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The Structure of the Nyakyusa Noun Phrase

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ABSTRACT

This article articulates the structure of the noun phrase in the Bantu language Nyakyusa. The aim of the study is to move a step ahead from the focus on concords across Bantu languages to the analysis of the order of elements within the noun phrase. As scholars have paid less attention to the syntax of the noun and its dependents (Rugemalira 2007), then the analysis of the order of elements in the Nyakyusa noun phrases is necessary. This study found the following: (i) the dominant attested order of the elements in a Nyakyusa noun phrase is **N** > [(Poss)(Dem)] > [(Num)(Quant)(A)] > [(Int)(Rel)], (ii) both the possessive and demonstrative may occur immediately after the head noun, but when the possessive immediately follows the head noun it must drop a pre-prefix. Also, the demonstrative can not precede the head noun if so, the meaning changes; (iii) hypothetically, with recurrence, more than seven elements can co-occur within a single noun phrase.

***Keywords**: Noun Phrase, Noun Dependents, Order of elements, Bantu languages, Nyakyusa.*

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The focus of this work is on the linear ordering of constituents (only lexical words) within a noun phrase (NP) in Nyakyusa, a Bantu language coded M31 (Guthrie 1967–71) and spoken in south-west Tanzania and north-west Malawi (Maho & Sands 2002). It is stated that much of the treatment of the noun and its dependents[2] in Bantu languages focus on the concord system (Nurse &

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[1] This paper was first read at the Students-Staff Seminars of the Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam on the 8th January 2009. I am grateful to participants for comments; specifically I would mention Josephat Rugemalira, Abel Mreta and Rahma Mudhil. A revised version was presented at the Colloquium of the Institute for African Studies, University of Cologne on the 27th May 2009. I thank participants for comments and I would mention Anne Storch, Gerrit Dimmendal, Helma Pasch and Angelika Jakobi. Many thanks to the referee of this journal who made insightful comments and raised enlightening questions, and Benedict Phanuel for improving my English.

[2] The terms ‘dependent’, ‘element’, ‘modifier’, ‘determiner’ and ‘constituent’ are used by the different authors cited in this article. Generally, the words mean the word categories, like adjective, possessive, demonstrative, adverb etc. that co-occur with the head noun in the noun phrase. Specifically, the term ‘determiner’ is used to refer to word categories that occur close to the head noun and the term ‘modifier’ refers to the rest of the word categories. While I kept the terms as appearing in the origin works, in my analysis of the Nyakyusa data, I only use the

Philippson 2003) and where the analysis of the NP in a Bantu language exists, it is scanty, therefore, rarely have scholars paid attention to the syntax of the noun and its dependents (Rugemalira 2007: 135). This alone calls for the study of the NP in Nyakyusa.

I made a literature survey of some Bantu grammars and I found that the notion noun phrase in the grammars and Bantu languages presented in Nurse & Philippson (2003) reveals the following. In some Bantu grammars, the analysis of the order of elements in the NP does not exist but just a description of the individual noun dependents in isolation (cf. Mohamed 2001); in others any mention of the structure of the noun phrase is usually very scanty and takes just a page or so (cf. Ngonyani 2003: 74; Mous 2004: 22; Mchombo 2004: 24–27); but some Bantuists set its own separate section and provide it with some wider coverage (cf. Harjula 2004: 130–134; Rugemalira 2005: 83–88; Petzell 2008: 76–95; Möhlig & Kavari 2008: 116–144 and 208–213). This situation, too, calls for the analysis of the order of elements in the Nyakyusa NP. Further, both the stringing of more than one noun dependent across Bantu languages is yet to be fully explored and the statement that the rules for orderings of the noun dependents are not water tight needs to be checked, at least for Nyakyusa.

Another intriguing issue that revolves around the NP in Bantu languages and Nyakyusa in particular involves the term *determiner*. Three propositions are available in the literature. First, some Bantuists propose that Bantu languages do not possess overt articles, like those available in other languages like English (cf. Carstens 1993). Second, other Bantuists claim that an augment functions as a determiner that indicates definiteness in Bantu languages like Ganda (cf. Hyman & Katamba 1993). Another group of Bantuists hold that the possessive and demonstrative are determiners in Bantu languages and occur close to the head noun (cf. Polomé 1967; Rugemalira 2007). The question to be answered in this article is: What really makes/composes the determiner in Nyakyusa?

The appearing of Rugemalira's (2007) article initiated the study of the Nyakyusa NPs; and this work aims at investigating it in detail. It addresses the following questions:

(i) What are the word categories that modify the Nyakyusa nouns?
(ii) Which word categories co-occur in such NPs and in what order?
(iii) What are the statistical pictures drawn on noun phrases in Nyakyusa?

2. THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Numerals, adjectives, demonstratives, genitives, articles and relative clauses are noun modifiers and reveal hierarchical orderings (Givón 2001: 2). Such elements occur either before the head noun or after (Cinque 2000) but in Bantu

words 'element' and 'dependent' to refer to the word categories. Also, further explanations of the terms are given in the specific sections in this article.

languages they follow (Carstens 1993; Van de Velde 2005). Both within and across languages noun phrases vary considerably with respect to their internal organization and complexity (Rijkhoff 2002: 23). Let us see the situation across Bantu languages.

2.1 THE CASE OF THE SWAHILI NOUN PHRASE

Three statements are of concern from Ashton's Swahili grammar book: (i) the adjectives follow its nouns and have concords; (ii) some of the modifiers are pronominals, namely possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, *o*-reference and –*enye* (Ashton 1944: 46–54); and (iii) the possessive occurs close to the head noun and may cliticize to it (Ashton 1944: 54; Polomé 1967: 143). Other modifiers include the relative clause and the invariable *kila* 'every' (Polomé *Ibid*).

Polomé (1967: 143) adds that non-proximity demonstratives may precede the noun and that attributive determinatives[3] occur close to nouns depending on the semantic association between them. Using *yule mtoto, huyu mtoto* and *huyo mtoto* 'the/that child', Krifka (1985: 24) maintains that the demonstrative functions to mark definiteness when it precedes the head noun in Swahili. We observe from the literature, therefore, that the determiner in Swahili is made of a proposed demonstrative and a distributive[4] like *kila mtoto* 'every child' (*Ibid*).

