving constituent. The last resort principle ensures that constituents are immobile once they are licensed.

The derivation of a sentence takes place in steps. Lexical items are selected from the lexicon in a process called the numeration. A computational process, the merger, takes

place and combines the lexical items into projections and partial or phrase structure trees. This constitutes the structure building process which reflects relevant syntactic phenomena. Movement then takes place for the purposes of feature checking. Nouns for instance, are checked for the correct case in the appropriate specifier positions. Spell out then takes place and the semantic and phonological features are separated and processed separately by the LF and PF respectively.

The Principle of Full Interpretation (PFI) is a universal grammar constraint on PF and LF interpretations. It requires that every element at PF or LF provide a meaningful input to the syntax-external cognitive systems, that is the articulatory-perceptual (A-P) and the conceptual- intentional (C-I). If both the PF and LF satisfy the PFI, then the derived sentence is said to converge. Movement for feature checking does not occur on the way to PF and LF after spell out. If features are unchecked at spell out, they remain so at PF and LF and the derived structure is said to crash. In the MP it is assumed that the LF interface level is the final stage of derivation and that PF is an intermediate stage in the derivation of LF.

The following is an overview of the computational process in the Minimalist Program.



(Adopted from Schröder 2005).

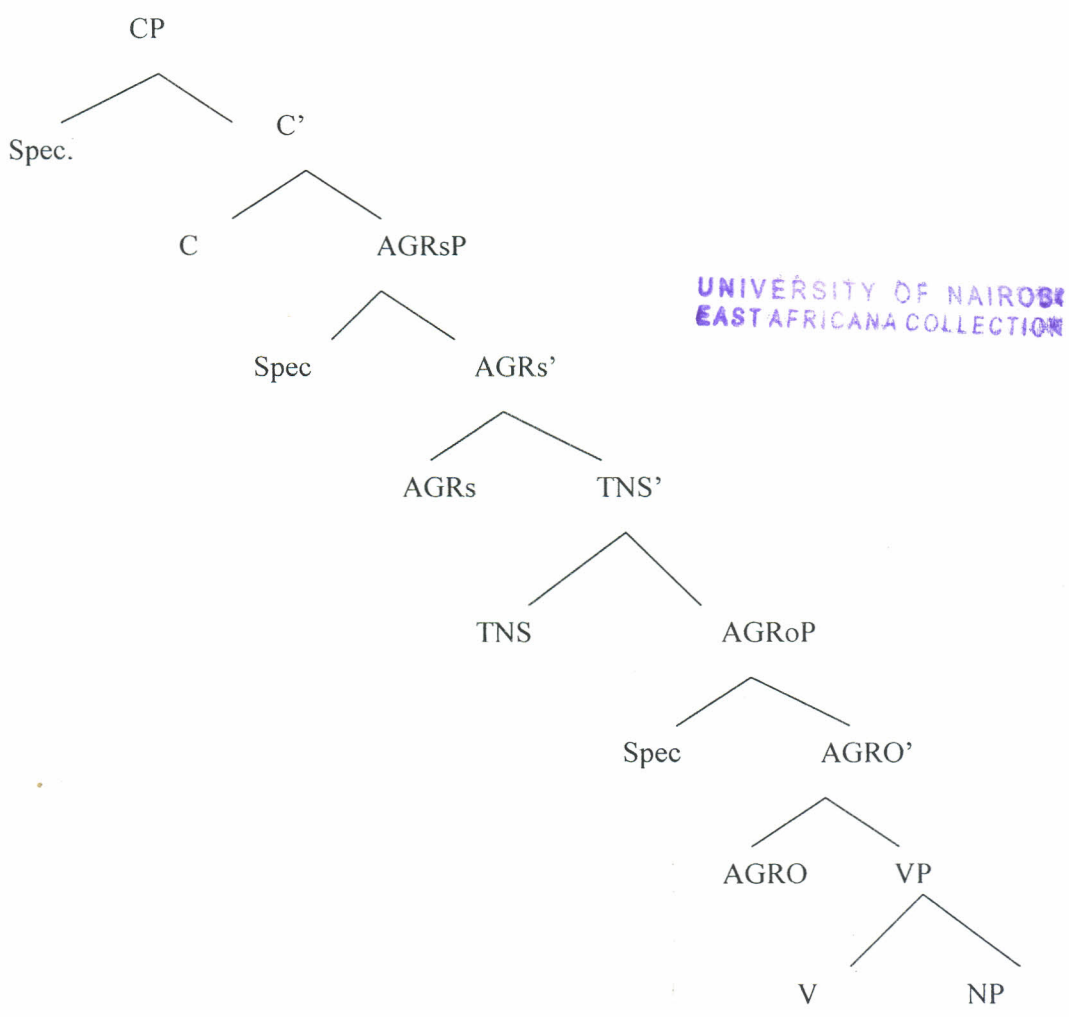
1.6.5 The place of morphology in MP

The morphology /syntax interface is vital in the Minimalist Program. Chomsky (1993:32) observes that operations in the computational system are driven by morphological necessity and the amount of movement in the structure building depends on how rich or weak the morphology of a language is.

In the GB theory morpho-syntactic features were base generated under the IP lexical head and movement was for the purposes of picking up these features so that the verb appeared grammatical at the surface level. This did not merge morphology and syntax. In the MP the lexicon is not only a collection of roots and stems for verbs and nouns but it also contains all the relevant inflectional morphology. Movement is thus not determined by the nature of INFL but it is for checking the correctness of the inflectional and derivational features against their syntactic positions in the sentence structure. This is also the case for nouns and their morphology.

If a language is rich in morphology, that is, it has such features as agreement and other inflectional and derivational morphemes (visible at PF) then the verb will be forced to move so as to eliminate abstract feature bundles before spell-out into PF. Languages with weak morphology do not force the verb to move as it has no features to check.

A new basic sentence structure for handling morphology with its direct bearing on verbal inflection and case marking is reflected as follows (Chomsky 1993:7).



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It is necessary to point out that the structure that is described above also extends to include all the valency increasing and decreasing morphemes. The structure builds heads for these morphemes and then they are numerated and merged according to the morpho-syntactic evidence available in various languages. This kind of structure thus accommodates not only verbal inflection but also verbal derivation which this study centres on.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

This study will investigate Ekegusii verb derivation within the Minimalist Program. Whereas the researcher is aware that Ekegusii verb is also highly inflectional for tense, aspect and mood, the main focus of this study will be verb derivation. The agglutinative nature of the language will necessitate a show of the agreement features that hold between the verb and the nouns. Change in verb valency can be morphological, lexical or analytical. This study will only investigate valency change that is morphologically initiated. For reliability of the study, the data to be analyzed will be of the Rogoro dialect.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.8.1 Ekegusii and other studies related to verb derivation

Several linguistic studies have been done on Ekegusii language. Among the earliest works are those done by Whiteley (1960), who did an introduction to the tense system of the language. He observed that the object agreement morpheme is an infix in the verbal form. However, an analysis of Ekegusii verbs shows that the object morpheme can only be a prefix. Whiteley followed this study with another in 1965, which is a practical introduction to the language which he refers to as 'Gusii'. In this study, the grammatical categories of the language such as verbs, nouns, demonstratives and possessives are discussed but without showing their combinatory order, restrictions and distributions in constructions. The verb inflection and derivation is introduced but the inflectional and derivational morphemes are not analyzed in detail. This study seeks to discuss derivational affixes more elaborately and within the Minimalist Program. It therefore, benefits from these earlier studies while at the same time it seeks to expand the parameters of those studies as well as their theoretical rigour.

Besides the introductory studies by Whiteley, a number of other linguistic features in the Ekegusii language have been studied. A morpho-phonological analysis of Ekegusii has been examined by Osinde (1988) and this study reflects the nature of verbs, nouns, pronouns, interrogatives and demonstratives. The study gives a gist to the rich morphology of Ekegusii, which it does not however, exhaustively exploit. His analysis on the verbs centres on inflection and a study on verb derivation thus deserves attention.

The internal structure of Ekegusii simple sentences was studied by Mboga (1989) Mboga's study is syntactic in nature and although morphology plays a major role in syntax, the integration of the two was not elaborate. The present study seeks to not only examine the principles that show how words are stringed together but also to show how the formation of words affects their interpretation and subsequently their combinations.

Languages are classified on various parameters, and this notion prompted a study in 1992 in which Gesare explored the morphological typology of Ekegusii. Her study which is done in a structure framework shows that Ekegusii verbs are segmentable into meaning bearing units. This is a vital foundation for the current study but her study did not progress to show how these affixes affect the valency of a verb. This is a gap that this current study seeks to fill.

Bosire (1993) does a comparative study of Rogoro and Maate dialects within a Labovian framework of variability. His study shows that there are lexical and phonological differences between the two dialects and this informs the current study in terms of which dialect is being analyzed. He further points out that the Rogoro dialect is more innovative

in its morphology while the Maate dialect is more innovative in the area of phonology. This study uses data based on the Rogoro dialect.

The study of the determiner phrase agreement in Ekegusii within the Minimalist Program has been done. This is the first study that is morpho-syntactic in nature and it examines the agreement between the noun and its determiners, quantifiers, adjectives and possessives. It is indisputable that the Ekegusii verb shows agreement especially with the valents. Basweti's study which was conducted in 2005 is an analysis of the determiner phrase agreement features and this study aims at an examination of the type of agreement that holds between the verb and the nouns (valents).

Other studies that are relevant to this study include that done by Murrell (2000) who did a comparative study of causatives in Bantu by investigating Swahili, Kikuyu and Lingala languages. Causatives are valence increasing derivations since they add the causer to the already existing valents. Consider the Kiswahili example below:

- 3a) Maria alipika chakula - two valents
- 3b) Juma alimpikisha Maria chakula - three valents

'Juma' is the causer while 'Maria' is the causee in the construction above.

Causative constructions are a type of valency changing operations. Wachemo (2003) analyses the causative construction in Kambaata language. Kambaata is a Cushitic language spoken in the southern part of Ethiopia. Although Kambaata is not a Bantu language, this work is relevant since it shows how the verb can be derived to affect the number of agreeable valents.

Another study which examines verb valency more widely is that done by Mubbala (2003). Mubbala studied the valency adjusting operations in Lugwere which is a Bantu language spoken by the Bagwere people who live in Eastern Uganda. The findings of the study reveal that there are operations which reduce verb valency and others which increase the valency of a verb. While this holds true for Ekegusii which is under study, there are several cases of co-occurrence of various valency adjusting operations which Mubbala's study did not analyze. Our study will go further to reveal these co-occurrences.

Namulemu (2004) in investigating tense, aspect and mood in Lunyole grammar and discourse, analyses Lunyole verbal extensions to include those which show the causative, the passive, the applicative and the reciprocal. These verbal extensions have a direct influence on verb valency which this study will also be interested in.

The other related study is that of Munyao (2006) which is on verb derivation in Kikamba within the Minimalist Program. This work explores the valency increasing, decreasing and co-occurrence of valency adjusting operations. There are, however, operations such as the locative and the instrumental which are not examined, and the current study identifies the need to have them analyzed since they are also valency adjusting operations.

1.8.2 Literature on the verb valency

Crystal (1980: 407) defines valency (valent) as a term “derived from chemistry and is used in linguistics to refer to the number and type of bonds which syntactic elements may form with each other”. He acknowledges that valency is usually realized by the verb and

that this makes it take a number of dependent elements which can be referred to as arguments, expressions, complements or valents. The valency attributed to the verb determines their number and type. If a valency includes only the subject, element it is said to have a valency of one (monovalent). If a verb takes both the subject and the direct object then it has a valency of two and is said to be bivalent. A verb which takes no complements has zero valency (avalent) whereas a verb which attracts three valents is said to be trivalent. Ekegusii verbs can be monovalent, bivalent or trivalent.

Matthews (1997) on his part defines valency as the range of syntactic elements permitted by a verb or any other lexical unit. Payne (1997:169) asserts that “valence can be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion or a combination of the two”. He further distinguishes between a semantic valence and a syntactic (grammatical valence). In explaining what semantic valence is, he looks at the verb as a kind of ‘scene’ which is on stage and so has participants. The number of participants which the verb must have is the semantic valence of that verb. Grammatical valence (or syntactic valence) on the other hand is the number of arguments present in any given clause. The valence adjusting operations are those morpho-syntactic operations that adjust the grammatical valence of a clause. “Object omission is a valence adjusting operation, whereas zero pronominalization is not.” (ibid: 170). Singleton (2000:21) seems to echo Payne’s definition of semantic valency by stating that valency grammar traditionally “presents the verb as the fundamental element of the sentence and focuses on the relationship between the verb and the elements which depend on it”.

All the definitions above are in line with Miller (1993:142) who sees valence as a reference to surface case assignments. This is because case is assigned to NPs and the licensing of these NPs depends on the type of derivation that the verbs undergo. The NPs are thus in a bond relationship with the verbs.

In summary valency refers to the number and type of arguments that a verb will take depending on the derivations that the verb has undergone so as to give a complete meaning.

1.9 METHODOLOGY

The introspection technique will be used for data collection and analysis since the researcher is a native speaker with native speaker competence of Ekegusii. For objectivity, the data will be counter-checked with other native speakers who have native speaker competence. These native speakers will be sampled randomly. Since this research is highly theoretical, there will be a lot of reliance on library resources.

1.10 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the background to the language which is under study has been given. It has been stated that the language is a Bantu language and that it has two dialects: the Rogoro and the Maate. The research problem, the objectives and the hypotheses are also stated. The scope and the rationale of the study have also been set out.

The theory under which the work is being analyzed, the Minimalist Program has been highlighted but in summary.

