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TUGEN WORD ORDER:

A MINIMALIST PERSPECTIVE

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Prisca JERONO

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CHAPTER ONE

BASIC LANGUAGE FEATURES OF TUGEN

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Tugen is a language spoken by the Kalenjin of the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. The term Kalenjin was coined in the 1940s to refer to an administrative rather than a linguistic entity Kurgat (1989: 1). The Kalenjin ethnic group is largely thought of as a dialect cluster. Tugen is classified under the Southern Nilotic group of languages. The Southern Nilotic group is further divided into Kalenjin (Nandi, Pokot, Tugen, Keiyo, Merkweta, Kipsigis, Sabaot, Kony, Pok, Terik, Kinare, Sogoo, Akie) and Tatooga (Omotik and Tatooga). Tugen is spoken by the community of people living in the county of Baringo of the Rift Valley Province of Kenya. It has the following dialects: Arror of Northern Baringo, Samor of Central Baringo, Eldorais of the Lowlands and Lembus of Koibatek. Tugen has approximately 144,000[1] speakers and is taken to be a VSO/VOS language.

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

1.1 CONSONANTS

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

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

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

Table 1: Tugen consonants

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

IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	WORD	GLOSS
p	p	pír	beat
β	b	bèèndó	meat
t	t	tèètá	cow
d	d	kééldó	leg
ʧ	ch	chút	enter
k	k	kòìtá	stone
ɤ	g	gàà	home

m	m	mít	chew
n	n	nám	catch
ɲ	ny	nyóó	come
ŋ	ng’	ng’ús	pull
l	l	lít	sharpen
r	r	rát	tie
j	y	yá	bad
w	w	wái	peel
mb	mb	ìryòòmbúú	trumpet
nd	nd	kòòndá	eye
ŋg	ng	ngúùnó	now

Table 2: Orthographic representation of Tugen consonants

1.2 VOWELS

Tugen has 9 vowels which are of two kinds; long and short. The short and long vowels are also specified for +/-ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) and –ATR (Retracted Tongue Root) except /a/ which is specified only for -ATR. –ATR involves the pronunciation where the tongue root is retracted while +ATR is pronounced when the tongue root is pushed forward and thereby creating different phonemic qualities. This brings the number of vowels in Tugen to 18 unlike Kipsigis which Toweett (1977) says has 20. The vowels with +/-ATR are shown in Table 3 below:

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

Table 3: Tugen Vowels

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

IPA	ORTHOGRAPHY	WORD	GLOSS
i	i	pír	beat
ii	i	síír	pass
ɪ	i	sír	write
ɪ ɪ	ii	síít	brush
e	e	kèn	wait
ee	ee	kéér	see
ɛ	e	pét	hew

εε	ee	sèèr	scatter away
a	a	ám	eat
aa	a	syààch	uncover
u	u	pút	demolish
uu	uu	múút	five
ʊ	u	úny	hide
ʊ ʊ	u	kúú	remove something
o	o	pól	make noise
oo	oo	póór	thresh
ɔ	o	tón	cut
ɔɔ	oo	sóóm	borrow

Table 4: An Orthographic representation of Tugen Vowels.

1.3 TONE

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

Tone can be used to signal lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic information. Tone is always transcribed in the syllable nucleus which is usually a vowel; this masks the fact that tone may be phonetically realized on the voiced sonorant segments. Creider & Creider (1989: 23-24) say that in Nandi the monosyllabic words have five surface tones. These are H(igh) tone which has an equivalent of L(ow) H(igh) which occurs in long vowels before a H tone. Others are L, LL and HL tones which occur on both short and long vowels. The LL and HL occur in a complementary distribution where by the LL occurs after L tones. The lowering effect of a LL tone triggers downstepping or a change of register. Tugen on the other hand has two underlying tones namely: H(igh) and L(ow) tones. The tones appear both on short and long vowels. The H tone is unmarked in the language. The high tone has several varieties: H, super (extra) H and downstep. Downstep which will be marked by the symbol (ꜜ) is a feature of H tone where there is a lowering of the pitch of a H tone. This is envisaged to be as a result of a floating L tone that is not realized phonetically. In some instances, the H tone appears to be super (extra) H especially at the end of some verbal derivations and in some nouns that mark the accusative. This however will not be marked. In some cases the L tone can be analysed phonetically as being close to a mid tone when it appears after a H vowel. However the L tone in Tugen is not as low as that found in other Nilotic languages like Dholuo. On some syllables, there are contour tones which are analysed as a sequence of two tones. Tone is a feature that is used to differentiate dialects such as Nandi and Tugen. For example *máát* in Tugen and *mààt* in Nandi for (fire), *yá* and *yâ* (bad) and *kóót* and *kòòt* (house) for Tugen and Nandi respectively. Tone is used grammatically to show aspects like definiteness, subject and object, as it shall be discussed in 2.4.1 and 2.6 below.

1.4 NOUNS AND NOUN INFLECTION

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

1.4.1 DEFINITENESS AND NUMBER

Tugen nouns are inflected for definiteness, number and gender. Definiteness is a formal property of nominal expressions which signals whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the

speaker to be identifiable to the addressee (Lambrecht 1994: 79). The definite is used for nominal expressions where the referent is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee while the indefinite is used for the nominal expressions where the referent is assumed by the speaker to be not identifiable to the addressee. Definiteness in Tugen is marked by suffixation. There are different suffixes for the indefinite and definite. These are shown in Table 5 below:

No.	Indefinite stem-suffix	Definite stem-suffix	Gloss
(3a)	láákw-á	lààkw-éé	child
(3b)	tààpt-á	tààpt-èè	flower
(3c)	kèèl	kéél-dó	leg
(3d)	tùùm	tùùm-dó	ceremony
(3e)	kèèt	kéét-ít	tree
(3f)	ìit	íít-ít	ear
(3g)	kòì	kòì-tá	stone
(3h)	mòì	móí-tá	calf
(3i)	séèsè	séès-éé	dog

Table 5: Inflection for definiteness.

Most of the indefinite nouns are roots in the singular. There are a few that have {-á} as a suffix, for example in (3a) and (3b) of Table 5. This suffix has a H tone. In the definite, there are nouns with {-*éé*} as a suffix as seen in (3a & 3i),{èè}in (3b), those with {-*dó*} for instance in (3c-d), those with {-*ít*} in (3e-f) and those with {-*tá*} in (3g-h). These suffixes bear H tones except (3b)

which has a L tone. The tone patterns for most nouns are regular. Most of the indefinite nouns have L tones as seen in (3c) to (3h) while the definite ones have H tones as seen in (3c), (3e), (3f) and (3h). However, there are others with different tone patterns for example (3b) which has a LH tone in the indefinite and L tones in the definite and (3i) which has a HL in the indefinite and HLH in the definite. In the Autosegmental theory of Goldsmith (1976), the phenomenon of the succession of similar tones is as a result of one tonal feature spreading to adjacent tone bearing units. In this case, a noun like *kéélḍó* (leg) which has H tones has one H tone spreading to the neighbouring segments[2]. The autosegemental theory proposes a mapping of a tonal tier with a segmental tier by means of association lines which do not cross each other. In this theory, all tonal bearing units are assigned a tone and no tonal feature is left unassigned. Similar tones spread from one tone bearing unit to the adjacent ones from left to right.

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

No.	Indefinite stem-suffix	Definite stem-suffix	Gloss
(4a)	lààgó-í	lààgó-ík	children
(4b)	séésée-n	séésén-ík	dogs
(4c)	sók	sógé-èk	leaves
(4d)	kéélyée-n	kéèlyé-ék	legs
(4e)	kéél-át	kéèl-ék	teeth

Table 6: Inflection for definiteness and number

Suffixes for example are added or changed when an indefinite noun is referred to as definite. The suffixes that change are seen in (3a) and (3b) of Table 5 above where {-á} changes to {-éé}

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

in the definite in the examples above. Some of the suffixes added to the root are {*-ík*}, {*-è*} and {*-ék*) in (4a-4e) of Table 6 above. These suffixes also bear H tones except (4b) which has a HL tone. This can be seen in (4a), (4b) and (4d) of table 6 above. Some of the changes in the suffixes from the singular to plural include */k/* to */g/* and */n/* to */k/*. This can be seen in (4c) and (4d).

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

	Indefinite	Definite	Gloss
(5a)	t-àny	t-èètá	cow (SG)
(5b)	t-ích	t-ùùgá	cow (PL)

1.4.2 GENDER

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

No.	Feminine	Masculine	Gloss
(6a)	Chèèp-kóèch	Kìp-kóèch	name
(6b)	-	kì-mít-yáà[3]	louse
(6c)	chèèp-íìyw-éé[4]	-	mad person

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

(6d)	chèèp-ò	árááp	daughter of/son of
(6e)	Kóbót	kwóòmb-ó	mother of/father of

Table 7: Inflection for gender

1.4.3 LOAN WORDS

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

No.	Indefinite-SG	Indefinite-PL	Definite-SG	Definite-PL	Gloss
7(a)	kálààm	kálàám-ˈísy-àì	kálàámít	kálàám-ˈísy-ék	pen(s)
7(b)	kítábù	kítáˈbúú-sy-àì	kítábúú	kítáˈbúú-sy-ék	book(s)
7(c)	méésò	mééˈsóó-sy-àì	méèséé	mééˈsóó-sy-ék	table(s)

7(d)	sáá	sáá ˈ íí-sy-àì	sáít	sá ˈ ísy-ék	watch(es)

Table 8: Inflection for definiteness and number in loan words

1.5 NOUN DERIVATION

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

1.5.1 NOUN DERIVATION FROM ADJECTIVES

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

No.	Adjective	Noun-SG	Noun-PL	Gloss
(8a)	páíbáì	póíbóì-yò	póíbóì-yéé	happiness
(8b)	yá	yó-ít ˈ yó	yó-íìtyéé	badness
(8c)	píríìr	pìrìr-ìndó	-	redness
(8d)	ányíìny	ònyìny-ìndó	-	sweetness

Table 9: Noun derivation from adjectives

In this derivation, some of the suffixes change depending on number. For instance, the suffix *{-yò}* changes to *{-yéé}* in the plural in (8a) of Table 9 above. Other abstract nouns that are non-count take *{-ìndó}* as a suffix as seen in (8c) and (8d). The suffixes bear H tones in the plural.

The tonal pattern of some adjectives change from HL to LH when a noun is derived as seen in (8c) and (8d). The derivation also changes the vowel quality of the derived noun. This can be seen in (8a), (8b) and (8d) where the vowel /a/ of the adjective changes to /*o*/ in the derived noun.

1.5.2 NOUN DERIVATION FROM NOUNS

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

No.	Noun-suffix	gloss	Noun-INDEF	Noun-DEF	Gloss
(8e)	láák-wá	child	láákw-áà-ndíí	-	childishness
(8f)	chóór-wá	friend	chóórwáà-ndíí	-	friendship
(8g)	súúyóòn	mean person	súúyóò-ndíí	-	meanness
(8h)	kérích	medicine	chèèp-kérích-óó-n	chèèp-kérích-ˈóó-ndé	medicinewoman
(8i)	sáágít-yá	herb	chèèp-sáágít-yáá-n/ chèèp-sáágít-ˈíí-n	chèèp-sáágít-ˈyáá-ndé/ cheep-sáágít-ˈíí-níik	herbalist(s)
(8j)	kéémói	night	-	Chèèp-kéémói/Kìp-kéémói	one of the night

Table 10: Noun derivation from nouns

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

1.5.3 NOUN DERIVATION FROM VERBS

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

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

(9e)	chám	like	chóòm-nyò	-	love
(9f)	ám	eat	ómít-wòòk/ ómít	-	food
(9g)	rúòch	case	kì-rwòòg-ín	kì-rwóók	chief(s)
(9h)	ng'àláál	talk	ng'òl-yòòn	ng'àl	word(s)

Table (11a): Indefinite noun derivation from verbs

No.	Verb	Gloss	Noun-DEF(sg) Stem-suffix	Noun-DEF(pl) Stem-suffix	Gloss
(9a)	chóór	steal	chòòr-índé	chòòr-íìk	thief(ves)
(9b)	tíén	sing	tìèn-índé	tìèn-íìk	singer(s)
(9c)	nèèt	teach	kòònèt-ìndé	kòònèt-íìk	teacher(s)
(9d)	làbát	run	làbàt-èè	-	race
(9e)	chám	like	chóòm-nyéé	-	love
(9f)	ám	eat	-	òmìtwóóg-ík	food
(9g)	rúòch	case	kì-rwòòg-índé	kìrwòòg-ík	chief(s)
(9h)	ng'àláál	talk	ng'òl-yòòndé	ng'àl-éék	word(s)

Table (11b): Definite noun derivation from verbs

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

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

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

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

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

1.6 CASE MARKING

Case is an inflectional category of nouns which marks their roles in relation to the verb. In Tugen case is marked by tonal inflection. The number of tones in a noun depends on the number of syllables. The subject bears nominative case. Nominative case in Tugen is marked in four ways: by super H tones as seen in *kéétít* (tree) in (11a), *móít*á (calf) in (11b) and *péék* (water) in (12a); by H tone as seen in *láákwéé* (child) in (13a); by the default tone marking of the noun as seen in *tèèt*á (cow) in (12b) and when a proper noun is used, the nominative case bears H and down stepped H tones as seen in *chéé*ꜜ*róónó* in (13b and 13c). In (12b) case is differentiated by means of animacy hierarchy. See the examples below:

(11a) ø-chómꜜéí kéétít[5] móítá
3SG-like –IMP tree-DEF/SG calf-DEF/SG
The tree likes the calf

(11b) ø-chómꜜéí kéétít móítá[6]
3SG-like –IMP tree-DEF/SG calf-DEF/SG

The calf likes the tree

(12a) Kà-ø-lá péék[7] tèètá
PST-3SG-carry water cow-DEF/SG

The water carried the cow

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

The cow carried the water

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

The child greeted cherono

[5]super H tone
[6]super H tone
[7]Super H tone

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

(13b) Kà- í- gát lààkw-éé Chéé↓róón↓ó
PST-3SG-greet child-SG/DEF Cherono

Cherono greeted the child.

(13c) Kà- ø - íp- chí chèè-gó lààk-wéé Chéé↓róón↓ó
PST-3SG-take-for milk-DEF child-SG/DEF Cherono

Cherono took milk for the child.

(13d) Kà -ø- íp -chí chèè-gó láák-wéé Chééróónó
PST-3SG-take-for milk-DEF child-SG/DEF Cherono

The child took milk for Cherono

1.7 VERBS AND VERB INFLECTION

Verbs in Tugen are basically monosyllabic with a few having more syllables. The verbs bear H, LH, and L tones. For example *ám* (eat)*, ít* (reach), *rám* (scoop), *chút* (enter), *kànáp* (lift)*, làbát* (run) and *lùgúí* (swallow) and *sàch* (shake). The verbs show grammatical, inflectional and derivational features. The features are prefixed and suffixed as seen in the sections that follow. Some of these features are person/number, and tense/ aspect.

1.7.1 PERSON/NUMBER

The verb is inflected for person and number. The person prefixes are {á-} for first person singular and {*kí*-} for plural and {*í*-} for second person singular with {*ó*-} in the plural. The verbs thus have forms for singular and plural. For instance (14a) and (14c) are marked for singular while (14b) and (14d) are marked for plural. All the person /number prefixes bear H

tones. The third person is not marked by any prefix in the singular or plural. This can be seen in the following examples:

(14a) á- lábát-í
1SG-run –IMP.

I am running.

(14b) Kí- rwá-é
1PL-run-IMP

We are running

(14c) í- wéénd-í
2SG-go-IMP.

You are going.

(14d) ó-béénd-í
2PL-go-IMP.

You are going.

(14e) ø- kúùr-éí
3SG/PL-call-IMP

He/They are calling.

The referent for the third person is represented by the subject noun phrase or the personal pronouns in the sentence. When free standing pronouns are used they are mainly for focus. That is, they specify and differentiate the person under consideration from the group. This will be elaborated in chapter 5. The free standing pronouns bear HL tones as seen in (15a-c).

The free standing pronouns are:

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
(15a)	1. ánéè	áchéèk	I/Us
(15b)	2. ínyéè	ókwéèk	You
(15c)	3. ínéè	íchéèk	He/she- They

(15d) kí-béénd-í á↓chéék sùgúùl
1PL-go- IMP us school

We are going to school.

(15e) ø-wáàch-èì íˈnéé mìisíng.
3SG shout-IMP her very

She/He is shouting a lot.

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

(16a) í- ˈkéér-óó
2SG- see-1SG

You are seeing me

(16b) á- ˈkéér-óók
1SG-see-2PL

I am seeing you

(16c) kí-kéér-é ínéè
1PL-see-IMP him

We are seeing him

(16d) íˈí- súb -ˈí íchéèk[8]
2SG-follow-IMP them

You are following them

(16e) í- ˈkóón-óó ánéè íˈnyˈéé
2SG-give-ISG I you

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

You are giving me

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

(17a) Úí go (SG)

(17b) Bá go (PL)

(18a) ø-ríír-ˈéí
3SG-cry IMP

She/He is crying

(18b) ø-ríìr-tós
3PL-cry-IMP

They are crying

1.7.2 TENSE/ASPECT SYSTEM

1.7.2.1 TENSE

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

(19a) Kà -ø -mwá
PST-3SG -say

He said

(19b) Kò-í-mwáà
PST -2SG-say

You said

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

We had gone

The tense markers can also be emphasized adverbially by *àtkáí* (then), *àtkóó ˈnyé* (yesterday) and *àtkíí ˈnyé* (long time) for the immediate, recent and distant past respectively. The prefixes can be seen in (19a), (19b) and (19c). The non-past is marked adverbially. The adverbs refer to the present and to the distant future. Some of the adverbs include *túún* which has a H tone and refers to the future, *ngúùnó* which has HLH tones refers to the present, *móí* referring to later has H tone and *kááróón* which has a succession of H tones refers to tomorrow. *Mó* and *ˈtúún* can be used together preverbally to imply a more nearer future otherwise all the adverbs appear post verbally in the default word order. These are exemplified in (19d) and (19e) below:

(19d) á-wéénd-í ngúùnó.
1SG-go-IMP now

I am going now

(19e) mó ˈtúún òò- b-è[9]
FUT-FUT 2PL- go-IMP

You will go in the future

1.7.2.2 ASPECT

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

(20a) á- nyóó- ní
1SG-come-IMP

I am coming

(20b) Kìì -ø- mwáà-éí
PST-3SG-say-IMP.

She was saying

[9] The L tone on òò is lower than the one on bè

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

(20c) Kíí -ø- ˈká[10]- nyó Kíp-ˈkóéèch òòín
PST-3SG-PER-come M-koech recently

Kipkoech had come recently

(20d) Kóó-ø- ˈkó- nyó gàà Kí-ˈmórú[11]
PST-3SG-PER-come home M-moru.

Kimoru has come home

(20e) Kìì- ø- ká- ˈkó- nyó Chéép-ˈkóóskéì
PST-3SG-PER-PER-come F-koskei

Chepkoskei had come

1.8 ADJECTIVES

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

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
(21a)	káráàrán	kóróòrónˈén	good
(21b)	yá	yááˈchén	bad
(21c)	òò	ééˈchén	big
(21d)	nwách	nwóˈgén	short

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

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

(21e) páráà póró꜌én wide

(21f) míníìng' méngéé꜌chéén small

(21g) kíìndéè kíí꜌ndóòn big

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

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

The child is good.

(22b) Kóróórón-꜌één làág-ó꜌ík
Good-PL child-SG/DEF

The children are good

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

The tree is small

(22d) Méngééch-꜌één[12] kéét-ík
Small-PL tree-PL/DEF

The trees are small tree

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

(23a) Làákw-éé nè káráàráàn
child-SG/DEF that good

The child that is good

(23b) Làág-óík chè kóróórón-꜌één
Child-PL/DEF that good-PL

The children that are good

[12] In some usage this is reduced to méngéëch.

(23c) Kéét-ít nè mí ˈníng'
Tree-SG/DEF that small

The tree that is small

(23d) Kèètík chè méngéèch-ˈéén
Trees-PL/DEF that small-PL

The trees that are small.

1.9 ADVERBS

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

	Adverb	Gloss
(24a)	óchéì	very
(24b)	kóˈgény	again
(24c)	mììsíng'	very much
(24d)	múútyó	slowly
(24e)	ngúùnó	now
(24f)	àtkáí	then

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

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

He /she arrived then/earlier.

(25b) ø-mwáá kóˈgény
3SG-say again

Say again

(25c) Lóò mììsíng' óínéé
Far very river

The river is very far

1.10 PREPOSITIONS

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

(26a) èèng' kóót
at house-SG/DEF

At the house

(26b) Kò -ø-télél èèng tài Kíp ˈ kóéèch
PST-3SG-stand at front M-Koech

Kipkoech has stood in front.

(26c) Kà- í- ˈ pút- én láákw-éé sáàngˈ[13]
PST-3SG-fall-LOC child -SG/DEF outside

The child fell outside.

1.11 CONJUNCTIONS

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

	Conjunction	Gloss
(27a)	ák	and
(27b)	kóbótó	with
(27c)	ngót	if
(27d)	àsí/sí	so that

1.12 CONCLUSION

This chapter has given a brief overview of the basic linguistic features of Tugen. It highlights Tugen phonemes and their features, word categories and their tone patterns, and the various inflectional features of nouns and verbs and their tone patterns. Two patterns of nouns have been discussed; the definite and the indefinite as well as their differences in terms of their inflection. Case marking and gender are other features that have also been discussed. Case marking is done

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

by the use of tone where the language was found to have a marked nominative system where the accusative case is not marked. Gender was found to be marked by use of gender prefixes. Verbal features such as tense, aspect and number have also been explained with examples together with their tone patterns.

CHAPTER TWO

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

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

2.1 BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

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

(28a) Kà-ø- lú-ø chèè-gó láákw-éé (VOS)
PST-3SG-drink-3OB milk-DEF child-SG/DEF

The child drank milk

(28b) Kà -ø- lú-ø láákw-éé chèè-gó (VSO)
PST-3SG-drink-3OB child-SG/DEF milk-DEF

The child drank milk

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

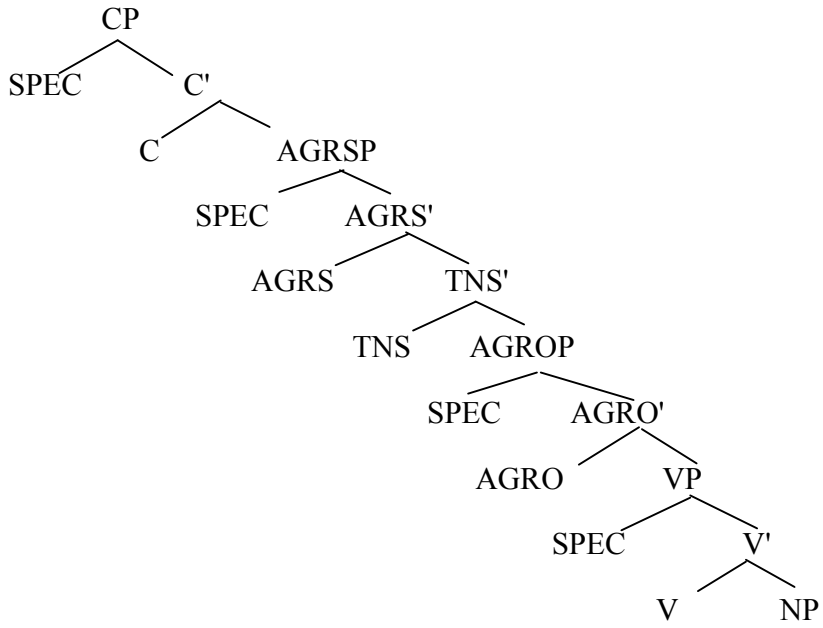


Fig. 5: Source: Chomsky 1995: 7

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

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

2.1.1 TENSE AND AGREEMENT

Tense and agreement are some of the inflectional elements that are found in a verb and are responsible for verb movement. Tense is a category that marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place. Agreement is a category that marks the syntactic relation between words and phrases which are compatible in a given construction. It may have features of person, number and gender. The interaction between these two inflectional elements has been seen to determine the surface order of syntactic constituents. Ouhalla (1991: 13) puts it that any attempt to classify languages along typological lines should take into consideration the properties of functional categories rather than those of substantives (lexical categories). The order of inflectional categories of tense and aspect differs from one language to another along typological lines. It was Ouhalla who found out that there is a correlation between the order of AGR/TNS and the surface position of the subject in the sense that in languages where AGR is inside TNS, i.e., occurring in a position after TNS in the verb template, the subject is placed after the verb while in languages where AGR is outside TNS, i.e., AGR appears first in the morphological order of the verb, the subject appears before the verb in the sentence structure. This means that languages that have the agreement features preceding the tense features are verb medial while those languages where the tense precedes the agreement features are verb initial.