But Rugemalira (2007: 142) states that the possessive (not the demonstrative) is the determiner that immediately follows the noun in Swahili and the demonstrative follows after the possessive. However, as in *mtu wangu yule* (N Poss Dem) and *yule mtu wangu* (Dem N Poss) 'that person of mine', in order to resolve the apparent competition for determiner status, Swahili also allows the demonstrative to appear before the head noun (*Ibid*).

In other literature it is stated that there is 'freedom of occurrence'[5] of noun modifiers in Swahili (Carstens 1993; Van de Velde 2005.).

Some guiding questions arise: one, what makes/composes a determiner in Swahili and other Bantu languages? Two, what are the rules governing the ordering of two or more constituents within a noun phrase in Swahili and other Bantu languages? Three, what are the possible combinations within a Swahili noun phrase and across Bantu languages?

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3 The word 'determinatives' is used here as it appears in Polomé (1967). It seems the author uses it to refer to the term 'determiner'.

4 The label 'distributive' is used by Polomé (1967) and Rugemalira (2007) to refer to the words like **kila** 'each/every' in Swahili. Ashton (1944) uses the word 'invariable' for the same purpose. I employ the term distributive in this article.

5 The expression 'freedom of occurrence' appears in Van de Velde (2005) to refer to the behaviour that Bantu languages show whereby either the possessive or the demonstrative occurs freely before or after the head noun in the NPs. Rugemalira (2007) uses the same expression to mean that the word categories like adjective, numeral, etc. can precede or follow each other without restrictions of occurrence in the NPs in some Bantu languages.

2.2 The Noun Phrase as Evident in Other Bantu Languages

Thornell's (2004) work on Kerebe noun phrase shows that the ordering of the noun dependents is yet to be fully described because in her work such dependents are described individually as if noun phrases in the Kerebe language are made of two grammatical constituents – a head noun and one dependent.

A close look at Kagulu reveals the following. The noun phrase in Kagulu is made of one-to-three noun dependents in natural settings; and if more than one modifier or determiner appears in a noun phrase, the internal order is that of noun + possessive + demonstrative + numerals + adjectives; and the associative constructions are used to modify nouns as adjectives are fewer (Petzell 2008: 76–77).

On the number of noun dependents in an NP in Bantu languages, Rugemalira (2005: 83) states that up to six different modifiers are attested in Runyambo, but four appear to be a normal order; and Rugemalira (2007) maintains that there may be up to seven syntactic positions after the head noun in Mashami. Also, Ndomba (2006) observes that there are five positions that co-occur in Matengo NPs.

Regarding the strict orders of the elements, the relative category is fixed at the final position of the noun phrases in Runyambo and Matengo; while the possessives and demonstratives take the position immediately after the head noun in these languages. The numerals, ordinals and general quantifiers enjoy freedom of occurrence. Van de Velde (2005: 425) holds that many Bantu languages are exceptional in that they have a lot of freedom in the mutual ordering of post-nominal modifiers.

Two questions arise from the literature on other Bantu languages: One, how many noun dependents can co-occur in a single NP in Nyakyusa? And two, what is the order of co-occurrence of the elements in the NP in the language?

2.3 The Linear Order of Elements in Bantu Languages: Synthesis

As a summary of the literature, briefly in (1) I present notations of the order of elements in Bantu languages. Also (1c&d) provide general notations for Bantu languages. Note that some notations (1a) are from Bantu grammars while others (1b) are chapters in Nurse & Philippson (2003) which in fact are scanty and incomplete (may be due to limited data and space).

(1a)

Kagulu G12	**N** + Poss + Dem + Num + Adj/Ass	(Petzell 2008)[6]
Matengo N13	**N** + Poss/Dem + Other Constituents + Rel	(Ndomba 2006)
Mbugwe F34	(Dem) + **N** + (Dem) + Other Constituents	(Mous 2004)
Ngoni N12	**N** + Poss + A + Quant + Dem	(Ngonyani 2003)
Nyambo E12	**N** + Poss/Dem + Other Constituents + Rel	(Rugemalira 2005)
Swahili G42	**N** + Poss + A + Dem + Num	(Krifka 1985)
Swahili G42	(Dem) + **N** + Poss + (Dem) + (Num) + A + (Num)	(Polomé 1967)

(1b)

Basaa A43	(Poss/Dem)+**N** +(Poss/Dem)+Other Constituents+(Dem)	(Hyman 2003)
Makhuwa P30	(Dem) + **N** + (Poss) + (Dem) Other Constituents	(Kisseberth 2003)
Nen A44	**N** + A + Connective Rel	(Mous 2003)
Herero R31	**N** + Dem + Other Constituents	(Elderkin 2003)

(1c) Bantu **N** + Adj + Num + Other constituents (Nurse & Philippson 2003: 9)

(1d)

01	**0**	**1**	**2**					**3**
Pred.	**Noun**	Det.	Modifiers					Post Mod.
			a	b	c	d	e	
Det.		Poss.						
Distr.		Det.	Num.	Ord. Ass.	Quant.	Adj.	Rel. Clause	Inter.

Source: Rugemalira (2007: 147)[7].

In (1) above we note the following general and specific behaviours of the order of elements in the noun phrase in Bantu languages:

(i) Several options of the order of elements within a noun phrase are available across Bantu. Maybe this is the reason some Bantuists hold that the rules governing the order of elements within a noun phrase in Bantu languages are not water tight.

(ii) In six Bantu languages above, the head noun occurs at the far most left position hence it precedes its dependents.

(iii) Some Bantu languages (Swahili, Mbugwe, and Makhuwa) allow the demonstrative or both demonstrative and possessive (Basaa) to occur before a head noun.

(iv) In all languages, except Nen (A44), the possessive or both the possessive and demonstrative immediately follow the head noun.

(v) The associative/connective and relative clauses are in the final position.

(vi) As we will see in section 6 below, Rugemalira's template captured some orders but it needs further addition of facts hence its modifications.

6 Abbreviations appear at the end of the article.

7 The organization of the different sections of the template appears here as it is in the origin work.

However, we observe that each Bantu language reveals a somehow distinct order. It is from this observation that the present work aims to bring the Nyakyusa data from natural settings and establish the order of the noun dependents in its noun phrase. Also, since the internal structure of NPs is a function of the linear position of elements; and this involves the stacking of noun dependents, both grammatical and lexical entities, and then the analysis of the stacking of lexical words is needed in Nyakyusa.