Finally literature which is relevant to the research problem and the language under study have been reviewed. The research methodology is also described.

CHAPTER TWO

EKEGUSII VERB MORPHOSYNTAX

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will give background information to the structure of the Ekegusii verb. This will include a discussion on the verb root, the infinitive marker, the final vowel, and agreement with the subject and object. Focus, tone, negation and question formation will also be discussed.

2.2 THE VERB ROOT

The root of the verb (usually called the verb **radical** in Bantu studies)² is the form that remains when all inflectional and derivational affixes have been removed. This thus makes it not to carry meaning in isolation until when various affixes are added to it. This is illustrated below:

4. rem -
 RT -

The root above cannot be given interpretation. It is a string of phonemes.

- 5a). rem - a
 RT - FV
 dig

- 5b) rem - i - a
 RT - CAUS - FV
 cause to dig.

- 5c) rem - w - a
 RT - PASS - FV
 be dug.

² This is according to Kioko (2005:25).

The majority of verb roots in Ekegusii have the structure of CVC, but other structures are possible. See the examples below:

6a) CVC, for example;

rem - a

RT - Fv

dig

6b) VC, for example

it - a

RT - FV

kill/beat

6c) V for example

a - a

RT - FV

pluck vegetables

6d) CVCCV: as in;

randi - a

RT - FV

preach

6e) VCVC as in;

aber - a

RT - FV

forgive

6f) CVCV, for example

rigi -a

RT-Fv

Look for something.

2.3 THE INFINITIVE

The infinitive form is not obligatory and it is marked by the prefixes *ko-* or *go-*. The infinitive marking is phonologically conditioned since the pattern is that if a verb has a voiceless consonant in the word initial position, then it will take *go-* as the infinitive marker. The verbs which have voiced consonants and vowels in initial positions take *ko-* as the infinitive marker. Consider the examples below:

7a) son - a
 RT - Fv

 sew

7b) go - son - a
 Inf. - RT - Fv

 to sew

7c) eb - a
 RT - Fv

 forget

7d) ko - eb - a
 Inf -RT - Fv

 to forget

There is however a phonological process that leads to the formation of the glide /w/ when certain vowels follow each other. A high vowel becomes a glide when it is immediately followed by a non-high vowel or when a high front vowel is preceded by a high back vowel. Example 7d above will thus be realized as:

8. /ko-eb-a/ → [kweβa]
to forget

The phonological conditioning of the infinitive realization seems to stretch beyond the initial phonemes to the consonant in the verb root. There are verbs with vowels in initial positions but they take go- as the infinitive marker since the consonant in the verb root is voiceless. This phenomenon, which is a form of dissimilation, is exemplified below:

- 9a) et - a
 pass - Fv
pass
- 9b) go - et - a
 inf. - pass - Fv
to pass
- 9c) ak - a
 hit - Fv
beat/hit
- 9d) go - ak - a
 inf. - beat - Fv
to beat/hit

It is a notable observation that there is no glide formation with some words especially when this may lead to ambiguity. In such cases one word will accommodate the glide formation but not the other. Consider the pair of words below:

- 10 a) ko - ar - a → [Kwara]
 Inf- spread - Fv
to spread a bed
- 10 b) ko - ar - a → [Koara]
 Inf - scratch- Fv
to scratch

Similarly, the glide formation does not occur when the infinitive marker is *go-*. Ekegusii does not allow verbs such as;

11 a) go - ak - a → *[ywaka]
Inf - beat/hit- Fv
to beat/hit

11 b) go - et - a → *[yweta)
Inf - pass - Fv
to pass

2.4 THE FINAL VOWEL

It has been stated earlier that the final vowel is usually /-a/ in Ekegusii. However, this vowel varies depending on negation and the mood³ of the sentence. The examples below illustrate this:

12) o - rem - e
2PS - dig - M
you dig.

The final vowel /e/ marks the subjunctive⁴ mood.

13) rem - a
dig - M
dig

The final vowel /-a/ marks the imperative⁵ mood

14) ta - rem - et - i
neg - dig - TNS - Fv
he/she did not dig.

³ Mood is the attitude on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance. (Crystal 1980:247)

⁴ Subjunctive mood is used when expressing permission, prohibition or purpose

⁵ Imperative expresses commands or direct requests.

The final vowel /i/ seems to imply negation when the negation morpheme co-occurs with the perfect aspect marker ‘-et.’

2.5 VERB AGREEMENT (PREFIXATION)

Ekegusii is an agglutinating language. This means that in such a language a number of morphemes can be affixed to the verb root, and each of these morphemes serves a grammatical and semantic function. The verb root accommodates derivation and inflection in such ways that sometimes it is possible to have a sentence which comprises only one word. These morphemes occur in a given order as exemplified below:

15a) n - a - som - a
 FOC-3PS -read - M
 he/she read

15 b) ta – som - et - i
 neg- read-ASP-neg.
 He/she did not read

The affixes mark subject agreement (class, number, and person), object agreement, negation, tense, aspect, mood, focus and valency.

2.5.1 Subject Agreement

The agreement between the subject and the verb is a requirement except when the addressee is the second person singular or plural and in the imperative mood. Consider the example:

16 rem - a
 dig - Fv
 dig

Although the verb above does not have a morpheme to show the subject, it will be understood as referring to the second person singular or plural. However, for the first and third persons, the verb must show agreement not only for the person but also for the number. The examples given attest to this:

17a) o - rem- e
2PS-dig- M
you dig.

17b) in - dem -e
IPS - dig - M
I dig

17c) to - rem - e
IPP - dig - M
we dig

17d) a - rem - e
3PS - dig - M
him /her dig

17e) ba - rem - e
3PP - dig - M
they/them dig.

The subject agreement in Ekegusii is tabulated below:

Agreement morpheme	Person	Number
ing'- ~ in-	1 st	Singular
to-	1 st	Plural
o-	2 nd	Singular
mo-	2 nd	Plural
a-	3 rd	Singular
ba-	3 rd	Plural

Table 1: Subject agreement in Ekegusii.

2.5.2 Object Agreement

Ekegusii has verbal prefixes which indicate agreement with the object. These morphemes will force the verb to move from its base position to the AGRo position to have these features checked. Cook and Newson (1988:328) argue that “when there is an object, there will be an AGRo and, when there is no object, there will be no AGRo.” This assertion is true but in agglutinating languages like Ekegusii it is possible to have the idea of the object incorporated in the verb without having an overt object. The AGRo head is thus obligatory when it is morphologically marked with or without an overt object.

The object markers show the person, number and the type of noun. The morphemes that show second person singular and plural are go-/ ko- (phonologically conditioned) and ba- respectively. See the following examples:

18a) to - ko - rem - er - e
 2PP - 2PSO - dig - BEN - M
we dig for you

18b) to - ba - rem - er - e
 2PP - 2PPO - dig - BEN - M
we dig for them

The object agreement markers for the first and third persons are –ng’- (with allomorphs of –m- and –n-), -to- and -mo-, -ba- for singular and plural respectively as in:

19a) mo - ng’ - ak - er - e
 3PP-1PSO-beat-BEN-M
you (P) beat for me.

19b) mo - to - rem - er - e
 3PP - IPPO - dig - BEN - M
you dig for us

19c) mo - ba - rem - er - e
 2PP - 3PPO - dig - BEN - M
you (sing.) dig for them

The object agreement is summarized in the table below:

Agreement morpheme	Person	Number
-ng’- ~ -n- ~ -m-	1 st	Singular
-to-	1 st	Plural
-ko- ~ -go-	2 nd	Singular
-ba-	2 nd	Plural
-mo-	3 rd	Singular
-ba-	3 rd	Plural

Table 2: Object agreement in Ekegusii.

A notable observation is made concerning verbs that have the alveolar trill/r/ in initial positions when marking subject and object agreement with the first person singular. The alveolar trill/r/ undergoes a phonological assimilation to the point of articulation of the subject and object marker as shown:

20a) rem - a
dig - M
dig

20b) o - n - dem - er - e
2PS -IPSO - dig - BEN - M
you (sing.) dig for me

20c) in - dem - e
1PS -dig - M
I dig.

Notice that the trill /r/ is realized as /d/ after the prefix which marks subject and object agreement with the first person singular. This phenomenon will however not receive in depth discussion as it is beyond the scope of this analysis.

2.6 NEGATION

Payne (1997:282) observes that “A negative clause is one which asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does not hold”. He adds that the most common negation strategies in any language are those used to negate an entire proposition. There seems to be three ways of showing negation in Ekegusii. The first is marked by the underlying negation morpheme marker ti-. This is a prefix that is added to the verb root. This

negation morpheme has allomorphs of to- and ta- depending on the person and number.

Some examples will clarify this claim:

21a) ti - ba - rem - a
neg- 3PP - dig - M
they should not dig

21b) ta - rem - a
neg. - dig -M
he/she should not dig

21c) to - rem - a
neg - dig - M
you should not dig

A table showing negation in the Ekegusii verbs is as shown:

Negation morpheme	Person	Number
ti-	1 st	Singular and plural
	2 nd	Plural
	3 rd	Plural
ta-	3 rd	Singular
to-	2 nd	Singular

Table 3: The marking of negation in Ekegusii verbs.

Negation in infinitives is shown by the morpheme /-ta-/ which comes after the infinitive prefix. See the examples below:

22a) ko - rem - a
Inf. - dig - M
to dig

22b) go - ta - rem - a
Inf. - neg - dig - M
not to dig

The change in the infinitive marker in examples 22a and 22b above is phonologically motivated. The pattern of voice in syllables in the language is that a voiced syllable is followed by a voiceless syllable and vice versa. The language as such does not accept realizations such as 23 below:

23) *ko-ta-rem-a

2
The second way of marking negation is by use of tone. Tone thus also marks modality. The high tone on the second syllable marks negation. This is exemplified in sentences 24a and b below where tone is contrastive between an affirmative and a negative sentence.

24a) m - ba - rem - a
FOC- 3PP - dig - M
they dug

24b) m - bà - rém - ă
FOC - 3PP - dig - M
they should not dig

3
The third way of marking negation is by the vowel /i/ which can be a final or an initial vowel. As a final vowel, /i/ marks negation in constructions that mark the perfect aspect

overtly. The vowel /i/ can however, be realized in both the initial and the final positions but for emphasis purposes. Consider the examples below:

25a) mo - rem - et - i
2PP - dig - ASP -neg
you did not dig

25b) i- mo - rem - et - i
neg -2PP - dig - ASP -neg
you did not dig(emphasized)

The vowel /i/ marks negation in initial positions as illustrated below:

26a) i - mo -rem - a
neg- 2PP -dig- M
do not dig.

26b) i - mo - rug - a
neg- 2PP-cook- M
do not cook.

However, in spontaneous speech, the negating vowel is left out and utterances such as ‘morema’ and ‘moruga’ are common. They are, however, understood as being in negation.

Since negation is realized as a grammatical and semantic feature, that is, it is interpreted by the LF and PF; it will necessitate the creation of a negation phrase (NEGP) for this feature to be checked in the Minimalist Program.

2.7 FOCUS

Crystal (1997:154) contrasts ‘focus’ with presupposition by defining focus as “a term used ... in a two part analysis of sentences which distinguishes between the information assumed by speakers and that which is at the centre or “focus” of their communicative interest”.

Payne (1997:267) quoting Chafe (1976), Watters (1979), and Dik (1981) gives three approaches to the term focus. These are:

1. “Focus” is a term applied to some morpho-syntactic operation or category whose function has not been adequately analyzed.
2. “Focus” is a term applied to one element of every clause. In this approach, focus can pretty much be equated with “new information” or “asserted information”.
3. “Focus” describes a condition of some pragmatically marked clauses. Other clauses can be “focus-neutral” or “unfocused”.

While the first approach to focus is not clear, the second approach is credited to the scholars of the Prague school. According to them, every sentence has two parts; the part that refers to what the addressee is presumed to already have in mind and the part that adds some new information. The third conception of focus takes focus to be a special pragmatic status which focuses on the truth value of an assertion. This is sometimes referred to as the polar focus (Payne 1997:268). The third approach of focus is the one that applies in Ekegusii verbs which mark it by prefixation. In the following sentences, sentence 27a is focus neutral while 27b is focused.

- 27a) Kemunto a⁶ - samor - a ebituma.
 3PS - harvest - M

Kemunto harvested maize.

- 27b) Kemunto n - a - samor - a ebituma.
 FOC - 3PS-harvest - M

Kemunto did harvest maize.

It is, however, important to note that focus seems to have been fully integrated into the language but the utterances which are focus neutral appear to be marked. When the focus morpheme is left out of a sentence, a lexical item ‘nigo’ meaning ‘did’ precedes the verb. Sentence 27a will thus be more acceptable when realized as 28 below:

- 28) Kemunto nigo asamora ebituma.
 Kemunto did harvest maize.

2.8 SUFFIXATION

Prefixation has been the main area of focus so far and now attention is turned to suffixation. Since the scope of this study is verb derivation (mainly achieved through suffixation), tense, aspect and mood (TAM) will be considered briefly. Aspect and mood are marked by suffixation while tense is marked by suprafixation of tone and by the use of adverbials.

Both tense and aspect deal with time but as Comrie (1976) observes, the reference point for tense is the present moment; making it deictic. Aspect on the other hand looks at the internal temporal constituency of a situation and it is independent of its relation to any other time point; making it non-deictic.