The difference between a SVO language and a VSO language in relation to the position of tense and agreement in the verb will be demonstrated with Kiswahili (SVO) and Tugen (VSO) below:

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

The child sang a song

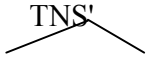
In Kiswahili, a bantu language which is SVO, {*a*-} agrees in person, number and class with the subject and appears before {-*li*-} which is the tense marker carrying past tense features and followed by objective marker{-*u*-**}** and the verb root {-*imba*}. Unlike in Kiswahili, the order of tense and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

(30) Kà- ø- tíén-ø láákw-éé tièn-dó
PST-3SG-sing-3OB child-SG/DEF song-SG/DEF

The child sang a song.

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

These examples show that the difference in the languages lies in c-selectional properties of AGR and TNS as suggested by Ouhalla (1991: 17) who says that the difference between AGR – initial and TNS initial languages involve the c-selectional[14] properties of AGR and TNS. In AGR-initial languages AGR c-selects TNS as seen in example (29) for Kiswahili while in TNS-initial languages like in example (30) the reverse relation is found. The difference in the c-selectional properties of AGR and TNS results in a difference in clausal structure. In Tugen, as a verb initial language, the sentence structure changes according to the ordering of TNS and AGR as follows. In Tugen AGR appears after TNS position so the verb heads the sentence and the tense features have to be checked last by the verb moving from the VP to AGRS' to check for agreement features and then to TNS to check tense features. This is shown by the structure exemplifying (30) below:



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

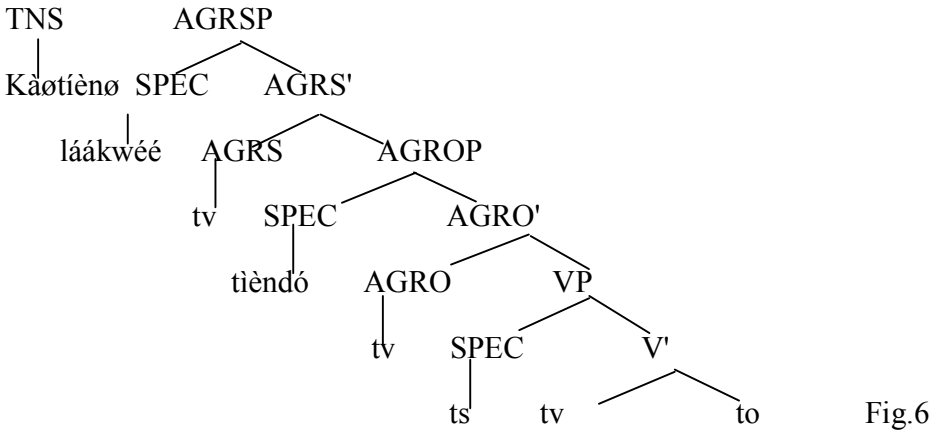


Fig.6

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

2.1.2 FUNCTIONAL HEADS

In The Minimalist Program, functional categories have grammatical features (phi-features) associated with AGR, TNS, C and SPEC elements. These features play a crucial role in determining grammatical relations and processes. A given category may select a specific category in one language and another in a different language; thus giving rise to differences in the structural properties of constructions. The Minimalist Program represents functional categories in the relations of spec-head and head-head. All the constituents of a sentence are base generated in the VP with the external argument appearing in the SPEC/VP. Under the split INF-hypothesis (Pollock 1989), INF was split into AGRS, TNS and AGRO heads. These functional heads do not dominate the inflectional morphology; rather they form bundles of phi-features which have to be checked in the course of the derivation and thus necessitate verb movement. Baker (1988) sees that some morphological processes like the verb derivations

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

(31) Kòò-ø- lá -ø Chéé↓rúútó pàándék[15]
PST-3SG carry-3OB FE-ruto maize

Cheruto carried maize.

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

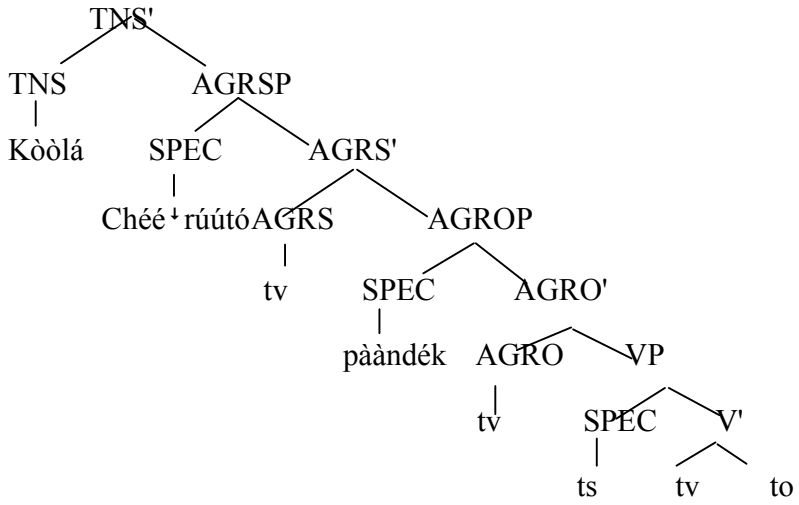


Fig.7

In this structure, all the elements of the sentence are contained in the VP, i.e., the subject (*chéé↓rútó*) the verb *kòòlá* (carried) and the object *pàándék* (maize). The functional categories of AGRO', AGRS', and TNS' have their own heads that bear bundles of abstract phi features.

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

The features of AGRS', AGRO' and TNS' have to be eliminated in the course of the derivation by feature checking so that the construction converges. Feature checking forces the verb to move through each of these functional heads. In Tugen, the verb heads the sentence with the tense feature being prefixed to the verb before the agreement features. The agreement features for both the subject and the object for the third person are marked by a zero morpheme. The movement for checking of AGRS' and AGRO' features is therefore done covertly. The subject moves from the SPEC/VP to the SPEC/AGRSP to have its nominative features checked. The object moves from the VP to the SPEC/AGROP to have its accusative features checked. The verb moves from the VP to AGRO' to check for agreement object features covertly for there are no overt features for the object then to AGRS' to check for agreement subject features and finally to TNS to check for the tense features. After checking, the features are eliminated so that they don't appear after spell-out. This arrangement of the order of the heads results in the VSO word order. To have the VOS word order there is trading of places in the order of the heads in the structure between the AGRSP and AGROP such that the verb moves from the VP to AGRS then AGRO to check for agreement and object features respectively and finally to TNS' to check for tense features. The object moves to SPEC /AGROP to check for accusative case while the subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case. This results in a VOS word order. This is exemplified in Fig. 9a & 9b respectively.

Other than the lexical subject, the Tugen sentence can also appear only with the morphological subject. The morphological subject appears as a prefix after the tense morpheme. The morphological subject for the third person is realized as a zero morpheme[16]. See the following inflectional paradigm:

(32a) Kìì- á- ˈwé[17]
PST-1SG-go

I went.

(32b) Kìì- ó- ˈbé
PST-2PL-go

You went.

[16]This morpheme is -i- and has undergone changes historically. It may be found in a few instances for example before /r/ and /g/ in words like / kà-í-ró (he saw) and kò- í-gén (he waited)
[17] /w/ strengthens to /b/

(32c) Kìì -ø -bá[18]
PST-3SG-go

They went.

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

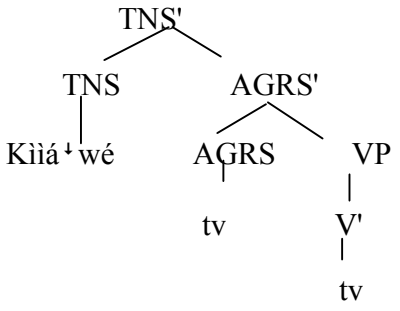


Fig.8

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

2.1.3 ASPECT AND NEGATION

The Minimalist program also deals with the other inflectional and derivational affixes in a verb by requiring each to have their own head and thus allowing for the verb and argument movements for feature checking. Following Pollock (1989) on verb movement, there has been an explosion of functional categories as part of the clausal projection. In line with this, Tugen bears other inflectional elements than tense and agreement that also create new heads in the sentence structure. These include aspect and negation. Aspect appears inside tense as {-*ká*-} (perfective) and post verbally as a {-éí}[19](imperfective). This is shown in (33a) & (33b):

[18] The tone on the 3SG is transferred to the verb therefore downstep does not surface on the verb root.
[19] {e} and {ni} are its allomorphs. {e} is used when referring to 1st and 2nd person singular and plural while {ni} is used when preceded by a vowel.

(33a) Kíí - ˈká- ø- íp-ø kwèèn-ík chíító[20]
PST-PERF-3SG -carry-OB firewood-DEF/PL person-DEF/SG

The person had carried firewood.

(33b) Kìì -ø -íp- ø- ˈéí chíí-tó kwèèn-ík[21]
PST-3SG-carry-3OB-IMP person-DEF/SG firewood-DEF/PL

The person was carrying firewood.

The negation affix {*-má-*}[22] appears inside tense and after the perfective aspectual affix {-ká*}*. This is shown below:

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

The person was not carrying firewood.

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

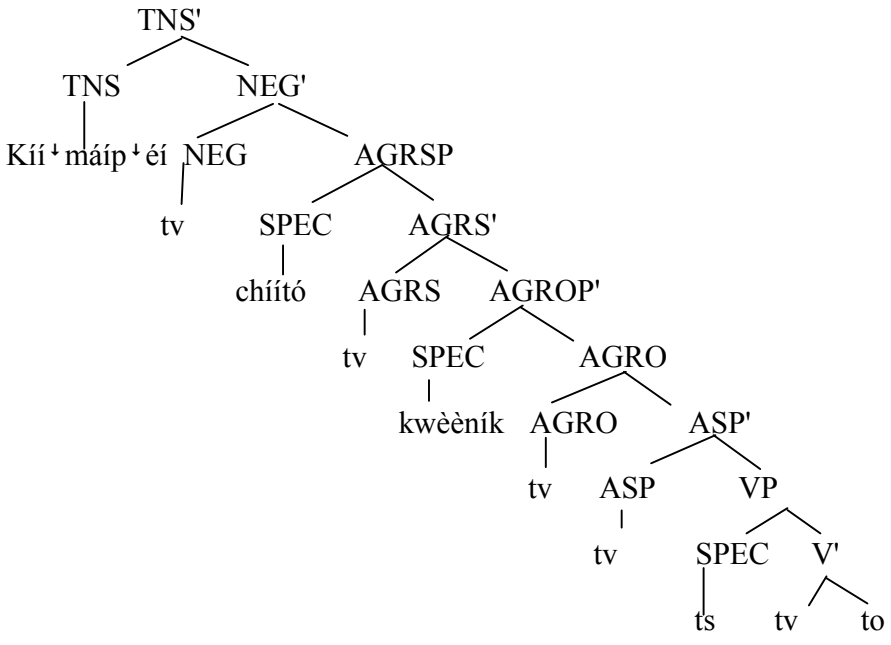


Fig. 9a

[20] The tone on –ip is higher than the downstep on –ka-
[21] The tone on chiito is at the same level with the previous downstep on the imperfective aspect.
[22] {mé} is its variant. This occurs where the vowel in the negation marker {a/}and the 3sg marker {i} fuse together.

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

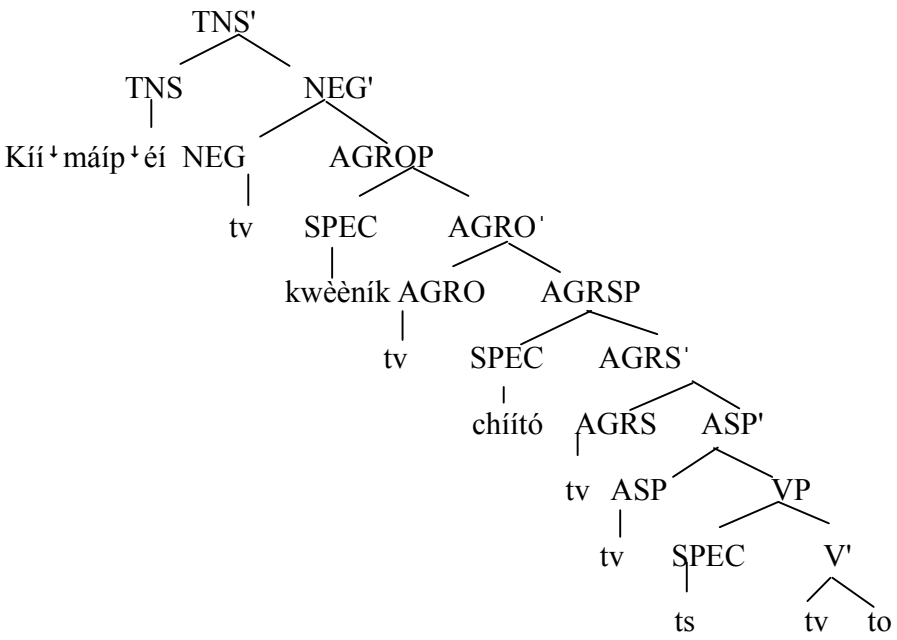


Fig. 9b

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

SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case while the subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case. This results in VOS word order.

2.1.4 COMPLEMENTIZER PHRASE (CP)

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

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

Where is the child going?

(35b) Kà -ø- áàl-ø Kí-˕mórú kàláámí-t ngìró?[23]
PST-3SG-buy-3OB M-moru pen-SG/DEF which

Which pen did Kimoru buy?

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

(36a) Kà í- ˕ró-ø láák-wéé ˕ng'óó?[24]
PST-3SG see-3OB child-DEF/SG who

Who has seen the child?

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

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

What did the person bring?

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

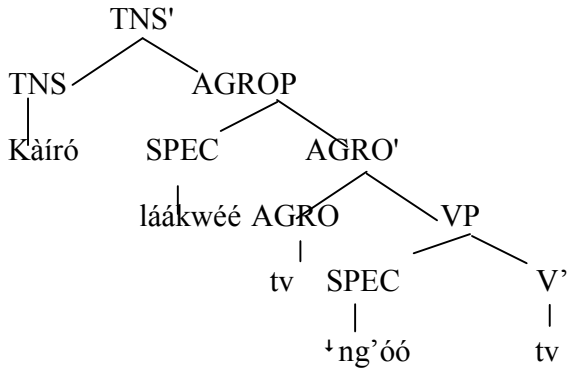


Fig.10

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

2.2 COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Complex sentence structure is seen in verb derivation. Verb derivation is a morphological process that is used to create new arguments. These arguments determine the valency of a verb. Valency relates to the number of core arguments that a verb can take. Katamba (1993: 214) says in verbal morphology the prime candidates for derivational expression are grammatical function changing rules. These rules involve processes that alter the number of noun arguments that a

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

2.2.1 ARGUMENT INCREASING DEVICES

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

2.2.1.1 APPLICATIVE

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

2.2.1.2 BENEFACTIVE

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

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

Kiptoo read a book

(37b) Kòò- ø- sóó˩mán-chí-ø Kíp-˩tóó Kìp-kóéèch kìtàbúú($VSO_a O_d$)[25]
PST-3SG-read-BEN-3OB M-too M-koech book-SG/DEF

Kiptoo read a book for Kipkoech.

The verb as a result of derivation results in the sentence having three arguments: *Kiptoo*, *Kipkoech* and *kitabu* (book).These are the subject, direct object and the benefactive argument. The morpheme {*-chi*}(for) is suffixed after the verb root.[26] The benefactive morpheme bears a H tone. According to the Mirror Principle, the order of the morphemes in the verb should mirror directly the order of the arguments. In this example, the morphemes {-ø-},{-chi} and {-ø-} are ordered to mirror the order of the arguments as subject >benefactive>direct object. Tugen however does not always obey the mirror principle in that the order of the arguments can be moved around. This can be seen in (37c) where it can be benefactive>subject>direct object. The order can also be direct object>subject>benefactive or direct object>benefactive>subject as in (37d) and (37e) respectively.

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

Kiptoo read a book for Kipkoech.

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

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

The benefactive affix {*-chí*}(for) changes the structure of the verb by increasing the number of arguments from two to three. The argument *Kipkoech* is introduced into the sentence as an applied object. In (37b) another head BENP is introduced into the structure of (37a) to check for the abstract benefactive features carried by the benefactive morpheme {*-chí*}. The benefactive

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

head also provides for SPEC/BENP where the accusative case features of the applied benefactive argument are checked. This is shown in the tree structure below:

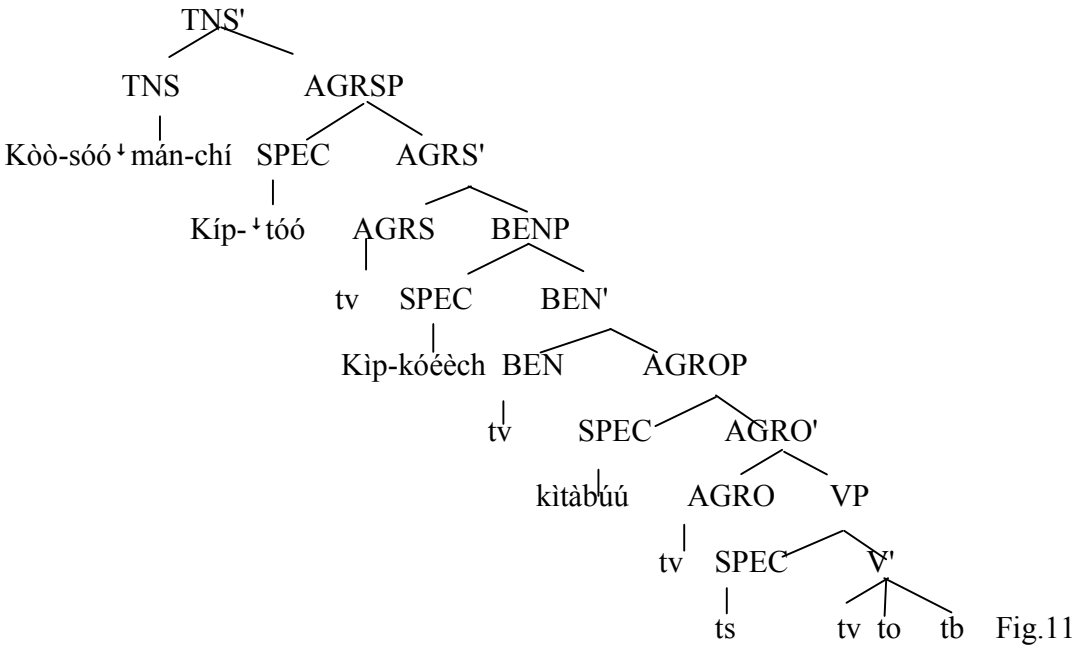


Fig.11

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

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

2.2.1.3 INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

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

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

The person hit the cow.

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

The person hit the cow with a stick.

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

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

The woman carried maize.

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

The woman carried maize on her back.

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

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

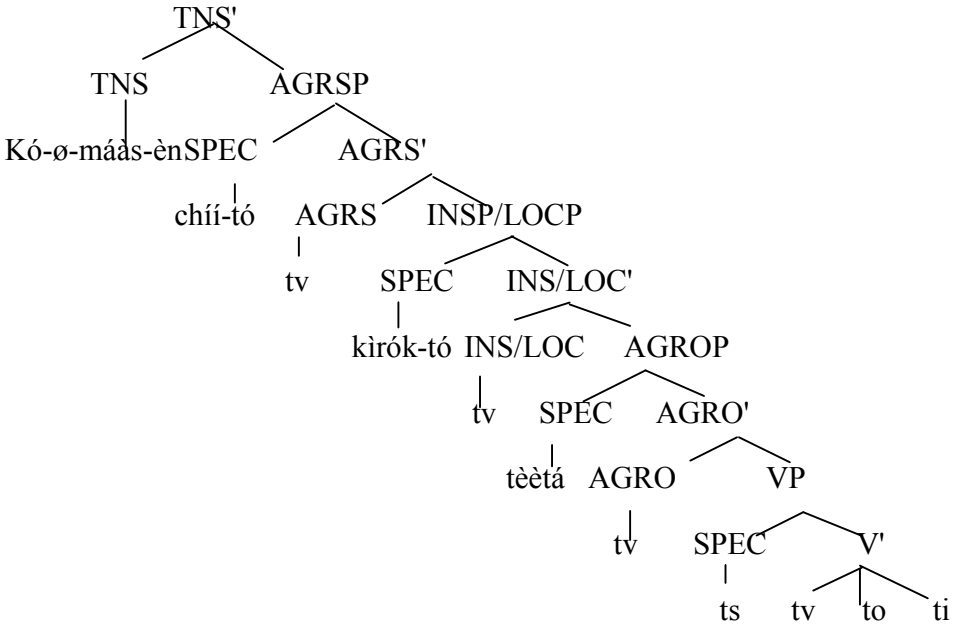


Fig.12

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

2.2.3 ARGUMENT DECREASING DEVICES

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

2.2.3.1 PASSIVE

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

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

The mother beat the child.

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

The child was beaten

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

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

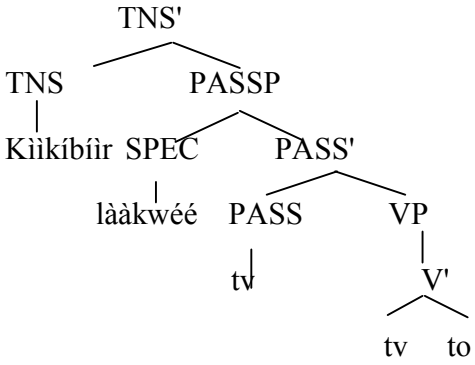


Fig.13

In the structure above, the verb moves to TNS' via PASS' to check for tense and passive features. The passive subject moves to SPEC/PASSP to check for its accusative features. This is contrary to the case of other constructions where the subject takes the nominative case. It should be expected that the subject takes the nominative subject case but this is not the case as the subject retains its objective case of LH tone[27]. The structure has no AGROP because there is no overt object in the sentence and there is no SPEC/VP for the sentence has no nominative subject.

2.2.3.2 ANTIPASSIVE

Cooreman (1994: 50) says the antipassive is a construction typical for ergative languages and occurs with ergative constructions as a morphological alternative for the same transitive proposition. Dixon (2000: 9) says in the antipassive the underlying O argument goes into the peripheral position. In Tugen the O argument is omitted and there is an affix to indicate the antipassive. The antipassive in Tugen reduces the number of arguments by omitting the object thereby leaving an intransitive construction with a VS word order. The antipassive marker {-ísy}[28] is suffixed to the verb root. This marker bears an underlying H tone. This is seen in (41a) and (41b):-

(41a) ø -ám-ø-ˈéí kím-nyé láák-wéé[29].
3SG-eat-3OB-IMP food-DEF/SG child-DEF/SG

The child is eating food.

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

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

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

(41b) ø -ám-ɬísy- éí láák-wéé.
3SG-eat-ANT-IMP child-DEF/SG

The child is eating.

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

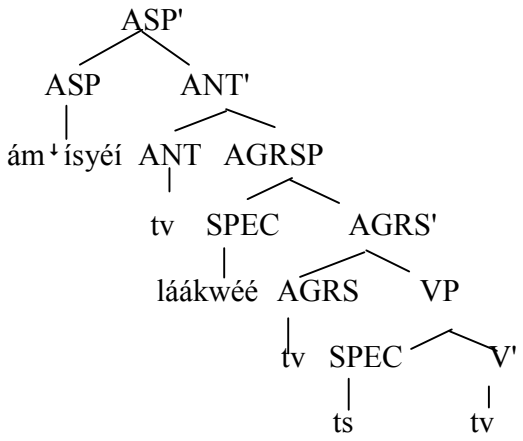


Fig.14

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

2.2.3.3 REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

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

thereby leaving an intransitive sentence. In Tugen, the object is integrated by way of this suffix which appears verb finally. This is seen in (42a) and (42b).

(42a) Kà- ø- pá -ˈéí-ø[30] Chéé-ˈróónó Chéé-róónó[31]
PST-3SG-feed-IMP-3OB. FE-rono FE-rono

Cherono was feeding Cherono

(42b) Kà- ø- pá- ˈé- géì Chéé-ˈróónó
PST-3SG-feed-IMP-REF FE-rono

Cherono was feeding herself.

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

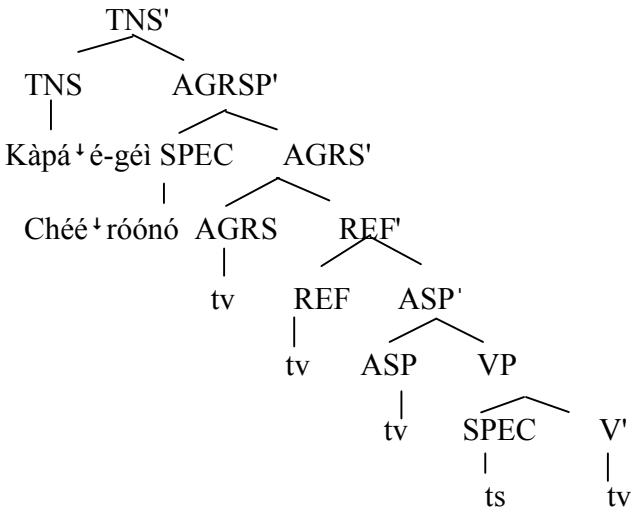


Fig.15

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

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

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

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

Cheptum is beating Cheruto and Cheruto is beating Cheptum.

