

The Kisa Noun Phrase

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The phrase is a significant unit of analysis in the grammar of any language. It is not only studied at the syntactic level but also at other levels of analysis-phonology, morphology, semantics, and pragmatics. Different types of phrases have been identified and described in the grammar of English and other languages. However, the noun and verb phrases are the most important and widely described phrases given that the structure of many languages revolves around the noun and the verb word. Though, there are some studies on the noun phrase in Bantu languages. There is no study whatsoever in the literature dealing with the noun phrase in Kisa, a Bantu language spoken in Western Kenya. Moreover, the studies on the noun phrase in Bantu have looked only at the constituents of the noun phrase and their permissible order without considering the relationships that hold between or among these constituents. Adopting a descriptive design and using data generated by the author as a native speaker of Kisa, this paper identifies and describes the syntactic structures that constitute noun phrases in Kisa. It delineates the elements that form a noun phrase and explains how they combine. The paper then explains the relationships that hold between these elements by providing syntactic and morphological evidence. The paper shows that a noun phrase in Kisa has an obligatory element which is the head of the phrase and optional elements. There are those optional elements that need the head to make sense. These are closely linked to and in a dependency relationship with the head. Those optional elements that do not need the head to make sense are loosely linked to it and are not in a dependency relationship with the head.

Keywords: noun, phrase, head, dependents, dependency, apposition

Introduction

A Phrase is a syntactic structure made up of the head element plus or minus dependent elements, which may precede or follow the head (Aitchison, 1992; Aronoff & Reese-Miller, 2006; Crystal, 2010; Fromkin & Hyams, 2010; Lyons, 1992; O'Grady, Archibalds, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller, 2005; Yule, 2006). The head determines the type of phrase and how the dependent elements organise and function in the phrase (Aronoff & Reese-Miller, 2006; Crystal, 2010; Fromkin & Hyams, 2010; O'Grady, Archibalds, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller, 2005). Dependent elements are of different types dictated by the type of phrase (Aitchison, 1992; Aronoff & Reese-Miller, 2006; Crystal, 2010; Fromkin & Hyams, 2010; Lyons, 1992; O'Grady, Archibalds, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller, 2005; Yule, 2006).

Dependent elements occur in a given order relative to the head and relate to the head in different ways. There are those that require the head to make sense, those that the head requires for its meaning to be complete and those that do not need the head or the head does not need to make sense. Dependent elements that want the head to bear meaning are closely linked to it, while those that do not call for the head to be meaningful are loosely linked to it. Those that the head needs for its meaning to be complete are closely linked to the head, while those that the head does not need are loosely linked to it.

This paper discusses the structures that constitute noun phrases in Kisa, highlighting the head and dependent elements, how they combine, and how they relate to each other. The paper begins by highlighting some background information about the language Kisa followed by a brief description of Kisa segmental inventory and orthography. A short discussion of Kisa Basic nominal morphology is then provided. After that an outline of the structure of a Kisa noun phrase is presented as well as a discussion of the relations that hold between elements of a Kisa noun phrase. Finally, a conclusion to the paper is given.

The Language

Kisa¹ is a dialect of the Luhya² language spoken in the Khwisero District, Western Province of Kenya. It has approximately 89,000 speakers (1999 population census³). Luhya belongs to the Bantoid genus of the Benue-Congo sub-family of the Niger—Congo language family (Haspelmath, Dryer, & Comrie, 2008). There are at least 19 dialects of Luhya in Kenya (Marlo, 2007). The *Ethnologue* classification in Figure 1 identifies 20 dialects, while the map in Figure 2 shows 18.