3. Sources of Data

In total I have worked with some 241 tokens of NPs for this paper. Such tokens come from both spoken and written sources. Since in written languages NPs tend to be more complex grammatically than NPs used in spoken languages (Rijkhoff 2002: 23), then to even this problem the two sources are used.

The tokens from sources were collected through random procedures but the selection of the sources of data was determined by the availability of the materials. Relatively, there are not enough published and unpublished materials for Nyakyusa because the language is not well described. Therefore, the tokens come from the following sources: 144 tokens were obtained from the Nyakyusa stories which come from (i) Schumann (1898), (ii) Voorhoeve & Mwangoka, (iii) Felberg's website (*http://www.nyakyusa.com/nyastory.htm*), and (iv) my own field notes (narrated by E. Mwandambo (aged 36) and A. Isakwisa (aged 76). I used 30 tokens from Felberg (1996) and *Biblia Umwikemo* 'The Holy Bible' (1995). Furthermore, in Rungwe and Kyela districts and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, between February and November 2008, I collected 67 tokens from the Nyakyusa constructions recorded erratically from conversations. The focus was on sentences with NPs which have one or more noun dependents.

4. Categories of Noun Dependents in Nyakyusa

4.1 Order of 1 Noun Dependent in Nyakyusa

Individual noun dependents in Nyakyusa were identified and eight options attested in 178 tokens are given in (2). The intention is to identify the options of one noun dependent in a single NP that are found in spontaneous discourse in order to see what exist in natural settings of the language.

(2)

Sequence	*No. of tokens*	*Examples*			*English gloss*
N Poss	52	**a-ka-pale** Aug-12-calabash	**k-ake** 12-Poss		‘her/his calabash’
N Dem	31	**I-ky-aka** Aug-7-Christmas	**i-ki** 7-Dem		‘this Christmas’
N Num	30	**a-ba-ana** Aug-2-child	**ba-bili** 2-Num		‘two children’
N Ass/Gen	29	**a-ma-asyo** Aug-6-word	**ga** Dem	**ba-andɔ** 2-person	‘people’s voice’
N Rel	15	**I-ng’-ombe** Aug-9-cow	**i-ji** Aug-Dem	**n-gu-kama** 1-Inf-milk	‘the cow that I milk’
N A	11	**I-my-enda** Aug-4-cloth	**i-mi-kesefu** Aug-4-red		‘red clothes’
N Quant.	8	**a-ba-andɔ** Aug-2-person	**b-oosa** 2-all		‘all people’
Distr. **N**	2	**kukuti** Distr	**mw-ana** 1-child		‘every child’
Total 8	**178**				

From (2) above we observe that, as evident from data, of all the possibilities of using one noun dependent, eight noun dependents are attested in Nyakyusa. But there could be possibilities of occurrence of the other elements apart from the dependents listed here.

Second, following Dryer (2007a) statistics demonstrate the frequency of usage of some elements. The Nyakyusa data show that tokens for possessives, a total of 52 tokens, out number the rest of the elements. This points out that the possessive is a close companion of a noun in Nyakyusa. Also, tokens for demonstratives (31 tokens), numerals (30 tokens) and associative/genitive (29 tokens) out number others. Other elements have tokens as follows: relative clauses (15 tokens), adjectives (11 tokens) and quantifiers (8 tokens). The distributive is not frequent as it has 2 tokens.

4.2 IDENTIFICATION OF WORD CATEGORIES

When dealing with NPs one finds oneself describing several constituents which are arguments of the verb because NPs occur both before the verb as subjects

and after it as objects (Dryer 2007b) or even beyond a verb as adverbials. In this line, Mwihaki (2007: 28) states that phrase structure is a function of natural unitary clusters of words in a kernel sentence.

Two basic techniques used to identify elements in an NP in Nyakyusa and Bantu languages in general include the shape of the noun class prefix of the head noun and the prefix for the concordial agreement in each noun phrase. First, in Bantu languages, noun modifiers reveal somehow the same shape of the affixes of the head noun and show the concordial agreements with head noun (Maho 1999; Katamba 2003: 111; Rugemalira 2007: 135–136). Also, the augment is normally present on the noun, adjective and numeral in affirmative constructions (Katamba *op.cit*.: 107–108). (3) gives the Nyakyusa example.

(3)	**a-ba-ndʊ**	**ba-la**	**aba**	**kwa**	**Kyela**	**ba-tʊʊl-an-aga**
	Aug-2-person	2-Dem	Rel	from	Kyela	2-help-Rec-Hab

‘Those people who come from Kyela used to help each other’

From (3) above the demonstrative **bala** ‘those’ and the relative clause with a covert noun **aba kwa Kyela** ‘who come from Kyela’ post-modify the head noun. Also, the noun prefix **ba–** is copied by the demonstrative and it appears before verb as the concordial agreement prefix. Following a combination of morphology, syntax and the semantic criteria for each class, there are 18 noun classes and patterns of agreement prefixes in Nyakyusa as in Table 1 below.

Table 1: *The Nyakyusa noun class system and agreement patterns.*

NC	Aug	**NC**	**Stem**	**Gloss**	**Poss**	**Adj**	**Dem**	**Num**
1	ʊ	mu	ndʊ	person	gu	m	uju	ju
2	a	ba	ndʊ	persons	ba	ba	aba	ba
3	ʊ	m	piki	tree	gu	m	ugu	gu
4	ɪ	mi	piki	trees	gi	mi	igi	mi
5	ɪ	li	so	eye	li	i	ili	li
6	a	ma	so	eyes	ga	ma	aga	ma
7	ɪ	ki	kota	chair	ki	ki	iki	ki
8	ɪ	fi	kota	chairs	fi	fi	ifi	fi
9	ɪ	N	njuni	bird	ji	m	iji	ji
10	ɪ	N	njuni	birds	ji	m	isi	i
11	ʊ	lu	babu	firewood	lu	lu	ulu	lu
12	a	ka	kuku	small hen	ka	ka	aka	ka
13	ʊ	tu	kuku	small hens	ka	tu	utu	ka
14	ʊ	bu	ndu	humanity	bu	bu	ubu	bu
15	ʊ	ku	lia	to eat	ku	ku	uku	ku
16	Ø	pa	fyalo	at the fields	pa	pa	apa	-
17	Ø	ku	fyalo	to the fields	ku	ku	ifi	-
18	Ø	mu	kyalo	in the fields	li	mu	muno	-

Table 1 above presents the head nouns and the agreement prefixes for possessives, adjectives, demonstratives, and numerals in Nyakyusa.

