

**USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO  
(POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL)**

**ASPECTS OF MORPHOSYNTAX IN C'LELA**

**A Dissertation  
Submitted to the  
Postgraduate School,  
USMANU DANFODIYO UNIVERSITY, SOKOTO, NIGERIA  
In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements  
For the Award of the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS LINGUISTICS**

**BY**

**Gosa, Hannatu  
(Adm. No.: 14210109001)**

**DEPARTMENT OF MODERN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES AND  
LINGUISTICS**

**MAY, 2018.**

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my parents Sir and Lady Augustine Bagna Gosa (KSM)

## CERTIFICATION

This research by GOSA, Hannatu (Adm. No. 14210109001) has met the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Arts (Linguistics) of the Usmanu Danfodiyo University, Sokoto, and is approved for its contribution to knowledge.

---

Dr. M. A. Aliero  
Major Supervisor

---

Date

---

Dr. S. S. Ibrahim  
Co-Supervisor I

---

Date

---

Dr. M. A. Danzaki  
Co-Supervisor II

---

Date

---

External Examiner

---

Date

---

Dr. Muhammad Aminu Mode  
Ag. Head of Department

---

Date

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

Glory and praise be to God Almighty. First, I am very grateful to my major Supervisor Dr. Muhammad Ango Aliero for his tireless efforts, patience and advice during the writing of this research. I will also like to thank my Co-supervisor I Prof. Shehu Sidi Ibrahim and Co-Supervisor II Dr. Muhammad Arzika Danzaki, for their contributions and encouragement throughout the period of writing this dissertation. I am also grateful to all the Lecturers of MELL Department, especially the Head of Department Prof. Muhammad Aminu Mode, Prof. Abubakar Muhammad and Prof. Dahiru Muhammad Argungu, whose moral support, constructive criticisms and encouragement saw me to the very end. I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to my classmates; Zainab, Serah, Saleh, Patience and Danjumma for their roles as friends which ensured candid exchange of ideas relevant to this work. My appreciation also goes to my Cousin Mr. Tanko Gaski who helped organised my informants into groups. Thanks are also due to Daniel Gwimi for his 'on the field' suggestions and helpful observations. My gratitude goes to all the informants involved in this study, for devoting their time to give the needed information which acted as my guide and gave me unfailing support during data collection. There are many people who in one way or the other, made it possible for me to complete this research: my relatives, in laws, friends and acquaintances, I say thank you all for your prayers and may God bless you abundantly. Finally, I thank my husband for believing in me, without whose support and continuous encouragement, this work would not have been successfully completed. To my beloved daughter Rautha Salamatu, thank you so much for your patience and understanding.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
CERTIFICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF MAPS.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xi

### CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	1
1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study.....	2
1.4 Research Questions.....	2
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	2
1.6 Justification of the Study.....	3
1.7 Scope of the Study.....	3
1.8 Limitations of the Study.....	4

### CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction.....	5
2.2 Present and Current Linguistic Work on C'Lela.....	5
2.3 The Lelna People and Their Language.....	6
2.3.1 Language Classification.....	12
2.3.2 Brief History of C'Lela Orthography.....	15

2.4	Basic Morphology of C’Lela.....	17
2.4.1	Morphemes.....	17
2.4.2	Types of Morpheme.....	19
2.4.2.1	Free Morphemes.....	19
2.4.2.1.1	Lexical Morpheme.....	21
2.4.2.1.2	Functional Morphemes.....	22
2.4.2.2	Bound Morpheme.....	24
2.4.2.2.1	Derivational Morphemes.....	26
2.4.2.2.1.1	Prefix.....	27
2.4.2.2.1.2	Suffix.....	27
2.4.2.2.2	Inflectional Morpheme.....	31
2.5	Basic Syntax of C’Lela.....	31
2.6	Syntactic Categories.....	32
2.7	Noun.....	32
2.8	Verb.....	35
2.9	Adjective.....	36
2.10	Preposition.....	37
2.11	Adverbs.....	37
2.12	Connectives.....	38
2.13	Determiner.....	40
2.14	Reviews on Morphosyntax.....	48
2.15	Structural Framework.....	71

### **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

3.1	Introduction.....	75
3.2	Data Collection.....	75
3.3	Area of Study.....	76

3.4	Target Population.....	76
3.5	Instruments.....	77
3.5.1	Communicative Focus Group Discussions.....	78
3.5.2	Direct Elicitation.....	78
3.7	Method of Data Analysis.....	79

#### **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION**

4.1	Structural Analysis.....	80
4.2	Aspect of Morphosyntax of C'Lela.....	80
4.3	Inter Class Number Agreement.....	81
4.5	Noun Verb Agreement.....	78
4.6	Noun with Possessive Adjective Agreement.....	89
4.7	Nouns with Deictive Adjectives Agreement.....	81
4.8	Nouns with attributive Adjectives.....	82

#### **CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

5.1	Introduction.....	95
5.2	Findings.....	84
5.3	Summary of Findings.....	86
5.4	Conclusion.....	97
	REFERENCES.....	99

## LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Map of Zuru Emirate.....	7
Map 2: Map showing C'Lela and its neighbours.....	13

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Western Kainji Languages.....	13
Figure 2. Types of morpheme (Yule 1996).....	19
Figure 3. Phrase structure rules.....	41
Figure 4a. syntactic tree structure.....	43
Figure 4b. syntactic tree structure.....	44
Figure 5. Sentence.....	47
Figure 6: Morphosyntactic Feature Values (Adapted from Kibort, 2007) .....	52

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Additional Vowels.....	15
Table 2: Free Morphemes.....	21
Table 3: Lexical Morphemes.....	22
Table 4: Functional Morphemes.....	24
Table 5: Bound Morphemes.....	26
Table 6: Main Perfectives.....	29
Table 7: Highlighting Perfectives.....	30
Table 8: Inflectional Morphemes.....	31
Table 9: C'Lela Noun Classes Marker.....	34
Table 10: Morphosyntactic Features.....	53

## **ABSTRACT**

In linguistic morphology, inflected word forms of lexemes are usually organized into paradigms, which are defined by the requirements of syntactic rules. The aspect of morphology that shows the relationship between morphology and syntax is referred to as morpho-syntax. This study examined aspects of morphosyntactic structure in C'Lela. The analyses of the data revealed that C'Lela class prefixes and suffixes show no predictable meaning when used in isolation because the forms are empty of syntactic meaning unless they are affixed with the right morpheme based on the target elements such as the nouns, verbs and adjectives. The study also explored different kinds of agreements between various classes of word where a class prefix agree with the second word form in which features of the initial word form are moved to agree with the second root morpheme in morphosyntactic construction. Data for this research was elicited through interaction with native informants. Descriptive method is used in conducting this research and the data was analyzed using the item-and-arrangement approach of morphological structure analysis. The study also presents the data mainly in the form of words and phrases.