⁶ Although the vowel is realized as a short or single vowel in orthography, in spoken speech it is realized as a long vowel. The words will be realized as /a:samora/ and /na:samora/

Tense and aspect are however related on a time line and some scholars feel that they are best discussed together (Joos 1964). According to Pence et al (1963:261) “tense is that part of a verb that makes clear the time of the action expressed by the verb” Ekegusii shows the time of an event (tense) by tone, the prefix ‘ka-’ ~‘ga-’(past) and adverbials. This time can be in the past, the present or the future. Only the past and the present tense will be analyzed in this section.

2.8.1 The Past tense

The past tense which shows completed events or actions is further sub-divided into the near past, the recent past and the remote past. These tense distinctions will be analyzed individually.

2.8.1.1 The near past tense

The near past tense denotes an event that happened earlier on within the same day. It is marked by a low rising followed by a high and low tone on the final syllable. This is exemplified below:

29a) Makori n - ǎ - rém - à
 FOC - AGRs - dig - Fv
 Makori dug (earlier today)

29b) Gesare n - ǎ - à
 FOC - pluck - Fv
 vegetables
 Gesare plucked vegetables

2.8.1.2 The recent past tense

This kind of tense points out events that happened between yesterday to a few months ago. This tense can be marked in two ways. The first is by having the verb form being

identical to the one shows the near past tense but distinguished by a falling tone on the first syllable. See the examples below:

- 30a) Makori n - â - rém - à
 FOC - AGRs - dig - Fv

 Makori dug (recent past)

- 30b) Gesare n - â - à
 FOC - pluck - Fv
 vegetables

 Gesare plucked vegetables (recent past)

Secondly the verbs will co-occur with the perfect aspect marker -et- but be distinguished with the remote past tense by tone. It is observable that the Fv changes from /a/ to /e/when the recent past tense co-occurs with this aspect. The tone on the first syllable also changes from low rising to high. Consider examples 31a and 31b below:

- 31a) Makori n - á - rém - ét - è
 FOC - AGRs - dig - ASP - Fv

 Makori dug (recent past)

- 31b) Gesare n - á - á - ét - è
 FOC -AGRs - pluck ASP - Fv
 vegetables

 Gesare plucked vegetables (recent past)

2.8.1.3 The remote past tense

The remote past tense denotes events that happened several months ago to infinite past. This tense usually co-occurs with the perfect aspect marker -et-. The examples below demonstrate the remote past tense in Ekegusii.

- 32a) Makori n - à - rém - ét - é
 FOC -AGRs - dig - ASP - FV
 Makori dug (remote past tense)

- 32b) Gesare n - à - á - ét - é
 FOC -AGRs - pluck - ASP - FV
 vegetables
 Gesare plucked vegetables (remote past tense)

2.8.1.4 The past tense by prefix ka – ~ ga-

The prefixes ka- and ga- which are phonologically conditioned mark past tense without distinguishing between the recent and the remote past tenses. The use of adverbials of time such as ‘omwaka oeta -last year, ‘igoro’ -yesterday, help to clarify the time of the event. The prefixes, ka- and ga- do not, however, denote near past tense. The examples below show this:

- 33a) Moraa a - ka - rem - a (moisonde)
 AGRs - TNS - dig - M
 Moraa dug (the day before yesterday)

- 33b) Kemunto a - ga - teng - a (omwaka oeta)
 AGRs -TNS - dance - M
 Kemunto danced (last year)

2.8.2 The present tense

According to Comrie (1985:37) situations that represent the present tense are rare because “it is relatively rare for a situation to coincide with the present moment.” In Ekegusii language this tense tends to overlap with the progressive aspect, but if one wants to distinguish it from aspect then an auxiliary and a lexical item will be used together with the verb. This is illustrated on the next page:

34a) Moraa n - ko - rem - a a -re bono iga
 FOC - inf - dig - M 3PS-Aux right now

Moraa is digging right now.

34b) Kemunto n - go - e - sibi - a a -re bono iga
 FOC - inf - REF - bathe - FV 3PS-Aux right now

Kemunto is bathing right now.

The verb ‘ngoesibia’ will form a glide as has already been discussed and be realized as ‘ngwesibia’

2.8.3 Aspect

The definition of aspect based on Comrie (1976:3) has already been given as “... (the) different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Ibid (16) further views aspect as being perfective or imperfective. The perfective aspect views “...a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation, while imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation”.

The perfective aspect in Ekegusii can be subdivided into the perfective and the perfect, while the imperfective aspect can be subdivided into the habitual, the progressive and the repetitive aspects. Only the perfective aspects will be analyzed in this sub-section.

2.8.2.1 The perfective aspect

The perfective aspect refers to a past situation which has some relevance to the present. This aspect is marked by the suffix -ir- in Ekegusii and the final vowel changes from /-a/ to /-e/. Examples 35a and 35b serve as illustrations.

35a) Kerubo o - rem - ir - e
 3PS - dig - ASP - FV

Kerubo has dug

35b) abana ba - rage⁷ - ir - e
 3PP - eat - ASP - FV

(the) children have eaten.

2.8.2.1.2 The perfect aspect

The perfect or completive aspect looks at a past situation but sees it as a whole. Ekegusii marks this aspect by the suffix -et- and the final vowel changes from /-a/ to /-e/. Consider the examples below:

36a) Kerubo n - a - rem - et - e
 FOC- 3PS - dig - ASP - FV

Kerubo dug.

36b) abana m - ba - rager - et - e
 FOC - 3PP - eat - ASP - FV

(the) children ate.

Tone will distinguish between the recent and remote past tenses in sentences 36a and 36b above.

2.8.3 Mood

Mood, Payne (1997:244) refers to it as “mode”, describes the speakers attitude towards a situation, including the speakers belief in its reality or likelihood. TAM differs from valency in that TAM is inflectional while valency is derivational. Pence et al (1963: 256) looks at mood as “...that property of a verb which indicates how the verbal idea is to be

⁷ The root is unchanged when it occurs with the -et- aspect marker as in example 36b but the final consonant is deleted when it occurs with -ir- aspect marker for the verb ‘rager-a’

regarded – whether as a statement of fact, a command, a supposition, a doubt, or impossibility”. The types of mood expressed in Ekegusii are the imperative (expresses commands or direct requests), subjunctive (shows vagueness / uncertainty), the conditional (shows possibility pegged on a condition), the indicative (used for declaratives) and the infinitive. These types of moods are exemplified below:

- 37a)

rem - a

dig - M

dig

- imperative
- 37b)

o - rem - e

2PS - dig -M

you dig

- subjunctive
- 37c)

ko - ra - rem - e

Inf - COND - dig - M

if you dig

- conditional
- 37d)

n - a - rem - a

FOC - 3PS - dig - M

he/she dug.

- indicative
- 37e)

ko - rem - a

Inf - dig M

to dig

- infinitive

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The final vowel /a/ marks three moods in the language. In the imperative mood, it is realized together with the verb root while in the indicative mood, the focus and the subject agreement accompany the verb root. In the infinitive mood, the infinitive morpheme marker sets it apart from the other moods. The final vowel ‘i’ marks the conditional and the subjunctive moods. The conditional mood has a conditional

morpheme ‘ra’ which co-occurs with the infinitive marker. The focus marker is left out in the subjunctive mood.

2.9 VERB REDUPLICATION

Reduplication of the verb is a frequent feature in Ekegusii verbal morphology. This reduplication involves the verb root together with the final vowel. If the suffixes appear in the reduplication, then they are also reduplicated although for ease of articulation they are only uttered in the second part of the verb. Reduplication gives an added meaning to the verb as the following examples show:

38a) rem - a
 dig - M
dig

38b) rem - a rem - a
 dig - M - dig - M
dig (This encourages one to continue digging)

38c) Ongerī a - ka - rem - a - rem - a
 3PS - TNS - dig - M - dig - M
Ongerī dug
the sentence shows how Ongerī dug quickly or badly.

38d) Omogondo o - ka - rem - w - a - rem - w - a
 AGRs - TNS - dig - PASS - M - dig - PASS- M
the farm was dug.
the farm was dug quickly or poorly.

2.10 TONE

Just like most Bantu languages, Ekegusii is a tonal language. Pike (1948:43) defines a tone language as “a language having lexically significant contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable”. Ekegusii has two tones; high and low.

The domain of tone in Ekegusii is the whole word and the units that bear it are the vowels. Of the grammatical categories that exist in the language, it is the verbs that show semantic contrasts resulting from tone. The data below illustrates the contrast that grammatical tone creates in the language.

39 a) tò - kò - rém - ér - é
2PP - 2PSO - dig - BEN - M
we dig for you

39 b) tó - Kó - rém - ér - é
2PP - 2PSO - dig - BEN - M
we dig for you?
(do we dig for you?)

Notice how the high tone on the first and second syllables changes the statement to an interrogative.

40 a) m - bă - rém - à
FOC- 3PP - dig - M
They dug (near past).

40 b) m - bâ - rém - à
FOC- 3PP - dig - M
They dug (recent past).

40 c) m - bá - rém - ă

FOC- 3PP - dig - M

They should not dig.

The low rising tone on the first syllable indicates the near past while the high falling tone on the same syllable indicates the recent past tense. The low rising tone on the last syllable preceded by high tones on the first and second syllables mark negation.

2.11 QUESTIONS

Statements can be changed to questions through tone (suprafixation). The examples given below illustrate this:

41 a) Kemunto nasamora ebituma (statement)

Kemunto harvested maize

41 b) Kemunto nàsámórâ ebituma (question)

Did Kemunto harvest maize?

The high tone changes the statement into a question. Questions can also be realized by lexical wh- elements.

2.12 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the Ekegusii verb morpho-syntax has been analyzed in areas such as agreement, negation, focus, tone and reduplication. The agreement between the verb and its subject(s) and object(s) has been extensively demonstrated. It has also been illustrated that negation is marked morphologically by prefixation, suffixation and suprafixation (of tone).

It has been shown that focus and verb reduplication in the language give an added meaning to the verb. The discussion also established tone as a tense marker, as well as a question formation morpheme and therefore it cannot be overlooked in the Ekegusii verb morphology.

Finally, tense, aspect and mood (TAM) have been established as being realized on the verb by inflection and not by derivation.

CHAPTER THREE

VALENCY CHANGING PROCESSES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Ekegusii, like all languages has various devices for upgrading a peripheral participant to centre stage (valency increasing) and downplaying a normally centre stage participant to peripheral status, or even eliminating a participant from the scene all together (valency decreasing) (Payne 1997:172).

This chapter will concentrate on both the valency increasing and valency decreasing processes that Ekegusii portrays.

3.2 VALENCY INCREASING OPERATIONS

The valency increasing operations which will be analyzed in this chapter are the causative and the applicatives which include: the benefactive, the locative and the instrumental.

3.2.1 The causative

Palmer (1994:218) explains that the causative involves some kind of marking on the verb, whether periphrastic⁸ or morphological, an addition of a causer in the subject position, a demotion of the other argument and causal meaning. It is used in saying who or what causes something to happen (Matthews 1997:49). Payne (1997:176) observes that the “...causative is a linguistic expression that contains in semantic/logical structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing effect.” Baker

⁸ Periphrastic refers to the use of separate words instead of inflections to express some grammatical idea.

(1988:10) further elaborates that the causative is one of the processes that introduce a new thematic argument as a subject with the original subject taking some other grammatical function. The causative therefore increases the valency of a verb by adding a causer to the scene.

In Ekegusii, the causative is marked by the suffixation of the vowel -i- to the verb root. The causative can be marked for both the intransitive and the transitive, verbs. Consider the examples below:

- 42a)
abana
ba
- sek
- ir
- e
children
3PP
- laugh
- ASP
- M

-Univalent
- The children have laughed.*
- 42b)
Bosibori
o
- sek
- ir
- i
- e
abana
Bosibori
3PS
- laugh-
ASP
- CAUS
- M
children

-Divalent
- Bosibori has made/caused the children to laugh.*

The causative empowers a divalent verb (transitive) to become trivalent. This is illustrated in the example below:

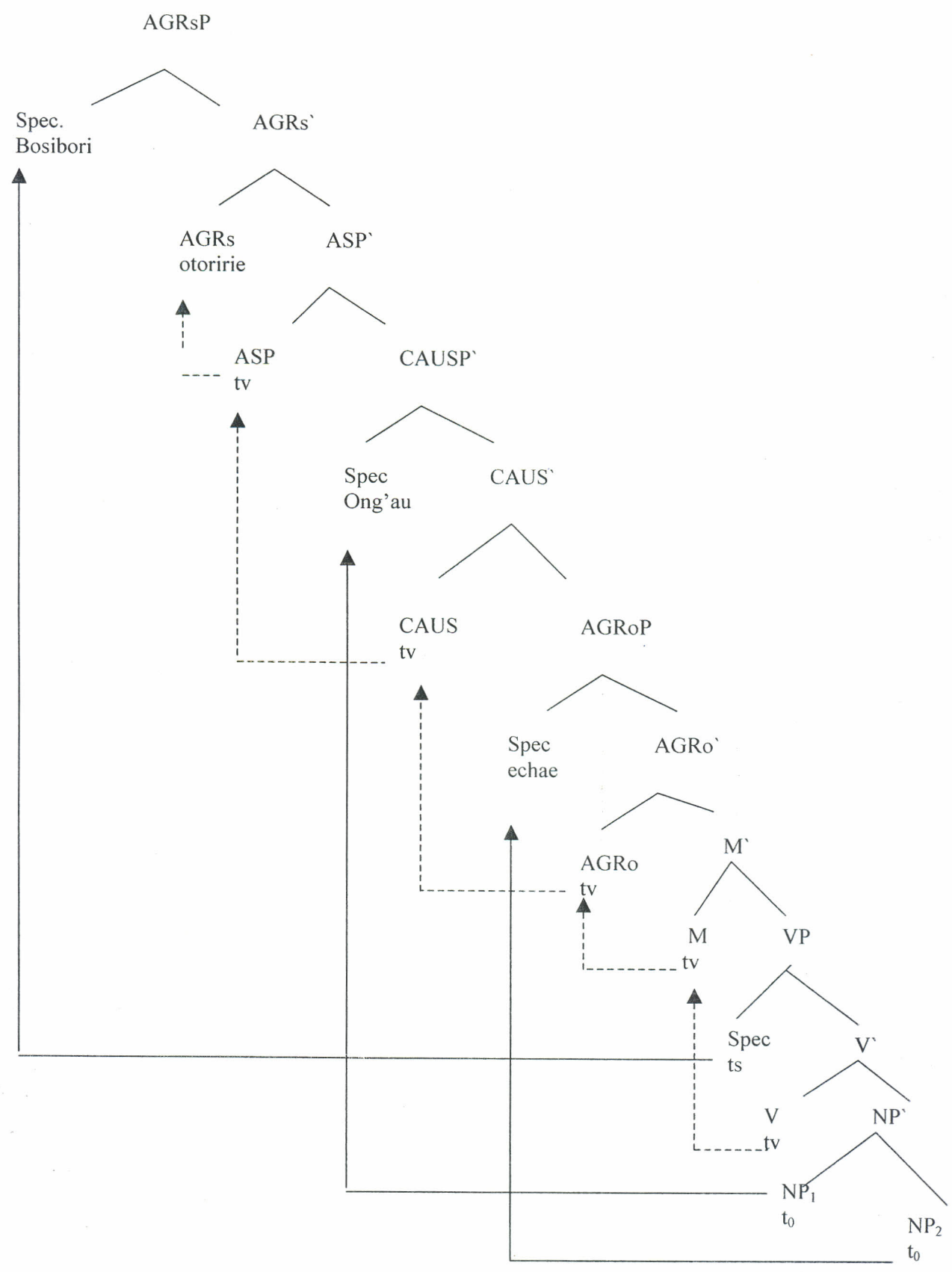
- 43a)
Ong'au
o
- tor
- ir
- e
echae
Ong'au
3PS
- Pick-
ASP-
M
tea

- Divalent
- Ong'au has picked tea.*
- 43b)
Bosibori
o
- tor
- ir
- i
- e
Ong'au
echae
Bosibori
3PS-pick-
ASP-
CAUS-
M
Ong'au
tea

-Trivalent
- Bosibori has made Ong'au to pick tea.*

The causative, aspect and mood features will lead to a change in the basic sentence structure as was presented on page 14. The causative, aspect and mood have strong morphological features and they therefore need projections of heads for feature checking. This is in line with the PFI which requires features appearing at PF and LF to be checked. The causative receives a feature head and a specifier position for case checking of the additional argument. The basic SVO sentence order in Ekegusii also changes to SVOO because the original subject receives a different grammatical function in the indirect object position.

The following tree illustrates these changes using sentence 43b



- 44b) Momanyi o - rem - e - ir - e Makori - Divalent
3PS- dig - BEN - ASP - M

Momanyi has dug for Mogere.

- 44c) Momanyi n - a - rem - er - et - e Makori - Divalent
FOC -3PS - dig - BEN- ASP- M

Momanyi dug for Mogere

Similarly, a divalent verb can become trivalent by the addition of a benefactive morpheme. Consider the examples below:

- 45a) Momanyi o - rem - ir - e omogondo -Divalent
3PS - dig - ASP- M garden

Momanyi has dug the garden.

- 45b) Momanyi o - rem- e - ir - e Makori omogondo -Trivalent
3PS-dig - BEN-ASP-M Makori garden

Momanyi has dug the garden for/on behalf of Makori.

In constructions which already have a direct object such as 45a above, the applicative results in a three argument verb as realized in 45b. The additional argument 'Makori' becomes the 'applied' direct object. ¶

The verbs which have the root structure as CVCCV or CVCV⁹ have the benefactive marker as an infix which comes between the second CV part of the root. The examples below serve as illustrations:

- 46a) rig - a esani
RT - Fv plate
(you) look for a plate.

⁹ Refer to chapter 2 page 21-22.

- 46b) Monchari o - rig - ir - i - e esani
3PS - look - ASP - RT - Fv plate

Monchari has looked for a plate.

- 46c) Monchari o - rig - e - ir - i - e Nyanchama esani
3PS - look - BEN - ASP - RT - Fv Nyanchama plate

Monchari has looked for a plate for (on behalf of) Nyanchama

3.2.2.2 The Locative

The locative shows the location of one item in relation to another. This derivation increases the valency as it introduces the argument that shows the location of something or somebody. The location can be *on*, *in* or *against*.

The locative is marked by the suffixation of -er- to the verb root and this is realized as -e- when the aspect marker is the perfective -ir-. The examples below demonstrate this:

- 47a) Joseph o - ikarans - ir - e - Univalent
3PS - sit - ASP - M

Joseph has sat.

- 47b) Joseph n - a - ikarans - er - et - e egetabu - Divalent
FOC - 3PS - sit - LOC - ASP - M

Joseph has sat on the book.

- 47c) Joseph o - ikarans - e - ir - e egetabu - Divalent
3PS - sit - LOC - ASP - M

Joseph has sat on the book.

- 47d) Zanetta o - kam - ir - e - Univalent
3PS - milk - ASP - M

Zanetta has milked.

- 47e) Zanetta o - kam - e - ir - e esuguria -Divalent
 3PS – milk - LOC-ASP - M

Zanetta has milked into the sufuria.

Notice the ungrammaticality of the construction which has a locative morpheme but has one valency.

- 48) *Zanetta o kam -e- ir- e
 3PS – milk – LOC- ASP- M

The locative marker is the same as the benefactive marker. The native speakers of the language will however, use their competence to distinguish between the two as for instance, ‘the sufuria’ cannot be taken as the benefactee since it is inanimate. If the applied “locative object” is replaced with an animate object, then the derived sentence will be given the interpretation of the benefactive and not the locative. The sentences below will thus receive different interpretations by the native speakers of Ekegusii.

- 49a) Zanetta o - kam - e - ir - e esuguria – locative
 3PS - milk - LOC- ASP – M sufuria

Zanetta has milked into the sufuria (the milk is in the sufuria).

- 49b) Zanetta o - kam - e - ir - e Nyaboke –benefactive
 3PS - milk - BEN - ASP - M Nyaboke

Zanetta has milked for (on behalf of) Nyaboke

3.2.2.3 The Instrumental

This derivation denotes the item/instrument that is used to achieve an action or a course. It thus increases the valency by including the applied instrumental object into the sentence. In Ekegusii, the instrumental is introduced by the suffixation of -er- or –e- to the verb root. The examples 50a to 50d attest to this:

50a) Carson n - a - rik - a - Univalent
FOC-3PS- write - M

Carson wrote

50b) Carson n - a - rik - er - et - e ekaramu -Divalent
FOC-3PS - write - INST- ASP - M pen

Carson wrote with a pen

50c) Kerubo o - keny - ir - e ekabichi - Divalent
3PS - cut - ASP - M sukuma-wiki

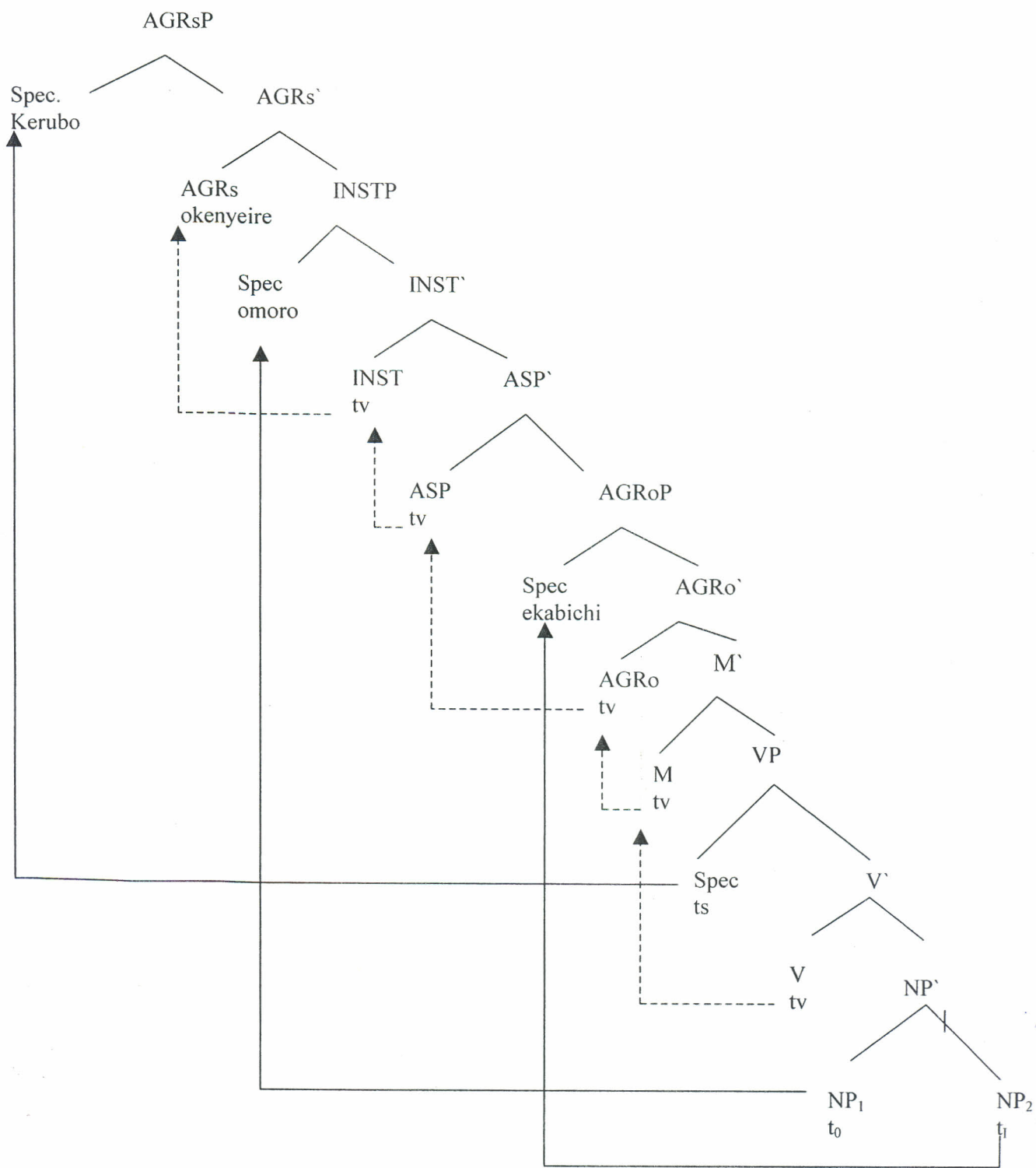
Kerubo has cut cabbage/ sukuma-wiki

50d) Kerubo o - keny - e - ir - e omoro ekabichi - Trivalent
3PS - cut - INST - ASP - M panga sukuma- wiki

Kerubo has cut cabbage/ sukuma-wiki using a panga

Although the instrumental morpheme marker is -er- or -e- , just like the one that shows the locative and the benefactive, the native speaker competence aids the speakers and listeners to give the derivation the correct interpretation, as the ‘panga’ or the ‘pen’ for instance, cannot be the locative or the benefactees since they are instruments.

The instrumental applicative for sentence 50d will demonstrate the structure building for applicatives in Ekegusii in the MP.



Note how the structure builds heads and specifiers that are licensed through the PFI. The instrumental receives a feature head and a specifier head to check the case of the added argument. The applied direct object ‘omoro’ occupies the specifier of the instrumental phrase for accusative case checking. The object ‘ekabichi’ is kept in the specifier of AGRoP where its case is checked while the verb moves to check for mood, object agreement features, aspect and agreement with the instrumental before landing at the AGRs/AGRs’ position.

3.3 VALENCY DECREASING PROCESSES

Payne (1997) suggests that the most common valency decreasing operations in languages are the reflexives, reciprocals, passives and the antipassives. Out of these four major operations three are realized in Ekegusii and these are the ones which will be analyzed. These operations are: the passive, the reflexive and the reciprocal.

3.3.1 The Passive

The passive has been defined by Spencer et al (1991:210) as “...a morpho-syntactic operation that suppresses the external argument.” The external argument may not be syntactically expressed but is available semantically.

Passivization is indicated by the suffix –w-¹⁰ in Ekegusii. This morpheme can reduce a verb with two valents to one as shown below:

¹⁰ The underlying form of this morpheme may be –u- which becomes a glide because of the final vowel. However, this underlying form does not occur in the surface at all, and we will thus use the morpheme –w- to mark the passive.