Second, the syntax i.e. positioning and co-occurrence of elements within an NP is another criteria. Noun dependents do not occur haphazardly but follow a given order, and as a result we have the order pre-determiners, determiners and modifiers in Nyakyusa. Also, the possibilities for stacking of several dependents may allow co-occurrence of words which are distinct in either word categories and/or semantic features.

So far, following Givón (2001: 2) and Mwihaki (2007: 26–27), in Nyakyusa I analyze the following word categories that appear around a head noun: adjectives, possessives, numerals, demonstratives, quantifiers and intensifiers[8]. Also, I have relative clauses, distributive as well as associatives/genitives. Using Nyakyusa data, I will argue in this article that such word categories divide into three major groups: (i) determiners, (ii) modifiers, and (iii) other constituents of the noun phrase in the language.

4.3 DETERMINERS

Determiners occur close to the head in Nyakyusa. Two sets of word categories are candidates for determiner position: (i) possessives and (ii) demonstratives. As we will see in section 5, there are loose restrictions on the co-occurrence of the possessive and demonstrative but the two word categories are restricted in the co-occurrences with modifiers like adjectives and numerals.

4.3.1 Possessives

In Nyakyusa, as in other Bantu languages, the possessives are likely to occur immediately after the head nouns. Some possessive pronouns are summarized in (4). In illustrations below the agreement prefix **lu-** undergoes gliding to **lw-** before vowels [a, i].

(4)	1st person (sg)	**-angu**	**ulugoje lwangu**	‘my rope’
	1st person (pl)	**-itu**	**ulugoje lwitu**	‘our rope’
	2nd person (sg)	**-ako**	**ulugoje lwako**	‘your rope’
	2nd person (pl)	**-inu**	**ulugoje lwinu**	‘your rope’
	3rd person (sg)	**-ake**	**ulugoje lwake**	‘his/her/its rope’
	3rd person (pl)	**-abo**	**ulugoje lwabo**	‘their rope’

8 The choice and definition of each label/name is given under each section where the word category is covered.

4.3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic (Givón 2001: 6). Dryer (2007b: 162–163) maintains that demonstratives are characterized with a feature that they are used to indicate proximity and non-proximity of location of the referent in relation to the speaker and hearer's position. Another function of the demonstrative is to indicate the referentiality in the language. This means in the text the entities mentioned earlier can be referred to by demonstratives. Generally, demonstratives change morphologically depending on the noun class of the head noun.

(5) presents three series of demonstratives in Nyakyusa. The first one is the common proximal demonstrative used for referents that are close to the speaker and the form is exemplified in (5a). The second one, non-proximal refers to referents situated close to the addressee as in (5b). Type three demonstrative is the distal demonstrative used for referents that are remote to both the speaker and the addressee. This is also used for referential purposes (5c).

(5)	(a)	**ʊmu-ndʊ**	**ʊjʊ**	'this person'
		Aug-1-person	Dem	
	(b)	**ʊ-mu-ndʊ**	**ʊjo**	'that person'
		Aug-1-person	Dem	
	(c)	**ʊ-mu-ndʊ**	**jʊla**	'that person'
		Aug-1-person	Dem	

4.4 MODIFIERS

As far as Nyakyusa data show, the label modifier is used here to embrace lexical words that occur beyond determiners in Nyakyusa NPs. There are two sets: modifiers 1 – numerals and quantifiers, and modifiers 2 – adjectives, intensifiers and relative clauses.

4.4.1 Modifiers 1

4.4.1.1 Quantifiers

Three lexical words functioning as quantifiers are attested in Nyakyusa (6).

(6)	**-oosa**	'all'
	-nandi	'few/little'
	-ingi	'many/a lot of'

Quantifiers are made distinct from numerals in that quantifiers are indefinite and functions to indicate indefiniteness. The noun prefix is copied by the quantifiers; therefore, it is the noun prefix that determines the shape of the quantifier's prefix. For example, some shapes of the Nyakyusa quantifier **–oosa** 'all' are in (7) and (8).

(7) **a-ba-ndʊ** **b-oosa** 'all persons'
Aug-2-person 2-all

(8) **i-fi-kota** **fy-oosa** 'all chairs'
Aug-8-chair 8-all

4.4.1.2 Numerals

The Nyakyusa low numerals, i.e. cardinals and ordinals are summarized in (9) below. Numerals carry noun class prefixes of the head noun they co-occur with in a construction. In later sections of this work I use the label numeral (Num) to represent both cardinals and ordinals.

(9)

Figures	**Cardinals**	**Series**	**Ordinals**
1	**-amo**	first	**kwanda**
2	**-bili**	second	**bubhili**
3	**-tatu**	third	**butatu**
4	**-na**	fourth	**buna**
5	**-hano**	fifth	**buhano**
6	**-ntandatu**	sixth	
7	**-hano na -bili**	seventh	
8	**lwele**	eighth	
9	**lwele na -mo**	ninth	
10	**kalongo**	tenth	

Numerals display freedom of co-occurrence in Nyakyusa. (10) gives the Nyakyusa illustrations.

(10) (a) **a-ba-ana** **ba-bili** **aba-kwanda** **ba-a-tim-ile** **i-ng'-ombe**
Aug-2-child 2-Num 2-Num 2-PST-graze-perf Aug-9-cow
'The first two children grazed the cows'

(b) **a-ba-ana** **a-ba-kwanda** **ba-bili** **ba-a-tim-ile** **i-ng'-ombe**
Aug-2-child Aug-2-Num 2-Num 2-PST-graze-perf Aug-9-cow
'The first two children grazed the cows'

In (10) both the numeral **babili** 'two' and ordinal **abakwanda** 'first' occur immediately after the head noun **abaana** 'children'.

4.4.2 Modifiers 2

4.4.2.1 Adjectives

Adjectives describe the quality of nouns. The proper sense of the usage of the term adjective here should be semantic adjective as borrowed from Dryer (2007b: 168–169) who states that semantic adjectives denote a set of words on the basis of their meaning, regardless of their grammatical properties in a particular language. He states that such words denote properties like size and colour and meanings that corresponding to e.g. big, red, long, good and fast. Furthermore, Dryer (2007b: 171) states that some semantic adjectives exhibit nominal properties and they occur with a noun class prefix. As in other Bantu languages, there are few adjectives in Nyakyusa. Examples of adjectives in Nyakyusa are in (11) below.