## CHAPTER ONE

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

Linguistics as a scientific study of language has several branches namely: phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Crystal (1980) reports that typological research done so far often combines morphology and syntax in a unit called morpho-syntax. This is due to the close inter-relationship between the two linguistic elements. Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words, and of the ways in which their structure reflects their relation to other words. Syntax involves inquiry into the rules of grammar which are used for ordering and linking words to form phrases and sentence (Crystal 1980).

The term morphosyntactic is derived from the word morphosyntax which is the study of grammatical categories or linguistic units that have both morphological and syntactic properties. This study's focal point is on C'Lela language, a language with rich noun morphology (Hoffman 1986).

The study of morphosyntactic structures has been the focus of discussion in various scholarly books, articles and other write-ups in most major languages of the world especially English and French. Thus, this research has also presented morphosyntactic structures in C'Lela a minority language in Nigeria.

This chapter covers preliminary parts of this study which include: the statement of the problem, aim and objectives, research questions, significance of the study, scope and after all conclusion.

#### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Even though a number of studies have been conducted on the C'Lela language, with specific works on morphology, phonology etc, but there is hardly any work that

considers the interface between any two components of grammar except for the work of Aliero (2015) which focuses on the morphophonological operation in the C'Lela nouns. This study therefore describes the morphosyntactic structures of C'Lela.

### **1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Study**

The aim of this research is to examine the morphosyntactic structure in C'Lela. Therefore, the research, hopes to achieve the following specific objectives.

1.
  - i. To examine the morphological elements of C'Lela language.
  - ii. To describe how different word classes are combined in C'lela.
  - iii. To identify the basic syntactic structure in C'Lela.
  - iv. To establish the agreement patterns between the C'Lela morphology and its syntax.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

This study attempts to provide answers to the following research questions:

1.
  - i. What are the morphological elements in C'Lela?
  - ii. How are different word classes combined in C'Lela?
  - iii. What are the basic syntactic structures in C'Lela?
  - iv. What are the agreement patterns between C'Lela morphology and its syntax?

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

Language description and documentation is both fundamental and vital to the characterization, description and preservation of language, particularly the minority languages. The mere existence of a grammatical description confers a confident status on a language that may formerly have been considered to be of little importance. It brings ethnic pride. It enables the said language speakers to know that their language is equally important and deserves to be treated with dignity; it empowers the language

for unrestricted use, preserves them for upcoming generations as well as giving them a functional value. It communicates to the minority language speakers and to the surrounding groups, that the minority language is doable and worthy of respect.

Language description assists in the general understanding of human language and its organization, the expansion of a linguistic theory cannot be elaborated on the basis of just a few languages, but on an analysis of quite a lot of inputs from a variety of languages.

This study proves that C'Lela Language like any other language can be developed and standardized through documentation and be relied upon as a means of communication, especially as it affects morphology and syntax in the language.

Therefore, this study presents morphosyntactic structure in C'Lela and hence will add to the existing literature in C'Lela.

## **1.6 Justification of the Study**

C'Lela is one of the minority languages spoken in northern Nigeria that faces numerous dangers that may lead it to extinction. Most of the early works on C'Lela are on lexicography, orthography, phonology, morphology, among others. However, none of these studies attempted to address the issue of morphosyntactic structure of C'Lela language. It is important to note that the study of morphosyntactic structure will bring out the agreement patterns that exist between different classes of words in the language. Hence, it is imperative to analyse the morphosyntactic structure of C'Lela language within the C'Lela community.

## **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The study is about morphosyntactic structure of C'Lela. Therefore, it focused on identifying the morphological and syntactic elements in C'Lela and how different

word classes are combined in C'Lela and the agreement parttens which is based on the Zugurnu dialect spoken in Zuru local government area, Nigeria.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

Lelna are spread all over Nigeria. The research however was concentrated in Zuru local Government Area. This area was ideal for this study because it is the home to the largest population of speakers of Zugurnu dialect. C'lela has so many dialects: The study however restricted its analysis to Zugurnu dialect. Since C'lela has not been extensively studied, there are only a few documented materials on the same; inadequacy of written data was therefore a major constraint that limited this study. To overcome this inadequacy the researcher drew from knowledge acquired in the study of other related languages, already identified respondents name others with the required characteristics. This made it possible for the researcher to get the required respondents and the writer's native intuition was used too. However, efforts were made to present data that is reliable and will be a good base for future findings on similar topics.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter reviews existing literature related to this study. The literature is divided into sections; present and current linguistic work on C'Lela, the Lelna people and their language, basic morphology of C'Lela, basic syntax of C'Lela, works on morphology syntax interface from various languages and a look at the theoretical framework.

#### **2.2 Present and Current Linguistic Work on C'Lela**

C'Lela is a language spoken in northern Nigeria. Works have been done on this language and still ongoing to develop the language especially on language study among which are; Rowlands (1962) who elicited and published a comparative wordlist of 142 items in four languages identified as Dakarkari, Duka, Kambari, and Kamuku. He concluded that Dakarkari and Duka are more closely related to one another than either of them is to Kambari or Kamuku. Hoffman (1976) collected and published a considerable amount of previously undocumented C'Lela language data (An outline of the Dakarkari noun class system and the relation between prefix and suffix noun class systems). In his paper he presented an insightful analysis of some unusual features of the C'Lela noun class system. Hoffman (1976) also wrote a C'Lela wordlist elicited from speakers of Dabai.

Dancy (1972) collected a 100-item wordlist of the Lela language as part of a wider survey of Nigerian languages. Amfani (1990) conducted a glotto-chronological study of C'Lela and collected a 100-item Swedish list in C'Lela, compared it with three other languages of Zuru Local Government Area (identified as Banganci,

Dukanci, and Fakanci) and calculated lexical similarity. He also argued that C'Lela is the most linguistically divergent member of this group of four languages.

Baba-Waziri (1992) wrote more on Aspects of Zuru Emirate Languages which had earlier been studied by other indigenes of Zuru Emirate who had contributed to Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate. Baba-Waziri bases his brief description of C'Lela phonology and grammar on the Dabai dialect. He takes the unusual position (against the evidence of other linguists) that, out of the four members of the Northwest group of Kainji languages, only Duka (Hun-Saare) and C'Lela have statuses as languages. He calls the others as 'dialects of these two languages'. Rowbory (2009) describes a particular type of verb inflection in C'Lela, focusing on the future/habitual inflection and comparing it with similar inflections and summarised the distinctive feature of the *t-* prefix inflections and most probable grammaticisation source. Aliero (2013) is an extensive grammatical description of some aspects of C'Lela morphology. Aliero (2015) also discussed some aspects of the morphophonology of C'Lela nouns showing that the addition of inflectional affixes to certain noun stems in C'lela, sometime motivate certain phonological processes. The analysis demonstrates that when the plural suffix [-nv] attaches to animate nouns in C'lela, it triggers certain morphophonological processes such as vowel copying, metathesis, vowel lengthening, final vowel deletion and initial consonant deletion. And Dettweiler (2015) provide an in-depth linguistic study of C'Lela, to further furnish the linguistic understanding of the language in his book C'lela Grammar Portrait.