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

Cheptum and Cheruto are beating each other.

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

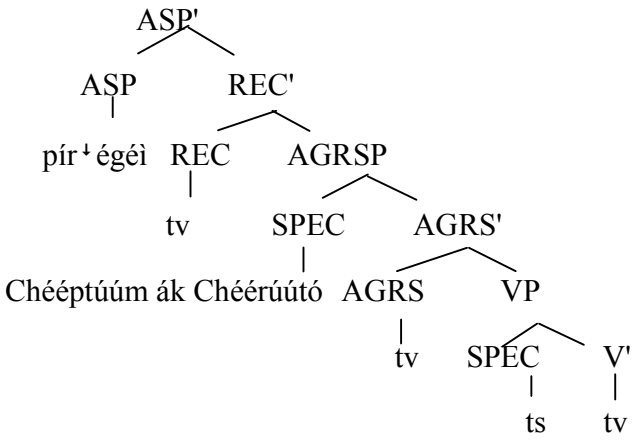


Fig.16

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

2.3 CO-OCCURRENCES AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE

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

2.3.1 BENEFACTIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

The benefactive affix {*-chí*} (for) and the instrumental/locative {é*n*} (at) can co-occur in a verb. In the co-occurrence the benefactive affix is suffixed to the verb root followed by the instrumental/locative. These co-occurrences increase the number of arguments to four and they make the sentence structure complex. In discourse however, the arguments can be omitted and the sentence remains grammatical as long as they are represented in the morphosyntax. This co-occurrence is shown below:

(44a) Kíí -ø- róòng-chì-néén-ø Kì-béét chèè-gó kìgóòmb-éé máámá [32]
PST-3SG-pour-BEN-INS-3OB M-bet milk-DEF cup-SG/DEF mother

Mother poured milk to Kibet with a cup

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

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

Mother poured some milk to Kibet with a cup.

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

[32] The tone on maama is super H.

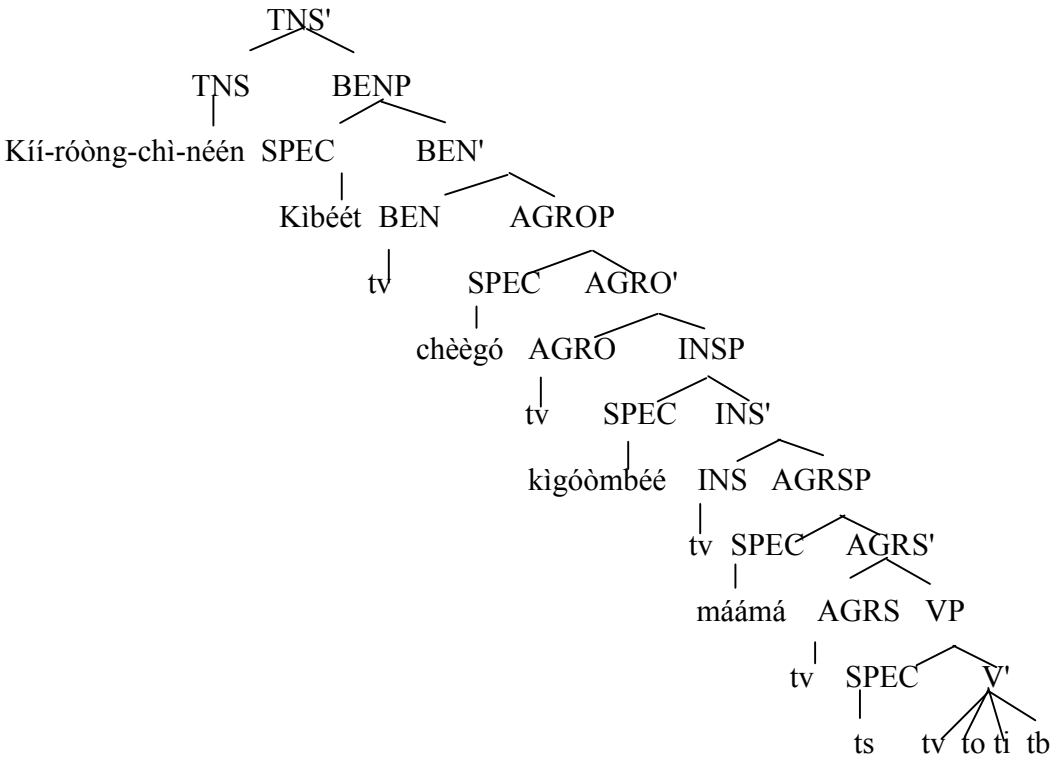


Fig. 17

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

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

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

Mother poured some milk to Kibet with a cup.

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

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

Mother poured something to Kibet with it.

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

Mother poured some milk to someone with it.

2.3.2 BENEFACTIVE AND BENEFACTIVE

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

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

Mother borrowed money for Kipkoech from the father

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

The mother borrowed money for Kipkoech from the father.

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

In the sentence structure, the PP *éng kwàndá* (from father) in (45a) has been promoted to become one of the core arguments of the verb. The verb therefore has two derivational affixes.All applied objects take accusative case marking. Therefore new heads are created in the

structure for feature checking. These are BENP1 and BENP2. This is seen in the structure below:

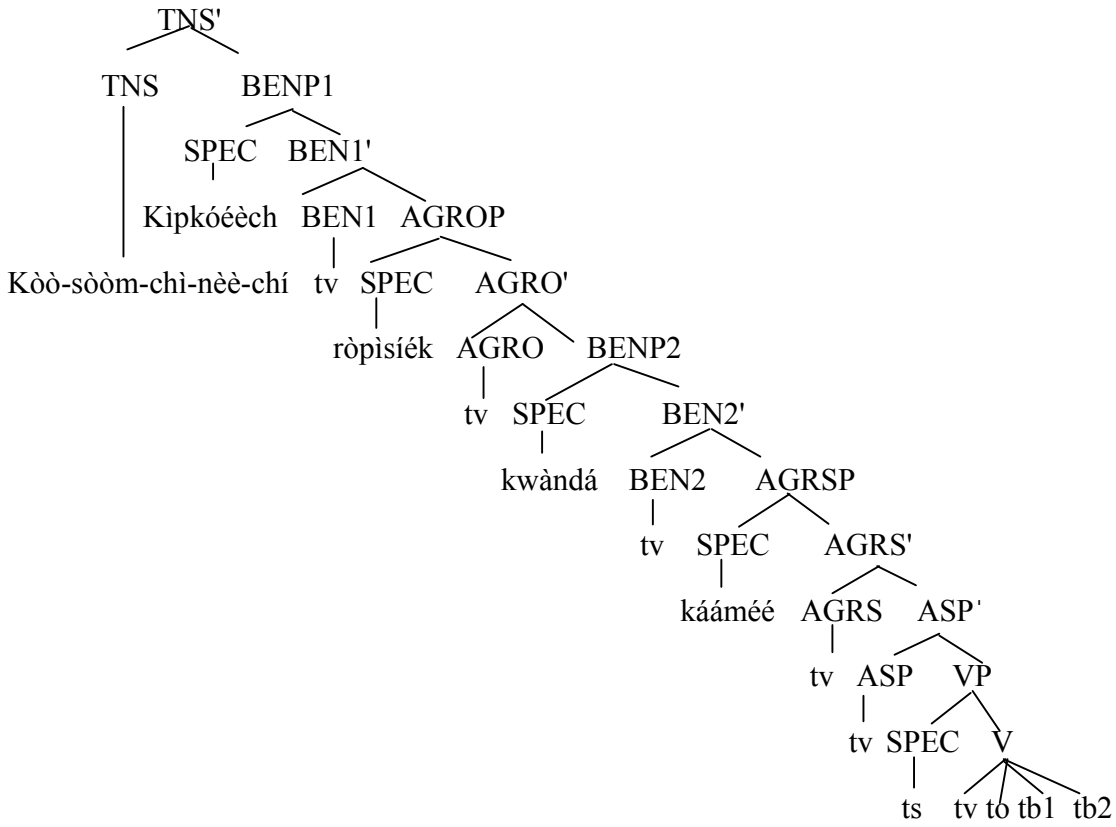


Fig.18

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

2.3.3 BENEFACTIVE-BENEFACTIVE- INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

This co-occurrence is slightly different from the previous co-occurrence in that the locative/instrumental affix {*-néén*}(with) is added to the verb[33]. The verb in this process bears five arguments. However in most cases this appears unnatural so the second benefactive or the instrumental/locative appears in the oblique position by the use of the preposition *éng'* (from) as shown in (46c). Between the two benefactives is the aspectual suffix. The instrumental/locative affix bears a H tone. Both benefactives bear H tones. This is exemplified below:

(46a) Kòò-ø- sòòm - chì-nèè- chí-ø Kìpkóéèch ròpìsíék kááméé kwàndá
PST-3SG- borrow-BEN1-IMP-BEN2-3OB M-koech money mother father.

The mother borrowed money for Kipkoech from the father.

(46b) Kòò-ø-sòòm - chì- nèè- chì- néén-ø Kìpkóéèch kwàndá ròpìsíék òòréè
PST-3SG-borrow- BEN1-IMP-BEN2-LOC-3OB M-koechfather money road kááméé
mother

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

(46c) Kòò -ø-sòòm - chì- nèè- chì- néén-ø òòréè ròpìsíék Kìpkóéèch kááméé
PST-3SG-borrow-BEN1-IMP-BEN2-INS-3OB road money M-koech mother èng'
kwàndá
PREP father

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

In (46b) the order of the affixes in the verb is subject {*-ø-*}, benefactive 1{*-chi-*}, aspect{*-nee*}, benefactive 2{*-chi-*} and the instrument/locative {-neen}and object {*-ø-*}. The arguments do not necessarily obey the order as postulated by Mirror Principle. The arguments can occur in any position. However, a sentence having five arguments in discourse never occurs. Though correct grammatically, the structure is too heavy for processing. For this reason, the applied objects namely the instrumental/locative, the benefactive or the beneficiary of the benefactive role is usually left in the oblique position as shown in (46c).

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

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

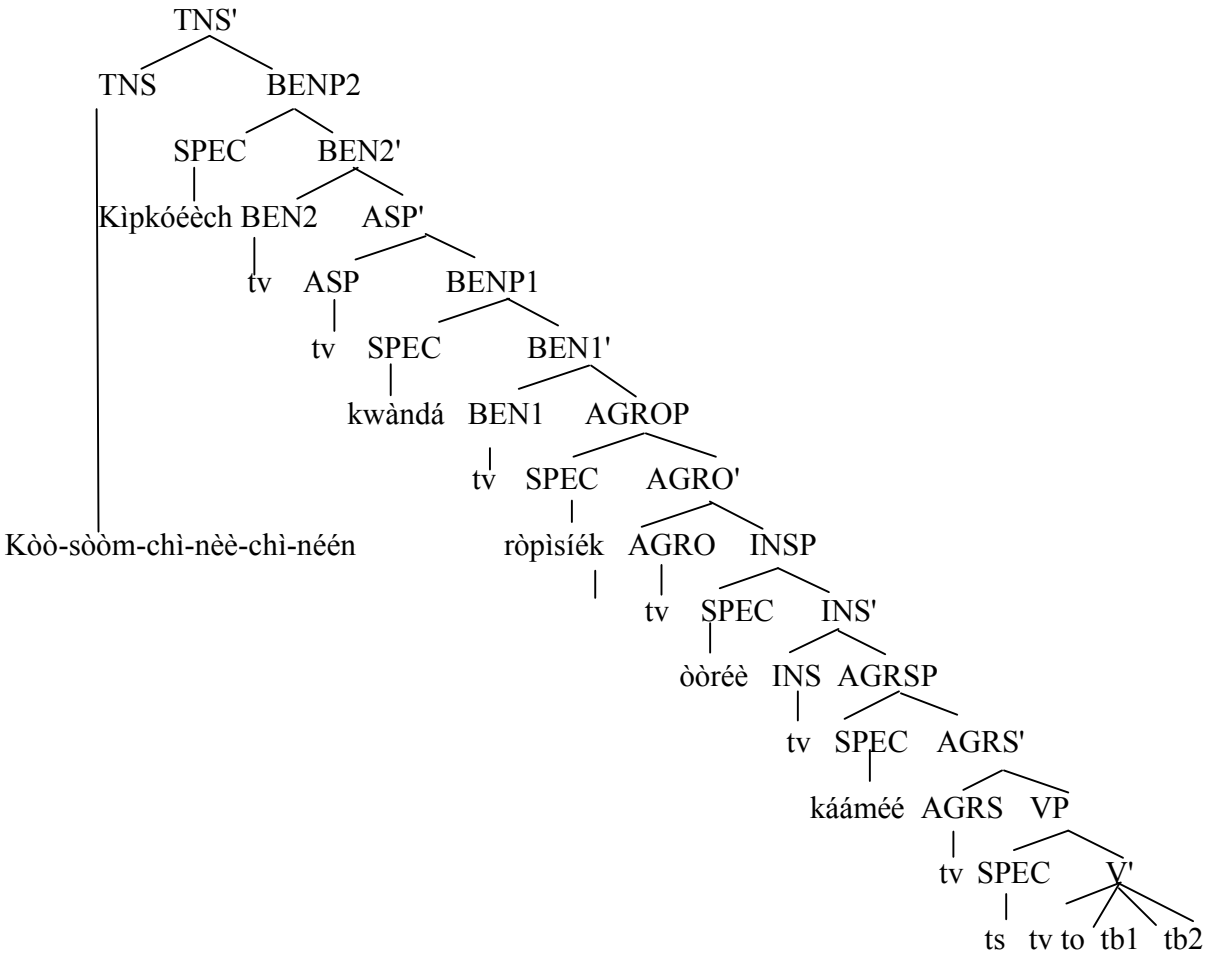


Fig.19

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

2.3.4 CONCLUSIONS ON WORD ORDER

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

2.4 CO-OCCURRENCE OF INCREASING AND DECREASING DEVICES

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

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

2.4.1 BENEFACTIVE- RECIPROCAL/REFLEXIVE

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

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

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

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

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

Chelagat and Chepkorir took pens for each other.

(47c) Kìì -ø- ìp - chí- ø géì Chéé-ˈlágát ák Chéép-ˈkóóríìr
PST-3PL- takeBEN-3OB- REC FE-lagat and FE-korir
kàláám-ìsyék(VSO)
pen-DEF/PL

Chelagat and Chepkorir took pens for each other..

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

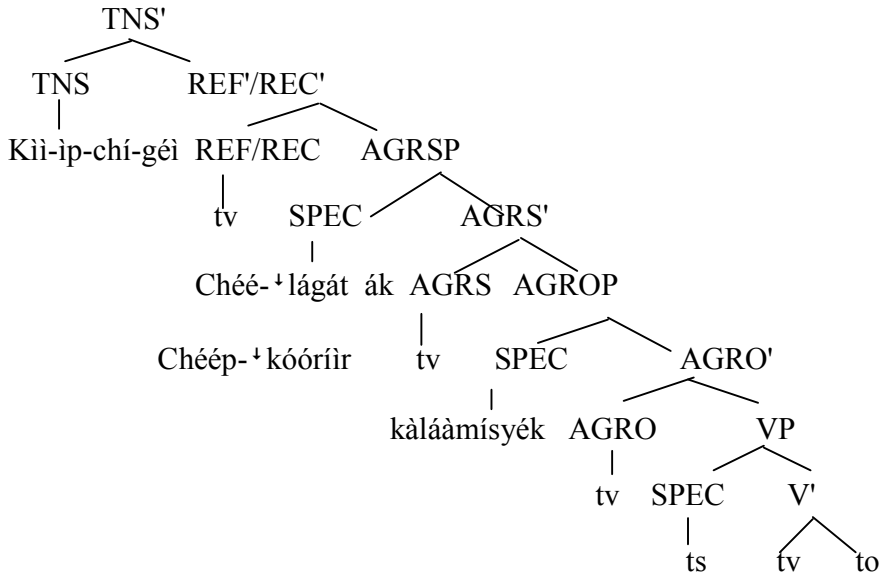


Fig.20

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

2.4.2 BENEFACTIVE AND PASSIVE

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

(48a) Kòò-kí- áàl ngòr-íè[34]
PST-PASS-buy dress-DEF/SG

A dress was bought.

(48b) Kòò- kí- àl- chí ngòr-íè káá↓m-éé (VSO)
PST-PASS-buy BEN dress-DEF/SG motherDEF/SG

A dress was bought for mother

(48c) Kòò- kí- àl- chí káá↓m-éé ngòr-íè (VSO)
PST-PASS-buy-BEN mother-DEF/SG cloth-DEF/SG

A dress was bought for mother

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

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

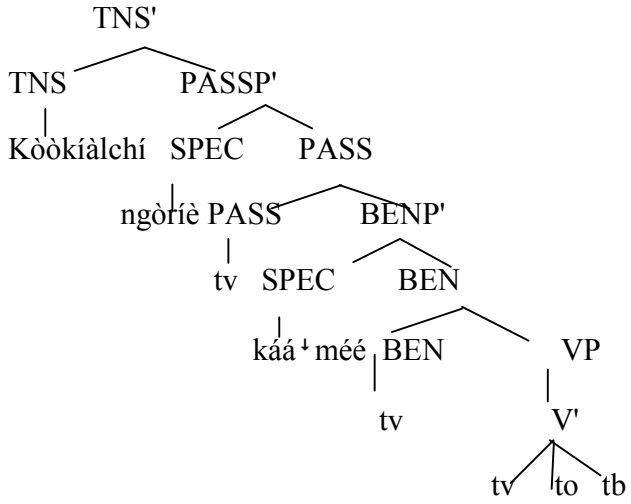


Fig.21

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

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

(49a) Kìì- kí- nòp- chí lól-éè làákw-éé
PST-PASS-sew-BEN bag-DEF/SG child-DEF/SG

A bag was sewn for the child.

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

The child was sewn for.

The sentence structure for the sentence is as follows:

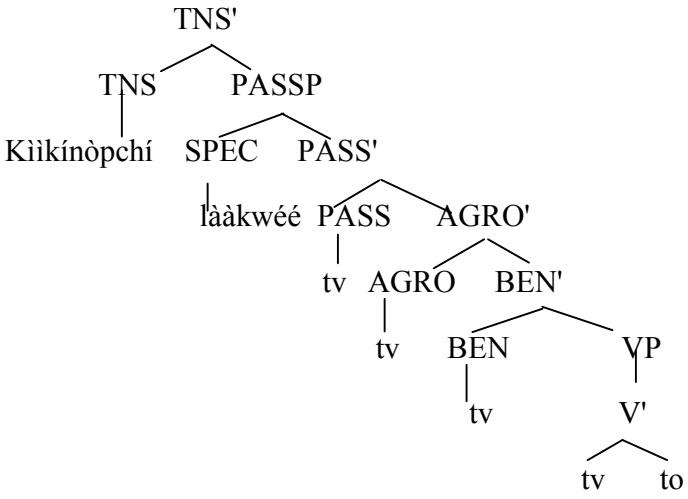


Fig.22

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

2.4.3 BENEFACTIVE AND ANTIPASSIVE

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

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

The girl wrote.

(50b) Kòò-ø- sír- ˈísyè- chí chéép-t-ó tùùpch-éé[35] (VSO)
PST-3SG-write-ANT-BEN FE-girl-DEF/SG brother-DEF/SG

The girl wrote for the brother

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

The girl wrote for the brother

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

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

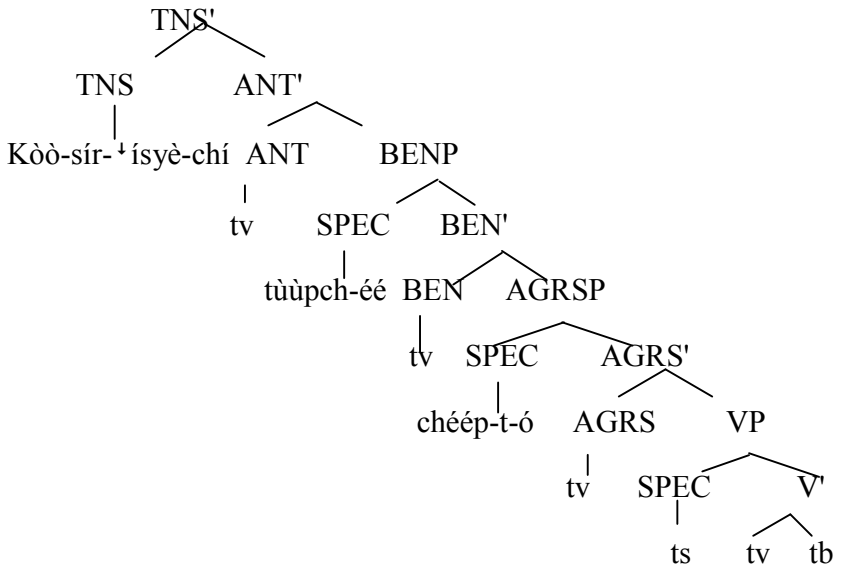


Fig.23

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

2.4.4 BENEFACTIVE- ANTIPASSIVE –REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

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

(51a) ø- óm-ˈísyè-chí- ní- tó-éék tó-éék[36]
3PL-eat-ANT-BEN-IMP visitor-DEF/PL visitor-DEF/PL

The visitors are eating for the visitors.

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

The visitors are eating for themselves.

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

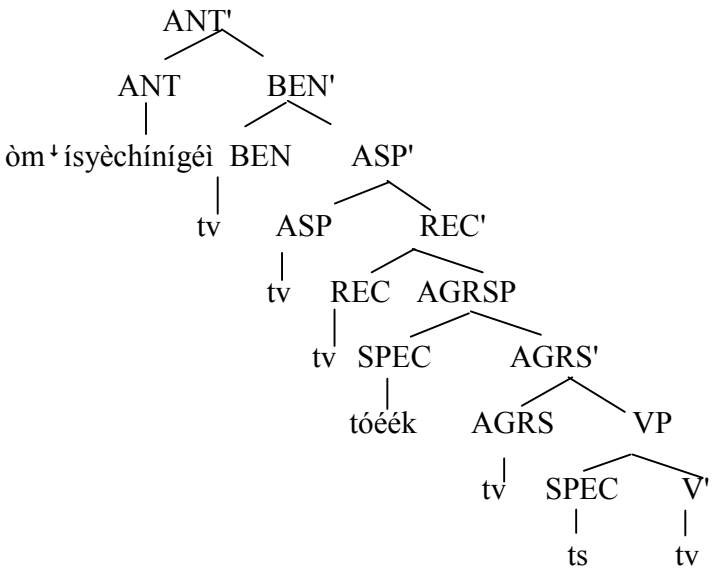


Fig. 24

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

2.4.5 PASSIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

The passive {*-kí-*} can co-occur with the instrumental/locative {*-en*}. In the co-occurrence the subject is omitted and the direct object takes the position of the passive subject. Unlike the nominative subject the passive subject takes the accusative case. The instrumental/locative

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

introduces an applicative object therefore the structure is transitive with an absolutive object and an applied object. The passive is prefixed while the instrumental/locative is suffixed to the verb. The number of arguments reduces from three to two. This is shown below:

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

Kipsang was digging the shamba with a hoe.

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

The shamba was dug with a hoe.

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

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

It was dug with a hoe.

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

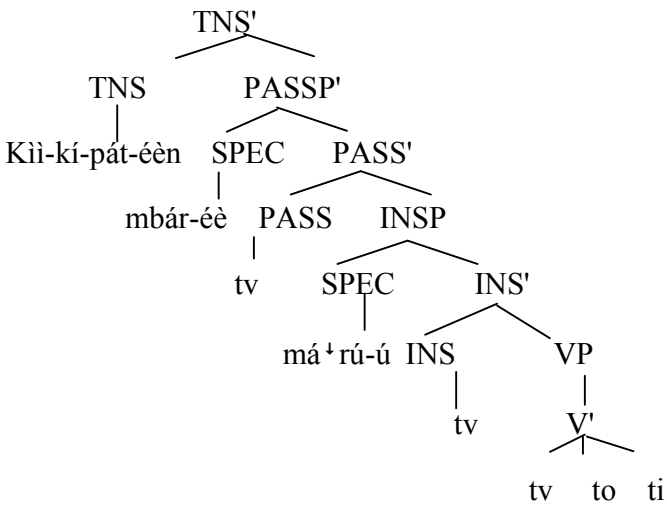


Fig.25

In the structure there is no head for the SPEC/VP for there is no nominative subject. The passive takes the position of the accusative subject in SPEC/PASSP. The verb moves from the VP via INS', PASS' and finally to TNS' to check for instrumental, passive and tense features. The object moves to the SPEC/PASSP to check for accusative case checking. The instrumental object moves to SPEC/INSP to check for accusative case. In this co-occurrence, the word order is VSO of an absolutive object and an applied object.