(11) **-tali** tall
-ugi fierce
-elu white
-bibi bad
-ololo kind
-kʊʊlʊ old

The adjectives post modify nouns in Nyakyusa and usually one to three adjectives may co-occur as in (12) below.

(12) **a-ka-ana-ke** **a-ka-sekele** **a-ka-tali** **a-ka-tiitu** **fiijo**
Aug-12-child-Poss Aug-12-thin Aug-12-tall Aug-12-black Int
'Her young tall [very] black child'

In (12) three adjectives and an intensifier **fiijo** 'very' are stacked after **akana** 'small child', however, each adjective carries a distinct semantic feature: shape, height and colour.

4.4.2.2 Intensifiers

There are adverbs that denote degree (Mwihaki 2007: 28). I borrow the label *intensifier* from Givón (2001) to refer to three adverbs in Nyakyusa which intensify the meaning of the word they modify (13).

(13) **fiijo** 'much/very'
panandi 'little/somehow'
itolo 'just'

Note that the intensifier modifies a word category (specifically an adjective) that immediately precedes it. For example, using (12) above the intensifier fiijo 'very' gives intensification feature to the adjective akatitu 'black' and not the rest of adjectives[9].

4.4.2.3 Relative Clauses

Basic morphological marking of relative clauses exists in Nyakyusa whereby typically the Nyakyusa speakers make use of overt i.e. segmental relative markers. Morphologically, the relative marker takes the shape of the series of demonstratives, as in **aga** in (14).

(14) **a-ma-tapwa** **aga** **a-li-ib-ile**
Aug-6-lumber Rel SC-PST-steal-perf
'the timber/lumber which he stole'

We note that the relative marker takes the shape of the noun class prefix but the head noun is optional in the subject position. (15) shows a sentence without a relative clause, example (16) indicates the sentence with the relative clause in the subject position, and (17) illustrates the optional relative clause.

(15) **ʊ-mu-ndʊ** **i-ku-lima** **a-ma-lesi**
Aug-1-person SC-Inf-cultivate Aug-6-millet
'A person cultivates millet'

(16) **ʊ-mu-ndʊ** **ʊju** **i-ku-lima** **a-ma-lesi** **a-fw-ile**
Aug-1-person Rel SC-Inf-cultivate Aug-6-millet SC-die-perf
'A person who cultivates millet died'

(17) **ʊ-n-dima** **a-ma-lesi** **a-fw-ile**
Aug-1-cultivate Aug-6-millet SC-die-perf
'A person who cultivates millet died'

9 Anne Storch pointed out that idiophones can occur at the position where intensifiers do. Also, there might be possibilities of co-occurrences of the two. Examples like, **ʊmwana ʊntitu tii** 'the pitch black child' and **ʊnkasi ʊmwelu swee** 'his very white wife' point out that the underlined idiophones replace intensifiers. However, this needs further research and another space.

4.5 Other Constituents of The Noun Phrase in Nyakyusa

Two other constituents exist as noun dependents in a Nyakyusa NP, namely, the distributive and associative/genitives.

4.5.1 Distributive

As seen in the noun dependents' template, the distributive is positioned in a pre-determiner column. As in other Bantu languages, the distributive determiner **kukuti** 'each/every' in Nyakyusa appears before all the noun classes, e.g. **kukuti lu-kili** 'each stick'.

4.5.2 The Associatives/Genitives

As in (18) some nouns are modified by associatives/genetives which are words which can show possession but can not be categorized together with possessives described in section 4.3.1 above.

(18) **ʊ-lw-iho** **lwa** **ba-kiikʊʊlʊ**
Aug-11-behaviour of 2-woman
'women's behaviour' or 'behaviour of women'

5. The Number of Elements in The Nyakyusa NPs: Data and Hints

We observed that Bantu languages exhibit more than one order for at least some pairs of words. In identifying basic word orders in such languages one has to appeal to the frequencies of usage whereby the more frequent the word order is the basic it becomes; as well as distribution whereby a basic word order is not restricted (Dryer 2007a: 73–74). In other words, a strict or rigid order of elements is the common (Givón 2001; Rijkhoff 2002). Now let us check the orders of the elements in an NP using the Nyakyusa data.

5.2 Order of 2 Noun Dependents

In (19) below, I present varieties of the Nyakyusa NPs attested in 67 tokens found. The intention here is to identify the order of two elements that are found as modification used in spontaneous discourse in order to see what exist in natural settings.

(19)

Sequence	*No. of Tokens*	*Examples*
N A Int	25	**ʊ-bu-siku ʊ-bu-pimba itolo** Aug-14-day Aug-14-short just 'just a short night'
N Num Rel	14	**a-ka-aja ka-mo aka ka-li kʊ-bu-tali** Aug-12-homestead 12-Num Dem 12-be 17-14-far 'one homestead which is located afar'
N Quant Rel	13	**ɪ-ng-omelesyo sy-oosa isi n-a-ba-lag-ile** Aug-10-instruction 10-Quant Rel SC-PST-OM-give-perf 'all commandments which I instructed you'
N Num A	3	**ʊ-mu-ndʊ ju-mo u-n-dindwana** Aug-1-person 1-Num Aug-1-female 'one female person'
N Poss A	2	**i-ny-inogono sy-abo i-mbibi** Aug-9-thought 2-Poss Aug-Adj 'their bad thoughts'
N Quant Dem	2	**a-ba-ndʊ b-oosa aba** Aug-2-person 2-Quant Dem 'all these people'
N A Rel	1	**ɪ-my-enda i-mi-kesefu u-ku-fuma ku-bosila** Aug-4-cloth Aug-4-Adj Aug-15-come from 17-Bosila 'red clothes (which come) from Bosila'
N Dem A	1	**u-mw-anike ju-la u-m-fwimi** Aug-1-person 1-Dem Aug-1-hunter 'that hunter child'
N Num Dem	1	**a-ba-ndu kalongo b-ala** Aug-2-person Num 2-Dem 'those ten people'
N Poss Rel	1	**a-ba-papi b-angu aba ku-njini** Aug-2-parent 2-Poss Rel 17-town 'my parents who are in town'
N Poss Quant	1	**a-ba-manyani b-ake a-b-ingi** Aug-2-friend 2-Poss Aug-2-Quant 'his many friends'
N Poss Dem	1	**ʊ-n-tu gw-ako ʊgʊ** Aug-1-head 2-Poss Dem 'this head of yours'
N Poss Num	1	**i-ngosye sy-ake kalongo** Aug-bundle 1-Poss Num 'her ten bundles of thatching grass'
N Quant Int	1	**a-ba-ana a-b-ingi fiijo** Aug-2-child Aug-2-Quant Int 'so many children'
Total 15	67	