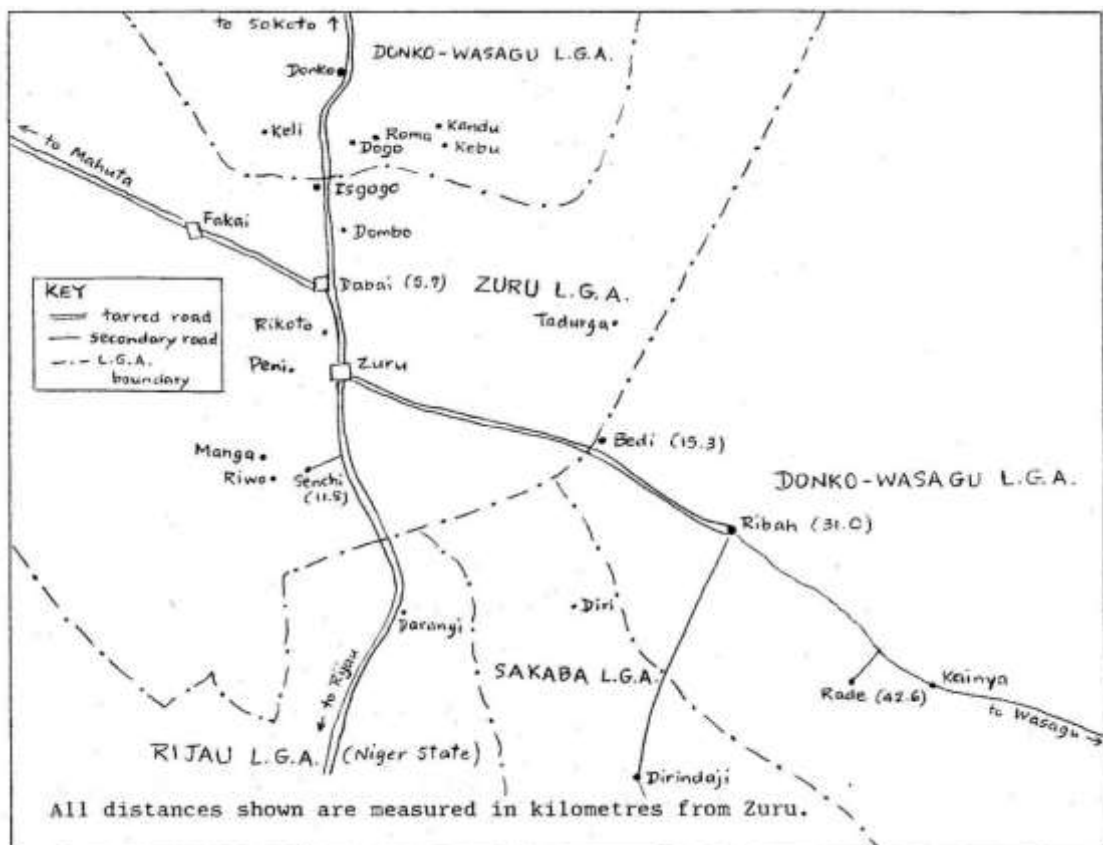
### **2.3 The Lelna People and Their Language**

The speakers of the language of study in this research have designated themselves as Lelna. Zuru is the name given to the area which is occupied predominantly by the Lelna. The word Zuru was coined out the ancient name *k'zugu* (forest) Zuru is located in the South Eastern part of Kebbi State (Amos 2014). The Lelna, known to most outsiders as the Dakarkari or the Dakarawa (alternate Hausa

names for the people), are the indigenes of Zuru Emirate which comprises four Local Government Areas, namely, Zuru, Danko/Wasagu, Fakai and Sakaba Local Government Areas in Kebbi State. There are other major settlements in Rijau Local Government Area in northern Niger State (Dettweiler and Dettweiler 2005). Many others have migrated away from the language area, usually southwards and for the sake of farmland.

Below is a map of Zuru emirate showing towns and distances all measured in kilometres

Map 1: Map of Zuru Emirate



(Adopted from Dettweiler 2015)

Some of the population cities of the Lelna today are U'kyobu, U'yumu, U'Dogo, S'gogo, U'Daba, D'kooto, Peni, A'zugru, U'Manga, U'Reba, D'Oo, U'Sara, U'Hyan, Senchi, Ushe, Tadurga, Diri, Ribah, Conoko, etc (Dettweiler and Dettweiler

1993). Generally, each population centre has associated with it an old settlement on a hill (strategic in the past ages for defence from invasion on horseback) as well as a particular dialect of C'Lela. The list is not exhaustive of the names of the above can be seen in the map 1 above.

Outsiders call the language Dakarci (the name as designated by Hausa speakers), or more informally the Zuru language. The people themselves call their language *C'Lela* (phonetically [ʃəlélà]). An individual member of the language group (whether male or female) is called *K'Lela* ([kəlélà]), the cultural system (including traditional religious beliefs and practices) is called *D'Lela* ([dəlélà]) and the name of the language homeland is *A'Lela* ([àlélà]) (Rikoto 2002).

Written sources suggest three possible origins for the Hausa name Dakarkari, of these three, the notion that the name is derived from the Hausa word daakaaree, 'foot soldier', is likely the most popular explanation given. This is linked with the story that the Dakarkari were a subject people (with others) in the Hausa kingdom of Kebbi. As the story goes, their men were employed by the Hausa king as foot soldiers until the 1700s, when the Lelna and other subjects migrated southwards to where they could 'farm undisturbed by continual internecine warfare of the Hausa states' Harris (1938), as cited in (Dettweiler and Dettweiler 1993).

Concerning the origin of the name root, Lela, an elderly K'Lela Church leader interviewed in the process of Dettweilers' 1993 survey claimed that, the original founder of the tribe, a man named Daka Yunusa, came from the town of Ilela in Sokoto State (Dettweiler 1993).