2.4.6 PASSIVE-ANTIPASSIVE

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

(53a) Kìì-ø- óm- ˈísy- éí láákw-éé
PST-3SG-eat –ANT-IMP child-DEF/SG

The child was eating.

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

Eating was going on.

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

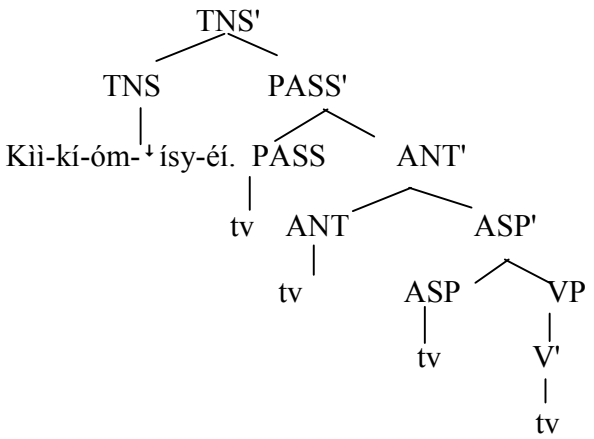


Fig.26

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

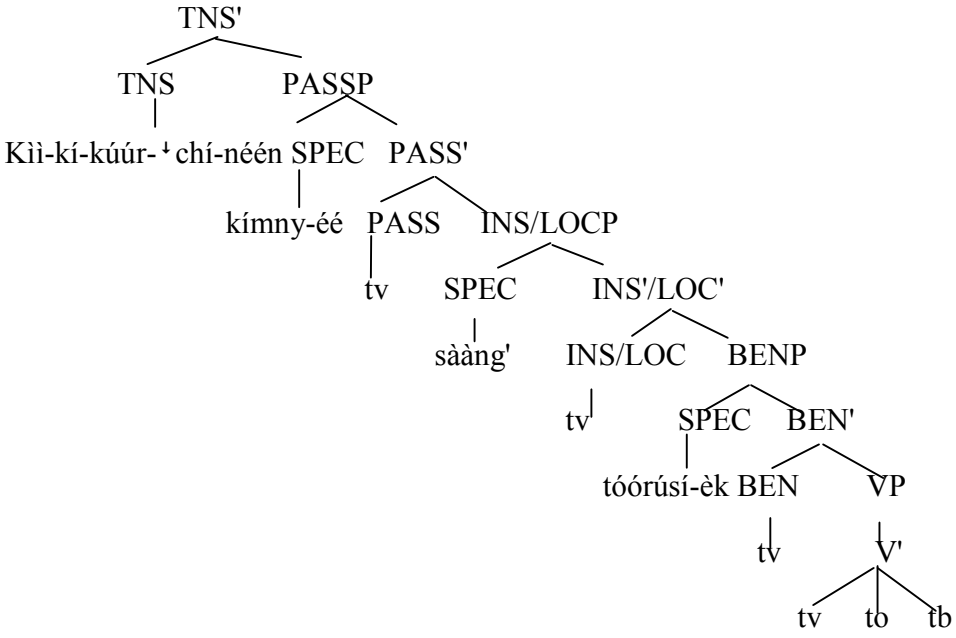
2.4.7 PASSIVE-BENEFACTIVE-INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

A verb can be made complex by combining the benefactive {-*chí*},(for) passive {-*kí*-} and the instrumental or locative {-*één*}[37](with/at). In this co-occurrence, the subject is reduced by the presence of the passive. The direct object becomes the passive subject with an accusative case. The benefactive introduces one applied object while the instrumental/locative introduces another applied object. This is shown below:

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

The initiates were called to pick ugali outside.

The co-occurrences of the passive, benefactive and the instrumental/locative affixes do not necessarily determine the order of the arguments. The order of the arguments can be direct object>benefactive > locative or benefactive> locative > direct object. In the sentence structure the heads for the passive, benefactive and instrumental/locative arguments are created. This is seen below:



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

Fig.27

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

2.4.8 PASSIVE-ANTIPASSIVE-BENEFACTIVE-LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL

The co-occurrences of various argument increasing and decreasing devices can see up to four affixes appearing on a single verb. The passive which is prefixed reduces the subject while the antipassive which is suffixed next to the verb root reduces the direct object. The benefactive affix introduces the applied object and follows the antipassive. The instrumental/locative introduces the locative/instrumental applied object and appears finally as a suffix. One of the applied objects becomes the passive subject. The structure then has one passive subject and one applied object[38]. This is shown below:

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

People were being cooked for outside.

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

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

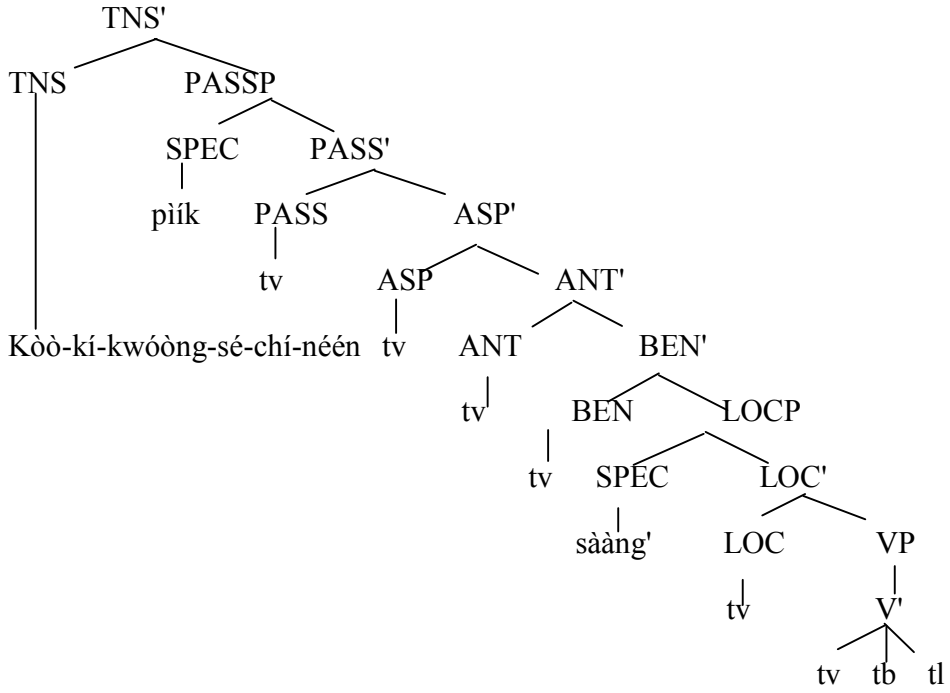


Fig.28

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

2.4.9 PASSIVE-ANTIPASSIVE-INSTRUMENTAL/LOCATIVE

There are co-occurrences of derivative affixes on the verb where the benefactive is not involved. The passive-antipassive and locative/instrumental is such an example. In this co-occurrence the passive is prefixed while the antipassive and locative/instrumental are suffixed respectively. The presence of the antipassive with a downstepped H tone is followed by the locative /instrumental morpheme with a HL tone in the final position.[39] This is seen in the following example:

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

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

A blade was used.

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

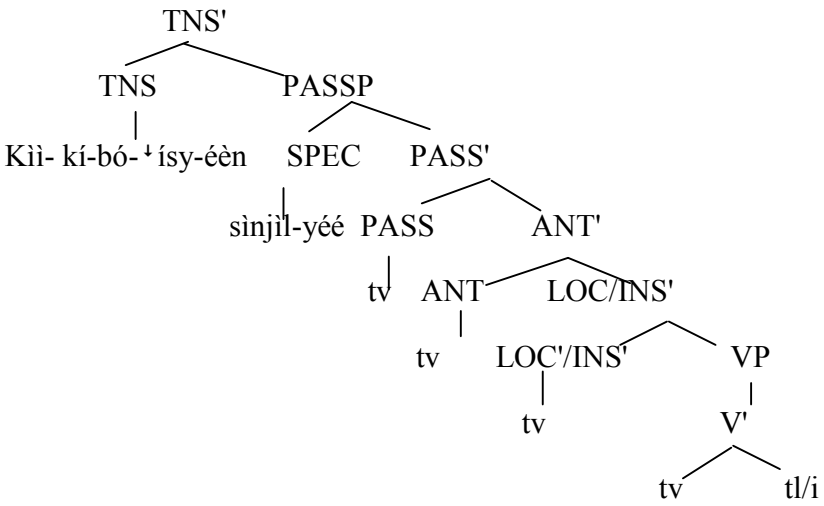


Fig.29

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

2.4.10 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL -REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

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

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

Kimaru hit Kimoru with a stick

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

Kimoru hit himself with a stick

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

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

kòò-ø- máàs-én ng'éét-éé chèèp-t-ó síìt-éé
PST-3SG- hit-INS boy- DEF/SG FE-girl-DEF/SG stick-DEF/SG

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

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

The boy and the girl hit each other with sticks.

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

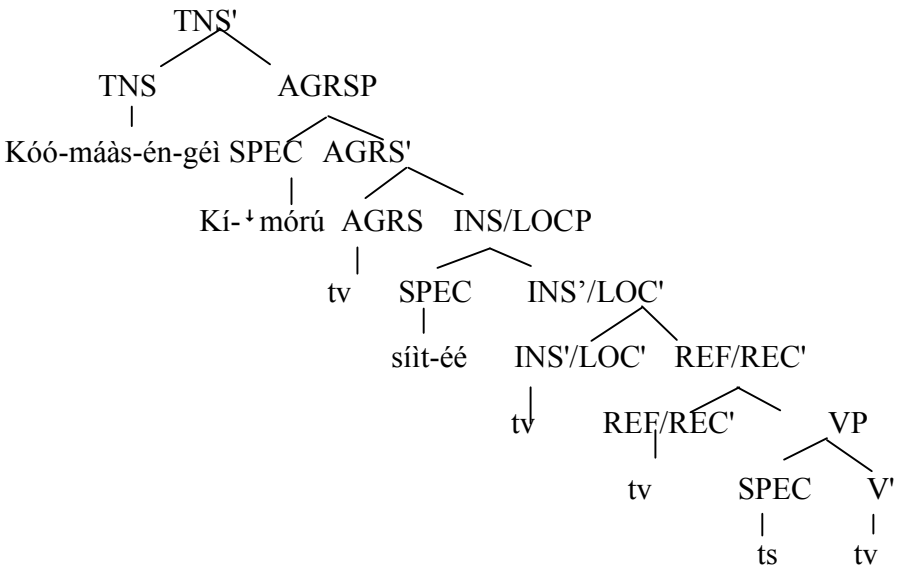


Fig. 30

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

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the Tugen sentence structure has been examined within the Minimalist Program. Various functional heads are created for feature checking. These include, tense, agreement object, agreement subject, negation and aspect. The verb heads the sentence in Tugen language thus resulting in a VSO word order. The order between the subject and object in the sentence can be interchanged. The complementizer phrase is not created for wh- elements for in Tugen these elements remain in situ and only move for checking covertly at LF. However, for sentences that contain conjunctions the complementizer phrase is created for they move overtly to CP.Various derivational affixes make the sentence structure complex by increasing and reducing the number of arguments that a verb can carry. These include the passive, the benefactive,

reflexive/reciprocal, antipassive, locative /instrumental. These derivational affixes do not determine the order of the arguments in the sentence. The co-occurrences of the derivative affixes result in the increase and decrease of the logical arguments that a verb can take. In these co-occurrences, the order of the arguments does not necessarily depend on the order of the affixes. The word order that surfaces is an alternation between the subjects and the applied objects with the verb heading the sentence.

CHAPTER THREE

WORD ORDER IN DISCOURSE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

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

3.1 WORD ORDER PARAMETERS

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

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

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

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

In Tugen, the basic word order on the basis of a declarative sentence is VSO/VOS as shown in the previous chapters. This means that the permutation of arguments is possible as also documented before. A questionnaire administered to the speakers[40] showed that these people are hardly aware of the alternation of word orders. For example:

(59a) Kà -ø- lú- ø chèè-gó púsíí
PST-3SG-drink-3OB milk-DEF cat-DEF

The cat drank the milk

(59b) Kà-ø -lú- ø púsíí chèè-gó
PST-3SG-drink-3OB cat-DEF milk-DEF

The cat drank the milk

In the example above, the difference between the two word orders is shown by the arguments having different tone patterns for the nominative and the accusative. In both sentences, the subject *púsíí* (cat) bears a H tone sequence while the object *chèègó* (milk) has LH tone sequence.[41] Where there is a direct and an applied object both objects bear accusative case marking and to resolve the ambiguity of the arguments with accusative marking then the semantics of the lexical items in terms of animate and inanimate help in resolving this. In the example below, both the direct and the applied objects have accusative case where the applied object is animate while the direct is inanimate:

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

The girl gave the child the milk

In this example, both the direct object and the applied object have a LH tone sequence. The semantics of the lexical items tell that the child is animate and the one receiving the milk. The

[40] Tugen speakers from Lembus area of Koibatek district of ages between 12 and 70.
[41] The nominative and accusative marking was shown in chapter 2.

relative ordering of the arguments in this sentence can be permuted to allow for VSOO/VOSO/VOOS word orders.

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

(61a) Kìì- ø- síil- ø- én péé-k kìgòòmb-éé Kí-ꜜmórú
PST-3SG-draw-3OB-INS water-DEF cup-DEF M-moru

Kimaru drew water with a cup

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

Cherono forced the food on the child

(61c) Kòò-ø- sóòmàn-ø- één kìtàbúú[42] láák-wéé súgúùl
PST-3SG- read-3OB-LOC book-DEF child-DEF school

The child read the book at school.

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

3.2 BASIC WORD ORDER IN DISCOURSE

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

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

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

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

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

S4 Kó-nyíil kòò- ø- túùn-ø àgé. (VO)
SEQ-again SEQ- 3SG-marry-3OB another.

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

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

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

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

In S1 of (62) the introductory sentence has the subject argument *chíító* (person). This argument is represented by a zero subject pronoun in S2 and an object argument *kwòòndó né òò* (elder wife) is introduced. This object argument in S2 takes the role of subject in S3 and is represented by a zero pronominal argument. In S4, the subject in S1 is represented as a pronominal argument and the sentence introduces another object argument by way of a demonstrative pronoun *àgé* (another). In S5, the subject *chíító* (person) is represented by third person pronominal argument and the object pronoun *age* (other) in S4 is elaborated by an adjective. In S6, the subject *chíító* (person) is represented by a zero pronominal argument while the object *kwòòndó né òò* (elder wife) from S2 is repeated as a full lexical argument. In S7, both the subject and the object are represented by zero pronominal arguments. In this text, the subject is represented by a zero pronominal argument once it has been introduced lexically. The object also is introduced lexically after which it is also represented by zero pronominal argument. In the text, only one lexical argument appears per clause such that in S1 it is only the subject while in S2, S4, S5and S6 it is only the object. The word order progresses from VS where the subject is introduced, then

VO when the subject is pronominal and the object is being introduced and finally V when both the subject and the object have been introduced.

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

(63) S1 Kó- ø - ˡléé- njí-ø Kíp-léék-wéé.
SEQ-3SG say-BEN-3OB M-hare-SG/DEF

S2 ø -kòò- n- óò-ø sú ˡp-ú.
3SG-give-1OSG-3OB soup

S3 Kóó-ø- ˡgó- chí -ø
SEQ-3SG-give –BEN- 3OB

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

In S1 of (63) the subject is represented by both the zero pronominal argument and a full lexical argument *Kípléékwéé* (hare) and the object by zero pronominal argument. In S2 the sentence is imperative and the object is represented by both a pronominal argument {-ø} and a lexical argument *súpú* (soup) and the subject *Kípléékwéé* (hare) in S1 becomes the applied object and is represented by pronominal argument {-óò-}. In S3 the subject and the object *súpú* (soup) are represented by zero pronominal arguments while the applied object *Kípléékwéé* (hare) is represented by the pronominal suffix {*-chí*}. The question now that begs to be answered is why there are no overt arguments in S3 of (63) and S3 and S7 of (62) and also why there appears only one lexical argument in S1 and S2 of (63) and S1, S2 S4 and S6 of (62).

3.2.1 SUBJECT ARGUMENTS

In Tugen, the subject argument in an isolated declarative sentence is represented by a lexical argument as well as a pronominal argument on the verb. In some sentences in discourse, the subject can be represented only by the pronominal argument on the verb. This phenomenon of not having an overt argument is called traditionally, pro-drop[43]. It has been argued that pro-drop in essence involves the presence of a subject that is not expressed phonetically. This unexpressed subject was given the name 'pro' in GB. The occurrence of pro-drop is not universal for all

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

languages. Rizzi (1986a) in Ackema et al (2006: 12) says that there are three types of pro-drop. The referential pro is a null pronoun bearing a full theta role. The quasi argumental[44] pro is a null pronoun which ideally is generated as a subject of a weather verb and which bears a quasi theta role. The third type is the expletive pro which has no theta role. These three kinds differ in their content such that the referential pro requires that for its licensing the person and number features have to be identified, the quasi-argumental pro requires that only the number features have to be identified while the expletive pro has no features. Because of the conditions of pro and quasi pro the licensing of pro therefore can be achieved through the rich inflection of person and number features on the verb. This licensing is done if:

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

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

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

(64a) 1st SG I (ánéè) -á- PL- Us (áchéèk) -kí-

(64b) 2nd SG You (ínyéè) -í- PL –You (ókwéèk) -ó-

(64c) 3rd SG He/she (ínéè) -ø- PL They (íchéèk) -ø-

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

In the above paradigm there is a gap in the paradigm in the third person[45]. Some scholars refer to this as partial pro-drop. This argument of syncretism has been discussed by several scholars[46]. Koeneman (2006: 85-89) says languages with partial pro-drop have argumental subject drop but only partially so. He gives the example of Hebrew and Standard Finnish which have six distinctions in their agreement paradigm. In these languages thematic subjects can be dropped only in the first and second and not in the third person contexts and such languages have argumental subject drop but only partially. Koeneman (ibid) says that this partial pro drop can be accounted for by referring to the properties of the agreement paradigms. Another argument about partial pro drop is that some languages have overt and integrated arguments where two independent paradigm representations of agreement affixes and overt arguments are connected. In Hebrew and Standard Finnish the first and second agreement affixes share one property with the third person agreement affixes by being bound morphemes which must be generated in the verb. At the same time they share the similarity with pronouns in that they can function as a subject of the clause on their own. The third person affixes are not directly connected to the pronoun system. The fact that first/second person affixes have these two properties combined in them has a consequence that the paradigms of personal pronouns and agreement affixes are intertwined. This is similar to Tugen in that the agreement affixes and the full pronouns have a morphological similarity. The first and second agreement affixes are provided by the first and second person pronoun prefixes. The second person prefix *–í-* is also shared by the third person This agreement morpheme already appears as the second person singular agreement affix and cannot be taken up by the third person again. This agreement morpheme can be found only in specialized contexts for example in before certain verbs beginning with /r/, /n/ or /g/. As such for other instances a zero agreement affix is envisaged for the third person. Koeneman (ibid) suggests that for Hebrew and Standard Finnish the first/second person agreement affixes are marked +pronominal while the third person is marked -pronominal. The consequence of this is that in third person the nominal arguments are obligatory.

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

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

In Tugen, however, this assumption does not seem to hold. In the paradigm, the integrated arguments for the first and second subject person shows similarities with the first and second person pronoun prefixes and can be marked as +pronominal. However, though the third person is posited to bear a gap and we follow Baker (2006: 310) by completing the paradigm with a zero affix that enters into the same obligatory agreement relation that the overt affixes do[47]. The third person shows a gap in the paradigm by appearing as a zero argument as illustrated by the argument above. While following this argument we argue that Tugen falls within the pronominal argument languages as envisaged by Jelinek (2006:263).While discussing the polysynthesis parameter Baker (2006: 289) states that:

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

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

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[47]Another argument on pro is by Hoffherr (2006: 236). While modifying the classification of Rizzi (1986), he distinguishes three kinds of pro: deictic pro, anaphoric and non anaphoric pro. The deictic pro are null pronouns marked [+speaker]/[+hearer}. The deictic pro in essence involves the first/second person pronouns. The anaphoric pro are null third persons pronouns that take up a discourse referent previously introduced in discourse. Non-anaphoric pro are null third person pronouns that do not take up a discourse referent previously introduced in the discourse. She says the non anaphoric form is used with proper nouns, unique entities and kind -referring NPs. In Tugen the anaphoric pro are referring to zero third person pronouns that take up referents already mentioned in previous discourse.

Another paradigm that deals with zero arguments and pro was introduced by Jelinek. In discussing about the Pronominal Parameter, Jelinek (2006: 261-288) says that there are languages that have an agreement system where there is no subject–object asymmetry with respect to agreement such that both the subject and object are always represented by some pronominal argument. The co-referent noun phrases may be present for either each argument but need not be there if the reference is unambiguous in the context. The subject and object pronominal inflection are absolutely necessary for grammaticality while the adjoined noun phrases are present only when the speaker judges that they are needed to establish reference. The integrated pronouns in the verb are obligatory for the sentence while the noun phrases are not. The integrated pronouns represent the arguments of the sentence. In these pronominal arguments (PA) languages the pronominal affixes are all backgrounded and discourse anaphoric. In Tugen, the third person pronominal inflection is phonologically absent but logically present and is represented by zero anaphora when discourse anaphoric. When arguments are not discourse anaphoric then lexical arguments are necessary to establish reference. This parameter is therefore important for Tugen because in discourse arguments that have been established prior in discourse are only realized as integrated arguments while those that are being introduced are represented lexically.

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

	Subject				Object			
(65a)	1st SG	-á-	PL	-kí-	1st SG	-ón	PL	-éch
(65b)	2nd SG	-í-	PL	-ó-	2nd SG	-ín	PL	-ók
(65c)	3rd SG	-ø-	PL	-ø-	3rd SG	-ø-	PL	-ø-

Baker (2006: 295) goes on to say that when a language that is otherwise a pro drop language happens to lack an agreeing form for a particular combination of a person and number an overt noun is sometimes required in such environments. He argues that clauses are complete without the overt NP and that the arguments of the verb are inherently pronominal. The same is also true with clauses that have overt NPs only that they have the status of dislocated phrases[48] which are adjoined to the clause as extra topics. He claims that dislocation in head- marking languages in turn produces free word order to varying degrees for example in Chichewa. He says that the reason why agreement forces dislocation is because it absorbs the case features of the head that it attaches to.

Tugen clauses are complete without the overt lexical arguments and their presence serves to identify an argument that is not anaphoric. Concerning dislocation[49], the dislocated elements in Tugen are marked for case so the case filter does apply. Left dislocation in Tugen is specifically for emphasis and any argument can be dislocated including wh- elements. All left dislocated elements bear accusative case. The left dislocated arguments are followed by the particle *né* as shown below:

(66a) Lààk-wéé né ká- ø- ˈnyó
child -DEF that PST-3SG-come

It is the child that has come.

(66b) Mbíìr-é né ká- ø- ˈwíír-tá láák-wéé
ball-DEF that PST-3SG throw-ALL child-SG/DEF

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

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

It is the ball that the child has thrown

(66c) Ng'òò né ká- ø- ˈnyó?
Who that PST-3SG-come

Who is it that has come?