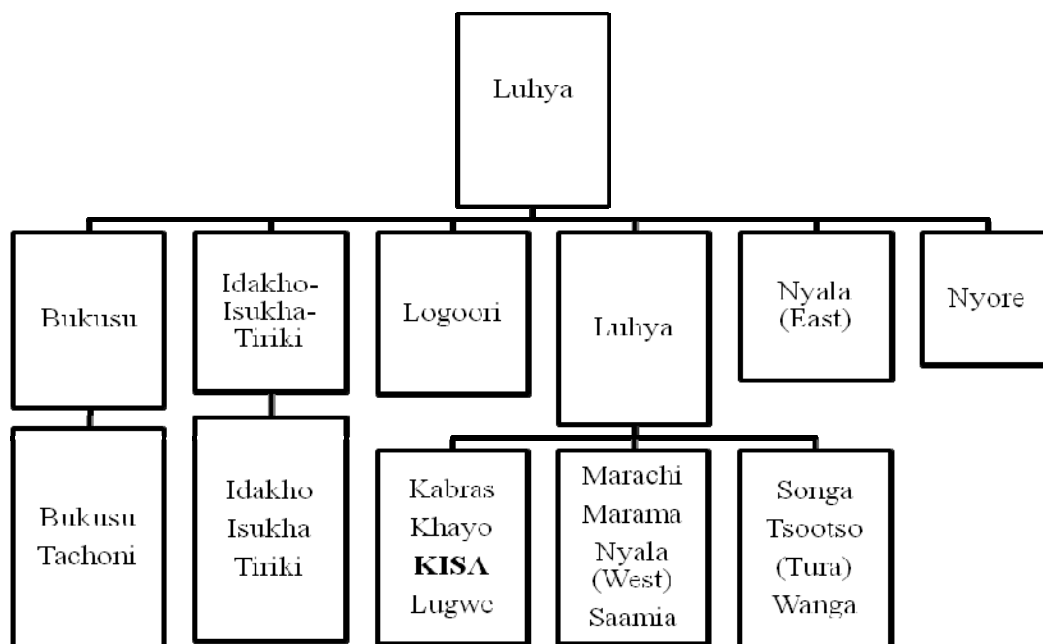


Figure 1. Ethnologue classification of the Luhya dialects.

¹ There are alternative names, Olushisa, Shisa, and Olukisa.

² There are alternative names, Luyia and Oluluhya.

³ The 2009 census figures do not report population figures by ethnic group, so more current figures are not available.



Figure 2. Luhya dialect map.⁴

Kisa Segmental Inventory and Orthography

The International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) representation of the Kisa consonantal inventory is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Kisa Consonantal Inventory—IPA

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p		t			k	
Affricates			ts	tʃ			
Fricatives	β	f	s	ʃ		x	h
Nasals	m		n	ɲ		ŋ	
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Glides	w				j		

Table 2 presents the practical orthography representation of the Kisa consonantal inventory.

⁴ Adapted from Marlo (2007, p. 3).

Table 2

Kisa Consonantal Inventory—Practical Orthography

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p		t			k	
Affricates			ts	ch			
Fricatives	b	f	s	sh		kh	h
Nasals	m		n	ny		ng'	
Nasal-stop	mb		nd			ng	
Nasal-affricate			nz	nj			
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Glides	w				y		

Note. Kisa has a classic five vowel system /a, e, i, o, u/.

Kisa Basic Nominal Morphology

Kisa shows standard Bantu nominal morphological patterns. Nouns in Bantu languages are divided into classes numbered from 1–24 (Guthrie, 1967; Katamba, 2006; Meeussen, 1967; Welmers, 1973). While there is justification for the 1–24 numbering in Proto-Bantu, changes have occurred in several of the Bantu languages. As a result, not all of the 24 classes are necessarily found in any present day Bantu language (Katamba, 2006).

Synchronically Kisa has 16 noun classes. It is prefixation and in particular noun class prefixes that are the hallmark of the Kisa noun class system. Nouns are placed into classes depending on the prefixes they take and their meanings.

The class system for Kisa common nouns is set out in Table 3.