Research in historical linguistics and archaeology, as presented by Blench (2006), does not flatly contradict these oral traditions concerning the origins of the Lelna as distinct from other Kanji peoples. It does, however suggest their earlier

origins were from further south (not north), and their motivation for leaving their original homeland to be other than farming. Based on the historical comparative method of linguistics, the ancestors of the Kainji peoples (and hence of the Lelna) belonged to the Benue-Congo when they lived together speaking one language (designated Proto-Benue-Congo). The homeland of Benue-Congo is thought to likely have been near the confluence of the Niger and Benue Rivers, Blench (2006) says that the initial reason for their expansion from the confluence is unknown. Though speakers of Benue-Congo languages today are “typically farmers”, common vocabulary for farming “cannot be reconstructed to Proto-Benue-Congo” – this discounts the theory that expansion was due to innovations in agriculture. Raising the possibility that bow and arrow hunting introduced a “major technological revolution” when it began in West Africa, Blench (2006) documents the common vocabulary associated with “bow” and “arrow” across Niger-Congo languages. He then suggests that the expansion of the Niger-Congo phylum (preliminary to the expansion of Niger-Congo’s sub-phyla such as Benue-Congo and West Atlantic) was sparked by acquisition of this “radical new hunting technology in conjunction with improving climate ...”

The dominant economic activity of the Lelna has been and still is farming. Gunn and Conant (1960,) in Dettweiler (2015) describe the language area as “split into two sharply defined areas”. There is a narrow range of stony hills along the western boundary and the well-watered plain lands to the east. Vegetation is of the guinea savannah type. Rainfall is about 900 mm (36 inches) per year, falling mainly between June and September. Harmattan winds blow in cycles from November to March, and the Harmattan season shades into a hot season from March to May. Though written more than 50 years ago, this is still a valid description of the climate and environment

today. Bashir (1990) furnishes these details on the practice of agriculture by the Lelna: Agriculture rests on a system of shifting cultivation, with the crops grown (e.g. guinea corn, millet, maize, acha 'hungry rice', groundnuts, beans, sugar cane, cotton) and the techniques employed similar to most farming communities of central Nigeria. Small industries which supplement income from farming are brewing alcohol, blacksmithing, mat making, smelting and pottery. Lelna men traditionally went out hunting for game during dry season. Though this seasonal occupation is no longer prevalent in modern Nigeria, it is still an important theme in C'Lela narratives. Ever since World War II, serving in the armed forces of Nigeria has been a popular occupation for Lelna men, revealing a strong cultural identification with the foot soldier meaning most often given to their Hausa name. Boys and young men preparing for marriage in the rural Lelna society are traditionally involved first in wrestling matches '*c'medi*' then in farm service '*golmo*' for their prospective brides. These kinds of activities are important not only in Lelna culture but also throughout the neighbouring (and culturally related) people groups. The bride service tradition is closely associated with the practice of the traditional religion, which includes initiation of *golmo* youths into the men's secret society known as *M'gile* (Dettweiler and Dettweiler 1993).

Zuru was under Niger Province since 1900 when the provinces were created by the colonial masters. It was under Niger province with Zuru, Kontagora and Wushishi as headquarters of the division until 1976, when Sokoto and Niger states were created. And, Zuru was placed under Sokoto by the Military Government on the recommendation of the Justice Ayo Irikefe Panel on State Creation with the plight of the needed man power supply to Sokoto State.

The population of Lelna was estimated at six hundred and forty two thousand, one hundred and six people (642,106) during the 2006 population Census as published

in the National Population Commission (NPC) Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette, (2009). These figures include other Lelna populations spread over some states of the country because of the following reasons:

1. Due to the fact that Zuru was under Niger province, Lelna people have a great proportion of their population concentration in Niger state. The quest for farm land, due to the population explosion from the 1980's onwards when the farm lands in Zuru Emirate became insufficient, and land impoverishment led to the outward migration of Lelna people in the quest for more farm lands elsewhere in Niger State and the environs.
2. Another cause of the spread and out migration of Lelna people South-wards was the persistence of droughts of 1972-1973 and 1982-1983 periods. The drought spells compelled the people to relocate its greener pastures.
3. Retirement from national service influenced population spread. Many retired public servants decided to settle in some other states of their choice in the country.

These constitute the bulk of Lelna people, as shown in the map attached. These and many other reasons explain the growth and spread of the population of Zuru (Lelna) people in some states of the federation.

The three religions widely practiced among the Lelna to the present day are the traditional religion, Islam, and Christianity. The presence and prestige of Islam were strengthened by the migration of Katsina Muslims into the area's towns in the late 19th century and by the British colonial policy in the first third of the 20th century of ruling over northern Nigeria through Hausa-Fulani structures already in place. This led to the

conversion of many Lelna from the traditional religion to Islam (Bako 1990). Christianity made its initial appearance among the Lelna with the establishment of a mission station in Zuru in 1924 (Amos 2014). In spite of early difficulties the work eventually thrived. After World War II, Lelna men returning home from military service brought new strength and leadership to churches, which at that time diversified to numerous denominations. Education started in Hausa and later in English, and leadership development are features of Christianity's impact among the Lelna. In the rural areas Christianity and the traditional religion seem equally prevalent whereas in the towns of the area, Islam and Christianity are both strong and the traditional religion is not openly practiced (Dettweiler and Dettweiler 2005).

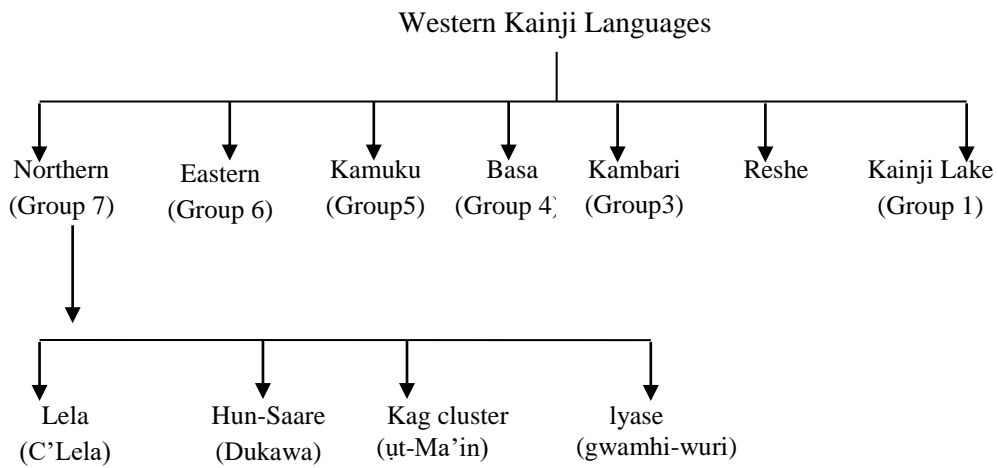
Various opinions about the extent and significance of Hausa bilingualism in the Lelna language community have been expressed. Writing in 1938, Harris predicted that “another thirty years will see changes ... which will probably result in an almost complete assimilation of the Dakarawa (Lelna) with the Hausa.” Dettweiler and Dettweiler (1993), kicked against it, during ten years of fieldwork in the language area subsequent to that, they saw even more evidence that C’Lela was being vigorously maintained (alongside Hausa as the language of wider communication) rather than that C’Lela was dying because of a widespread shift to Hausa in all language domains. The changes anticipated by Harris have indeed resulted in widespread bilingualism, but the result in the Lelna language area is better seen as a stable pattern of diglossia or triglossia rather than as assimilation of the Lelna to their northern neighbours.