Because case in Tugen is manifested in overt syntax we want to agree with Borer (1986: 378) that subject agreement with the verb is a manifestation of nominative case. This means that the phi-features that are part of the subject agreement serve as identifiers for the already case marked NP category in the matrix sentence. Alexiadou (2006: 135) supports this position by saying that verbal agreement actually spells out the features of the subject much as the particle *né* (that) spells out the features of the left dislocated arguments. The presence of the agreement and overt NPs is an instance of feature movement. He further claims that this configuration permits the case checking of subject without DP movement. In our analysis however we take the position that the subject agreement serves as an identifier for the overt subject which is overtly marked for case and which is already checked for this feature in the preceding sentences. The relationship between the overt subject and its subsequent incorporated argument on the verb is captured by the Principle of Reference. Schröder (2008: 110) derived the Principle of Reference to describe the relationship between an overt subject and its subsequent morphological marking on the verb. Its properties are quoted below:

α is an antecedent to β if and only if:

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

(b) α is a checked nominal category

(c) α licenses the checking domain for β

This means that if a morphological argument marked as an affix in the verb has an antecedent lexical argument in a previous matrix sentence which has already been case checked then this lexical argument licenses the checking of the morphological argument and thus disallowing any other similar nominal argument from occurring in the sentence[50]. In discourse new subject NPs in Tugen are introduced by pronominal arguments and overt NPs. In subsequent sentences they

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

are represented by pronominal arguments. The pronominal argument doesn't spell out the phi-features of the subject for these are already spelt out in the matrix sentence. This is exemplified in the following text:

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

S2 Né- kìí- ø- bát- mbár-éé- ˈnyíì[51]
That PST 3SG-dig farm- SG/DEF-GEN

S3 Kó -kíí- ˈná- í- bát
SEQ PST-CON-3SG dig

S4 Kó- ø- góòl t-úgúú-k- ˈchíík
PST-3SG-plant thing-PL/DEF-GEN

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

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

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

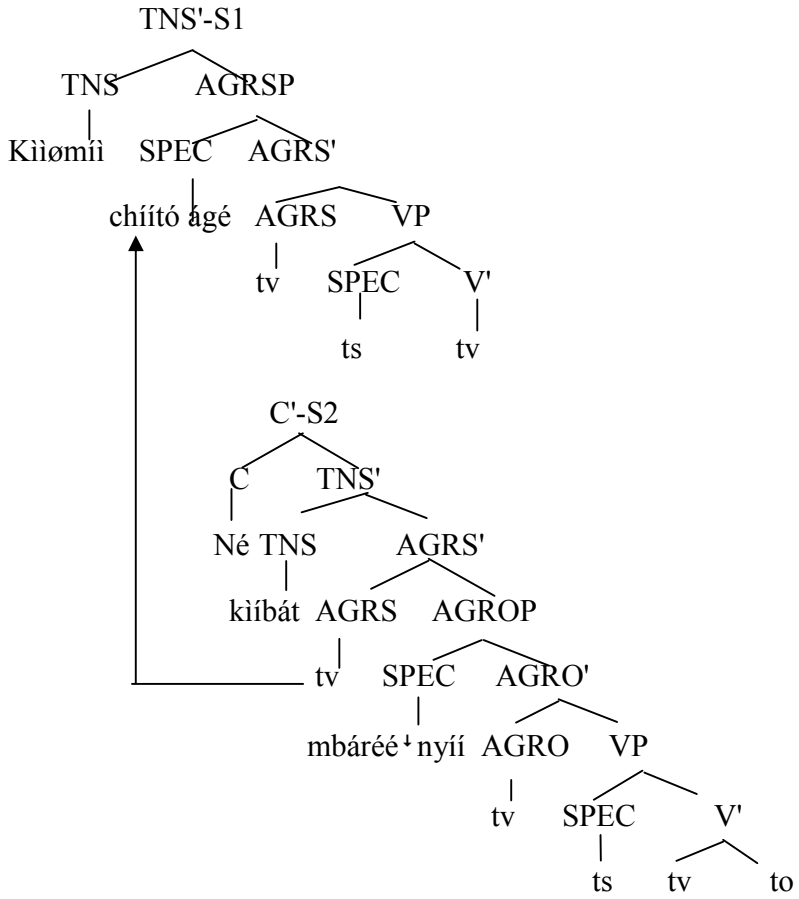

Fig.31

In S1 the verb moves from VP to check for agreement features in AGR' and then to TNS' to check for tense features. The phi -features of the subject are checked under the SPEC/AGRSP. The resultant word order is VS. In S2 there is no overt lexical subject therefore SPEC/AGRSP is not projected for there is no need to check for the phi-features of the subject for this is already done in the matrix sentence. The Principle of Reference is used to identify the case features of the pronominal argument by referring to the lexical argument *chíító ágé* (another person) in the matrix sentence as shown. Therefore there is no case checking of pronominal arguments on subsequent sentences. The verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRO' and AGRS' to check for agreement subject, agreement object and tense features. The direct object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP to checking for accusative case. This results in V as the word order.

3.2.2 DIRECT OBJECT ARGUMENTS

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

(68a) Kòò-ø- kúúr-éch áchéèk
PST-3SG-call-1PL us

He called us

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

He was calling you

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

He was calling him

The position of the objective suffix for the first and second person gives us a clue for the position of the third person objective suffix which occurs directly after the verb root. The lexical objective arguments in the sentences are optional since the referents can be identified from context. The behaviour of the lexical objective argument in discourse is not reflected in the

above example. In discourse, the object argument is represented by a lexical argument when new and by a null pronominal argument when anaphoric. This is exemplified below:

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

S2 á- téb- ø- én
1SG-sit-3OB-INS

I will enter the pumpkin and sit in it

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

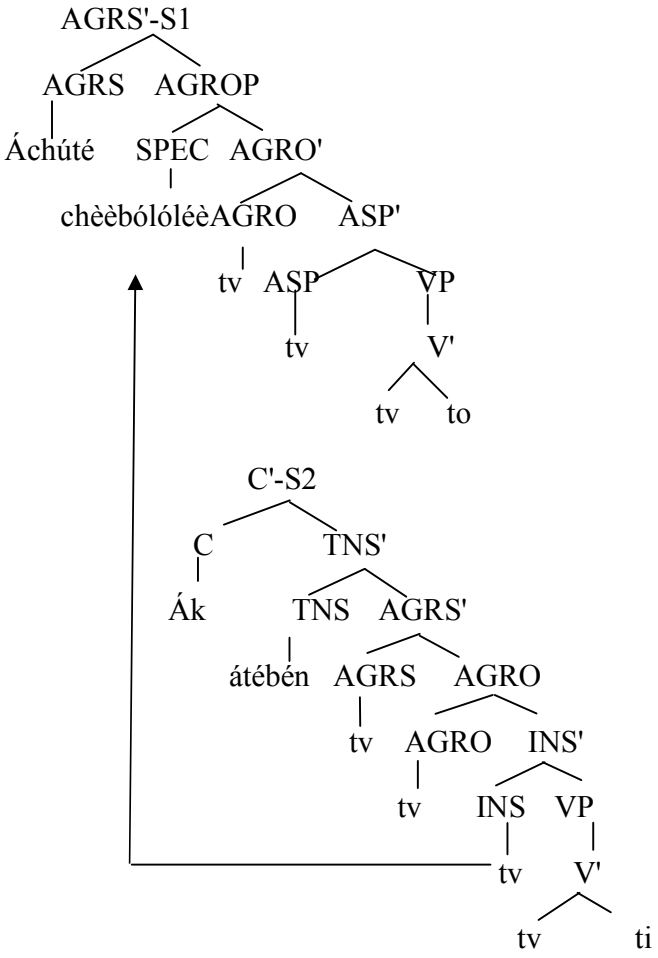

Fig. 32

In S1 of (69) the verb moves from the VP to AGRS' via ASP' and AGRO' to check for agreement subject, agreement objective and aspectual features. Case features are checked the SPEC/AGROP. The word order is VO. Where the object is discourse anaphoric, the lexical object is not necessary as shown in S2. The sentence in S2 refers to the matrix sentence for the identity of the lexical object which is already checked for case through the Principle of Reference. This same lexical object is the instrumental object which has already been checked for accusative case in S1. The verb moves from the VP to TNS' through INS'/AGRO' and AGRS' to check for agreement subject, agreement object, instrumental and tense features. This results in the word order being V because SPEC/AGROP and SPEC/INSP are not created.

3.2.3 PRONOMINAL ARGUMENTS

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

(70) S1 Kìì- ø- léé- nj- ˡón kààméènyúú
PST-3SG-say-BEN -ISG mother-GEN

My mother told me

S2 Kì í- mút- ˡán éng móé- ˡnyí árááw-ék táˡmán ák áèng'.
PST-3SG-carry-1SG in stomach-GEN month-PL/DEF ten and two

She carried me in her stomach for twelve months.

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

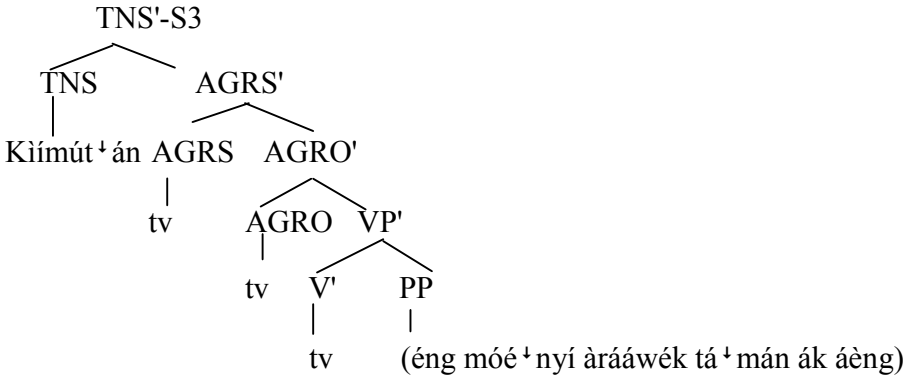

Fig.33

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

3.3 DERIVATIONAL ARGUMENTS IN DISCOURSE

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

3.3.1 APPLICATIVE

The applicative that affect word order in discourse are the benefactive and the locative/instrumental. Baker (1988: 250) analyses the applicative construction as the incorporation of a PP into V (by head movement). This leads to a structure in which the integrated preposition licenses the object. This means that the applicative receives case from the complex verb. Baker (ibid) posits that there are languages which can assign structural case to more than one NP in a VP such that both the applied and basic object are both governed by the complex V and are assigned structural case by it at S-structure. While agreeing with this O'herin (2001: 488) proposes that the applied object is licensed by the head of the preposition (P) which incorporates into the Agreement head of the preposition (AGRP) immediately dominating the Preposition before incorporating into the verb. The agreement relationship is mediated at (AGRP) which also licenses the NP complement of the pre- or post-position. He defends this

position by saying that unlike Bakers' proposal, multiple applicative are also possible on the verb because each external object has an external source of licensing which is not limited in the same way as verbs in their head- marking[52] abilities. Various orders are also allowed depending on which PP adjoins higher. Furthermore, the verb's transitivity is unaffected since the applied objects do not need to be licensed by the verb. This situation is observed in Abaza, a north-west Caucasian language. Logically, multiple applicatives are also possible on the verb in Tugen as shown in the previous chapter but in discourse this is not possible. Our analysis differs from that of Baker in that in Tugen, the applicative is represented by head-marking suffixes which introduce the respective applicative objects. This will be shown again in the next section. The Principle of Reference can be used to explain how these head marking suffixes are identified in discourse in cases where the head marking suffix is present on the verb but the applied object is omitted. Furthermore, these arguments are omitted in discourse for their cases have already been checked.

3.3.1.1 BENEFACTIVE

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

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

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

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

S4 Kó-ø-kwáàny ák
SEQ-3SG-cook and

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

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

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

In (71) above S1 has a benefactive morpheme {*-chí-n*}[53] (for) introduces a benefactive argument *chìí (person)* which is also represented by the pronominal suffix {*-n*}. In S2, the verb has a benefactive suffix introducing the benefactive argument which is not represented lexically. This situation pertains in S3 and S5. In S1, the benefactive argument is checked for case at SPEC/BEN. In S5, the benefactive suffix refers back to the benefactive argument in S1 which has already been case checked through the Principle of Reference. This principle provides for an argument that already has been mentioned earlier in discourse to be omitted in subsequent sentences. In the Principle of Reference, once an argument has been licensed and case checked in the introductory sentences, the omission of subsequent mentions of the argument is provided so long as there is some overt marker to signify the status of this argument. The overt marker reminds us that there is an argument that is missing. It therefore forces us to refer back to the matrix sentences for the identification and case checking of the relevant argument. This is the case in S5 where there is no head that is created for SPEC/BEN for it has no content as shown below:

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

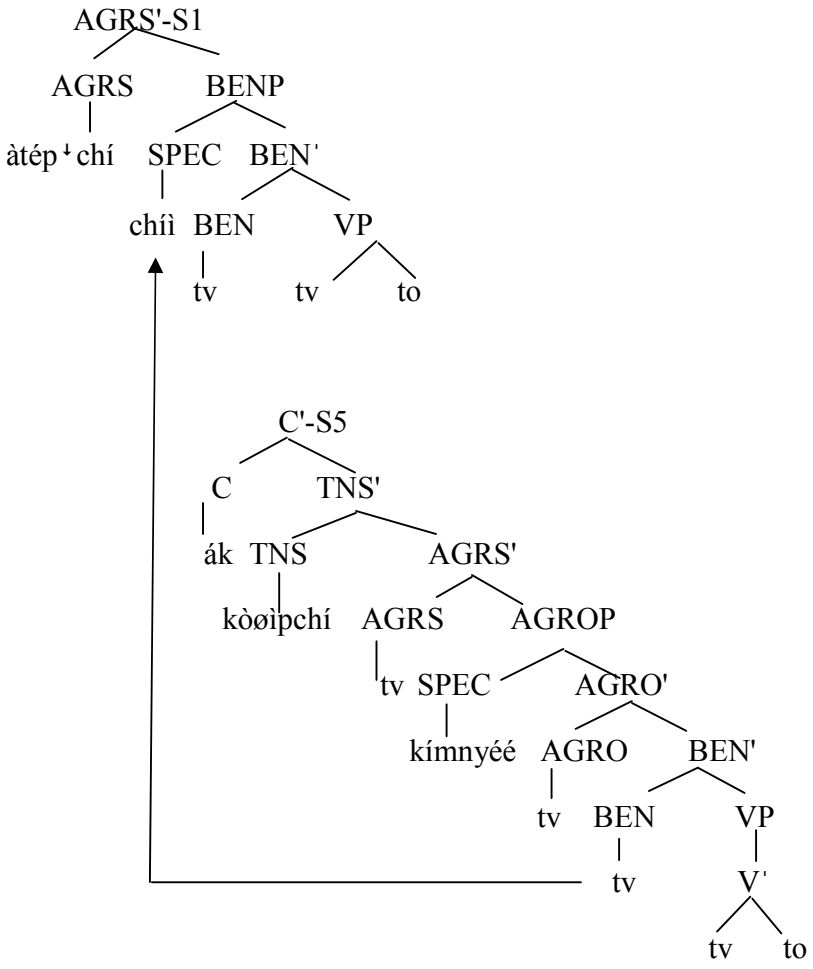

Fig.34

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

3.3.1.2 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL

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

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

He dug the farm with a fork.

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

He dug the virgin land with it.

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

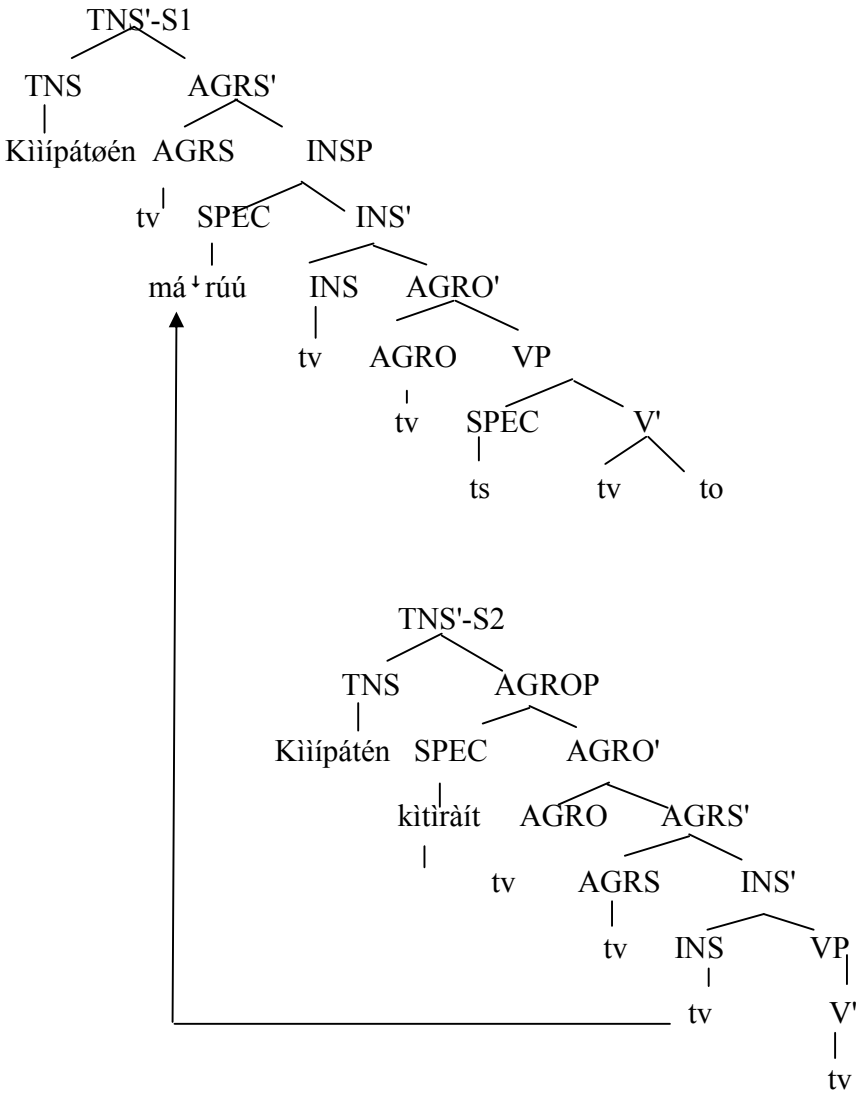

Fig.35

In S1 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRO', AGRS' and INS' to check for tense, agreement object, agreement subject and instrumental features. The instrument moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/INSP to check for instrumental case. The object being marked by a null argument has its case checked in the matrix sentence through the Principle of Reference. The word order is VO and not VOO. In S2, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via INS', AGRO', and AGRS' to check for tense, instrumental, agreement object and agreement subject features. The instrumental suffix refers back to its antecedent in S1 for instrumental case checking. The object argument moves from the VP to SPEC /AGROP for accusative case checking. The resultant

word order is VO. In S1 the word order involves an applicative object while in S2 the word order involves a direct object.

3.3.1.3 REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

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

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

S2 Kó- ø- úny-géì
SEQ-3SG-hid-REF

He saw the person. He hid himself

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

(74) S1 Kíí-ˈtúún kóó-ø- yúm- géì bóí-ˈsyék.
PST-long SEQ-3SG-gather-REC-oldmen-PL/DEF

S2 Kó- ø- ˈléé- njí- ø -géì
SEQ-3PL say-BEN-AP-REC

Long time the old men gathered themselves and told each other

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

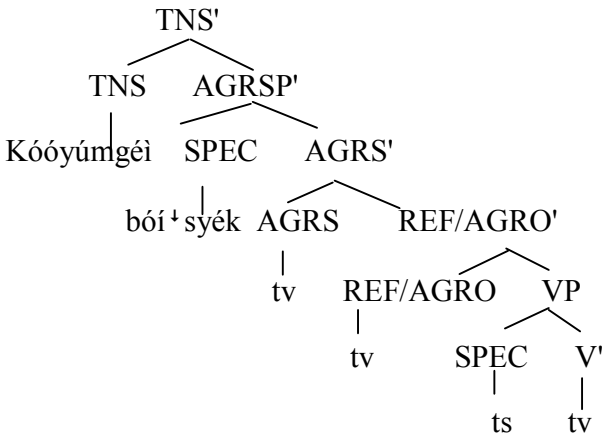

Fig.36

In the structure the verb moves from the VP to TNS' via REF/AGRO' and AGRS' to check for reflexive/reciprocal/object arguments features, pronominal subject and tense features. The lexical subject is checked for case at SPEC/AGRSP. The reflexive/reciprocal takes the role of the direct object which is represented as an incorporated argument. The resulting word order is VS. Where the subject is anaphori,c the resulting word order is V as shown in S2 of (73/74) where the lexical subject has already been case checked in S1.

3.3.1.4 PASSIVE

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

In the Minimalist Program, all the morphological features of the VP get their own feature heads. The passive affix therefore bears its own head which bears grammatical phi-features that must be checked and eliminated in the course of derivation. The verb moves to this passive head to check

for these features. The patient becomes the passive subject but with accusative case marking[54]. In discourse this situation pertains as seen in (75) below:

(75) S1 Mé- lé-n kì- gíì[55]- túí-ø- tóòs pèè-k ák pàànd-ék. NEG-say -ASP PST-PASSmix-3OB-COM[56] millet-PL/DEF and maize- PL/DEF

Not that maize and millet were mixed.

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

They were separated

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

[54] This is a feature of absolutive case marking where the subject and the object share the same case features.
[55] /k/ weakens to /g/ in front of a syllable beginning with a consonant.
[56] COM- comitative

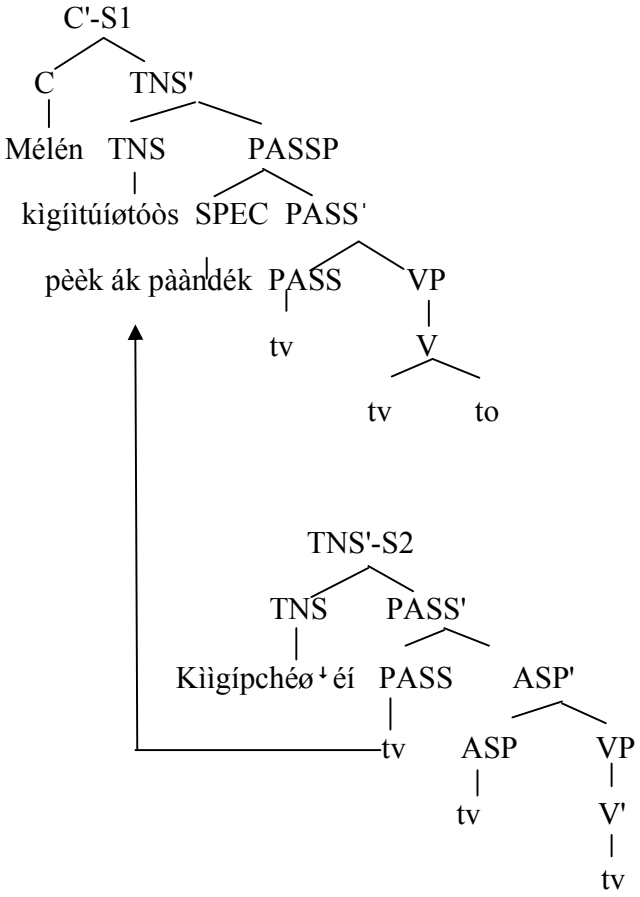

Fig.37

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

3.3.1.5 ANTIPASSIVE

The antipassive is a construction which applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive clause. In this construction the underlying agent becomes the subject while the object is relegated to some peripheral function and there is some explicit formal marking of

this status. In Tugen, the use of the morpheme {-*ís/ísy*-} signifies this change of status. With the antipassive construction the verb changes from being transitive to intransitive as shown:

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

She took the food to the woman

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

That woman ate.

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

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

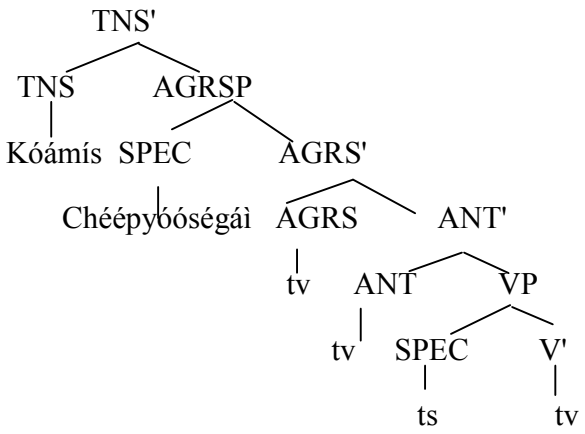

Fig.38

In the structure the verb moves from VP to TNS' through ANT' and AGRS' to check for tense, antipassive and pronominal subject features. The subject moves to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. This results in a VS word order. This is because the object argument is integrated as an antipassive affix in the verb. The antipassive affix forces the deletion of the

object and as such in Tugen, the lexical object does not appear. In this case, there is no case checking but the head features of the object are checked under the ANT head. Where lexical subject is anaphoric then the pronominal subject argument is licensed through the Principle of Reference and in such a case the word order is V.

3.4 CO-OCCURRENCES OF VERBAL DERIVATIONS IN DISCOURSE

In the elicitation of data many verbal derivations can co-occur as shown in the previous chapter but in discourse the co-occurrences are limited to two. This is because many co-occurrences result in semantic ambiguities especially where the same affixes are used to refer to different entities and also because the human mind is constrained in processing complex information. Du Bois (1987) says that constraints on information flow typically single out new information. He says that new information appears to be more difficult to be processed and hence must be subject to constraint. He proposes that, in general, languages avoid more than one lexical argument per clause. In Tugen, there are only a few instances of co-occurrences of verbal derivations that can be attested in discourse. These specifically are the antipassive and locative/instrumental, the passive and locative/instrumental, the locative/instrumental and the reflexive/reciprocal, the passive and the benefactive and the benefactive and the reflexive/reciprocal. Most of these co-occurrences are argument reducing derivations because the argument reducing derivations serve to limit the amount of new information produced per clause for easier processing. Some of the co-occurrences are shown below:

3.4.1 ANTIPASSIVE AND LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL

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

(77) Kìì-chám ké- bó- ˡísy- én Kìp-chóóngéé**.**
PST-like 1PL-use-ANT-INST M-hoe

In the past, we used a hoe

In the structure, the ANT' replaces the AGRO' as an integrated object while the subject is represented by the pronominal argument which has changed to {*ké-*}(we) due to vowel coalescence The instrumental marker {*-én*} introduces the applied instrumental argument as shown[57].