51a) Gesare bw - a - ir - e rinagu – Divalent
 3PS - pick – ASP - M

Gesare has picked vegetables (of a certain kind)

51b) rinagu ri - a - ir - w - e (na Gesare)- Univalent
 AGRs -pick –ASP- PASS - M

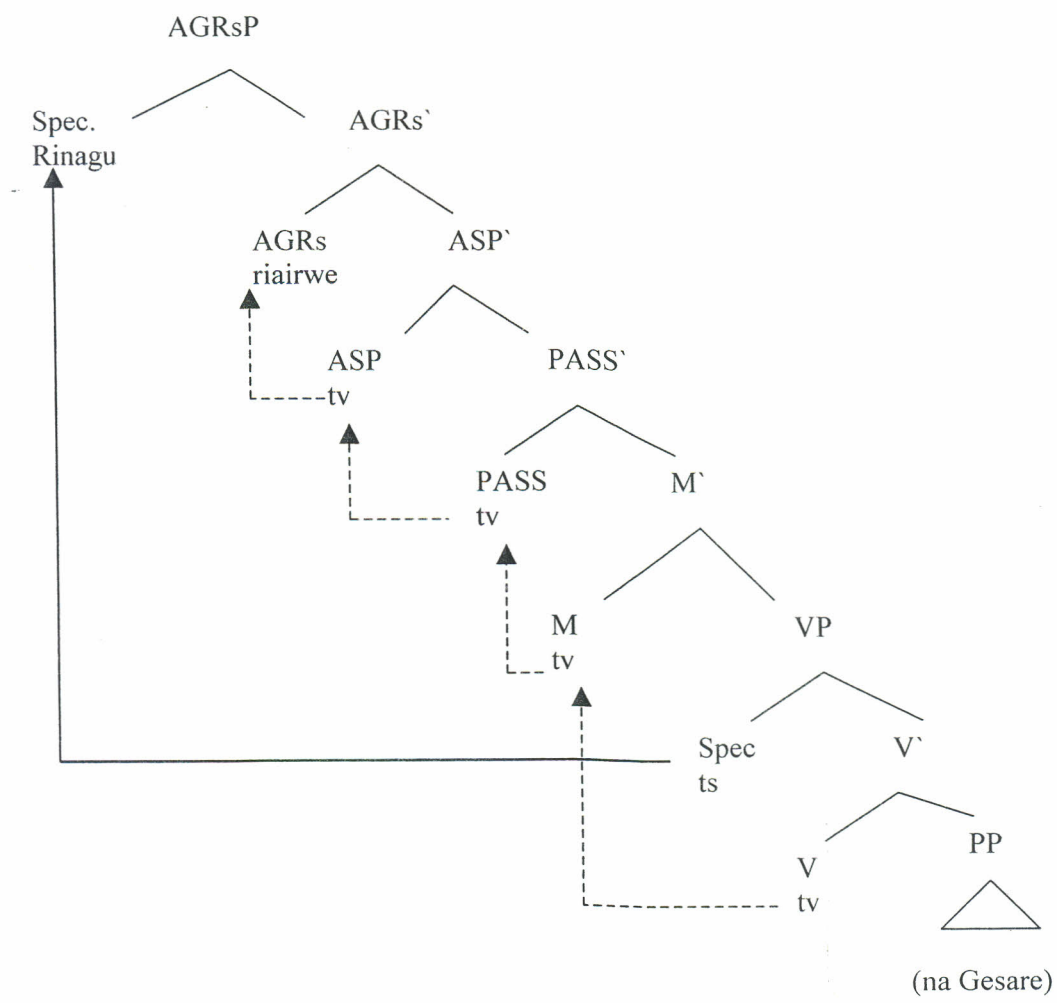
Vegetables have been picked (by Gesare)

The object of the derived sentence is promoted to the subject status and the verb bears the agreement features of this new subject. The subject/external argument is suppressed as it becomes the object of a prepositional phrase¹¹. The subject of a passive construction thus corresponds to the object of the active sentences.

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¹¹ A prepositional phrase is a group of items which precede noun phrases.

Sentence 51b shows a derivation where the verb contains agreement, aspect, passive and mood as functional categories and its syntactic structure is as shown below:



The promoted subject “rinagu” moves from Spec/VP to Spec/AGRsP to check for nominative case. The verb ‘riairwe’ moves from its base position to M/M’, PASS/PASS’, ASP/ASP’ and finally to AGRs/AGRs’ where it lands after the checking process is complete. The de-emphasized prepositional phrase ‘na Gesare’ has an oblique case¹² and since it is not morphologically licensed it will not move for feature checking.

3.4 The Reflexive

Givon (2001:95) gives the semantic definition of a reflexive as construction where “the subject and object of the event or state, regardless of their semantic roles, are co-referent. That is, the subject acts upon (or relates to) itself”.

In Ekegusii, the reflexive marker is a prefix which is the vowel -e which should be accompanied by the subject agreement marker. The examples below clarify this:

52a) Omwana o¹³ - samb - ir - e ekiara - Divalent
 3PS- burn - ASP - M finger
The child has burnt a finger

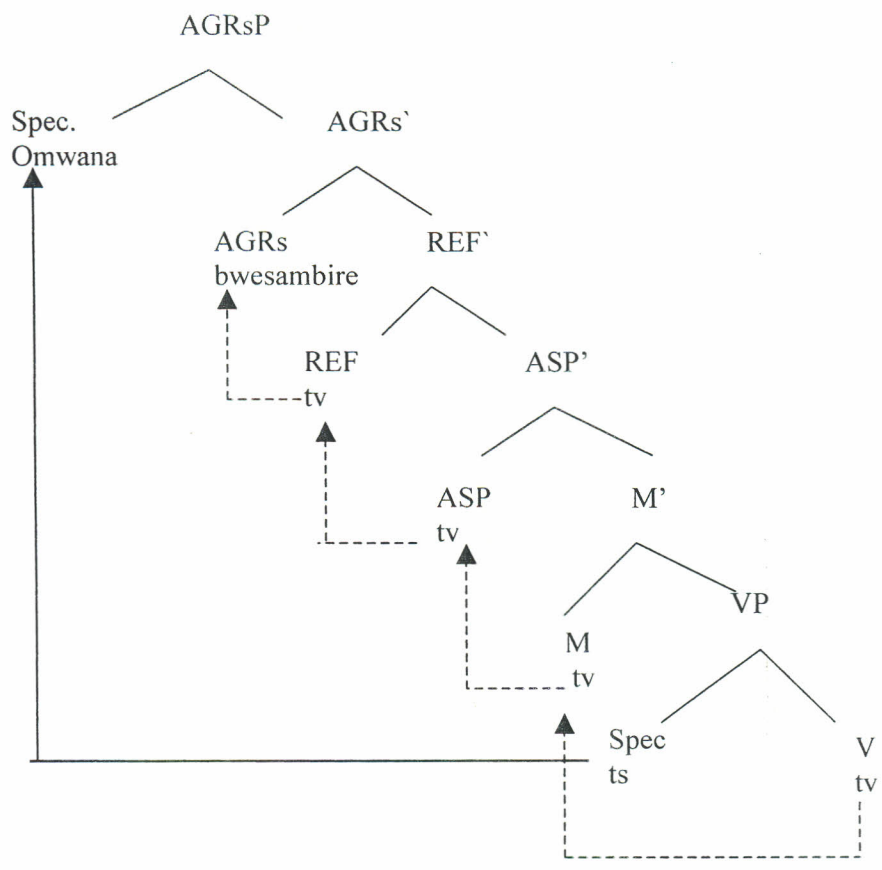
52b) Omwana bw - e - samb - ir - e -Univalent
 3PS - REF – burn - ASP - M
The child has burn him/herself

52c) Abana be - e - samb - ir - e
 3PP - REF – burn - ASP - M
The children have burnt themselves

¹² An oblique case generally refers to the- by phrases
¹³ This will change to bw- and be- (singular and plural respectively) as shown in 52b and 52c. This change is, however, unexplainable.

Sentence 52a is divalent with the external argument ‘omwana’ and the internal argument ‘ekiara’. The reflexive morpheme -e- in 52b indicates that the finger the child burnt is his/hers. It also shows the overlap of the subject and the patient in the derived sentence. The reflexive thus eliminates the object of the derived sentence.

The derivation of a reflexive construction in the MP will be as shown below:



3.5 The reciprocal

This refers to constructions where the participants are acting upon each other and are thus reciprocally co-referent. In Ekegusii the suffix morpheme -an- marks reciprocity. The examples below show this:

- 53a) Hezron n- a - ram - a Carson -Divalent
FOC-3PS - abuse - M
Hezron abused Carson

- 53b) Hezron na Carson m - ba - ram - an - a -Univalent
FOC-3PP - abuse - Rec - M
Hezron and Carson abused each other

In 53b Hezron and Carson are participants in the action expressed by the verb. It is worth noting that it is tone that distinguishes tense (near and recent past) in constructions 53a and b above.

The verbs with the root structure CVCV or CVCCV have an infix reciprocal morpheme which occurs between the second CV. This is illustrated below:

- 54a) Hezron na Carson m - ba - rand - an - i - a
FOC-3PP - preach - Rec -RT- M
Hezron and Carson preached to each other

- 54b) Hezron na Carson m - ba - rig - an - i - a
FOC- 3PP - look - Rec - RT- M
Hezron and Carson looked for each other

3.6 Summary

The focus of this chapter was the analysis of valency changing processes in Ekegusii. Both valency increasing and valency reducing processes have been examined.

In the discussion of the valency increasing processes, the causative, and the applicatives (the benefactive, the locative and the instrumental) have been analyzed. The morphemes that mark these operations and the type of valences they add to a construction have also been examined.

The valency decreasing operations that have been discussed in this chapter are the passive, the reflexive and the reciprocal. Their relevant features have also been checked in the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program.

CHAPTER FOUR

CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY CHANGING PROCESSES

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter dealt with valency changing processes that the Ekegusii verbs display. These processes were seen as either increasing or decreasing the verb valency but it is possible to have combinations of these operations. This chapter will focus on the co-occurrence of the derivational processes and their implication on the sentence structure in regard to the number of valences that will be realized. This will shed light on the match or mismatch between the logical and the natural order of arguments in the language. Logically a co-occurrence of valency increasing operations should give rise to at least three internal arguments.¹⁴

4.2 CO-OCCURRENCE OF VALENCY INCREASING OPERATIONS

The valency increasing operations in Ekegusii verbs are the causative and the applicatives (the benefactive, the locative and the instrumental). The only co-occurrence of valency increasing operations that gives rise to acceptable constructions involves the benefactive with the causative. This co-occurrence will be explained and illustrated below.

4.2.1 Co-occurrence of the Benefactive and the causative

It has already been demonstrated in chapter three that the benefactive morpheme marker in Ekegusii is the suffix -er- or -e- depending on the aspect of the sentence. The causative morpheme is -i-. When these valency adjusting operations co-occur, the benefactive marker precedes the causative and not vice-versa. Consider the examples below:

¹⁴ An internal argument is any NP that occurs after a verb in a construction/sentence.

55a) omwana n - a - rager - a - Univalent
 FOC - AGRs - feed - M
The baby fed

55b) omoreri n - a - rager - i - a omwana - Divalent
 FOC - AGRs - feed - CAUS -M
The house help made the baby to feed

55c) omoreri n - a - rager - er - i - a Kerubo omwana
 FOC - AGRs - feed - BEN -CAUS- M
The house-help made the baby to feed on behalf of Kerubo

In example 55c above, both the benefactive morpheme and the causative morpheme introduce an argument into the sentence. There is thus a match between the logical and the natural order in the realization of arguments.

It is necessary to explain the order of these arguments at this stage especially since both the direct object and the applied direct object occur in the construction. This idea is discussed by Baker (1988:13) in what he termed the mirror principle. The principle states that “morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa).” This means that morphological changes take place in exactly the same order as the associated syntactic changes. In sentence 55c above, the applicative (benefactive) makes the oblique argument ‘Kerubo’ to be the object of the verb while the original object ‘omwana’ ceases to be one.

The applicative process precedes the causative process and this explains the order of the morphemes as reflected on the verb. A reverse of the morphological order leads to

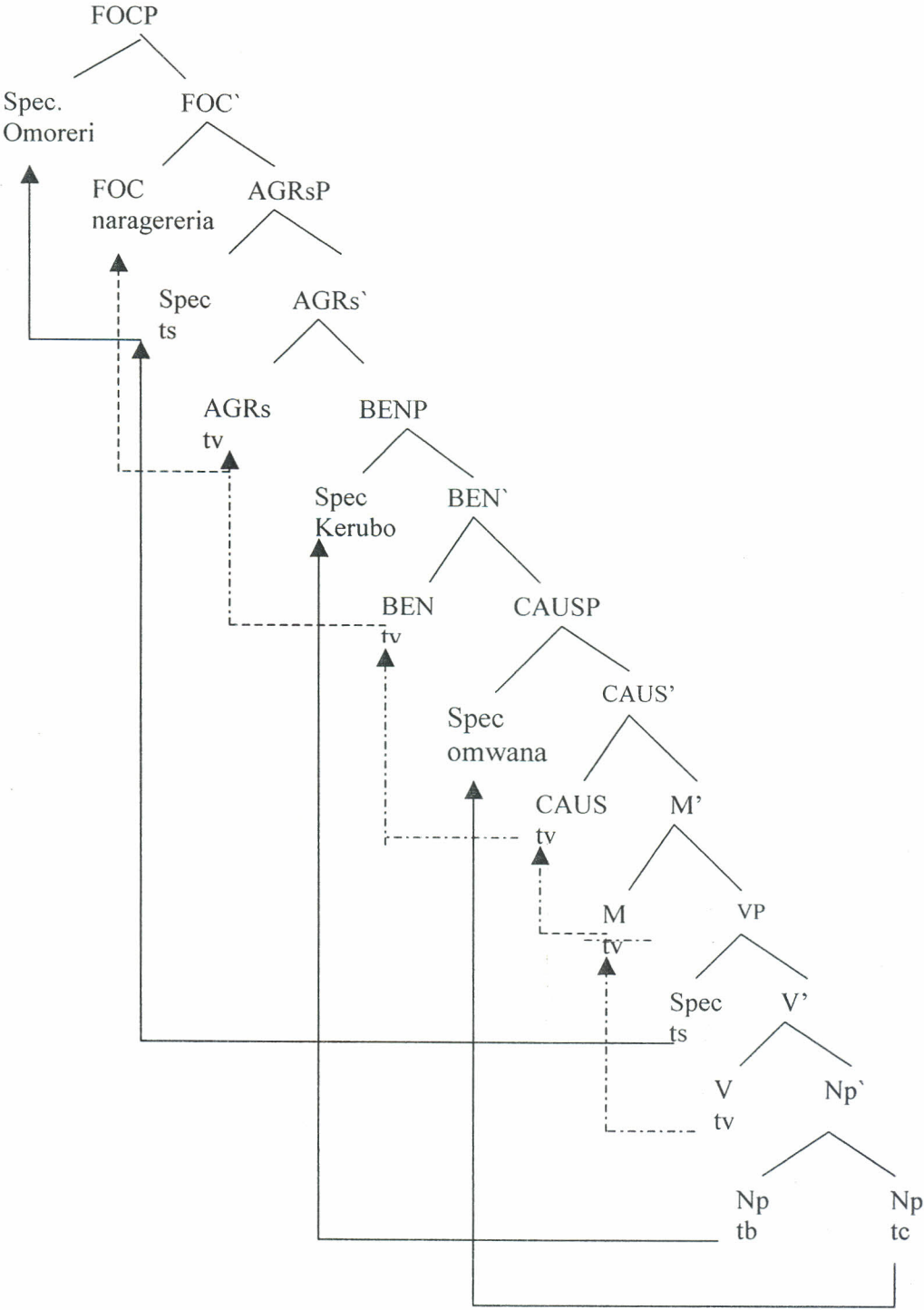
ungrammaticality. Consider example 56 below where the causative precedes the applicative:

56) *Omoreri n – a – rager- i –er – e Kerubo omwana.
FOC- 3PS-feed-CAUS-BEN-M

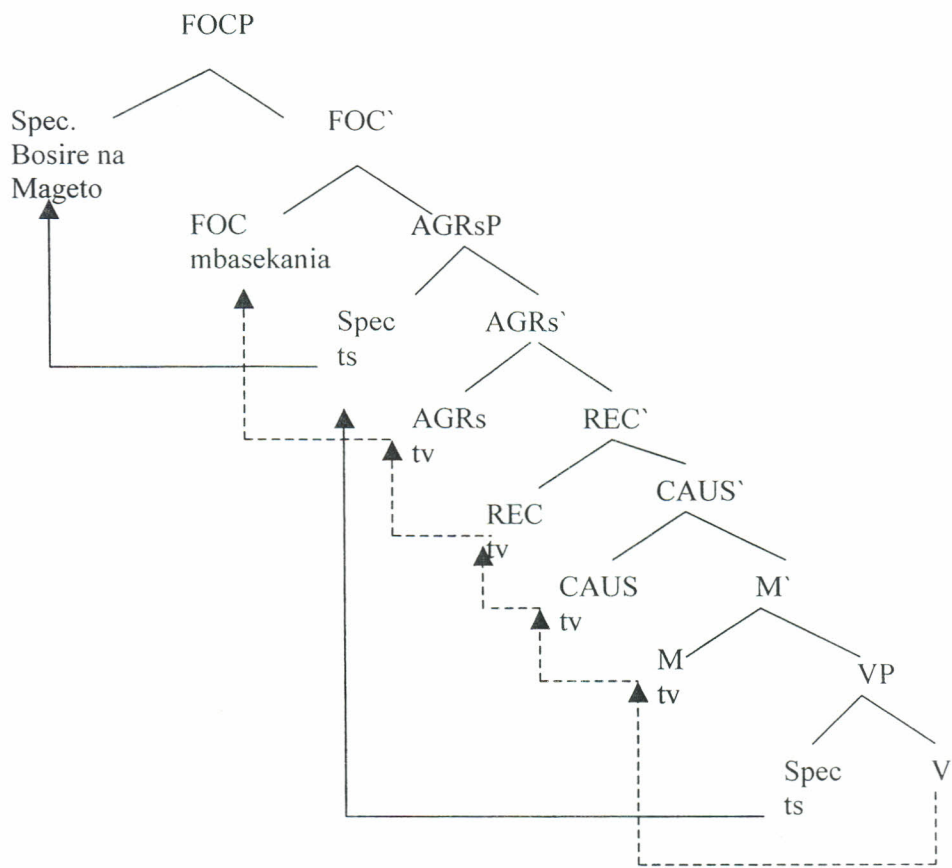
The house-help made the baby to feed on behalf of Kerubo.

The syntactic order of the arguments; ‘Kerubo’ and ‘omwana’ must thus reflect the morphological derivations. ‘Kerubo’ which is the applied object precedes ‘omwana’ which was the original object. Similarly, the morphemes that mark the benefactive and the causative must follow the order that reflects the syntactic order of these arguments.

Sentence 55c can be represented structurally in the MP as shown below:



take up the role of the reciprocal and an internal argument (the object) is optional. The structure building of sentence 57a) in the MP is illustrated below:



The subject ‘Bosire na Mageto’ moves from the specifier position of the VP to the Spec/AGRsP for nominative case checking before it settles at the Spec/FOCP because it is a focused subject. The derived verb ‘mbasekania’ checks for its agreement features with the object, for mood at the M/M’, the causative features at the CAUS/CAUS’ and the reciprocal features at the REC/REC’. The verb has agreement features with the subject and these are checked at the AGRs/AGRs’. The focus features will finally be checked at the FOC/FOC’ where the verb is licensed to land. Notice that the causative

does not have a specifier position since there is no causer that is introduced into the argument structure.

4.3.2 Co-occurrence of the Benefactive with various valency reducing operations

The benefactive co-occurs with all the valency reducing operations which are; the reciprocal, the passive, and the reflexive.

4.3.2.1 Co-occurrence of the Benefactive and the reciprocal

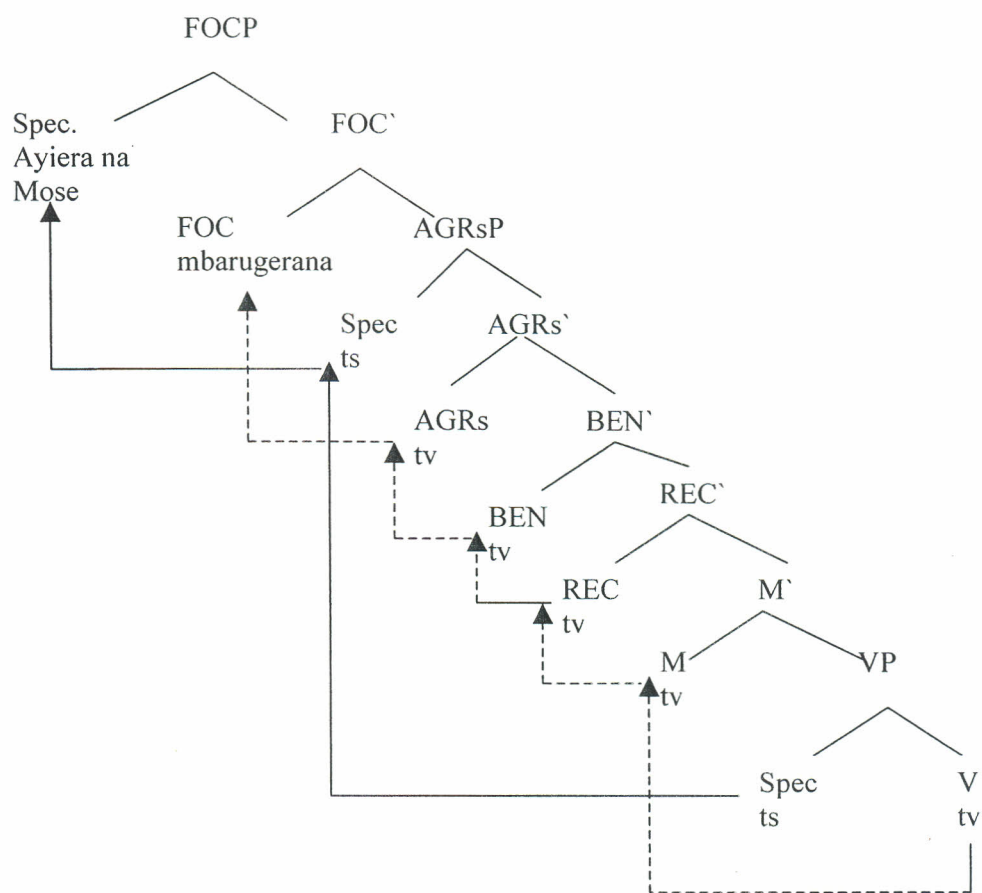
Both the benefactive and the reciprocal are marked by suffixation. However, the benefactive morpheme precedes the reciprocal morpheme. This is illustrated in the examples below:

58a) Maria na Kerubo ba - ka - rik - er - an - a amarube
 AGRs - TNS - write - BEN - REC - M letters
Maria and Kerubo wrote letters to (for) one another

58b) Ayiera na Mose m - ba - rug - er - an - a
 Foc - AGRs - cook - BEN. - REC - M
Ayiera and Mose cooked for each other

In construction 58b above, the subjects, ‘Ayiera’ and ‘Mose’ are both benefactors of the reciprocal activity. They are thus benefactees as much as they are recipients of the action expressed in the verb. The reciprocal construction requires a plural subject for acceptable constructions. This remains the case even when it co-occurs with the benefactive. The direct object is not obligatory in this constructions but it aids understanding by getting rid

of ambiguity.¹⁵ The derivational tree of the sentence above will be as shown in the following tree diagram:



The subject “Ayiera na Mose” is case checked for nominative at the Spec/ AGRsP, before landing at the Spec/FOCP to check for focus. The verb is checked for mood, reciprocal and benefactive features, agreement with the subject and focus features at the respective heads. The checking process is complete once all the features which occur at the PF and LF are checked as is the requirement of the PFI.

¹⁵ Sentence 58a the verb ‘bakarikerana’ – ‘to write for’ can receive various interpretations. It can be to write an agreement a court case or a letter. An object thus makes the meaning explicit.

4.3.2.2 Co-occurrence of the benefactive with the passive

The co-occurrence of the benefactive and the passive requires only one compulsory argument. This argument is the applied object which when the passive applies, it converts it to be the subject of the sentence. The other arguments; the direct object and the agent of the action are optional. The sentences 59b and 59c below are thus both acceptable.

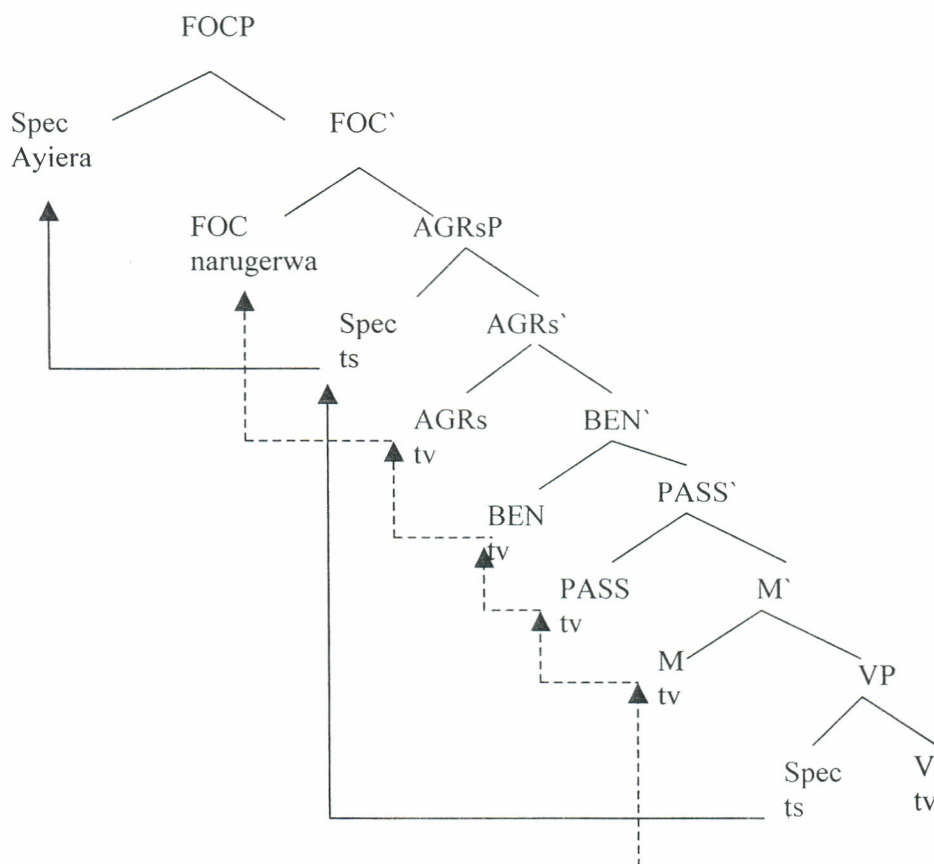
59a) Bosibori n - a - rug - er - a Ayiera
 FOC - AGR - cook - BEN - M
Bosibori cooked for Ayiera.

59b) Ayiera n - a - rug - er - w - a
 FOC - AGR - cook - BEN - PASS - M
Ayiera was cooked for (Ugali)¹⁶

59c) Ayiera n - a - rug - er - w - a (Obokima) (na Bosibori)
 FOC - AGRs - cook - BEN. - PASS - M
Ayiera was cooked for (ugali) (by Bosibori)

In the MP the relevant projections will be structured to allow for the various features to be checked. These features are those which check case (for the arguments) and mood, passive, benefactive, agreement features and focus for the verb. Sentence 59b will thus be projected as shown in the tree on page 72.