### **2.3.1 Language Classification**

In Crozier and Blench (1992), C’Lela is classified as Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo, Kainji, Western Kainji, Northern Group. Figure 1 below shows the sub-classification of Western Kainji languages in tree diagram form, including the four

members of the Northern group. As named in Crozier and Blench – the people of the Kag cluster have since chosen the name ʉt-Ma'in as the preferred designation for their language in (Smith 2007).

Figure 1: Western Kainji Languages



Map 2: Map showing C'Lela and its neighbours



(Adopted from SIL International)

The geographic neighbours of the Lelna are as follows: to the north, the neighbours are the Hausa and the Gwamhi-Wuri; to the west, the speakers of ut-Ma'in; to the south, the Hun-Saare (Dukawa) and members of the Kambari group; to the east, the Acipu (speakers of Cicipu) and the Hausa. All neighbours but the Hausa have a West Kainji language as mother tongue. In most recent research, Blench and McGill (2012), support that C'lela belongs to the sub group of Kainji languages.

### 2.3.2 Brief History of C’Lela Orthography

The development of C’lela orthography witnessed three major attempts, namely; full missionary attempt, the first generation indigenous pastors and the committee for the standardization of C’lela Orthography. The two earlier attempts were mainly aimed at translating portions of the Christian Scriptures, prayer books and songs for the purpose of worship and evangelism. These attempts were basically impressionistic in approach; rather than based on an agreed system of writing. The first two attempts were championed by the United Missionary Society (UMS) in the period 1935-1955 and the Roman Catholic Mission (RCM), in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. For ease of comparison with the growing C’Lela literature and because the orthography corresponds well to the phonology, we use the standard C’Lela orthography when examples are given. Though tone is contrastive lexically and grammatically, the standard orthography does not mark it. However we use the same system of accents to represent tones as that adopted by the dictionary and other C’Lela texts written for non-native speakers. The following table shows the additional vowels and one affricate which is represented by non-IPA symbols in the C’Lela examples:

Table 1. Additional Vowels

Orthographic	Phonetic
o	ɔ
ɛ	ɛ
ə	ɨ
C	tʃ

(Adopted from Rowbory 2009)



## **2.4 Basic Morphology of C’Lela**

Morphology is the study of word formation rules in language. Bushman (1976), says it is “the study of form”, for instance the sub discipline of inflection as well as the study of word classes and their classification. It is an important term in linguistics and it may be seen as a cover term for inflection and word formation.

Morphology is the study of the grammatical structure of words and the categories realised by them. (Matthews 1997).

Morphology is the branch of grammar which studies the structure or forms of words, primarily through the use of the morpheme construct (Crystal 2008). He further said it is traditionally distinguished from syntax, which deals with the rules governing the combination of words in sentences. It is generally divided into two fields: The study of inflections (inflectional morphology) and of word-formation (lexical or derivational morphology) a distinction which is sometimes accorded theoretical status (split morphology).

Morphology looks at how words are made in languages from small pieces called morphemes. The word Musnu in C’lela means cats , it is from the word Musu ‘cat’, musu + the plural suffix nV suffix to noun stems, creates the environment for reversal of stem-final which produces the plural word musnu we see the process of metathesis in the formation of the word musnu from musu in C’lela.

### **2.4.1 Morphemes**

In morphology, the most significant component of the word structure is the morpheme. It is the smallest unit of language that carries information about meaning or

functions. It is also the core or the central part of morphology. A morpheme, no matter how insignificant or small, it carries semantic information.

A Morpheme is defined as the minimal meaningful unit of grammatical analysis; it is a word or part of a word. A morpheme constitutes smaller units that makeup the complete word.

A morpheme is the minimal linguistic sign, a grammatical unit that is an arbitrary union of sounds and meaning components sometimes, morphemes are strung together to form a word also a word could consist of just a morpheme (i.e.) monomorphemic.

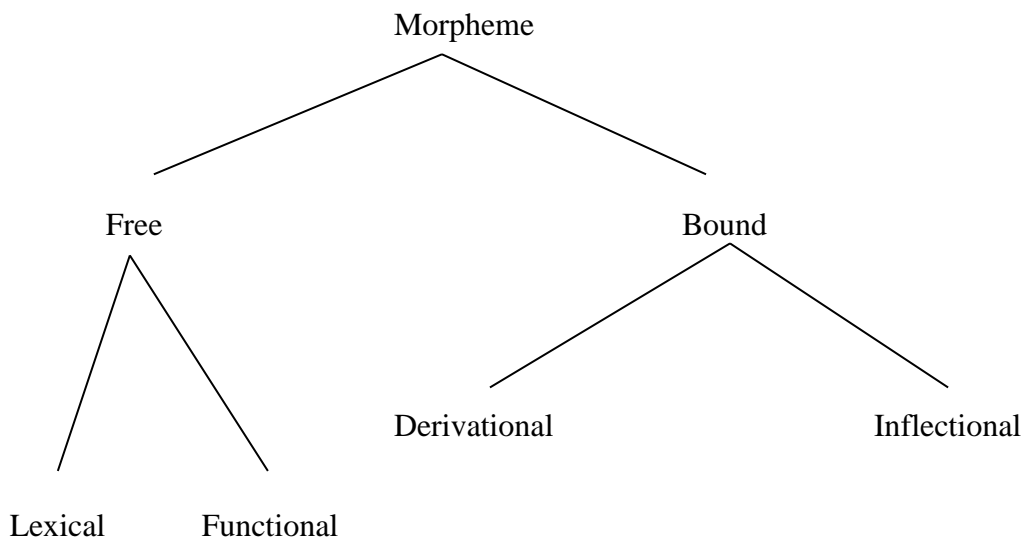
A morpheme is the minimal distinctive unit of grammar Crystal (2008), and it is the central concern of morphology. Its original motivation was as an alternative to the notion of the word, which had proved to be difficult to work with in comparing languages. Words, moreover, could be quite complex in structure, and there was a need for a single concept to interrelate such notions as root, prefix, compound, etc. The morpheme, accordingly, was seen primarily as the smallest functioning unit in the composition of words. Morphemes are commonly classified into free forms (morphemes which can occur as separate words) and bound forms (morphemes which cannot so occur mainly affixes): thus *unselfish* consists of the three morphemes *un*, *self* and *ish*, of which *self* is a free form, *un-* and *-ish* bound forms. A word consisting of a single (free) morpheme is a monomorphemic word; its opposite is polymorphemic. A further distinction may be made between lexical and grammatical morphemes; the former are morphemes used for the construction of new words in a language, such as in compound words (e.g. *blackbird*), and affixes such as *-ship*, *-ize*; the latter are morphemes used to express grammatical relationships between a word

and its context, such as plurality or past tense (i.e. the inflections on words). Grammatical morphemes which are separate words are called (*inter alia*) function words.