Table 3

Kisa Common Noun Class System

Singulars				Plurals			
	Augment	Class	Semantic domains		Augment	Class	Semantic domains
1	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	Humans	2	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	Regular plurals of class 1
3	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	Trees, plants	4	<i>e-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	Regular plurals of classes 3 and 20
5a	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>lii-</i>	Fruits	6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	Regular plurals of class 5, liquid masses
5b	<i>e-</i>	<i>li-</i>					
7	<i>e-</i>	<i>shi-</i>	Nouns of manner	8	<i>e-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	Regular plurals of class 7
9a	<i>i-</i>	<i>Ø-</i>	Loans	10a	<i>e-</i>	<i>tsi-</i>	Regular plurals of class 9a
9b	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	No clear semantic domain associations	10b	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>tsiiny-</i>	Regular plurals of class 9b
9c	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	Gerunds with the meaning “style or way of doing things”	10c	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>tsiiny-</i>	Regular plurals of class 9c/d
9d	<i>i-</i>	<i>nz-</i>		10d	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>tsiinzi-</i>	
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>kha-</i>	Diminutives	13	<i>o-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	Regular plurals of class 12
15	<i>o-</i>	<i>khu-</i>	Infinitives/gerunds	14	<i>o-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	Abstract entities, mass nouns
20	<i>o-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	Augmentatives				

It may be noted that the Augment (AUG) prefix is *Ø-* in Classes 5a and Classes 10b/c/d, and that the Class prefix is *Ø-* in Class 9a. There is only one environment where the Augment prefix does not appear with common nouns. This is with the interrogative *shiina* “which”, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. *o-mu-lina*
 AUG-1-friend
 “a/the friend”
 b. *mu-lina shiina?*
 1-friend which
 “Which friend?”

In all other environments, the Augment appears. This includes citation, so the citation form of “friend” is *o-mu-lina* and not *mu-lina*.

Noun modifiers take class markers that agree with the class marking of the nouns they modify. These constitute standard agreement markers in Kisa. This implies that a given noun class marking occurs with a particular class agreement marking. However, the forms of the agreement markers vary considerably. The agreement markers on adjectives differ from those on other modifiers.

Adjectives take agreement markers identical to the prefixes on the nouns they modify. The prefixes that occur with adjective roots are the same as those that occur with noun roots. Table 4 shows the prefixes for all the noun classes.

Table 4

Kisa Adjective Class Marking

Adjective class	Augment	Class prefix	Example	Gloss	Noun class
1	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>o-mu-layi</i>	“good”	1
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>ba-</i>	<i>a-ba-layi</i>	“good”	2
3	<i>o-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>o-mu-layi</i>	“good”	3
4	<i>e-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>e-mi-layi</i>	“good”	4
5a	\emptyset -	<i>lii-</i>	<i>lii-layi</i>	“good”	5a/b
5b	<i>e-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>e-lye-ererekhu</i>	“smooth”	5a/b
6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>a-ma-layi</i>	“good”	6
7	<i>e-</i>	<i>shi-</i>	<i>e-shi-layi</i>	“good”	7
8	<i>e-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>e-bi-layi</i>	“good”	8
9b	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>i-n-dayi</i>	“good”	9a/b/c/d
9c	<i>i-</i>	<i>ny-</i>	<i>i-n-dayi</i>	“good”	9a/b/c/d
9d	<i>i-</i>	<i>nz-</i>	<i>i-nz-ererekhu</i>	“smooth”	9a/b/c/d
10b	\emptyset -	<i>tsiiny-</i>	<i>tsiin-dayi</i>	“good”	10a/b/c/d
10c	\emptyset -	<i>tsiiny-</i>	<i>tsiin-dayi</i>	“good”	10a/b/c/d
10d	\emptyset -	<i>tsiinz-</i>	<i>tsiinz-ererekhu</i>	“smooth”	10a/b/c/d
11	<i>o-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>o-lu-layi</i>	“good”	11
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>kha-</i>	<i>a-kha-layi</i>	“good”	12
13	<i>o-</i>	<i>ru-</i>	<i>o-ru-layi</i>	“good”	13
14	<i>o-</i>	<i>bu-</i>	<i>o-bu-layi</i>	“good”	14
15	<i>o-</i>	<i>khu-</i>	<i>o-khu-layi</i>	“good”	15
20	<i>o-</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>o-ku-layi</i>	“good”	20

Noun class 9a is the loan class. There are no loan adjective roots in Kisa. Therefore, there is no adjective class corresponding to noun class 9a.