Some observations arise from (19) above. First, may be it is true that the rules for the orderings of the elements within NPs are open as several (fifteen) possibilities of using two noun dependents for a noun phrase are attested in the

language. Second, statistically some NPs are observed to be commonly used in the texts: the combination in **N** A Int is readily available because it has 25 tokens out of 67; two sets, **N** Num Rel and **N** Quant Rel have 14 and 13 tokens respectively; orders **N** Poss A and **N** Quant Dem has 2 tokens each; and the rest (eight in total) comprise 1 token each. So far, following these observations we may conclude that in natural settings some NPs have two noun dependents but are few compared to those with one noun dependent. And lastly, although not frequent five of the orders in (19) above prove, as Rugemalira (2007) indicated, that the possessive occurs immediately after the noun. But numerals and quantifiers, too, occur frequently close to the head noun as three orders for each in (19) indicate.

5.3 Order of 3 Nouns Dependents

In the texts only six NPs are observed to carry three elements but each has only 1 token. To this we may conclude that in natural settings NPs are as long as four elements, including the head noun, but such NPs are rarely constructed.

(20)

Sequence	*Examples*				
N Num A Int	**ʊ-n-yambala**	**jʊ-mo**	**u-n-dondo**	**fiijo**	
	Aug-1-male	1-Num	Aug-1-Adj	Int	
	‘one very poor man’				
N A A Int	**ʊ-mw-ana**	**u-n-dindwana**	**ʊ-n-nunu**	**fiijo**	
	Aug-1-child	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-Adj	Int	
	‘most beautiful female child’				
N Poss Num Rel	**ʊ-mw-ana**	**gw-angu**	**u-gwa-kitatu**	**ʊjʊ**	**ɪ-ku-manyila**
	Aug-1-child	1-Poss	Aug-1-Num	Rel	SC-Inf-study
	‘my third child who is schooling’				
N Poss A Int	**ʊ-n-kamu**	**gw-angu**	**ʊ-m-manga**	**fiijo**	
	Aug-1-rrelative	1-Poss	Aug-1-Adj	Int	
	‘a fat relative of mine’				
N A Quant Dem	**u-tu-ndu**	**u-tu-biibi**	**t-oosa**	**tu-la**	
	Aug-13-thing	Aug-13-Adj	13-Quant	13-Dem	
	‘all those bad items’				

Two of the orders in (20) above prove that the possessive occurs immediately after the noun. Also, an adjective occurs close to the head nouns in two orders. Now we need to turn to the last order of elements in Nyakyusa.

5.4 ORDER OF 4 NOUN DEPENDENTS

Another order, as given in (21), demonstrates the stacking of four elements after a head noun.

(21) **N** A A A Rel

u-n-dindwana	**u-n-tali**	**u-n-sekele**	**u-mw-elu**	**ugwakwanda**
Aug-1-female	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-Adj	Rel
u-ku-papigwa	**m-myabo**			
Aug-15-birth	18-family			

'a tall thin white lady who was born first in her family'

Note that the number of tokens of the noun phrase dependents decrease as the number of the dependents increases. For instance 178 tokens appeared for one dependent and 67 tokens for two noun dependents. This is a good indicator that one and two dependents per NP are preferred in Nyakyusa though there are possibilities of making use of even up to four dependents.

6. DISCUSSION

We said that world languages reveal a rigid or strict order of elements in an NP (Givón 2001; Rijkhoff 2002), and Bantu languages string many noun dependents rightwards (Carstens 1993; Rugemalira 2007). So far, we observed several options available and the stacking of noun dependents in the Nyakyusa noun phrases. Such options include one-to-four elements.

Now, using the Nyakyusa data, the intention of this section is to test the template of the structure of the Bantu NP given in Rugemalira (2007: 147) and repeated in (22) for exposition convenience.

(22)

01	**0**	**1**	**2**					**3**
Pred.	**Noun**	Det.	Modifiers					Post Mod.
			A	B	C	D	E	
Det.		Poss.						
Distr.		Det.	Num.	Ord. Ass.	Quant.	Adj.	Rel. Clause	Inter.

The template in (22) brings into account the following facts/propositions as far as the Nyakyusa NP is concerned.

6.1 The Preferred Order of Noun Dependents in Nyakyusa

The first issue to discuss here is the likely option for Bantu languages given in Rugemalira (2007: 148) that **01 0 1 2** is the preferred one but it is refuted by Nyakyusa data and it is the order **0 1 2** with the elements in (23) below which is highly preferred in Nyakyusa. And some repeated illustrative examples are in (24) below.

(23) **N** + [(Poss)(Dem)(Num)(Quant)(A)] + [(Int)(Rel)]

(24) (a) **N** Dem A

u-mw-anike	**jula**	**u-m-fwimi**
Aug-1-person	Dem	Aug-1-hunter

'that hunter child'

(b) **N** A Rel

ɪ-my-enda	**ɪ-mi-kesefu**	**u-ku-fuma**	**ku-bosila**
Aug-4-cloth	Aug-4-Adj	(Rel)Aug-Inf-come from	17-Bosila

'red clothes (which come) from Bosila'

(c) **N** Quant Int

a-ba-ana	**a-b-ingi**	**fiijo**
Aug-2-child	Aug-2-Quant	Int

'so many children'

The notation in (23) above means that a likely noun phrase with two noun dependents in Nyakyusa may have one determiner and one modifier, i.e. one element in each square bracket can be selected. Also, if the noun phrase has three noun dependents it will fall in the notation in (25) below. And repeated examples in (26) below illustrate this fact.