### 2.4.2 Types of Morpheme

The diagram below shows the types of morphemes that we have and the examples will be given in c'lela language.

Figure 2. Types of morpheme (Yule 1996).



Morphemes are basically classified in to free and bound morphemes.

#### 2.4.2.1 Free Morphemes

Free morphemes are morphemes which stand by themselves as single word. A free morpheme is a type of morpheme that can stand on its own without the support of any attachments. These categories of morphemes are otherwise known as independent. Lexical or content words and functional words fall under this category. They are morphemes that can exist in isolation. Below are some examples of free morphemes in C'Lela language.



Table 2: Free Morphemes

S/N	C'lela free morphem	Gloss
i.	Noka	Come
ii.	Laga	Stop
iii.	Ema	Do
iv.	Kwesa	Show
v.	Leve	Sleep
vi.	Neta	Woman
Vii	Gwele	Goat
viii.	Ce	Tree
ix.	Musu	Cat

They are independent in form and meaning. They act as root and are ready to take any additional morphemes.

The free morpheme can be sub-divided into two viz;

1. Lexical morphemes
2. Functional morphemes

#### **2.4.2.1.1 Lexical Morpheme**

Lexical morphemes as defined by Yule (1996) are set of ordinary nouns, adjectives and verbs which we think of as the words which carry the content of the message we convey. They belong to the open class of words in the language and they are used to form words of different grammatical categories. Consider the following examples in C’Lela language:

Table 3: Lexical Morphemes

S/N	Lexical Morphems.	Gloss
i.	Ema	Do
ii.	Maka	Jump
iii.	Gyu	Finger
iv.	Damra	Big
v.	Kasi	Good
Vi	Binya	Rice
vii.	Vana	Knife
viii.	Hooso	Greetings

#### **2.4.2.1.2 Functional Morphemes**

These are known as closed class morphemes, they are those non content words such as conjunctions, prepositions, articles and pronouns. Because we almost never

add new functional morphemes to languages, they are described as “closed” class of words. Examples in C’Lela language include:

Table 4: Functional Morphemes

S/N	Functional Morphemes	Gloss
i.	Kaana	So
ii.	da, na	And
iii.	Ai	That
iv.	Alabe	It were
v.	Remain	Because
vi.	A	When
vii.	Taha	Near
viii.	Acona	Above
Ix	Hna	This, these
X	I	The

#### 2.4.2.2 Bound Morpheme

Bound morphemes cannot exist independently for instance, they are by nature parasites they depend on their host for survival, they are not words; they can only form part of words. They are basically affixes.

A bound morpheme does not occur in isolation, but can only be meaningful when joined to other morphemes. Bound morpheme can occur before a host

morpheme, within or after a host morpheme, these are technically called prefix, infixes and suffix respectively. Below are examples of bound morphemes in C'Lela language.

Table 5: Bound Morphemes

S/N	Bound Morphemes.	C'Lela word	Gloss
I	Nv	omno(suffix nv)	Dogs
ii.	c'-	c'ce(prefix)	Trees
iii.	m'-	m'doro(prefix)	Pots
Iv	s'-	s'zete(prefix)	Branches

According to Yule (1996), the set of affixes which falls into the 'bound' category can be divided into two types.

1. Derivational morphemes
2. Inflectional morphemes

#### **2.4.2.2.1 Derivational Morphemes**

It is used to form new words in the language and it is used to form words of different grammatical categories from the stem. Derivation is accomplished by means of a large number of small bits which are called affixes. The affixes are divided into three (3), they are:

1. Prefix
2. Infix
3. Suffix

C'Lela has prefix, and suffix as its affixes.

#### 2.4.2.2.1.1 Prefix

Crystal (2008) defined prefix as a term used in morphology referring to an affix which is added initially to a root or stem. The process of prefixation (or prefixing) is common in English, for forming new lexical items (e.g. *para-*, *mini-*, *un-*), but English does not inflect words using prefixes. Languages which do inflect in this way include German (e.g. the *ge-* of perfective forms), Greek, and many American Indian languages (e.g. the Athapaskan family).

Examples in C'Lela language include most of the noun class markers;

1. i'- (class 7)
2. m'- (class 8)
3. s'- (class 4)
4. c'- (class 6)
5. d'- (class 5)

#### 2.4.2.2.1.2 Suffix

Crystal (2008) defined suffix as a term used in morphology referring to an affix which is added following a root or stem. The process of suffixation or suffixing is common in English, both for the derivational formation of new lexical items (e.g. *-ize*, *-tion*) and for expressing grammatical relationships (inflectional endings such as *-s*, *-ed*, *-ing*).

Suffixes also exist in C'Lela because they are affixes added at the end of a word in we have the following examples from Dettweiler (2015) which consist of the main

perfective marker, the highlighting perfective and relative perfective markers for verbs  
thus;

1. **Main Perfective suffix /kv/**

The use of the main perfective suffix on a main clause verb is the standard strategy in this language for presenting a situation in the mainline of a narrative. The main perfective suffix has the form  $-kV$ . The vowel  $V$  is a copy of the verb root's final vowel, or the corresponding short vowel when that root's final vowel is emphatically long. Consider the following examples:

Table 6: Main Perfectives

Verb root + kv	Main perfective	Gloss
Sɔ + kv	sɔkɔ	Drink-drank
nɛ + kv	nɛkɛ	Give- gave
Leve +kv	Levke	Sleep –slept
Soma + kv	Somka	Run- ran
Ema + kv	Emka	Do-did

Lexically marked verbs such as *kwesa* 'show' retain their final vowel, resulting in this verb's main perfective form being *kwesaka*, not *kwes-ka*.

2. **Highlighting Perfective suffix /tv/**

The use of a  $-tV$  suffix on a main clause verb is the marked strategy in C'Lela for identifying the situation described by the verb (usually dynamic) as developing the plot of a narrative.

The meaning of this suffix as a perfective is virtually identical to that of  $-kV$  (the main perfective), with the sole difference being the pragmatic function of highlighting that it has. It also interacts with other morphemes (both segmentally and

tonally) in exactly the same way as the main perfective suffix. One other noticeable feature of this suffix's use in discourse is that it is almost invariably followed by the connective *bə*. This connective is used to indicate that the utterance in which it appears helps develop the speaker's (or author's) purpose. Its free translation can be 'so', 'then', or even 'but', depending on the context. It is called the highlighting perfective. Consider the following examples;

Table 7: Highlighting Perfectives

Verb root	Highlighting perfective + <i>bə</i>	Gloss
Waga	Wagta <i>bə</i>	... then swept...
Ze	Zeta <i>bə</i>	... then said ...
Noka	Nokta <i>bə</i>	... then came...
Zola	Zolta <i>bə</i>	... then bath...