Table 5 gives the class agreement markers found on other noun modifiers, such as possessive pronouns, demonstratives, quantifiers, etc.

Table 5

Kisa Class Agreement Prefixes

Class agreement	Agreement ⁵ prefix	Noun class	Adjective class
1	<i>wu-</i>	1	1
2	<i>ba-</i>	2	2
3	<i>ku-</i>	3	3
4	<i>chi-</i>	4	4
5	<i>li-</i>	5a/5b	5a/5b
6	<i>ka-</i>	6	6
7	<i>shi-</i>	7	7
8	<i>bi-</i>	8	8
9	<i>i-</i>	9a/b/c/d	9b/c/d
10	<i>tsi-</i>	10a/b/c/d	10b/c/d
11	<i>lu-</i>	11	11
12	<i>kha-</i>	12	12
13	<i>ru-</i>	13	13
14	<i>bu-</i>	14	14
15	<i>khu-</i>	15	15
20	<i>ku-</i>	20	20

This table shows that the form of the agreement prefix for classes 3 and 20 is the same. Noun classes 5a and 5b share an agreement prefix. Similarly, noun classes 9a, 9b, 9c, and 9d share an agreement prefix, as do noun classes 10a, 10b, 10c, and 10d.

The Structure of a Kisa Noun Phrase

A maximal noun phrase in Kisa, as in other Bantu languages (Lusekelo, 2009, 2011; Matambirofa, 2000; Rugemalira, 2007), has the general structure in (2).

(2) Pre-modifier + Head + Post-modifier(s)

The head in this structure constitutes a minimal noun phrase, as (3) shows.

(3) *o-mu-lina*

AUG-1-friend

“a/the friend”

The only pre-modifier in a Kisa noun phrase is the distributive *buli* “each”, as illustrated in (4).

(4) *buli* *o-mu-lina*

each AUG-1-friend

“each friend”

Various elements occur as post-modifiers in a Kisa noun phrase. The possible elements appear in a specific order, as shown in (5) and as exemplified in (6).

(5) Head + Possessive + The word “another/other” + Numeral + Adjective + Associative + Demonstrative + Quantifier (all) + Quantifier (only)

⁵ This means the prefixes found on noun phrases functioning as modifiers, demonstratives, quantifiers, cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, and possessives.

- (6) *e-bi-taambaya* *by-aanje* *bi-indi* *bi-taru* *e-bi-layi*
 AUG-8-cloth 8-my 8-other 8-three AUG-8-good
by-e=i-Ø-meesa *bi-rya* *byo-osi* *by-oonyene*
 8-CM=AUG-9a-table 8-that 8-all 8-only

“only all those three other good tablecloths of mine”

The order of the numeral, adjective, and associative modifiers in (5) can vary. The adjective can precede the numeral, as in (7).

- (7) *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-undi* *o-mu-layi* *mu-lala*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-other AUG-1-good 1-one

“one other good friend of mine”

The associative may precede the adjective, as seen in (8) and the numeral, as in (9).

- (8) *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-undi* *mu-lala*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-other 1-one

w-o=o-lu-yali *o-mu-layi*
 1-CM=AUG-11-respect AUG-1-good

“one other good respectful friend of mine”

- (9) *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-undi* *w-o=o-lu-yali*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-other 1-CM=AUG-11-respect
mu-lala *o-mu-layi*
 1-one AUG-1-good

“one other good respectful friend of mine”

More than one adjective or associative can occur as a modifier in a Kisa noun phrase. Consider (10) and (11).