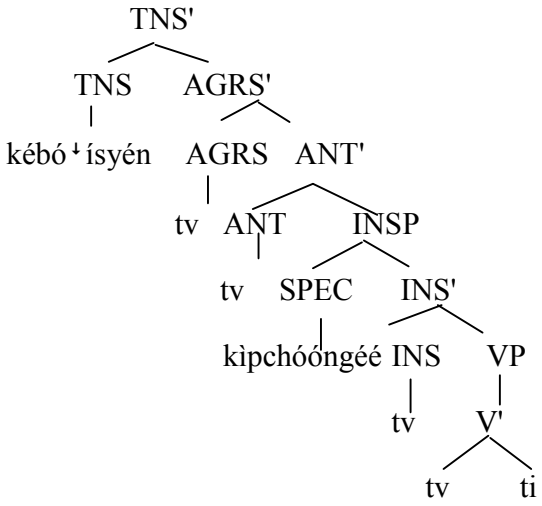

Fig.39

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

3.4.2 PASSIVE AND LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL

In this co-occurrence, the passive marker reduces the lexical subject and promotes the object to be the passive subject while the locative /instrumental affix introduces the applied lexical/instrumental object. The instrumental/locative in this case is discourse anaphoric so the full lexical argument is not present. The Principle of Reference can be used to refer to the instrument/locative in the matrix sentence for case checking. The object takes the role of subject but with accusative case. This passive subject is checked for its phi-features in SPEC/PASSP as seen in the following example:

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

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

It was used to open up the fences

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

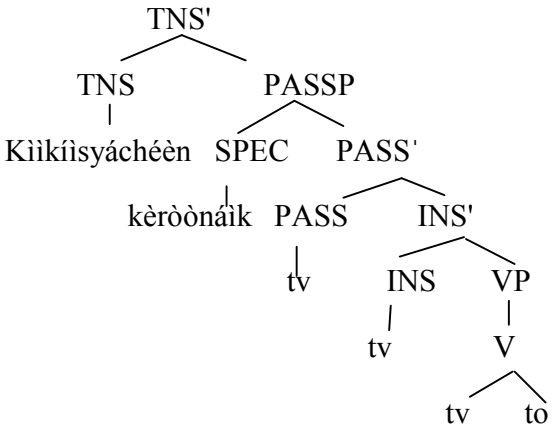

Fig.40

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

3.4.3 LOCATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL AND REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

Another co-occurrence that can be found in discourse involves the locative/instrumental and the reflexive/reciprocal. The reflexive/reciprocal is an argument-reducing operation while the instrumental/locative is argument-increasing. The reciprocal/reflexive reduces the object argument by integrating it while the locative /instrumental affix introduces an applied locative/instrumental argument. In this co-occurrence, the locative/instrumental affix comes before the reflexive /reciprocal. This co-occurrence can be seen in the following example:

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

He said, "He will slap himself outside.

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

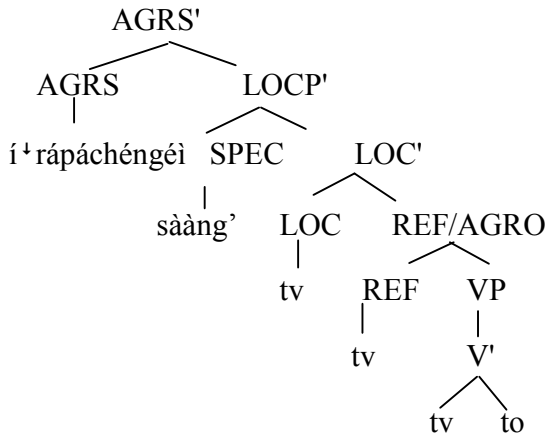

Fig.41

In the structure, the reflexive takes the role of the object as an integrated argument. This reflexive has the subject under AGRS' as its antecedent. The lexical subject is anaphoric and is licensed to appear morphologically through the Principle of Reference. The locative affix introduces a locative argument. The locative argument has its case features checked under SPEC/LOCP. The verb moves from VP to AGRS' via REF' and LOC' to check for agreement subject, reflexive and locative features. The word order that results is VO with an applied object.

3.4.4 PASSIVE AND BENEFACTIVE

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

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

When a person was sick

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

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

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

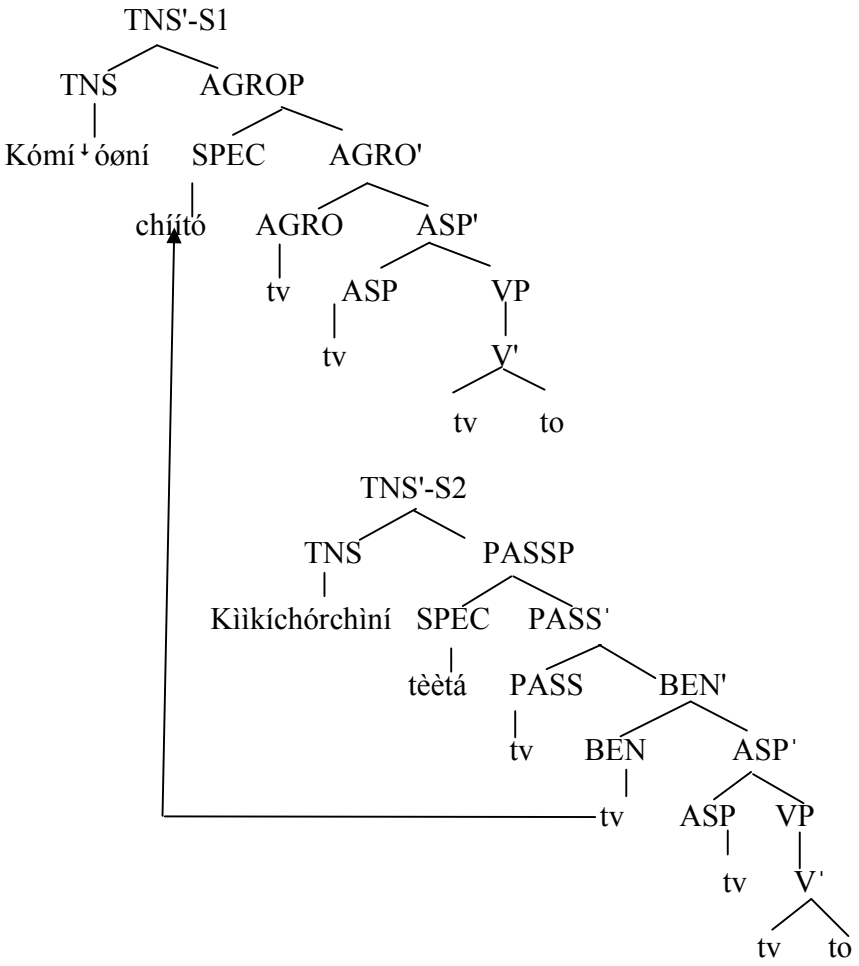

Fig.42

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

3.4.5 BENEFACTIVE AND REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL

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

(81) Kó- ø- né꜔rék- chí - géì píík- áàp kái꜔tá-gái
SEQ-3PL-annoy-BEN- REC person-PL/DEF-GEN house-DEM

The people of that house got annoyed with each other.

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

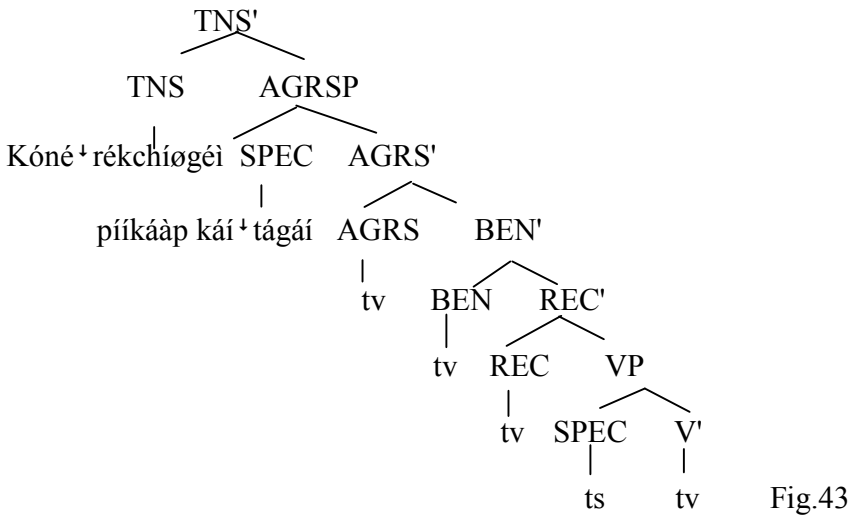

Fig.43

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

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

(82) Kíí- ø- ˈám- ø- chí- ø- géì àmìt-wóógík píik-áàp káíˈtá-gái
PST-3PL-eat-3OB-BEN-AP -REC food-DEF person-PL/DEF home-DEM

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

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

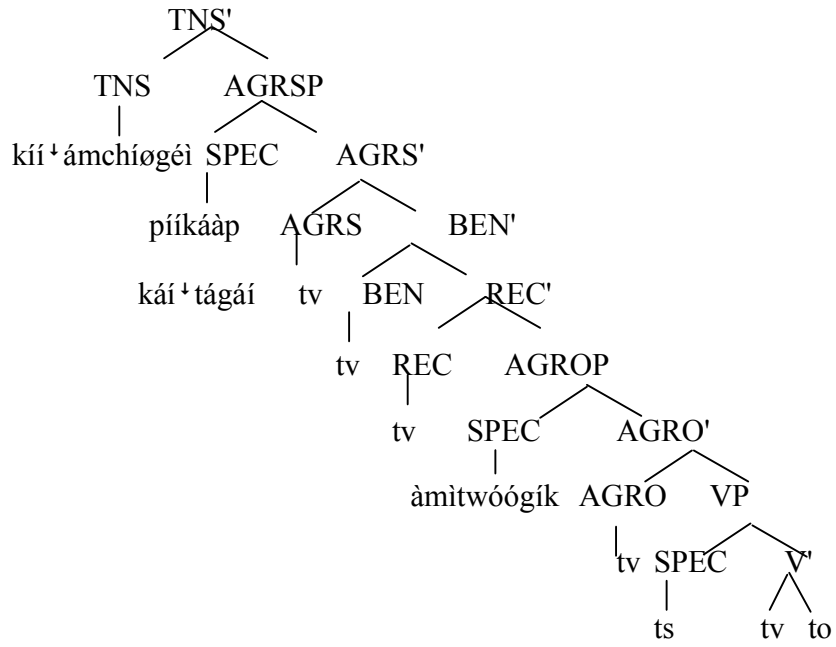

Fig.44

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

3.4.6 THE USE OF PRONOMINALS IN DISCOURSE

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

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

I told you the truth

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

He brought us milk

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

He brought us milk

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

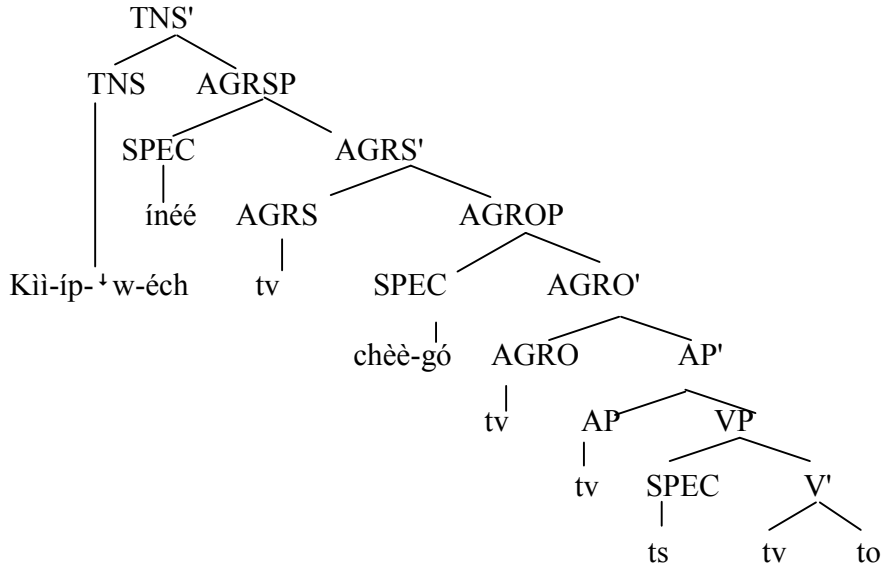

Fig.45

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

3.5 CONCLUSION

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

It has also been shown that verbal derivations affect word order by reducing and increasing the number of arguments. The derivations that increase the arguments are the benefactive, and the locative/instrumental. These derivations increase the number of arguments by introducing applied arguments to the verb structure. This results in VSOO/VOOS word order. However, when the subject and the direct object/applied object are anaphoric, the presence of integrated arguments gives rise to a VO word order or V when all the arguments are anaphoric. The verbal derivations that reduce arguments include the passive, antipassive and the reflexive. In the passive the subject is demoted with the object being promoted to take over the role of the subject. In the antipassive, the object is integrated by the antipassive morpheme as an argument thereby making the construction intransitive with the subject as the only lexical argument. In Tugen, the passive and the antipassive markers are marked by affixes. The reflexive/reciprocal affix integrates the direct object or the applied object thus reducing the number of lexical arguments and resulting in V, and VO/VS word orders. These integrated arguments take the subject as the antecedent. Furthermore, we have seen that there can be co-occurrences between the verbal derivations. In Tugen, most of the co-occurrences involve the argument reducing derivations. This is because they serve to limit the amount of information in the verb for easier processing. These co-occurrences give rise to a VO mostly with an applied object and V word order when all the arguments are anaphoric. The verbal derivations also occur in the use of the

pronouns where these pronouns take the roles of subject and the applied object respectively. These co-occurrences give rise to a VO/VS word order and VOS/VSO word orders when emphatic. From the foregoing analysis, it is evident that the most dominant word order is VO/VS.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOPIC, FOCUS AND WORD ORDER

4.0 INTRODUCTION

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

4.1 TOPIC AND FOCUS

Information structure has been studied using semantic and pragmatic approaches. The semantic approach looks at information categories of topic and focus as quantificational elements which affect the propositional content of an utterance. The pragmatic approach of topic and focus looks at how identical propositions or NPs receive direct formal expressions in accordance with the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's state of mind. In the latter approach, the concepts of topic and focus have been described by a variety of terminologies in different theoretical frameworks: Chomsky (1971) talks of Presupposition and Focus, Halliday (1994) talks of Given and New, Danes (1974) discusses of Theme and rheme, Gundel (1988) discusses about Topic and Comment while Lambrecht (1994) explains about Topic and Focus. Although they differ in some respects all are based on the notion that utterances are about something which connects

with information that the speaker can assume that the hearer is aware of and that utterances contain information the speaker is presenting as new relative to what he/she is talking about. Lambrecht (1994: 334) says that the structure of sentences is related to the communicative function in which sentences are used to convey pieces of propositional information. This relationship is governed by the principles and rules of grammar in syntax and pragmatics in a component called information structure. In this component, propositions undergo pragmatic structuring according to the discourse situations in which these states of affairs are to be communicated. The pragmatic structuring is done in terms of the speaker's assumptions concerning the hearer's state of mind at the time of an utterance. Information structure examines how information is packaged and why certain structures may be selected to convey a given piece of proposition. The pragmatically motivated propositions are then paired with appropriate lexico-grammatical structures. I suggest that in Tugen, word order differences are also due to pragmatic structuring because sentences with different word orders are used to convey different kinds of information in discourse. This pragmatic structuring will be explained later.

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

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

The focus relation is taken to be non recoverable and unpredictable at the time of utterance. The focus of a proposition is the semantic element whose presence makes a proposition into an assertion. It is also the information that is contrasted with possible alternatives. Lambrecht (ibid) categorizes focus into three types: predicate focus, argument focus and sentence focus. Predicate focus is the universally unmarked type of focus structure. It has a topic within the pragmatic presupposition and a predicate phrase which expresses a comment about the topic otherwise known as a topic-comment construction; the argument focus is the narrow focus structure where the focus structure is limited to a single constituent and any constituent can be a focused constituent and sentence focus is used for introducing a new discourse referent or a thetic sentence[58]. In this type of construction the entire clause is within the focus domain and no pragmatic presuppositions are formally evoked by sentence- focus structures.

Gundel & Fretheim (2004: 2) describe topic and focus in terms of givenness/newness. They say that there has been confusion in conflating the types of givenness/newness. They propose that it

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.1 TOPICS

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

(84a) ø- sóó˩ mán-chí- ní-ø kìtàbúú Chéép˩ kóóskéì làákwéé
3SG-read-BEN-IMP-3OB book FE-kosgei child.

Chepkoskei is reading a book to the child.

(84b) ø-sóó˩ mán-chí-ní-ø[59]
3SG-read-BEN-IMP-3OB

She is reading to her.

In (84a), the structure is sentence focus and arguments are all new and are represented by both pronominal affixes and lexical arguments. The lexical arguments are the focus representations.

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

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

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

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

She is telling him.

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

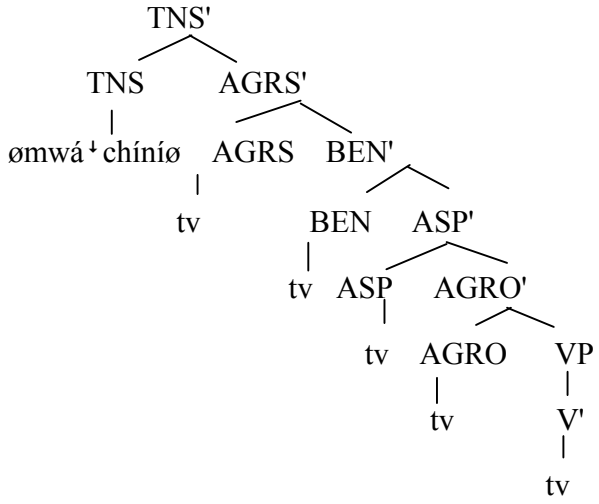

Fig. 46

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

4.1.2 FOCUS

Kiss (1995: 15) says that focus is used to mean the part of the sentence that carries new information[60] and also as an operator expressing identification and contrast. Lopez (2009: 34) takes focus to be that which provides a resolution for a variable left open in previous discourse. This constitutes contrastive focus for him. Default focus expressing new information is not associated with any particular structural position in syntax. Kiss (1998) says information focus is present in any sentence and is not associated with any movement. Other terminologies for information focus are sentence focus by Lambrecht (1986) and presentational focus by Kiss (1998).

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

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

of identification is a closed set of individuals known to the participants in the discourse. In discussing contrastive focus, Lopez disagrees with this position taken by Kiss (1998) by saying:

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

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

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

4.1.2.1 VP INTERNAL FOCUS

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

4.1.2.1.1 INFORMATION FOCUS

Information focus in Tugen is a VP-internal focus and the constituents under focus are represented by both pronominal affixes and lexical arguments. This focus is associated with topic-comment articulation and therefore occurs in the default sentences. Since this focus is not

special in any way the lexical arguments bearing information focus are projected in the various specifier positions[61] of the various arguments and are not marked for focus. This can be seen in (86) below.

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

The child is reading to Chepkoskei

In (86) the subject and the benefactive arguments are represented by pronominal arguments {-ø-} and {-chi-} and lexical arguments *láákwéé* (child) and *chèèpkóóskéì*. They are therefore new and bear information focus. The object is represented only by a pronominal argument {-ø-} therefore it is topical. In the structure therefore, the AGRS'/AGRO'/BEN' and ASP' heads are created to check for subject, object, benefactive and aspectual features. SPEC/AGRSP and SPEC/BENP are created to check for case features of the lexical arguments. Since these arguments also bear the pragmatic function of focus they are also checked for their inherent focus features. This is shown below:

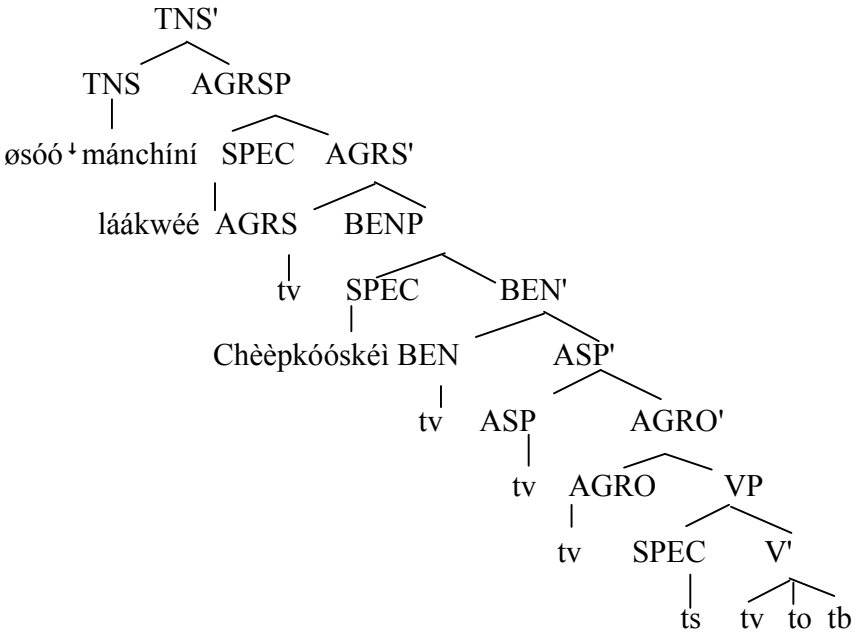

Fig.47

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

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

4.1.2.1.2 IDENTIFICATIONAL FOCUS

Tugen has both VP-internal and VP-external identificational focus positions. Focus internal is within the VP and the constituent under focus moves to the focus checking domain to check for this feature. This is also known as counter-assertive focus where a previously mentioned argument is invoked again for emphasis. In section 4.1.1, we have argued that topics are constituents that look for their antecedents in the previous discourse or the matrix clause. Tugen topics are represented by pronominal arguments that have their referents in the immediate context and also the participants that are reintroduced into discourse. The referents are identified by the Principle of Reference. In cases where a pronominal argument that has its referent in the immediate context i.e. a topic is also doubled up by a lexical argument we argue that this is a case of VP internal identificational focus. The Principle of Argument Focus in Schröder (2008: 123) can be used to explain the relationship of a topic and its antecedent and the occurrence of VP- internal focus. This Principle states that:

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

(a) α is a referring expression to β

(b) α is a checked nominal category

(c) α licenses the morphological checking domain for β

(d) β is overt

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

information (topic) is syntactically marked on the verb as subject object, benefactive, and instrumental/locative affixes as shown in the previous chapter. The subject and object affixes are pronominal arguments. If the lexical arguments of a pronoun for example occur in addition to the syntactic marking on the verb, they identify an expression by focusing on it. This focus is VP-internal[62] . The arguments have an extra feature of [+ F]. This necessitates the creation of SPEC/FP in the structure to check for this feature. The argument with this feature moves to SPEC/FP to check for it. This means that if an NP that has already been case checked and which otherwise would be represented by only an integrated pronominal argument still appears in the sentence lexically, then it carries +F feature. This focus feature is checked under the focus-checking domain and the head SPEC/FP is created to check for this feature. This will be exemplified in the section below:

4.1.2.1.2.1 VP-INTERNAL FOCUS IN PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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

(87)[63] S1 Kí-ø-ˡgúúr- én- ón Térígí
PST-3SG-call-IMP-ISG Teriki

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

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

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

(88) S1 Kì-ø- léé- ˡnj- ón Káámèè-nyúú
PST-3SG-say-BEN-ISG mother-GEN

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

My mother told me

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

ák áéèng'.
and two

She carried me in her stomach for twelve months.