Note that in conversations the highlighting perfectives usually have a noun or a pronoun before the verb.

### 3. **Relative Perfectives suffix /ini/ine/**

Two suffixes, represented in C'Lela as *-ine* and *-tine* (with allomorphs respectively – *[ine]-[ini]* and *–[tine]-[tini]*) mark only verbs in subordinate clauses. The data of this section demonstrate that *-ine* in a subordinate clause is functional counterpart to *-kV* in a main clause, and that similarly *-tine* is counterpart to *-tV*.

He identified three contexts in which verb subordination is frequently used in C'Lela narratives: cleft constructions in which a fronted element is in focus, time

adverbials beginning with the connective proclitic *a* 'when', and relative clauses each modifying a nominal head.

#### 2.4.2.2.2 Inflectional Morpheme

According to Yule (1996), inflectional morphemes are not used to form new words. Rather, to indicate aspects of grammatical functions of a word. They can be used to show if a word is singular or plural, if it is past or present tense and if it is comparative or possessive form.

Consider the following examples in C'Lela;

Table 8: Inflectional Morphemes

S/N	C'lela	Gloss	C'lela	Gloss
i.	Rimune	Black	Rimane	Blacks
ii.	Waa'wanta	Girl	Yaa'yanta	Girls
iii.	Doko	Horse	Dokno	Horses
iv.	Laga	Stop	Lagka	Stopped
v.	Noka	Come	Nokka	Came

### 2.5 Basic Syntax of C'Lela

Syntax can simply be defined as the study of the structure and ordering of components within a sentence.

Mathews (1997) defined syntax as the study of the grammatical relations between words and other units within the sentence

From the above definitions, we can boldly define syntax as the study of the rules of sentence formation, i.e. the rules that state how words can be combined into sentences or the rules of forming sentences. Let's take an English example:

The dog chased the cat.

\* Dog the cat chased the.

The sequence in one above is the allowed format in English, and the second one does not confirm to the syntax of English.

The rules of making sentences don't refer to specific words, example omo (dog), musu (cat), soma (run), buku (tomorrow). Rather refers to categories of words, example noun, verb and adjective. Example Dudu levke (Dudu slept). The rule that forms this sentence isn't: "A sentence can be formed from 'Dudu' and 'levke'". Rather, the rule is more like: "A sentence can be formed from a noun and a verb"

The generality of syntactic rule is, when speakers learn a new word they immediately know how to form a sentence with it and they also know the bad sounding sentences because they know the rule of sentence formation in their languages. So, the rules for forming sentences don't refer to specific words (e.g. omo 'dog'), but to categories of words (e.g. 'noun'). When we learned 'omo', the rules for nouns in C'Lela told us how to form sentences with it.

## **2.6 Syntactic Categories**

Syntactic category is the lexical category or parts of speech which simply mean the word category which syntax makes reference to. Let's take some example of syntactic categories in C'Lela according to (Dettweiler 2015)

### **2.7 Noun**

Dettweiler (2015) pointed that every C'Lela noun belongs to one of the fourteen noun classes guided strictly by the number of distinct sets of agreement markers, there are twelve

noun classes. However, two of these twelve classes can further be divided in two on the bases of semantics and pluralisation. For convenience these sub classes may sometimes be described as if they were distinct classes

Table 9: C'Lela Noun Classes Marker

S/N	Noun	Gloss	Class marker
1	om̩	Dog	Null
2.	om̩n̩	Dogs	nV
3.	u'koma	Hand	u'
3	Yala	Beans	Null
4	s'va	Leaves	s'
5	a'koma	Hand	a'
6	c'ce	Trees	c'
7	i'hono	Calabash	i'
8.	m'doro	Pots	m'
9	v'gu	Finger	v'
10	Hi	Millet	Null
11	k'tare	Stone	k'
13	Asile	God	Null

The noun displays membership in one of the C'Lela noun classes by a class prefix or a class suffix (for Class 2 only) and some a null class. This membership is noted in the heading of the noun. We have class prefixes c' i', and m' among others respectively.

Another way a noun's class membership is shown is by the agreement prefix displayed on target elements in noun phrases of which they are the head. If a noun has a null class prefix, its class membership can only be differentiated by reference to its distinct agreement prefixes as displayed on target elements in noun phrases of which they are the head.

The distributional properties of nouns in C'Lela include the following:

1. A noun can function as the subject of a verb (unmarked position preceding the verb) or the object of a verb (unmarked position following the verb).
2. A noun can follow a preposition as its object.
3. A noun can head a noun phrase or it can follow a head noun (and be targeted for agreement with it).

## **2.8 Verb**

Verbs can be distinguished from nouns by the following grammatical properties: They can take a variety of suffixes which indicate the verb's aspect. Common C'Lela verbal suffixes are *-kV* (marking basic perfective aspect in main clauses), *-uzo/-uzu* (marking sequential perfective), and *-ine/-ini* (marking basic perfective aspect in subordinate clauses). The incomplete aspect is shown by a change of subject agreement prefix and by a tonal change on the first syllable of some verb roots. Verbs always have identifiable subjects and potentially they also have direct and indirect objects and arguments such as location and time, as appropriate to the semantic properties of the verb. This set of properties excludes the confusion of verbal nouns with verbs. A verb has no class-marking affix associated with it. Verbal nouns are derived from verbs by the attachment of a class marker. The class markers most commonly used on verbal nouns are *m-* and *u-*, but a wide variety of class-marking prefixes (including the null prefix) has been observed on verbal nouns. The specific noun class markers can be used to give various shades of meaning to the nominalised action. Example of C'Lela verbs;

So	(drink)
Ema	(do)
Gaba	(follow)
Kwesa	(show)
Leve	(sleep)
Hwa	(kill)
Waga	(sweep)

## 2.9 Adjective

The following are C'Lela adjectives;

Utu	(old)
Rimune	(black)
Gyozgyozo	(brown)
Hooso	(greetings)
Hongahonga	(gossips)
Nake	(bad)
Kasi	(good)

Dettweiler (2015) described C'Lela adjectives as being problematic simply because Adjectival words show all the distributional properties of nouns when used in discourse to refer to a particular thing or class of things, i.e. they can be the subject or object (or complement) of a verb, they can be object of a preposition which immediately precedes them, and so on. However, two morphological properties of adjectival words distinguish them from nouns:

1. The adjective root is a bound root with an empty class membership slot, this slot can be filled (for the resulting word to be used in discourse) by any one of C'Lela noun class markers (if the resulting word is to be used as a noun) or agreement markers (if the modifier of a noun).