- (10) *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-undi* *o-mu-kali* *o-mu-layi*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-another AUG-1-big AUG-1-good

“another big good friend of mine”

- (11) *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-undi* *mu-lala* *o-mu-layi*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-other 1-one AUG-1-good

w-o=o-lu-yali *w-e=Ø-tsiin-gufu*
 1-CM=AUG-11-respect 1-CM=AUG-10b-strength

“one other good strong respectful friend of mine”

Semantic restrictions prevent multiple occurrences of possessives, demonstratives, and numerals:

- (12) **o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wa-abo*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-their

- (13) **o-mu-lina* *wu-lya* *wu-no*
 AUG-1-friend 1-that 1-this

- (14) **a-ba-lina* *ba-biri* *ba-ne*
 AUG-2-friend 2-two 2-four

The other elements can co-occur:

- (15) a. *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-undi*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-other
 “my other friend”
- b. *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *o-mu-layi*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my AUG-1-good
 “my good friend”
- c. *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje* *wu-lya*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-that
 “that friend of mine”
- d. *o-mu-lina* *wu-undi* *o-mu-layi*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my AUG-1-good
 “another good friend”
- e. *o-mu-lina* *wu-undi* *mu-lala*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my 1-one
 “one other friend”

Noun Phrase Constituent Relations

In Kisa, as in other languages, the head noun is the only obligatory and the most important element of a noun phrase. The other elements that occur with the head noun can be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the noun phrase. However, these elements relate to the head noun differently.

There are a number of elements that occur with the head noun in a Kisa noun phrase, as we saw in the preceding section. Post-head elements in a Kisa noun phrase fall into different word classes, as shown in (5) and repeated here for convenience.

(16) Head + Possessive + The word “another/other” + Numeral + Adjective + Associative + Demonstrative + Quantifier (all) + Quantifier (only)

Cross linguistically, demonstratives indicate proximity or non-proximity to the speaker (Aitchison, 1992; Aronoff & Reese-Miller, 2006; Fromkin & Hyams, 2010; O’Grady, Archibalds, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller, 2005). In Kisa, demonstratives indicate proximity or non-proximity to the speaker only when in post-head position, as the example in (17) shows.

- (17) *a-ba-lina* *ba-no*
 AUG-2-friend 2-this
 “these friends”

However, there are certain instances, in Kisa, when demonstratives occur before the head noun. Consider the example in (18).

- (18) *ba-no* *a-ba-lina*
 2-this AUG-2-friend
 “such friends” (emphatic)

In pre-head position demonstratives do not show proximity or non-proximity to speaker in Kisa, as the example in (18) shows. The pre-posed demonstrative in (18) has an emphatic meaning translatable as “such X”. It

is, therefore, transposed to this position for emphasis and focalisation.

The normal position for demonstratives in a Kisa noun phrase is the post-head position. In this position, as the example in (17) illustrates, demonstratives have the canonical meaning of indicating proximity or non-proximity to the speaker. Demonstratives, in this position, must occur with the head noun to be meaningful. They cannot stand independently. In this position they, therefore, function as determiners in a dependency relation with the head noun.

In pre-head position demonstratives are marked, in Kisa, and have a different meaning from the canonical one, as (18) illustrates. I argue that, in this position, demonstratives are in appositional relationship with the nouns that follow them, and mainly give more information about these nouns. They, therefore, do not function as determiners in a dependency relation with the nouns that follow them but as independent demonstrative pronouns, standing as separate noun phrases headed by these pronouns. This argument is supported by the fact that demonstratives can occur as heads in a phrase with the meaning "...one", as (19) illustrates.

- (19) *ba-no*
 2-this
 "these ones"

Demonstratives as heads in a phrase can be followed by noun phrase dependent elements, as (20) shows.

- (20) *ba-no* *bo-onyene*
 2-this 2-only
 "these ones only"

The adjective, a post-head element in a Kisa noun phrase (see the example in (21)), also occurs in pre-head position with an emphatic meaning, as in (22).