(25) **N** + [(Poss)(Dem)] + [(Num)(Quant)(A)] + [(Int)(Rel)]

(26) (a) **N** Poss A Int

ʊ-n-kamu	**gw-angu**	**ʊ-m-manga**	**fiijo**
Aug-1-relative	1-Poss	Ag-1-Adj	Int

'a very fat relative of mine'

(b) **N** Num A Int

ʊ-ny-ambala	**jʊmo**	**u-n-dondo**	**fiijo**
Aug-1-man	Num	Aug-1-1-Adj	Int

'one very poor man'

(c) **N** Poss Num Rel

ʊ-mw-ana	**gw-angu**	**u-gwa-kitatu**	**ʊjʊ**	**ɪ-ku-manyila**
Aug-1-child	1-Poss	Aug-1-Num	Rel	SC-Inf-study

'my third child who is schooling'

We observe that the intensifiers and the relative clauses occur at the final position and according to data used here cannot co-occur. But numerals, quantifiers and adjectives can co-occur and the same word category, say adjective, can recur in a single noun phrase in Nyakyusa. We stated that frequency and pragmatics play a virtual role in the establishment of the possible orders in world languages. Notations proposed (23 & 25) are a result of frequency and usage in Nyakyusa hence they are realistic.

Furthermore, if slot **01** occurs it is likely to stand alone in a noun phrase i.e. as an indicator of indefiniteness (27).

(27)

kukuti	**mu-ndu**	**i-ku-lya**	**i-findu**
Distr	1-person	SC-Hab-eat	Aug-food

'Each/every person eats food'

6.2 The Ordering and Co-Occurring of The Possessive and Demonstrative

The second issue to discuss is the order of demonstratives and possessives in a Nyakyusa NP. Rugemalira (2007) did the background research on the noun phrase in Nyakyusa. He claims that the possessives follow the head noun and the normal position of the demonstrative is immediately after the possessive (Rugemalira 2007: 145). But my Nyakyusa data point to the fact that the possessive frequently occurs immediately after a head noun (about 7 options indicate it (19&20)). In only one order the two did co-occur (N Poss Dem) and the possessive comes immediately after the head noun. It is only one order that has the demonstrative occurring immediately after the head noun in all my data. Following my data and the proposition that determiners occur close to the head noun in an NP (Polomé 1967; Van de Velde 2005; Rugemalira 2007), then the conclusion here could be the possessive qualifies to be the determiner.

We need further analysis of the co-occurrence of the possessive and demonstrative and the proposed determiner category in Nyakyusa. The Nyakyusa data in (28) indicate that (i) both the possessive and demonstrative may occur immediately after the head noun, (ii) when the possessive immediately follows the head noun it must drop a pre-prefix, and (iii) the demonstrative can not precede the head noun otherwise the meaning changes.

(28) (a) **N** Dem Poss A **ɪ-ng-ʊkʊ ɪjɪ i-ja-angu ɪ-ny-elu**
Aug-9-hen Dem Aug-9-Poss Aug-9-Adj
N Poss Dem A **ɪ-ng-ʊkʊ ja-angu ɪjɪ ɪ-nyelu**
Aug-9-hen Aug-9-Poss Dem Aug-9-Adj
N Poss A Dem **ɪ-ng-ʊkʊ ja-angu ɪ-ny-elu ɪjɪ**
Aug-9-hen Aug-9-Poss Aug-9-Adj Dem
'this white hen/fowl of mine'

(b) Dem **N** Poss A ***ɪjɪ ɪ-ng-ʊkʊ ɪ-ja-angu ɪ-ny-elu**
Dem Aug-9-hen Aug-9-Poss Aug-9-Adj

(c) Dem **N** Poss A **ɪjɪ ng-ʊkʊ ja-angu ny-elu**
Dem 9-hen 9-Poss 9-Adj
'this is my white hen/fowl'

(d) Dem **N** Poss A **ɪjɪ ng-ʊkʊ ja-angu ɪ-ny-elu**
Dem 9-hen 9-Poss Aug-9-Adj
'this is the white hen/fowl of mine'

(28a) indicates that when the two elements co-occur in a Nyakyusa NP, both the possessive and demonstrative may occur immediately after the head noun. But when the possessive immediately follows the head noun it must drop a pre-prefix. (28b) indicates that the demonstrative can not precede the head noun as the possessive has a pre-prefix, if so, the sentence becomes ill-formed. And (28c&d) give the other different meanings conveyed by the same order of element but with different morphology. We note that in (28c) all the augments get dropped and the semantics we get is associated with an indefinite noun. But (28d) the augment in the adjective **inyelu** is maintained and it functions to indicate definiteness or specificity. This issue, i.e. the free movement of a demonstrative, an adjective and a possessive is also observed by Carstens (1993: 176) for Swahili.

The notion determiner vs. modifier gets further clarification if we borrow some ideas from European languages (cf. Givón 2001; Rijkhoff 2002; Dryer 2007b). Determiners occur only before head nouns, i.e. to the far left of the NP to indicate definiteness/indefiniteness. On the other hand, modifiers give further description of the head nouns and occur after the determiners. But in Bantu languages, the notion/issue determiner is questioned because some Bantu languages have claimed to possess no overt articles for example Swahili (Carstens 1993: 175) but when the noun drops its augment then adnominal demonstratives takes over the determiner position (Van de Velde 2005: 16–17). For Nyakyusa we noted that both sets of the determiners, i.e. possessives and demonstratives occur immediately after the head nouns but the two sets of modifiers occur after the determiners. In other words, in their co-occurrence in a

single NP, determiners occur immediately after the head noun and modifiers-1 are intermediate as they occur after the determiners, and the final position is occupied by intensifiers and relative clauses, that is modifiers-2.

6.3 THE ADNOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVES

The clarification of the status of the demonstrative comes from (29) below whereby the ordering patterns of the elements is monitored by both the orderings of the elements, the shape of the elements, and the semantics of the resulting NP.