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

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

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

The S1 of (88) has a verb with a pronominal object affix {*-ón*}. This argument is topical. It has already been identified in S1 of (87). In S3 there is also a pronominal object affix {*-ón*} and a full lexical pronoun á*néè* (I). The pronominal argument {*-ón*} refers to its antecedent lexical argument in S1 of (87). The sentence also has a full pronoun argument à*néè* that doubles up the pronominal argument. This lexical argument à*néè* is therefore under focus with the feature +F. In the structure a new head F' is created to check this feature. Kiss (1998: 20) says the focus operator is associated with a functional category of its own; it occupies the specifier position of a focus head. While citing Brody, Kiss (ibid) continues to say that focus interpretation is due to a +focus feature assigned by V. The V is raised into F, the head position of a focus projection where it assigns its +F feature to the constituent moved into SPEC/FP. This position is also expressed in Horvath (1995: 37). While following up with this argument, the structure therefore for (87) has the F' head to check for this argument under focus as shown below:

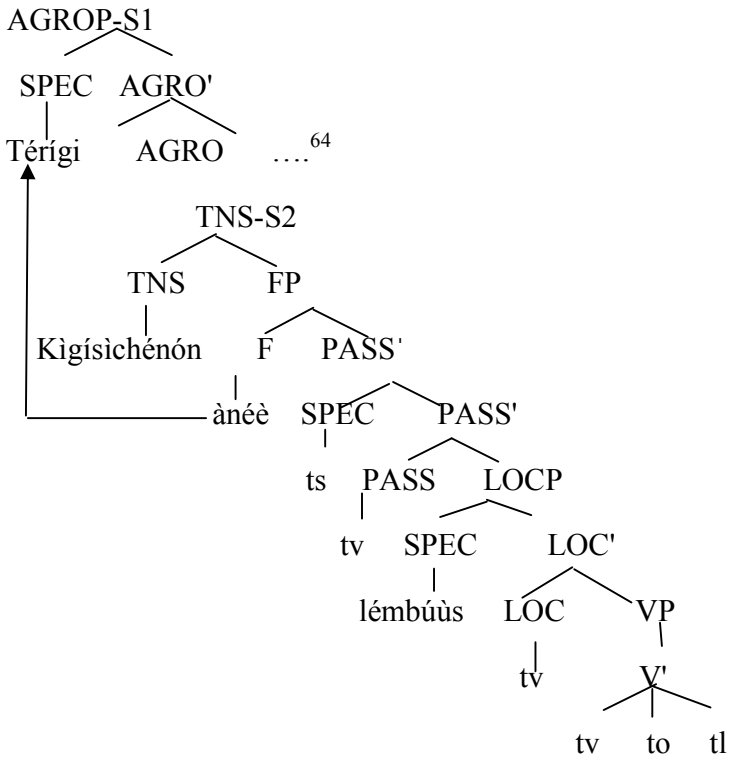

Fig.48

In the structure the object already has its antecedent in SI therefore it is a topic. The Principle of Reference is used to identify its antecedent. S2 however has a pronominal argument and another full pronoun which identifies the same object which has already been mentioned. This object takes the role of a passive subject and it moves to SPEC/PASS for accusative case as a passive subject. This occurrence of the same object again gives this extra full pronoun à*néè* a special +F feature. This feature is checked under the F' head. The lexical object is first identified through the Principle of Reference and because it comes again with an extra argument it is checked for the +F feature under F'. The verb moves to TNS' via PASS', F', and LOC' to check for passive, focus, locative, tense and features. The locative is checked for locative case at SPEC /LOCP. This results in the word order being VOO.

[64]... unfinished sentence structure

4.1.2.1.2.2 VP -INTERNAL FOCUS IN THE APPLICATIVE

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

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

She made porridge for the woman

S2 Kó-ˈlé káígáí kó- ø- kwóóng-chí-ø kímny-éé
SEQ-say better PST-3SG-cook-BEN-3OB ugali-DEF

She said it was better if she cooked ugali for her

S3 Kó- ø- kwáàny ák
PST-3SG-cook and

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

She cooked and took it to the woman

In S1 of (89) the benefactive is introduced with a full lexical argument *chèèpyóóséé* (woman) and the benefactive affix {*-chí*}(for). The benefactive and object arguments are both new and have information focus. The subject is a topic. The benefactive is checked for benefactive case under SPEC/BENP while the object is checked for objective case under SPEC/AGROP. In S2 the subject is a topic and is represented by a pronominal argument {-ø-} while the direct object is new and has information focus this is represented by a lexical argument *kímnyéé* (ugali) and the null pronominal object argument {*-ø-*} which is logical. In S3, both the subject and object are topical and are represented by {*-ø-*} pronominal arguments.

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

that is under focus. In the structure therefore an extra head of SPEC/FP is projected. The argument in focus moves to SPEC/FP to check for the focus feature. The structure for S1 and S3 of (89) is as shown below:

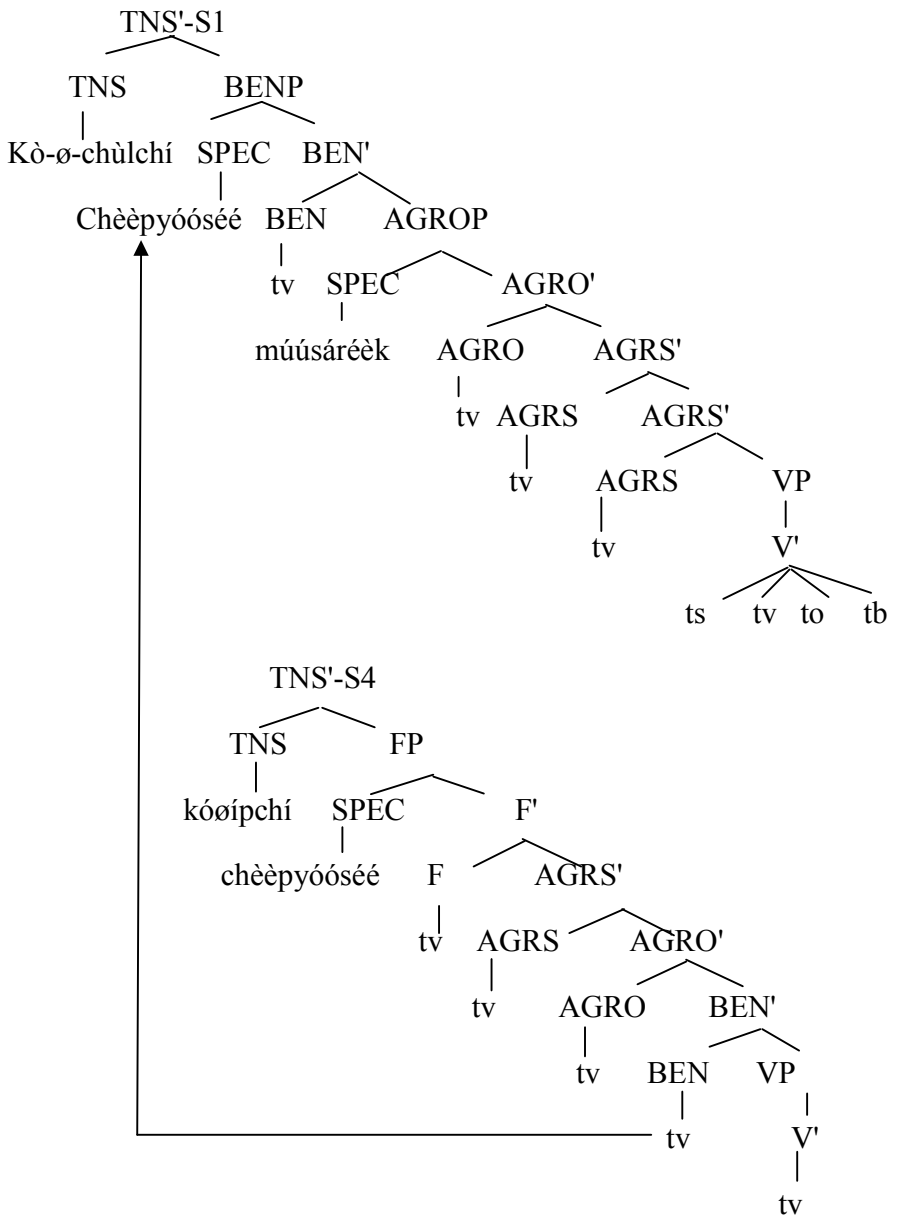

Fig.49

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

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

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

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

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

She drank with a gourd

S2 Kó- ø- lú- én **sò-téé** ní↓nó ↓óó
PST-3SG-drink-INS gourd-DEF that big

She drank with a big gourd.

In S1 of (90), the instrumental argument is introduced both as a morpheme {*-én*}(with) and as a full lexical argument *sòtéé* (gourd). This lexical argument being new has information focus. In S2, the same instrumental argument *sòtéé* (gourd) appears lexically in spite of it being a topic. The re-occurrence of this argument lexically is for identificational purposes in that the argument is being singled out from any other by the demonstrative and extra adjectival information. This argument therefore bears the VP internal focus feature and is checked within the focus- checking domain. In the structure therefore a head SPEC/FP is created to check for this feature as shown below:

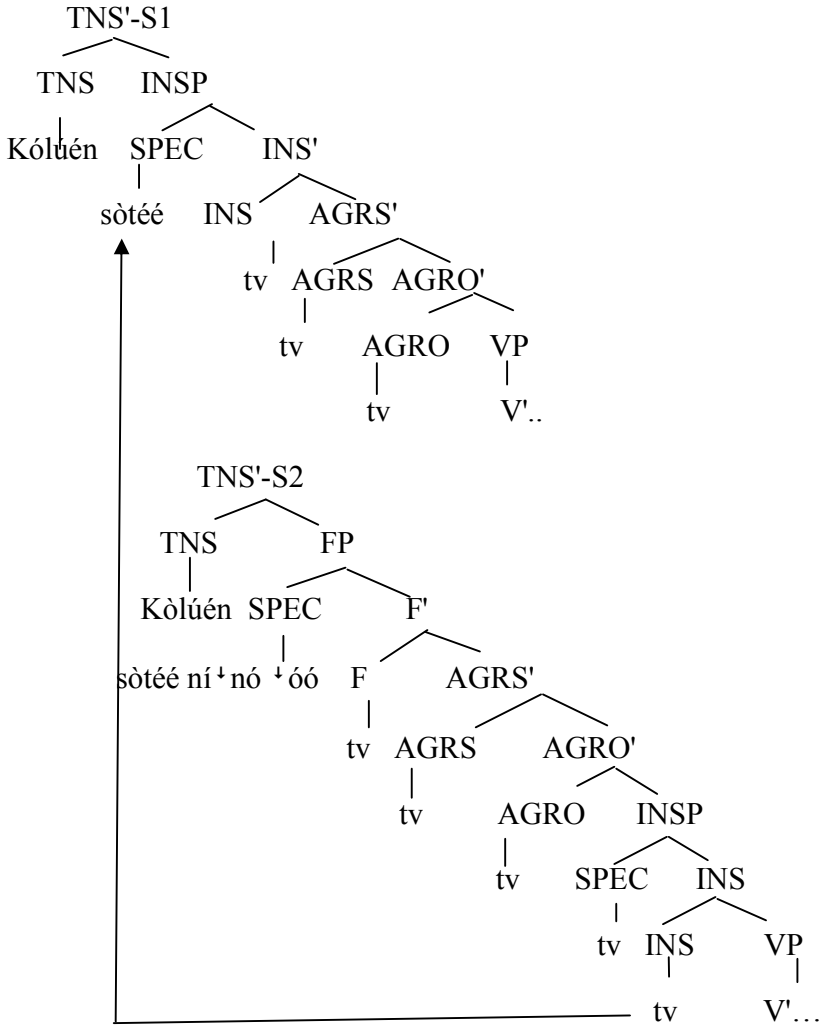

Fig.50

In S1, the verb moves from the VP to TNS' via AGRO'/AGRS' and INS' to check for tense, pronominal object, pronominal subject and instrumental features. The object and subject are topics therefore represented by pronominal arguments. The instrument is new and under information focus. This instrumental argument moves from the VP to SPEC/INSP to check for instrumental case features. The word order is VO.

In S2 the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRS'/AGRO'/F' and INS' to check for tense, pronominal subject, pronominal object, focus and instrumental features The subject and object and instrument arguments are topics and have already been checked for case and information focus in the matrix sentences. This can be identified through the Principle of Reference as shown in the diagram for the instrumental case. This is in line with the economy conditions of

the Minimalist Program that doesn't allow for redundant representations in the structure. In S2, the instrumental object that is mentioned in S1 is mentioned again with a lexical argument that is complemented with an adjective. This argument bears VP-internal identificational focus. The instrumental argument therefore moves from VP to SPEC/INSP then to SPEC/FP for the focus [+F] features. This results in the word order being VO.

4.1.2.2 VP- EXTERNAL FOCUS

VP external focus is associated with a particular structural position. Languages have different parameters for the landing sites for the focus phrase (FP)[65]. Kiss (1995:23) says that the exact location for the landing site for the FP is subject to parametric variation and gives the possible locations to be SPEC/VP, SPEC/IP, SPEC/FP, SPEC/CP, a VP-adjoined position or even an A-bar position under V'. In Tugen, the structural position for VP external contrastive focus is SPEC/CP. VP external focus is associated with both identificational focus and contrastive focus. Identificational focus is for disambiguation and is not associated with any particle while contrastive focus is associated with particles and is used for differentiating a constituent from others.

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

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

4.1.2.2.1 IDENTIFICATIONAL FOCUS

This is one category of VP-external focus. In this kind of focus the argument under focus is also fronted but without the use of the particle *né*[66]. In this kind of focus the argument under focus has been moved from its canonical position to the front of the sentence and it leaves a pronoun within the VP. This is seen in the following examples:

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

Kiptoo, he brought the trees.

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

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

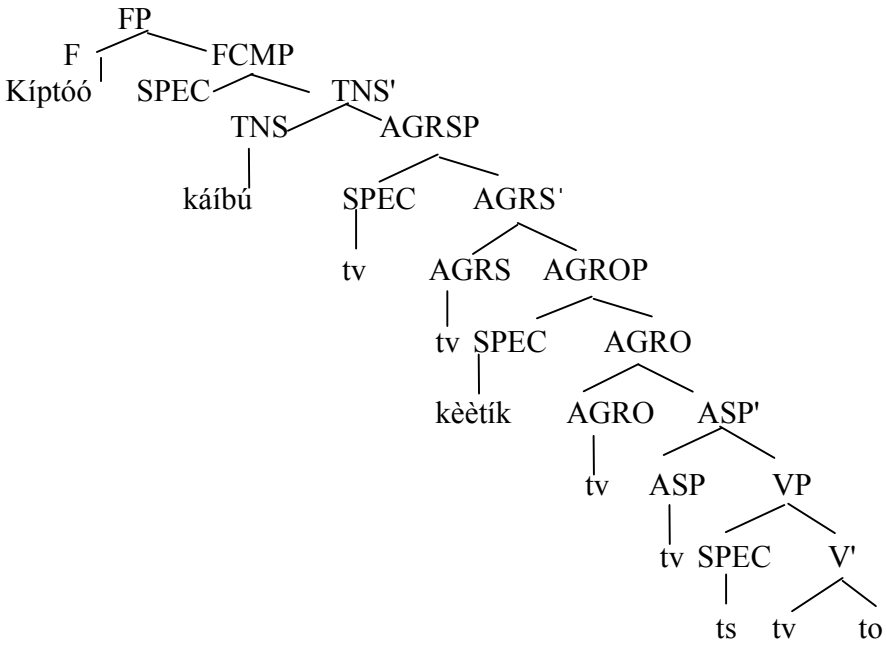

Fig.54

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

(92) Kàláámít, kóó-ø-ɬmét-ó-ø láákwéé éng óréè
pen-SG/DEF, PST-3SG-loose-PER-3OB child-SG/DEG PP way

The pen, the child lost it on the way

In (92) the focused argument is an object with accusative case and so there is no change in the case marking and therefore no FCMP head is created. This being the case the verb moves from the VP through the respective heads to TNS' for feature checking. The focused object argument moves from SPEC/AGROP across TNS to SPEC/FP for focus checking. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking. The prepositional phrase remains in situ. This results in an OVS word order.

4.1.2.2.2 CONTRASTIVE FOCUS

The particles associated with contrastive focus constituents depend on number. The particles associated with the functional category C' in Tugen are *né* (that) and *ché* (that) respectively for singular and plural[67] arguments and *yé* (where) for the locative. These particles serve to highlight the argument under contrast and thus give the +F feature to the constituent in a spec-head relationship. Lopez (2009: 65) says that features to the left periphery that are analysed as exhaustive focus in Kiss (1988) are associated with the feature +[c]ontrast and not focus. In our analysis, we would like to analyse it as focus because contrast is shown by focus. VP external contrastive focus in Tugen is a strong feature. Therefore, it involves overt movement before spell-out to the position outside the VP. The contrastive argument is moved to the SPEC/CP. In Tugen, any argument can bear contrastive focus. This is known as clefting in other languages. This is exemplified in the following:

(93) Chèèp-kóóskéì né kóó-ø- píìr Kìmútáí
FE- kosgei PRT. PST-3SG-beat-M-mutai

It was chepkoskei that was beaten by Kimutai

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

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

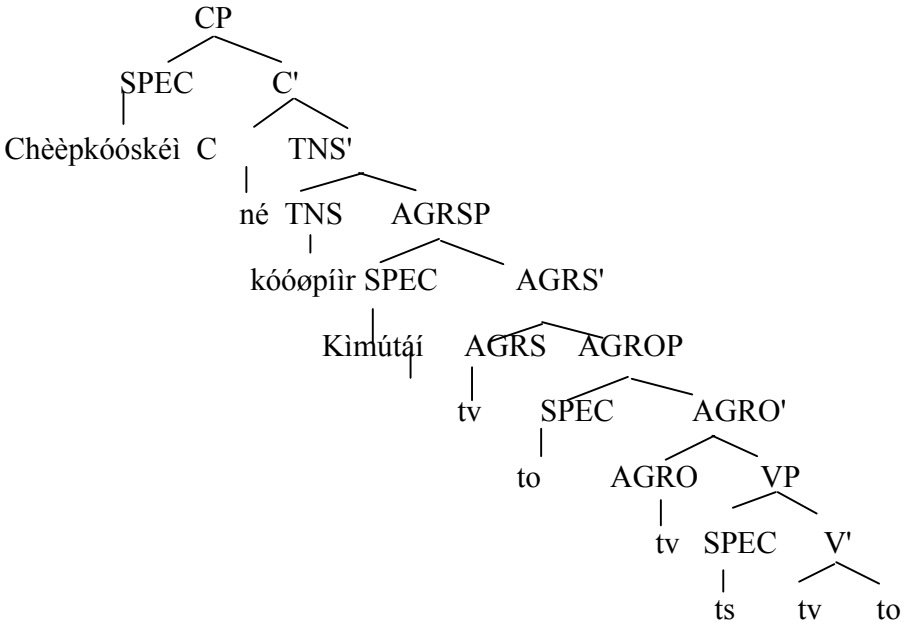

Fig.51

In the structure above, the verb moves from VP to TNS' via AGRO' and AGRS' to check for pronominal object and subject and tense features. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for nominative case features. The object moves from VP to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case then to C' for case features and focus before landing at SPEC/CP. The resulting word order is OVS.

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

(94) Múúrén-ík ché kìì-ø- ám- ˈísý- éèn sépétá-íìk
Men-PL/DEF PRT PST-3SG-eat-ANTP-INS bowl-PL/DEF

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

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

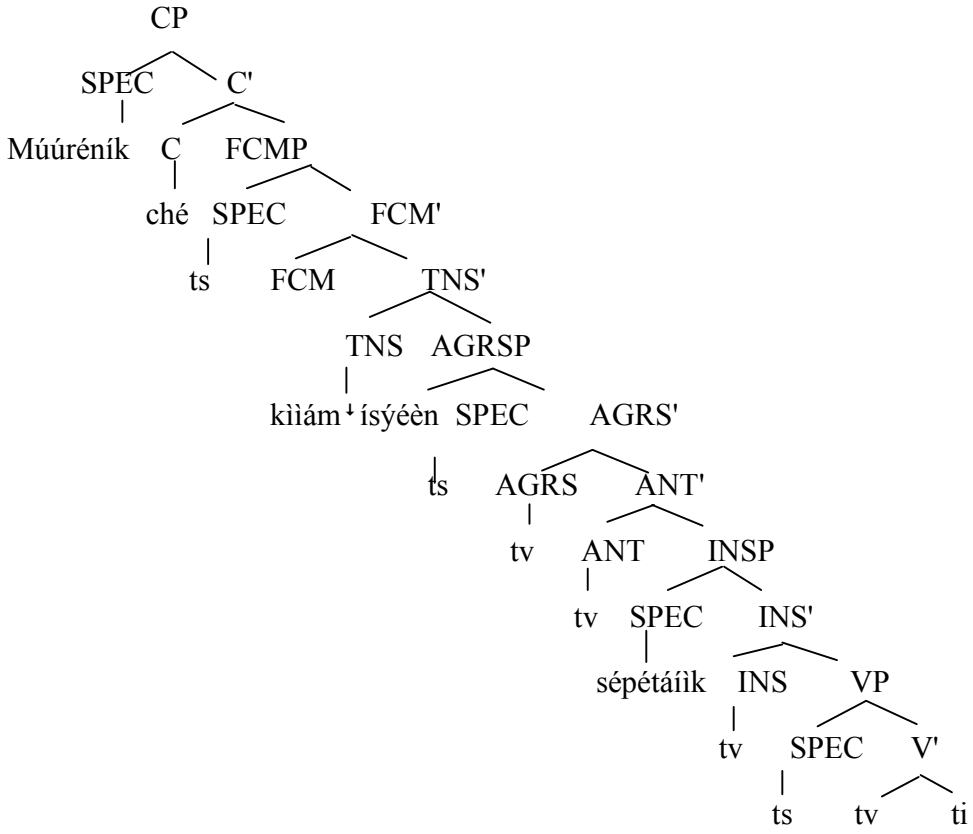

Fig.52

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

4.1.2.2.2.1 CONTRASTIVE FOCUS IN THE APPLICATIVE

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

(95) Chéèmbéé né kà-ø- tìl móòrn-éé
Jembe PRT PST-3SG-cut finger-SG/DEF

It is the jembe that cut the toe.

(96) Òìn-èè yé kà- ø- bá lààg-óík
River-SG/DEF PRT PST-3SG-go child-PL/DEF

It is to the river that the children went.

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

(97) Chèèp-t-ó né kà- á- gó- ˡchí
FE- girl-SG/DEF PRT PST-1SG-give-BEN

It is the girl that I gave.

In the example, the benefactive argument is preposed to the position of moved wh- phrase at SPEC/CP therefore bearing contrastive focus. The subject and the object are topics therefore represented by incorporated arguments. The structure for the above sentence is as shown below:

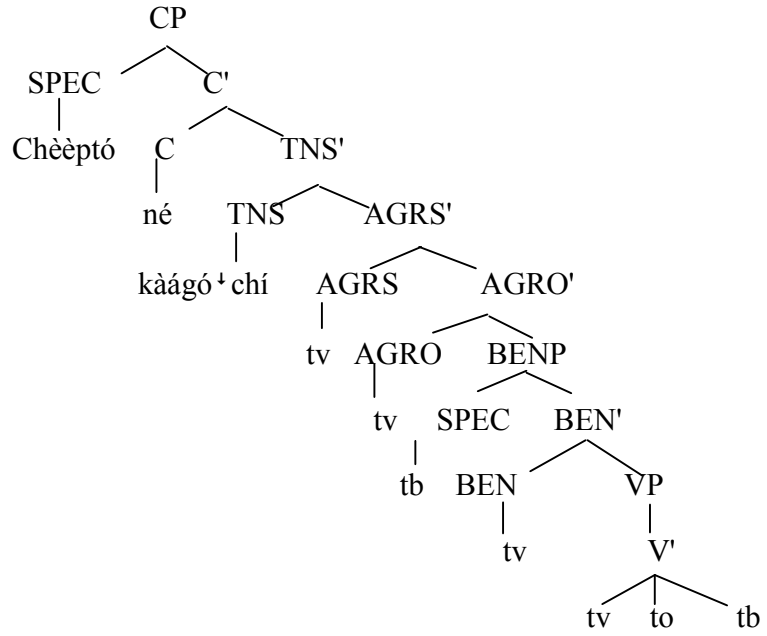

Fig.53

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

4.2 DEFOCALISED INFORMATION

Dooley & Levinson (2000: 36) explain that tails (defocalised information) are right dislocated elements which are "meant to clarify or modify (some constituent contained in) the predication". The tail is a repair device or an afterthought.[68] Schröder (2008: 138) says defocalised information distracts the attention of the hearer away from the main information.

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

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

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

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

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

(99) S1 Ís kó-ø- ˈnyó
So SEQ-3SG-come

S2 kò -ø- téech kóót éng gáà báábá
SEQ-3SG-build house at home father

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

In the structure for S2 of (99) the defocalised argument remains in situ. Therefore, the subject remains in situ and does not move. It is dislocated to the right after the PP. As an after thought it comes at the end of the sentence. This is shown in the structure below:

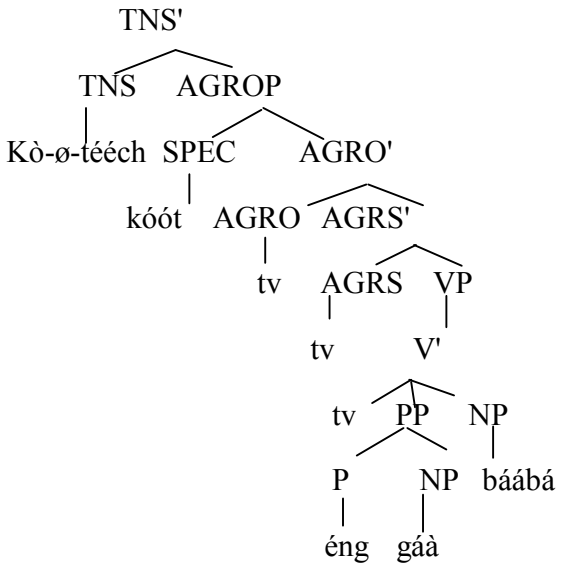

Fig 55

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

4.3 INHERENT FOCUS

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

(100a) ø- wéènd-ì láák-wéé òìn-éé.
3SG- go- IMP child-SG/DEF river-SG/DEF

The child is going to the river.