- (21) *o-mu-lina* *o-mu-layi*
 AUG-1-friend AUG-1-good
 "a/the good friend"

- (22) *o-mu-layi* *o-mu-lina*
 AUG-1-good AUG-1-friend
 "such a good friend" (emphatic)

The adjective can also occur as the head of a phrase, with the meaning '... one', as seen in (23), and it can be followed by noun phrase dependent elements, as (24) shows.

- (23) *a-ba-layi*
 AUG-2-good
 "good ones"

- (24) *a-ba-layi* *ba-biri*
 AUG-2-good 2-two
 "two good ones"

In pre-head position, the formal and semantic properties of possessives and the word "another/other" as post-head elements, in a Kisa noun phrase, change. Pre-posed possessives have an augment prefix (25) which is not present when in post-head position (26). In addition they have an emphatic meaning when in pre-head position.

- (25) *o-wa-anje* *o-mu-lina*
 AUG-1-my AUG-1-friend
 “a friend of mine” (emphatic)

- (26) *o-mu-lina* *wa-anje*
 AUG-1-friend 1-my
 “my friend”

The word ‘another/other’ also takes an augment prefix in pre-head position (27) but not in post-head position (28) and also has an emphatic meaning in pre-head position.

- (27) *o-wu-undi* *o-mu-lina*
 AUG-1-other AUG-1-friend
 “another friend” (emphatic)

- (28) *o-mu-lina* *wu-undi*
 ART-1/2-girl 1-another
 “another girl”

The associative may or may not take an augment prefix in pre-head position but has an emphatic meaning, as seen in the examples in (29).

- (29) a. *o-w-e=i-n-go* *o-mu-lina*
 AUG-1-CM=AUG-9b-home AUG-1-friend
 “a friend from our home place” (emphatic)
 b. *w-e=i-n-go* *o-mu-lina*
 1-CM=AUG-9a-home AUG-1-friend
 “a friend from our home place” (emphatic)

In post-head position, the associative, cannot take an augment prefix. Consider (30).

- (30) a. *o-mu-lina* *w-e=i-n-go*
 ART-1-friend 1-CM=AUG-9b-home
 “a friend from our home place”
 b. **o-mu-lina* *o-w-e=i-n-go*
 AUG-1-friend AUG-1-CM=AUG-9a-home

Typically, in Kisa, nouns and adjectives take augment prefixes, as discussed earlier. Given that in pre-head position, possessives, the word “another/other” and the associative take augment prefixes, as shown by the examples in the foregoing discussion, and they have an emphatic meaning, they cannot be considered to be determiners and therefore in a dependency relationship with the nouns that follow them. They are independent from and in an appositional relationship with the nouns that follow them.

Note that possessives, the word “another/other”, and the associative can occur as heads of phrases, and as heads they can be followed by noun phrase dependent elements. As a head in a phrase possessives and the word “another/other” must take the augment prefix. Consider (31) and (32)

- (31) a. *a-ba-anje*
 AUG-2-my
 “mine”

- b. *a-ba-anje* *ba-no*
 AUG-2-my 2-this
 “these ones of mine”
- (32) a. *a-ba-andi*
 AUG-2-other
 “others”
- b. *a-ba-andi* *a-ba-layi*
 AUG-2-other AUG-2-good
 “other good ones”

The associative may or may not take the augment prefix, as illustrated in (33).

- (33) a. *a-b-e = i-Ø-suunga*
 AUG-2-CM = AUG-9b-pride
 “the proud ones”
b-e = i-Ø-suunga
 2-CM = AUG-9b-pride
 “the proud ones”
- b. *a-b-e = i-Ø-suunga* *bo-onyene*
 AUG-2-CM=AUG-9b-pride 2-only
 “the proud ones only”
b-e = i-Ø-suunga *bo-onyene*
 2-CM = AUG-9b-pride 2-only
 “the proud ones only”

Other post-head elements, in a Kisa noun phrase, can also occur in pre-head position with an emphatic meaning, as the examples in (34) show.