¹⁶ Sentence 58b is given the correct interpretation since in the language that is under study, it is only ugali which can be ‘cooked’. The other dishes are boiled or fried.



The verb 'narugerwa' will be checked for six features. The correct mood of the verb is checked for at the M/M', the passive feature at the PASS/PASS', while the benefactive feature is checked for at the BEN/BEN' head. The verb carries features that show agreement with the subject and these are checked at the AGRs/AGRs'. The verb finally lands at the FOC/FOC' position where its focus features are checked. The subject 'Ayiera' is checked for nominative case at the SPEC/AGRsP before settling at the SPEC/FOCP to check off its focus features. These movements obey the shortest move principle since the movements are to the nearest right position first before moving to the next higher position. The principle of greed is also obeyed since the verb moves to check

the features that it carries while the arguments move for case checking only. The principle of economy is thus adhered to.

4.3.2.3 The Benefactive and Reflexive

In this co-occurrence of the benefactive and the reflexive, the reflexive morpheme precedes the benefactive derivational marker. The co-occurrence of the benefactive and the reflexive is demonstrated in examples 60a and 60b below:

60a) Mairura bw - e - rug - er - ir - e
AGRs - REF - cook - BEN - ASP - M
Mairura has cooked for himself

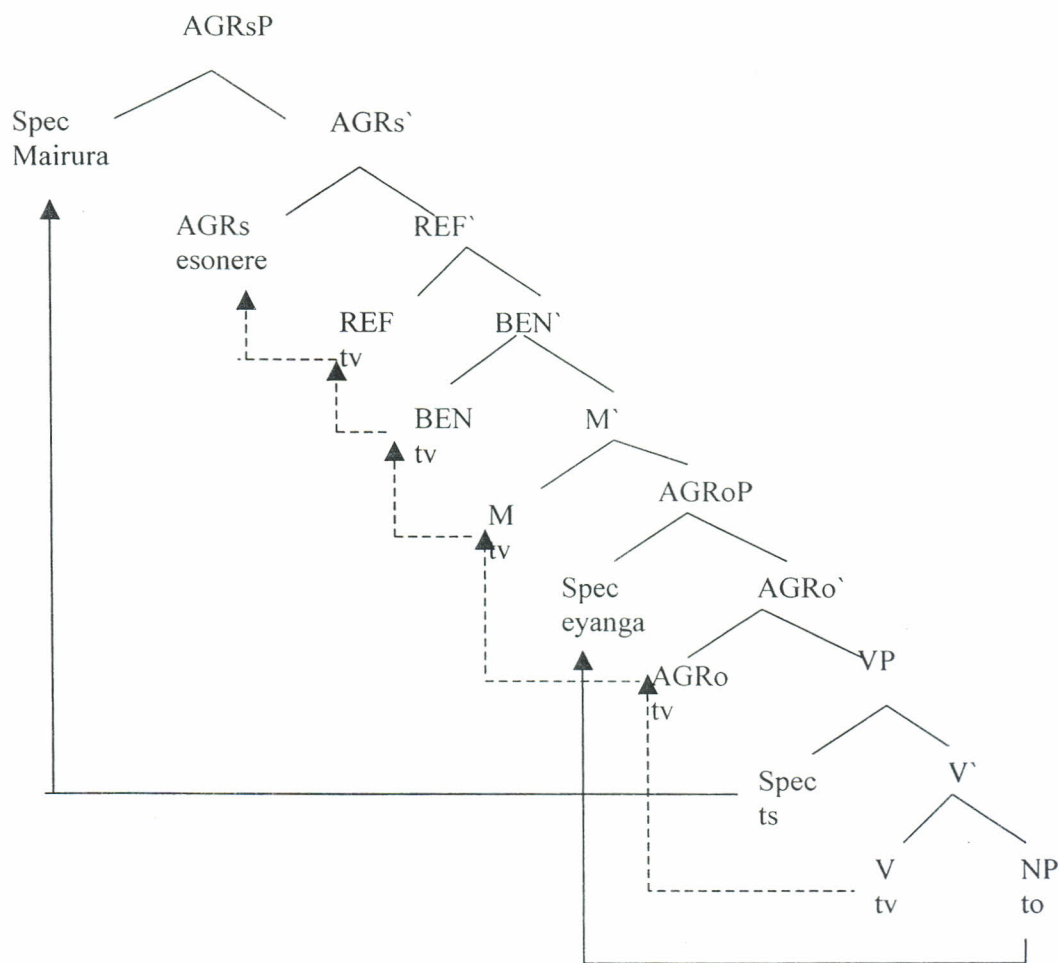
60b) Abana be - e - rug - er - e
AGRs - REF - cook - BEN - M
The children should cook for themselves

The benefactive is doing the action unto himself / herself and the reflexive and the benefactive share a referent. The direct object is optional with the verb ‘ruga’ but other verbs will require it. This is illustrated as shown:

60a) Abana be - e - tach - er - e amache
AGRs - REF - fetch - BEN - M water
The children should fetch water for themselves.

60b) Mairura e - son - er - e eyanga
REF - sew - BEN - M cloth
Mairura should sew/mend the cloth for himself

The representation of sentence 60b in the MP will be as shown below:



The NPs ‘Mairura’ and ‘eyanga’ need to be checked for their appropriate cases. The subject ‘Mairura’ is checked for nominative case at the Spec/AGRsP while the object ‘eyanga’ is checked for accusative case features at the Spec/AGRoP. The verb is checked for the correct mood at the M/M’. It is then checked for benefactive features at the BEN/BEN’, for reflexive features at the REF/REF’ before landing at the AGRs/AGRs’ position.

4.3.3 Co-occurrence of the passive with the various valency increasing operations

The passive, which is a valency reducing operation, co-occurs with the causative, the instrumental and the locative. The co-occurrence of the passive with each of this will be analyzed to establish the argument structure that they will portray.

4.3.3.1 The Passive and the causative

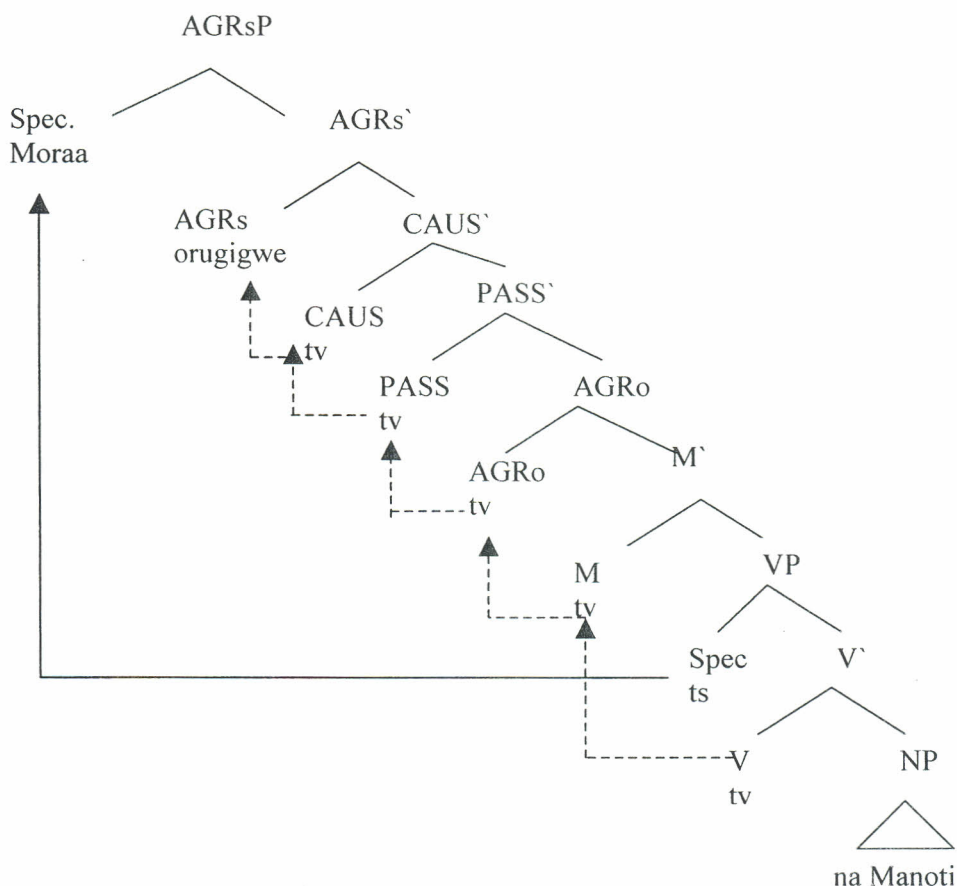
The causative suffix precedes the passive morpheme when they co-occur. This is illustrated in examples 61a and 61b below:

- 61a) abageni ba - sek - i - gw¹⁷ - e (na abana)
 AGRs - laugh - CAUS - PASS - M
 visitors have been made to laugh (by the children)

- 61b) Moraa o - rug - i - gw - e (na Manoti)
 AGRs - cook - CAUS - PASS - M
 Moraa has been made to cook (by Manoti).

The agent of the action, who is also the causer is optional in these constructions. If the agent/causer is introduced into the sentence then sentence 61b will be represented in the MP as shown below:

¹⁷ It had been pointed out that the passive marker is -w-. However, this glide does not occur independently when preceded by a vowel in the language for example in “*rowa” –be bewitched. This glide usually occurs in the combination with the phoneme / g/. This paper thus points out that there is allomorphy of the passive morpheme. When the passive morpheme is preceded by a vowel (e.g the causative morpheme) then the passive morpheme is preceded by a stop. See example 61a) and 61b) above.



The subject 'Moraa' is moved to be case checked at the Spec/AGRsP for nominative case features. The verb 'orugigwe' is moved to check the features of mood at the M/M', passive at the PASS/PASS', before being checked for causative features at the CAUS/CAUS'. This verb will then complete the checking process at the AGRs/AGRs' where it lands. The NP, 'Manoti' which is the causer and agent of the action is not moved for case checking since it has an oblique case which is not morphologically licensed. We thus do not build a specifier position for the causative head. Similarly, we do not project a specifier position for the passive head, because the passive is a valency reducing operation.

4.3.3.2 The Passive and the Applicatives

4.3.3.2.1 The passive and the instrumental

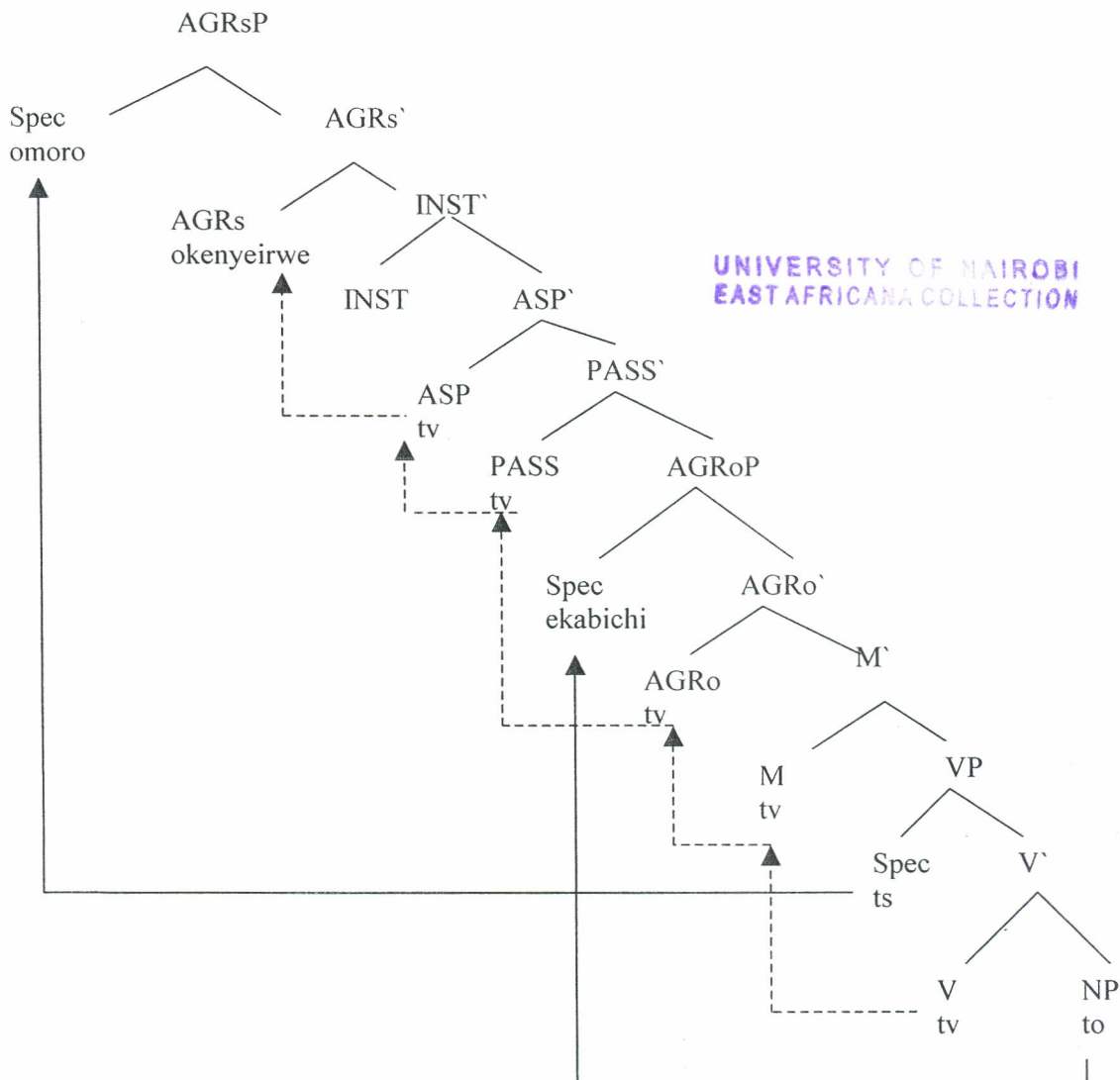
The passive and the instrumental co-occur in the order of the instrumental morpheme preceding the passive morpheme. These can co-occur with aspect, or with tense which will be marked by tone or the prefix ka- ~ ga-. The examples below illustrate this:

62a) omoro n- o - keny - er - w - a ekabichi
FOC- AGRs - cut - INST - PASS - M
The sukuma wiki was cut using a panga (recent past/ immediate past)

62b) omoro o - keny - e - ir - w - e ekabichi
AGRs - cut - INST - ASP - PASS - M
The sukuma wiki has been cut using a panga.¹⁸

The derived sentence allows the subject which is promoted by passivization from the object position, and the direct object. Following the principle of full interpretation only the relevant and interpretable heads will be projected to allow for feature checking. Sentence 62b will be structured as shown below:

¹⁸ The sentence will be interpreted correctly although the morpheme that marks instrumental is identical to the one which marks the benefactive. This is because the NP that follows the verb is inanimate.