(29) (a) **ʊ-mu-ndʊ** **ʊ-jʊ** ‘this person’
Aug-1-person 1-Dem

(b) **ʊ-jʊ** **mu-ndʊ** ‘this is a (good) person’
1-Dem 1-person

(c) **a-ma-lasi** **ga-la** ‘those bamboos’
Aug-6-bamboo 6-Dem

(d) **ga-la** **ma-lasi** ‘those are bamboos’
6-Dem 6-bamboo

The explanation vests in the proposition advanced by Van de Velde (2005: 432–433) who identifies the types of demonstratives, i.e. (i) adnominal demonstratives that precede the head noun; (ii) identification demonstratives follow; and (iii) pronominal demonstrative that occur alone as head words in an NP. But for the purpose of the arguments I make in this article, we need to make use of two, adnominal and pronominal demonstratives. In Nyakyusa, the former (adnominal) co-occurs with a head noun within an NP hence it functions as a noun dependent – a demonstrative (29a&c). Note that in these noun phrases the head nouns carry the augment. These demonstratives function to indicate definiteness/specificity. The latter occurs before a noun and it functions as an independent pronominal – a pronoun (29b&d). Note that the pronominal demonstrative is associated with nouns **mundʊ** ‘person’ and **malasi** ‘bamboos’ without augments.

6.4 THE UPPER LIMIT OF NOUN DEPENDENTS

The third issue to discuss is a hypothetical concern of the extension of the Nyakyusa NPs. The example given in (30) below helps to illustrate the facts here. We observe that more than six positions can be filled by the dependents of

the head noun and such a number is reached at because adjectives of different qualities and relative clauses may recur several times in one NP.

(30) N A A A Rel Rel

ʊ-mw-ana	**ʊ-m-manga**	**ʊ-m-pimba**	**ʊ-n-tiitu**	**ʊjʊ**	**i-kʊ-fuma**	**m-malabi**
Aug-1-child	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-dj	Rel	SC-Inf-come	18-Malawi

kʊno	**bi-ku-lya**	**i-n-swi**
Rel	SC-Inf-eat	Aug-9-fish

'?The fat short black child who comes from Malawi where they eat fish'

In (30) we observe that three adjectives i.e. **ʊmmanga** 'fat', **ʊmpimba** 'short' and **ʊntitu** 'black' are stacked after the head noun **ʊmwana** 'child'. Also, two relatives clauses i.e **ʊjʊ ikʊfuma mmalawi** 'who comes from Malawi' and **kʊno bikulya inswi** 'where they eat fish' appear after it to make it five elements.

Such a sentence in (30) is possible in natural settings but it is rare. And now, theoretically, if we take four other post noun dependents like demonstratives, possessives, numerals and ordinals a total of nine elements can be reached as in (31).

(31) **N** Poss Dem Num A A A Num Rel Rel

ʊ-mw-aana	**gw-angu**	**ʊjʊ**	**jʊ-mo**	**ʊ-nywamu**	**ʊ-m-pimba**	**ʊ-n-titu**
Aug-1-child	1-Poss	Dem	1-Num	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-Adj	Aug-1-Adj

ʊ-gwa-kitatu	**ʊjʊ**	**i-kʊ-fuma**	**m-malabi**	**kuno**	**bi-ku-lima**	**i-n-dima**
Aug-1-Num	Rel	SC-Inf-come	18-Malawi	Rel	SC-Inf-cultivate	Aug-9-beans

'?!that first one short fat black child of mine who comes from Malawi where they eat fish'

Such a sentence could hardly be used in natural settings may be because the maxims of conversation need be observed (Rijkhoff 2002: 24). Therefore, in context, one, two or three noun dependents are likely to occur in an NP.

7. CONCLUSION

Throughout the text in this article, the various ordering patterns of the elements in the noun phrase in Nyakyusa have been discussed. The following conclusions are drawn. First, the dependents of the head noun attested in the Nyakyusa data are possessive, demonstrative, adjective, numeral, quantifier, associative, intensifier, relative clause and distributive. A quick glance at the data may point out that it is true that the rules for the ordering of the elements within NPs are open as several possibilities of using two noun dependents for a noun phrase are attested in the language. However, statistically the combinations **N** A Int, **N**

Num Rel, and **N** Quant Rel are readily available in Nyakyusa. Also, the possessive, quantifier and numerals occur immediately after the head noun. Furthermore, the number of the tokens of the noun phrases decreases as the number of the dependents increases. This is a good indicator that one and two dependents per NP are preferred in Nyakyusa though there are possibilities of making use of even up to four dependents.

The second issue discussed in this article revolves around the preferred order of elements. We conclude here that the likely preferred order in Nyakyusa is **0 1 2** where a head noun (here labeled 0) co-occurs with the determiner (labeled 1), and a modifier (labeled 2). The Nyakyusa select a determiner and modifier – one modifier from either modifier-1 or modifier-2. To put things in a straightforward way, I propose the modified template in (32) below. Note that I borrow number system and labels from (Rugemalira 2007: 147). Also, note that in this template I could not deal with associatives/genitives and interrogatives in order to put the propositions open.

(32)

01	**0**	**1**		**2**				
Pred.	**Noun**	Determiners		Modifiers-**1**			Modifiers-**2**	
		a	b	c	d	e	f	g
Distr.	**N**	Poss	Dem	Num	Quant	A	Int	Rel

In (32) a noun phrase will select one determiner (either a possessive or demonstrative), a modifier-1 (one amongst numeral, quantifier, and adjective) and one of the modifier-2 dependents, i.e. either intensifier or relative clause which always occur in the final position.

Another point advanced in this article surrounds the co-occurrence of the possessive and demonstrative. We stated that when all elements occur in an NP, both the possessive and demonstrative may occur immediately after the head noun but when the possessive immediately follows the head noun it must drop its augment. The demonstrative can not precede the head noun otherwise other meanings will be conveyed by the same expression. We found also that the augments get dropped and we get an indefinite noun while on the other hand the augments occurring in the adjectives indicate specificity/definiteness. Therefore, the notion determiner in Nyakyusa and perhaps across Bantu languages involves two issues. On the one hand the augment indicates definiteness. On the other hand both the possessive and the demonstrative function to mark definiteness.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, 3 etc. or NC	noun class
A or Adj	adjective
Ass/Gen	associative/genitive
Aug	augment/initial vowel/pre-prefix
Dem	demonstrative
Det	determiner
Distr	distributive
Inf	infinitive
Int	intensifier
Inter	interrogative
Hab	habitual aspect marker
N	noun
Neg	negation
Num	numeral (cardinal/ordinal)
OM	object marker
perf	perfective aspect

pl	plural
Poss	possessive
Pred	pre-determiner
Prep	preposition
PRES	present tense/aspect
PST	past tense/aspect
Quant	quantifier
Rel	relatives clause
Rec	reciprocal affix
SC	subject concord
Sg	singular

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