- (34) a. *ba-taru* *a-ba-lina*
 2-three AUG-2-friend
 “three friends” (emphatic)
- b. *bo-osi* *a-ba-lina*
 2-all AUG-2-friend
 “all the friends” (emphatic)
- c. *bo-onyene* *a-ba-lina*
 2-only AUG-2-friend
 “only friends” (emphatic)

These elements can also be heads in phrases and as heads they can take dependents. Consider (35) and (36).

- (35) a. *ba-taru*
 2-three
 “the three”
- b. *bo-osi*
 2-all

- “all of them”
 c. *bo-onyene*
 2-only
 “the only ones”
- (36) a. *ba-taru* *bo-osi*
 2-three 2-all
 “all the three”
- b. *bo-osi* *a-ba-layi*
 2-all AUG-2-good
 “all the good ones”
- c. *bo-onyene* *ba-taru*
 2-only 2-three
 “only the three”

As pointed out earlier, the only pre-head element in a Kisa noun phrase is the distributive *buli* “each”, as in (37).

- (37) *buli* *o-mu-lina*
 each AUG-1-friend
 “each friend”

The distributive cannot occur as a post-head element in a Kisa noun phrase. Consider (38).

- (38) **o-mu-lina* *buli*
 AUG-1-friend each

It cannot be a head in a phrase (39) and as a head, it cannot be followed by noun phrase post-head elements, as (40) shows.

- (39) **buli*
 each
- (40) **buli* *ba-no*
 each 2-this

The distributive in Kisa, therefore, cannot stand independently and make sense. It must occur with the head noun to make sense. In this way it functions as a determiner in a dependency relation with the head noun that follows it.

Note that the distributive can precede some noun phrase post-head elements when they are functioning as heads, as (41) illustrates.

- (41) a. *buli* *o-mu-layi*
 each AUG-1-good
 “each good one”
- b. *buli* *ba-biri*
 each 2-two
 “each two”

What can be drawn from the foregoing discussion is that in the structure of a Kisa noun phrase the

distributive as a pre-head element, as shown in (4), is closely linked to the head noun because it must occur with the head noun to make sense. It is, therefore, in a dependency relationship with the head noun that follows it. The post-head elements shown in (5) are closely linked to the head noun only when in this position because they need the head noun and must occur with it in order to have a modifying meaning. It is in this position that they give descriptive, attributive, characterising, etc., information about the nouns that precede them. Post-head elements in a Kisa noun phrase are therefore in a dependency relationship with the head noun that preceded them. When noun phrase post-head elements occur in pre-head position they are loosely linked to the nouns that follow them because they do not need the head noun to make sense. In this position the meaning they carry does not provide attributive, descriptive or characterising information about the nouns that follow them. They provide further aside information about the head nouns and can be left out of the phrase without affecting the meaning of the noun phrase headed by the head noun that follows them. In this way, in Kisa, noun phrase post-head elements when in pre-head position are not in a dependency relationship but in an appositional relationship with the nouns that follow them. They therefore form separate and independent nominal phrases of which they are the heads.

Conclusion

There are two main types of elements that occur in a Kisa noun phrase. The head element and dependent elements. The noun is the head and only obligatory element in a Kisa noun phrase. Dependent elements in a Kisa noun phrase can be pre-head or post-head. There is only one pre-head element, the distributive *buli* “each”, which must occur with the head noun to make sense. This element is closely linked to the head noun and is in a dependency relationship with the head noun that follows it.

Post-head elements in a Kisa noun phrase include: possessives, the word “another/other”, numerals, adjectives, the associative, demonstratives, the quantifier “all” and the quantifier “only”. These elements must occur with the head in order to have meaning only when in post-head position. Here, they are closely linked to the head and in a dependency relationship with the head noun because they need the head to make sense. The post-head elements in a Kisa noun phrase can also occur in pre-head position. In pre-head position these elements do not need the head to make sense. They are therefore loosely linked to the noun that follows them. In addition, they are not in a dependency relationship with the noun that comes after them. Instead, they are in an appositional relationship with these nouns and they form separate and independent nominal phrases which they head.

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