The feature checking theory will necessitate the movement of the subject 'omoro' to the Spec/AGRsP to check for the nominative case features. The verb 'okenyeirwe' will be checked for the correct mood at the M/M', before its agreement features with the object are checked. The passive features are checked at the PASS/PASS' head while its aspect features are checked at the ASP/ASP' head. Agreement features with the instrumental will be checked at the INST/INST' head before the verb is checked for the subject

agreement features at the AGRs/AGRs' where it lands. The object 'ekabichi' moves to the specifier of AGRsP for accusative case checking.

4.3.3.2.2 The passive and the locative

The locative morpheme precedes the passive morpheme and the locative object occurs immediately following the verb. The agent (subject of the active sentence) is optional, but if it occurs it follows the locative object preceded by 'na' (by). These constructions can co-occur with tense marked by tone or with aspect. The examples below serve as illustrations.

- 63a) enyama ya - iyek - e - ir - w - e enyongo (na Monyangi)
 AGRs - cook- INST -ASP - PASS - M pot
meat has been cooked in a pot (by Monyangi).

- 63b) enyama ya - iyek - er - w - a enyongo (na Monyangi)
 AGRs - cook - INST - PASS - M pot
meat was cooked in a pot (by Monyangi)

4.3.3.2.3 The Passive and the Benefactive

The benefactive, which is a valency increasing operation applies before the passive. It will thus introduce an applied object into the construction pushing the original object to an oblique position. The passive then applies and this makes the originally oblique object (not the original direct object) into the subject of the sentence. This is illustrated below:

- 64a) Moraa o – rem – ir - e omogondo
 3PS-dig- ASP- M
Moraa has dug the farm

64b) Moraa o - rem - e - ir - e Ongerì omogondo
 3PS - dig - BEN - ASP - M

Moraa has dug the farm for Ongerì

64c) Ongerì o - rem - e - ir - w - e omogondo (na Moraa)
 3PS - dig - BEN - ASP - PASS-M

Ongerì has been dug for the farm (by Moraa)

4.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF MORE THAN TWO OPERATIONS

Ekegusii language allows only one instance of the co-occurrence of more than two valency adjusting operations.

4.4.1 The Benefactive, the causative and the reciprocal

The benefactive and the causative are valency increasing operations while the reciprocal is a valency reducing operation. In their co-occurrence the subject is seen as the causer, while the object is seen as the benefactee. The reciprocal interpretation is implied in the subject although it also tends to receive the reflexive interpretation. In this co-occurrence, the benefactive morpheme precedes the reciprocal and the causative derivations. The reciprocal morpheme also precedes the causative morpheme which is realized last. The examples below illustrate this:

65a) Makori n - a - rik - er - a Momanyi -benefactive
 FOC - AGRs - write - BEN - M

Makori wrote for Momanyi

65b) Makori n - a - rik - i - a Momanyi- causative
 FOC. - AGRs - write - CAUS - M

Makori made Momanyi to write

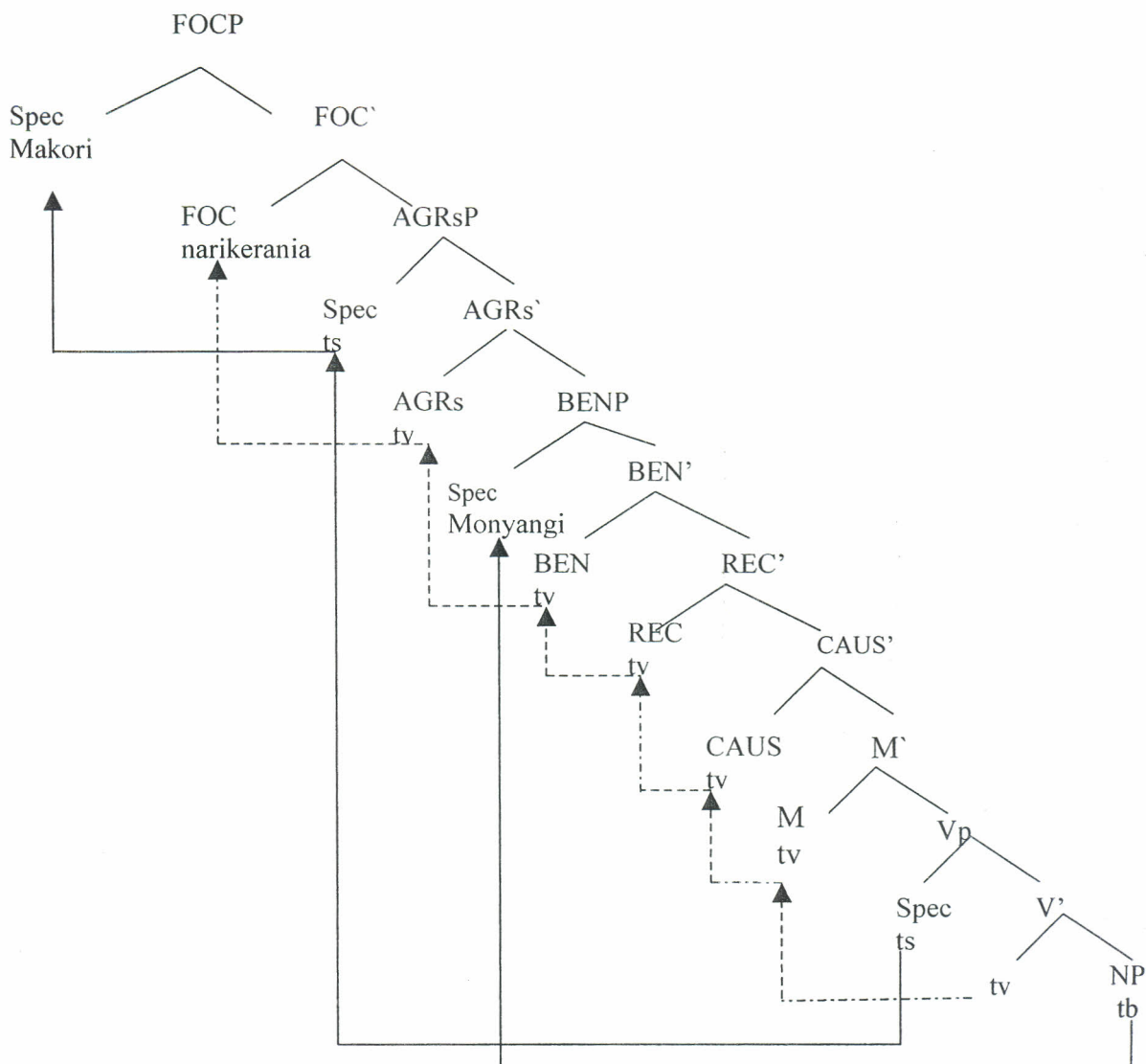
- 65c) Makori na Monyangi m - ba - rik - an - a -reciprocal
 FOC.- AGRs - write - REC - M

Makori and Momanyi wrote (on) each other
(It can also mean that they employed each other)

- 65d) Makori n - a - rik - er - an - i - a Monyangi
 FOC.- AGRs - write - BEN- REC- CAUS- M

Makori wrote for himself or another person and for Monyangi.

Sentence 65d will be built in the MP as shown.



The verb ‘narikerania’ will be checked for the correct mood and for the three various valency adjusting morphemes since these are overtly marked before being checked for agreement with the subject. The verb is then licensed to land at the FOC/FOC’ position because it bears focus features. The subject ‘Makori’ is checked for its correct nominative case at the Spec/AGRsP before landing at the Spec/FOCP. The applied benefactive object lands at the Spec/BENP because it receives the benefactive interpretation more than the reciprocal and the causative. This is the interpretation that will be available due to the native speaker competence. The benefactive morpheme is also closer to the verb root than the other valency marking morphemes.

Example 65d above shows the co-occurrence of three valency adjusting operations although the triple semantic interpretation that they represent is lost. The causative and the reciprocal interpretations are interfered with. The causative and reciprocal morphemes though licensed by the morphology of the language, they do not receive interpretation by the rules of the PF. They are thus visible by PF but not LF.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has analyzed the co-occurrence of valency adjusting operations in Ekegusii. It has been established that while one co-occurrence of valency increasing operations is acceptable, co-occurrence of valency reducing operations does not give rise to correct constructions. Co-occurrence of valency reducing and valency increasing operations are evident in the language. These co-occurrences can be summarized as shown:

- Co-occurrences of valency increasing operations.
 - The benefactive and the causative

- Co-occurrence of valency increasing and decreasing operations.
 - The reciprocal and the causative
 - The benefactive and the reciprocal
 - The benefactive and the passive
 - The benefactive and the reflective
 - The causative and the passive
 - The instrumental and the passive
 - The locative and the passive
- Co-occurrence of three valency adjusting operations.
 - The benefactive, the causative and the reciprocal

The accepted order of these co-occurrences has been looked into. It has also been established that these co-occurrences create a mismatch in some instances between the logical and the natural order of arguments. Subsequently, the feature checking of these co-occurrences has been demonstrated in the Minimalist Program. Finally, it has been illustrated that the co-occurrences receive the correct interpretation, although semantic information is lost in some.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 SUMMARY

This study presented a morpho-syntactic analysis of verb derivation in Ekegusii using the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program. The study thus assumed the inter-relationship of morphology and syntax and aimed at showing how the morphemes that are affixed to the verb affect the valency of that verb.

The Minimalist Program was chosen as the theory that guided the study because it is morpho-syntactic in nature. The feature checking theory of the MP ensures that the verb moves to the relevant heads to check for the features that are reflected in it. Similarly the NPs move for case checking purposes.

The study has revealed that Ekegusii verbs are derived by affixation and that these derivations have a direct influence on the number and type of arguments that are licensed. The study has shown that the affixes have the power to either increase or decrease the valency of a verb. The morphemes that increase the valence of verbs in Ekegusii are the applicatives (the benefactive, the locative, and the instrumental) and the causative. The derivations that reduce the verb valency are the passive, the reflexive and the reciprocal. It has also been observed that the morpheme that introduces the benefactive, the instrumental and the locative is phonologically identical but the context and the native speaker competence aids in giving the correct interpretation to the various derivations.

We have also demonstrated that there is co-occurrence of the valency adjusting operations within the same syntactic structure. While there is only one co-occurrence of the valency increasing operations, there is no co-occurrence of the valency reducing operations. The co-occurrence of valency increasing and decreasing operations is, however, a predominant feature in the language. The mirror principle which was proposed by Baker aids in explaining the order in which various arguments are syntactically reflected when there are co-occurrences.

Although the main focus of this study was verb derivation, verb inflection for tense, aspect and mood could not be overlooked. Verb inflection was, however, not exhaustively discussed.

The feature checking theory of the MP has been demonstrated with a number of constructions. The principle of full interpretation which does not allow superfluous features but which requires all features appearing at PF and LF to be checked was adhered to. The verbs are moved to ensure that the derivational morphemes are checked for correctness. Tense, aspect, mood and agreement features are also checked on the verb. The nouns (valences) are moved so that their cases (nominative and accusative) can be checked.

Based on the investigations demonstrated so far, our hypotheses can be re-emphasized by concluding that:

- The valency adjusting operations in Ekegusii verb morphology are by affixation.
- Verb derivation affects the word order in Ekegusii.

- There is the co-occurrence of various valency adjusting operations within the same syntactic structure.
- The feature checking theory of the MP can adequately analyze Ekegusii verb derivations.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

It has been observed in this study that there are some verbs that mark derivation by infixes while the majority shows the same by prefixation and suffixation. A detailed analysis into the structure of Ekegusii verbs is needed to point out the characteristic differences between these verbs and possibly come up with verb classes in the language.

Some phonological processes take place during verb derivation but these were not examined. A study into these processes that accompany verb derivation would be a timely study.

Similarly, the mismatch between the logical and the natural order needs to be investigated. This is so especially in some instances of co-occurrence where the PF and the LF levels do not reflect each other. Further research is needed into the morphological licensing of some morphemes which are not semantically and logically interpreted.

Finally, the data analyzed was based on the Rogoro dialect. This study therefore recommends further research and investigation into the verb derivation of the Maate dialect within the MP.

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