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

The child is not going to the river

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

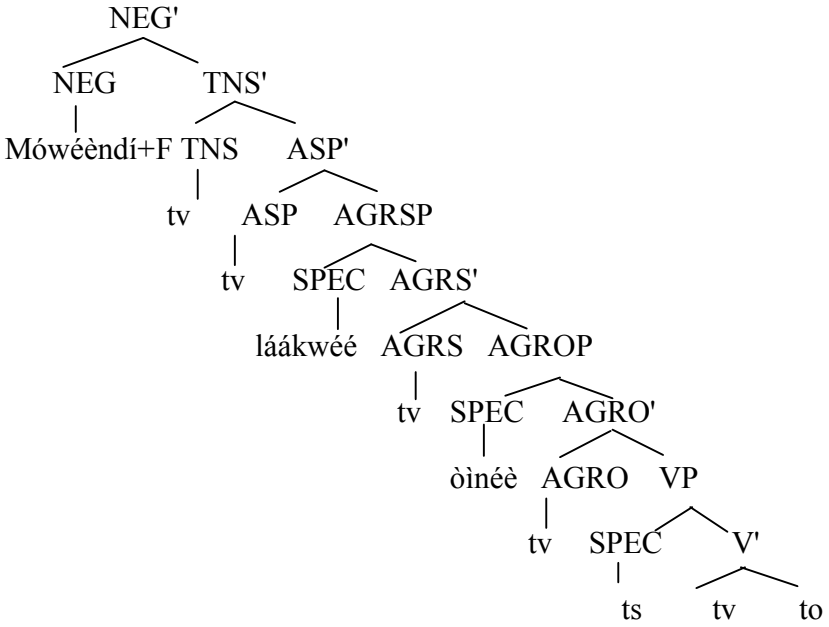

Fig.56

In the structure, the verb moves from the VP to NEG' via AGRO'/AGRS'/ASP' to check for negation, tense, pronominal subject and aspect and pronominal object features. The verb lands at NEG' and not at TNS'. The subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP to check for

nominative case while the object moves from the VP to SPEC/AGROP to check for accusative case. The structure of the sentence does not change but the negation marker has scope over the whole sentence. The word order is VOS/VSO. In discourse where the arguments are topics they are represented only by pronominal arguments and therefore the word order is V.

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

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

Kipkoech is cutting a tree

(101b) ø- tíl-ˈéí Kíp-ˈkóéèch-í?
3SG-cut-IMP M-koech-QUE[69]

Is Kipkoech cutting it?

(102) ø- wéèˈnd-í- í?
3SG go- IMP-QUE

Is he going?

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

[69] QUE-represents the question feature.

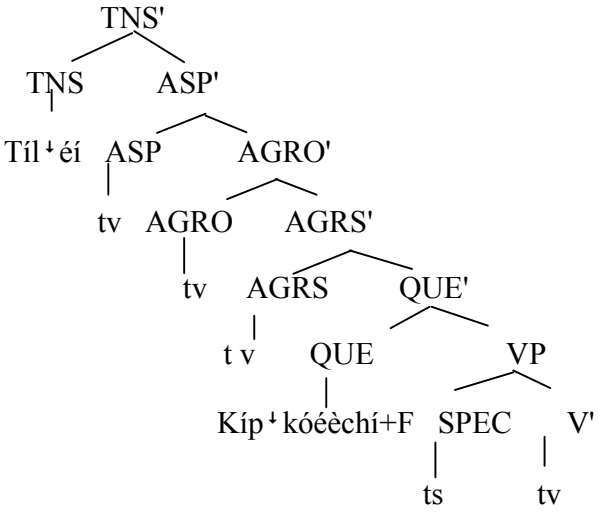

Fig.57

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

4.4 WORD ORDER FREQUENCY

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

In Tugen, word order can pragmatically also be analysed in terms of the occurrence of various arguments within a text. Although this criterion has been criticized to be not part of the grammar of language and also that the word order frequencies may be attributed to the idiosyncrasies of particular texts or particular speakers, we are going to defend its use in this study in the sense

that it provides a reliable measure of word order for the results portray a clear preference of a particular word order in comparison with other word orders and also that the texts that are used in the analysis are of different categories of texts and from categories of different speakers. In this analysis, we are going to look at the occurrence of the subject and object constituents with respect to the verb. From texts comprising of 366 clauses from narrative, expository and procedural texts the following word orders are established

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

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

4.4.1 V WORD ORDER

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

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

S2 kò -ø-tóóbéèn-ø
SEQ-3SG-look-3OB

He *reached there and looked at it.*

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

4.4.2 VO WORD ORDER

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

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

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

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

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

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

person pronominal while the object is presented by a demonstrative pronoun with an adjective. The word order is still VO. Another example is seen in the text below:

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

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

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

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

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

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

S7 Sí kò -ø -báí
So- SEQ-3SG-feed.

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

In the above text S1 is new and the whole sentence has information focus. The word order is VS. In S2, the subject is topical and is incorporated in the verb as a pronoun. The new information is the verb and the object. The word order with a topic comment structure is VO. In S3, the object in S2 takes over the subject status. It is now topical and incorporated as a third person singular pronoun. The semantics of the verb indicates the referent being represented by the subject is the man. In S4, the subject is topical and is represented by a pronominal argument incorporated into the verb. The object which is new is represented by an indefinite personal pronoun. Though new, this referent is accessible within context. The word order is VO also with a topic comment structure. S5 has a VO word order where the subject is represented by an incorporated pronoun while the object is new and is represented by a demonstrative pronoun and an adjective. In S6, the subject is also a topic with an incorporated argument and the comment about it is presented by a lexical object as VO structure. Though accessible this object is presented lexically to

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

4.4.3. VS WORD ORDER

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

(106) S1 Kó-ø -náàm láákwéé
PST-3SG-catch child

S2 ák kòò -ø -mút Kìp-léèkw-éé.
and PST-3SG-take M-hareSG/DEF

S3 Kó-ø -ˡná -ít óóréè.
SEQ-3SG-CON-arrive way

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

S5 Kà -ø -léé- ˡnjí -n néè kwàndá-ngúúng'
PST-3SG-tell-BEN-1SG what father-SG-GEN

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

In the above text, S1 has presentational articulation and has a VS word order. The subject is new and is represented by a pronominal argument and a lexical NP. In S2 the subject in S1 is a topic represented by a pronominal argument while the object is new and is represented by both a pronominal and a lexical argument. The word order is VO. In S3 the subject is also topical

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

4.4.4 VSO WORD ORDER

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

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

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

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

S4 ák kò -ø -úny-géì
and SEQ-3SG-hid-REF

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

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

In S1, the subject is a topic and represented by a pronominal argument. In S2, a new referent is introduced with a lexical NP resulting in a VO word order. This is a topic-comment structure. In S3, the topical subject in S1 is reintroduced with a lexical NP to avoid ambiguity with the

subject in S2 resulting in VS word order. In S5 the subject in S2 is represented lexically to differentiate it from the subject in S3. New information is introduced by the lexical object *l*àà*kwéé* (child). This results in a VSO word order. From this we find that in VSO word order topical information is represented lexically where there is a possibility of ambiguity between two referents. It is a reintroduction of participants. This occurs especially where there is a topic shift. See another example:

(108) S1 Kó ˩béély-óndé -gái kó màchám kó -ø- ám -˩át-éí
SEQ elephant-SG/DEF-DEM SEQ usually SEQ-3SG-eat-ALL-IMP

pàànd-éék
maize- PL/DEF

S2 Kó ˩túún kó kìì -míì chíí-tó
SEQ-FUT SEQ-PST-be person-SG/DEF

S3 né kíí -˩ká -gòòl mbáréé -˩nyíí chèè-bóló˩lóó-ník ché
that PST-PER plant farm-SG/DEF-GEN FE-pumpkin-PL/ DEF that
˩chááng'
many

S4 Kó-ø -ám-˩át -éí bèèlyó˩ndé ámít˩wóógík-˩áb mbár-˩éè-ník-àb
SEQ-3SG-eat-ALL-IMP elephant-SG/DEFfood-PL-GEN farm-PL/DEF-GEN

píík
person-PL/DEF

That elephant, it usually eats maize. Then there was a man who had planted many pumpkins in his farm. The elephant went eating the crops in people's farms.

In S1 of (108) above the elephant which is already topical is singled out by identificational focus through fronting. The word order is SVO. The argument is under identificational focus. The comment is provided by the verb and object as new information. S2 is presentational with a VS word order. In S3 the subject is topical. The new information is represented by the verb and two object arguments. The word order is VOO. In S4 the subject is represented by a lexical argument though a topic. This is to disambiguate it from the referent *chíító* (person) in S2. New information is presented by a lexical object. The word order is VSO. From this we find that

when represented lexically the topic/known information follows the verb to disambiguate it from a previous participant while the object representing new information appears after the topic.

4.4.5 VOS WORD ORDER

This word order is also taken to be basic in Tugen though in frequency of occurrence its usage is also minimal more or less than VSO. Pragmatically the occurrence of this word order is exemplified below:

(109) S1 Kíí-míì chéép-t-ó né ˬbó píík-ˬchóók .
PST-be F-girl-SG/DEF that of person-PL-GEN.

S2 Né kíí-ø-búùr
That PST-3SG-pregnant

S3 Kíí -ˬná -búùr, kó -ø- kéér-ˬén-géì báábá.
PST-CON-pregnant SEQ-3SG-close-LOC-REF father.

S4 Kéé-mút-ˬéch kóót né túúm -ˬjí -ní -ø t-ííbík INF-take-1PL house-SG/DEF that givebirth-BEN-IMP-3OB girl- PL/DEF

túˬgúl
all.

S5 Kóó-øˬréég -ú -néén-ø ngòr-óíìk kóbék chéép-yóós-óòk.
PST-3SG remove-ALL-LOC-3OB cloth-DEF/PL all FE-women-PL/DEF

There was a girl of our people who got pregnant. When she got pregnant, father protected her. We, all the girls were taken to the house that she would deliver in. All the clothes were removed from her by the women.

In S1, the sentence is all presentational therefore having a VS word order. The subject in S2 is a topic and represented by a pronominal argument. The new information is carried by the verb. The word order is V. In S3, there is a topic shift where a new participant is introduced. The participant takes the role of subject and is represented by a pronominal argument and a lexical argument *báábá* (father). The word order is VS. In S4 the sentence is infinitival therefore the subject is not explicit. New information is presented by the verb and pronominal object {-*éch*}(us) and one lexical object *kóót né túúmjíní tíbík túˬgúl* (house that all girls deliver in). In S5 both there is a topic shift where a new participant is introduced to take the role of subject. This subject is different from the one in S3 and is represented by a pronominal argument and the

lexical argument *chéépyóósóòk* (women). The object also involves a topic shift where a new object which is different from S4 is being introduced. This is also new information and is represented by a pronominal argument and the lexical argument *ngòróíìk kóbék* (all clothes). The resulting word order is VOS. From this analysis, VOS word order occurs where the object and the subject involves a topic shift therefore new. Another occurrence of this word order is shown below:

(110) S1 Kó-ø-géèr Kíp-léékw-éé.
SEQ-3SG-see M-hare-SG/DEF

S2 Kó-lé- kóó-ˈkó- tár -é -n bèèly-óˈndé
SEQ-say PST-PER-finish-PER-3OB elephant-SG/DEF

chèè-bòlól-éè
pumpkim-SG/DEF

S3 Àgó máá-ø-ám-éí chèè-bòlól-éè íˈnéè
And NEG-3SG-eat-IMP FE-pumpkin-SG/DEF him

The hare saw that the elephant was finishing for him the pumpkin. And he himself does not eat a pumpkin.

In S1, the new information is presented by the verb and the lexical subject therefore resulting in VS word order. In S2, there is a topic shift and the subject in S1 takes the role of object as an incorporated pronoun {-*n*). A new participant is introduced to take the role of subject and is represented by a pronominal argument and the lexical argument *bèèlyóˈndé* (elephant). There is also a new applied object which is introduced by a pronominal and the lexical argument *chèèbòlóléè* (elephant). This results in a VSO word order. In S3 the applied object takes the role of the direct object and although it is topical it is represented by a lexical argument to disambiguate it from the lexical and object in S2. The subject of the sentence involves a topic shift where a new participant is introduced. This subject is different from the subject in S2 is represented lexically by a full pronoun *íˈnéè* (him). This is new information. The word order is VOS. From the analysis VOS word order occurs where there are possibilities of ambiguity in terms of the topical objects. Whenever there is a topic shift involving two objects, a lexical object is used. This is also the case where there is a topic shift involving subjects. However in VOS word order, the subject which is new information appears at the end while the object which

is topical appears after the verb. The flexibility of VSO/VOS word orders occurs according to topicality where a topic appears lexically for disambiguation with the comment appearing after the topic. This is in line with Creider & Creider (1983) assertion that in Nandi the orders VSO and VOS are correlated with differences in the content of the assertion. In VSO the S is asserted (rhematic) and O is presupposed and thematic but with VOS the O is asserted about S. However in Tugen the opposite is true where in VSO word order S is presupposed and thematic with O is being asserted and new. In VOS word order O is presupposed and thematic while S is asserted and rhematic.

4.4.6 SVO WORD ORDER

This word order in Tugen is not basic. Its frequency of occurrence is very minimal. It occurs pragmatically when the subject is focused by being fronted. This can be seen in the following example:

(111) S1 Kó kíí- míì pììk
SEQ PST-be person-PL/DEF

S2 ché kíí- ríb- ˡéí pèèk
that PST-watch-IMP millet-PL/DEF

There were people who were watching over the millet

(112) S1 Píík ché kíí-béènd-í kóóyógíìsyé
person-PL/DEF that PST-go-IMP herding

S2 kó kíí- póór-ˡéí
SEQ PST-thresh -IMP

The people who went herding were threshing it.

The sentence (111) is composed of a dependent clause S2 and an independent one S1. S1 is presentational and has a VS word order. In this clause, the subject is introduced lexically. In S2, the subject is represented by a relative pronoun *ché* (who). In S1 of (112) the subject is contrasted with the subject of (111) by being fronted. This contrastive focusing of the subject gives rise to a SVO word order in Tugen. This order also occurs with contrastive focus as seen in 5.1.2.3.

4.4.7 OV WORD ORDER

This word order is also infrequent in Tugen. It occurs when the object is focused on by being fronted. This can be seen in the example below:

(113) S1 Kìì-gí-yw-ˈéí ór ˈkóó-ík.
PST-PASS-fear-IMPseer-PL/DEF.

S2 Pòòník kò màà-màch-éí chíí.
Sorcerer-PL/DEF SEQ NEG-want-IMP person-INDEF

S3 Pòòn-ík kó kìì- kí- sás-ˈéí
Sorcerer-PL/DEF PRT PST-PASS-hate-IMP

The seers were feared. Sorcerers were not wanted by anybody. Sorcerers were hated.

In S1 of (113) above, the word order is VS where the object is the passive subject. In S2 the object is singled out by being moved to the front for identificational focus. This results in an OVS word order. In S3 passive subject is emphasized by being fronted for identificational focus resulting in a OV word order. From this analysis we can see that the OV word order arises from identificational focus where the object under emphasis is fronted.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, discourse and pragmatic aspects of topic, focus and word order frequency were discussed. Grammatically, it has been shown that arguments that are discourse anaphoric are topics and are represented by incorporated pronominal arguments. Arguments that are new bear information focus by default and do not affect syntax in any way. The arguments under emphasis or contrast bear an extra focus feature [+F] and are represented by a double strategy where the lexical pronoun occurs together with the incorporated pronominal argument. In this analysis, arguments that are in focus appear at SPEC/FP or SPEC/CP. We have also seen that focus inTugen are of two kinds: VP-internal and VP-external. VP internal focus which occurs within the VP is for disambiguation of referents and is represented by identificational focus where a referent that has already been mentioned in a previous matrix sentence is reinvoked lexically and information focus. VP -external focus occurs outside the VP is reserved for both contrastive and identificational focus. In general, VP-external focus is preferred over the VP

internal identificational non default focus in Tugen and as such there are fewer occurrences of the VP internal focus in discourse.

Argument focus is identificational and VP-internal, and it affects word order by allowing topics to be represented again by full lexical arguments. These lexical topics which have already been case checked in previous matrix sentences bear an extra +F feature. The feature necessitates the creation of a new head- SPEC/FP in the structure of the sentence to check for this feature. This head is projected before the TNS' head.

Contrastive focus and identificational focus which are VP-external in Tugen, have the focus operator occupying the C' and F'positions respectively. Contrastive focus which is associated with particles occurs at the SPEC/CP which is the position for moved wh-elements. The contrastive particle occupies C' and is responsible for the focus feature. Identificational focus which is associated with disambiguation of referents which are under emphasis is not associated with any particle and appears at F' position. The case for arguments with identificational focus is checked at SPEC/FP. Contrastive and identificational focus lead to the rise of SVO/PPVS /OVS word orders. The fronted subject in the SVO word order loses its nominative case features and becomes accusative. In this case the creation of an additional focus case marker (FCM) which changes the case marking of the subject from the nominative to the accusative is called for. The accusative case then is moved to SPEC/CP for the focus feature. Identificational focus which is VP- external also resulted in SVO/OV word orders. Other ways in which focus is encoded grammatically in the language were also analyzed. These involved the inherent focus and defocalised information.

Inherent focus which is found in negation and yes and no questions does not change the sentence structure. In negation there was need for the creation of the NEG' head to check for the negative feature. In the structure NEG' heads the sentence, therefore the verb moves and lands at NEG' position. The negation feature has scope over the entire sentence. Another case of the inherent focus is the yes and no questions where in questions a clitic particle which assigns the focus feature appears at the end of the sentence and has scope over the entire sentence. This clitic calls for the creation of the QUE' head to check for this focus feature in the sentence structure. This gives rise to a VS/VO/V word orders.

Defocalised information, which occurs as an afterthought in Tugen was found to result in the defocalised arguments remaining in situ thereby giving rise to a VO word order.

Pragmatically it was found that in Tugen, topic-hood is presented by incorporated pronominal arguments while the default focus is presented by full lexical arguments. The VSO/VOS/ /VS word orders occur mostly in presentational sentences where the whole sentence is in focus while the VO word order was found to occur in topic-comment structures. Topic, focus and the Principle of Reference were seen to give an account for the rise of the different word orders. The occurrence of pronominal arguments in discourse gives rise to topic-comment structures with VO and V word orders. These word orders are dominant because the subject, direct object and the applied objects that have already been case checked in previous matrix sentences do not appear lexically in the subsequent sentences but as pronominal arguments. Topic hood and the Principle of Reference explain the reason for the non appearance of lexical arguments in discourse. This is in line with the Principle of Full Interpretation which ensures that all the features of the sentence are present and are accounted for and the Principle of Economy which ensures that there are no superfluous arguments in the sentence structure.

SUMMARY

This book analyses the Tugen word order within the Minimalist Program. Tugen which is a Southern Nilotic language has traditionally been classified as VSO/VOS word order. It proposes the classification of the Tugen word order to VO/VS in line with the proposal of Dryer (1997) who reanalyses Greenberg's classification of word order into VO/VS and VS/SV and Schröder (forthcoming) who analyses subject incorporating languages into VO/V and VS/V.

The book shows that Tugen has two underlying level tones: H and L. All the tone bearing units are marked with one level tone. From the analysis, case is marked by tonal inflection whereby the nominative case is arbitrarily marked by a variety of H tones namely H, super H tones or H and downstepped H tones while the accusative case is unmarked in that it retains the tone markings that are used in citation form. These tone markings range from L; LH and H tones. This makes Tugen to be classified as a marked nominative language because the accusative case is not marked. The Minimalist program which recognizes the interplay of morphology and syntax was used to guide the study. The morphosyntactic features of the verb determine the number of heads that are created in the sentence structure for feature checking. Word order in Tugen is as a result of the interplay of the morpho-syntactic features of tense, and agreement which necessitate the rearrangement of the TNS', and AGRS' heads. The feature of tense which is different from other languages like English heads the verb in Tugen. This forces the verb to move and land in the position of the TNS' and is responsible for the VO/VS word order unlike SVO languages where AGRS' heads the verb and therefore the verb moves and lands in AGRS' which is responsible for the nominative case of the subject under SPEC/AGRSP.

The book shows that the basic sentence structure in Tugen can be altered by the presence of valency increasing devices such as the benefactive, instrumental/locative. These affect the verb structure by increasing the number of affixes which a verbs bears. These affixes in turn license the introduction of extra arguments in the sentence structure. The presence of valency reducing devices such as the passive, antipassive and reflexive/reciprocal on the other hand reduce the number of arguments in the sentence. This alters the word order of isolated sentences from VSO/VOS to VS. Furthermore there can be co-occurrences between valency reducing and

valency increasing operations. These co-occurrences contribute to the word order being VS/VO/V.

In discourse, the book shows that the co-occurrence of arguments is restricted. This is due to the use of pronominal arguments. Once an argument has been introduced, subsequent reference to this argument is done by the use of verbal pronominal arguments. Topic and Focus are pragmatic aspects that affect word order in Tugen. The structure of a Tugen sentence assumes a topic-comment structure where topics are represented by pronominal verbal arguments and the comment by the verb and the object. This gives rise to a VO word order. New arguments are represented by overt lexical arguments that are also marked on the verb by pronominal arguments. Presentational sentences which serve to introduce new arguments in discourse have sentence focus and are represented by both overt lexical arguments and pronominal verbal arguments. These sentences have a VS/VSO word order. Topics which are being emphasized are presented syntactically with verbal pronominal arguments and with overt lexical arguments, i.e., they are pragmatically new information hence focus constructions. These topic shifts contribute to VOS/VSO word orders. Arguments that are being contrasted are also represented by pronominal verbal arguments and overt lexical arguments. These arguments have contrastive focus or identificational focus. These two kinds of foci are external to the VP and they force the movement of the argument to SPEC/CP and SPEC/FP respectively. This gives rise to SVO/OVS word order.

This book shows that word order typology cannot be looked at only from a syntactic perspective but rather from morphological, syntactic and pragmatic perspectives.

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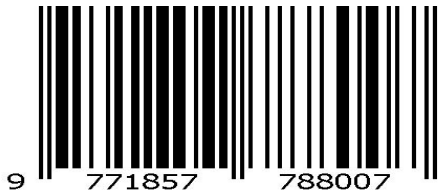
This book investigatesthe basic word order for Tugen language within Chomsky's Minimalist Program. Tugen is classified as one of the dialects within the Kalenjin macro-language of the Southern Nilotic cluster with a VSO/VOS word order. Earlier attempts at typology of languages by Greenberg (1963) propose that languages with VSO/VOS word order have SVO as the alternative word order. Creider (1989) has done a study on Nandi, which is a closely-related dialect, within the Standard Extended Theory. One of his findings is that Nandi has SVO as the basic word order with VSO/VOS being derived from the basic word order.

The Minimalist Program (1995) which recognizes the role of morpho-syntactic features of the verb phrase is used in the determination of Tugen word order. In this book it is shown that the inflectional features of agreement subject, agreement object, tense and aspect together with the derivational features such as the benefactive, passive, antipassive, instrumental/locative etc. determine the number and ordering of heads within the structure. These features have a relation of head- head with the arguments having a relation of spec-head within the sentence structure. The verb moves from the VP through each of the heads to check for the relevant features through the principle of Feature-Checking. The principle of Feature Checking is crucial because it forces verb movement. The various lexical arguments move from the VP to their relevant specifier positions for case checking. This book shows that Tugen is a marked nominative language with case being marked by tone. Also important is the principle of Full Interpretation which ensures that all the features of a sentence are checked and that no extra features or steps are allowed in the derivation of a sentence. This book argues that in Tugen the feature of tense is responsible for the verb-initial word order because it heads the verb phrase unlike in verb-second languages where agreement subject heads the verb phrase.

The book also analyses the role of discourse-pragmatic features of topic and focus in Tugen word order. It concludes that Tugen has VO as the basic word order. VSO word order is found to be the default focus word order in isolated sentences while VOS occurs in constructions with focus. The book shows that the discourse-pragmatic aspects of topic and focus change the word order from the basic VO to SVO, VSO and VOS. It also shows that pragmatically, Tugen is a topic-comment language.

Prisca Jerono is a Lecturer in the Department of Linguistics &Languages at the University of Nairobi where she teaches Kiswahili studies and Linguistics. She is involved in linguistic research especially Syntax and Morphophonology in Kiswahili and Southern Nilotic Languages besides translation and prose writing. She has also published several papers and short stories. Previously she taught Kiswahili in a number of Kenyan secondary schools. She holds a Ph.D (Linguistics), M.A (Swahili) na B.Ed(Arts) from the University of Nairobi.



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