2. An adjectival word which is a modifier in a noun phrase has its agreement with the head noun marked only by an agreement prefix; it has no autonomous class prefix to be combined morphologically with the agreement prefix. In that way, modification by an adjective is structurally distinct from modification of one prototypical noun by another.

## **2.10 Preposition**

The main grammatical property of a prepositional particle is that it must be followed by a noun phrase (to which the relational meaning expressed in the preposition applies).

There are a few such prepositions in C'Lela, each having a general area of meaning. More specific meaning pertaining to movement or location may be carried by the verb and by the use of specific locative nouns in conjunction with a general preposition.

- |    |         |                       |
|----|---------|-----------------------|
| 1. | an      | (in, to, by,with)     |
| 2. | a       | (in, at, to)          |
| 3. | a nv    | (with, and in a list) |
| 4. | n'mi    | (inside, under)       |
| 5. | n'cona  | (over)                |
| 6. | apaaten | (beside)              |
| 7. | ataken  | (in the middle of)    |

## **2.11 Adverbs**

These are grammatical properties observed for adverbs in C'Lela:

They do not display class agreement. They immediately follow the verbal word. Example of C'Lela adverbs are;

Hwedi	(much)
Male	(always)
Tente	(today)
Dede	(yesterday)
Wedene	(last year)
C'hwe c'hona	(few days)

## 2.12 Connectives

Connectives join two parts of a sentence together. They may suggest that one thing was caused by another or that there is some other link between the two parts. The two primary places where C'Lela connectives can be located in a clause are at the beginning of the clause and in the verb phrase (normally immediately following the verb). Many connectives that have been adopted from Hausa are found in the more prominent clause-initial position, whereas the post-verb position is less used for adopted connectives. The connectives are listed below;

1. a (when, if)
2. ala (or)
3. amma (but)
4. awaz (if)
5. az (that)
6. bat (in order that)

7. hal (until)
8. de (rather)
9. remin (because)

### 2.13 Determiner

Determiners in C'Lela come after and before the noun, they show how a noun is being used. They are;

1. hna (this/these)
2. kaan (someone who)
3. i (the/ it is)
4. nlo (this)
5. nzo (that)

The correct definition of the above mentioned grammatical categories are in terms of where in a grammatical category they can go. So far, we have learned that ; C'Lela have rules for forming sentences, the rules don't refer to specific words, but to word categories and the word categories are N,V, A, D, P.

Symbols used in syntactic description are;

The arrow  $\rightarrow$ , and it can be interpreted as consists of, it will typically occur in the following format.

$NP \rightarrow DET+N$  this is a simple way of saying that a noun phrase (e.g i'doro) consists of an article (i') and a noun (doro) , or  $\text{om\o nlo}$  (that dog)( $N \rightarrow N +DET$ )

S sentence

N noun

V verb

Pro pronoun

Adj adjective

Det determiner

Prep preposition

NP noun phrase

VP verb phrase

PP prepositional phrase

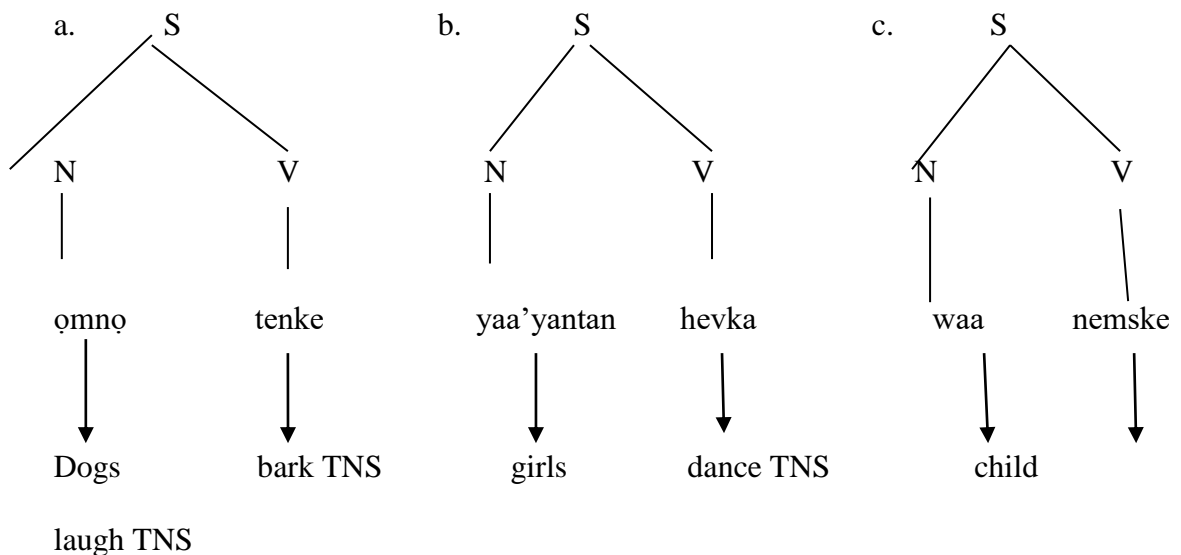
\*ungrammatical

( ) optional constituents

{ } one and only one of these constituents must be selected

Rules in this notation are called phrase structure rules except there is no '+' after the arrow because these rules make phrases, not words.

Figure 3. Phrase structure rules



The noun 'omno' combined with the verb 'tenke' makes a sentence

There are many more rules to sentence formation in C'Lela besides  $S \rightarrow NV$ , there are more that can be formed from this rule. Consider the following examples;

Sentence	rule needed
1. Dudu omko i'vana Dudu pick TNS CM knife dudu picked a knife	N V N

2.	Neta a akni taacnu	N C N ADJ
	Woman and children three	
	A woman and three children	
3.	Kasi lalk Yeso	ADJ V N
	Good talk Jesus	
	Good news of Jesus	
4.	Waa'wanta haka u waka	N V N V
	Child girl came she bought	
	A lady came and bought	
5.	I pom na leme	DET N CONJ N
	The blind and the lame	
6.	Mank uku dede	ADJ V PREP
	Old died yesterday	

Note, wherever N occurs it allows N , N D,N V, N ADJ. i.e it allows the noun phrase. The following rules capture the noun phrase pattern in C'Lela.

1. NP → N
2. NP → N ADJ D
3. NP → N D
4. NP → N V

C'Lela calls all these noun phrases

If a PS rule has something in parentheses, that means the thing is *optional*.

Example; NP → (D) (A) N

'NP can be made from optional D, optional A, and N'

What This Rule Says:

An NP has to have a N in it.

An NP can (but need not) also contain a D and/or an ADJ.  $S \rightarrow NP V$

$S \rightarrow NP V NP$

$NP \rightarrow D N ADJ$

Note these rules do not make full C’Lela sentence but just the skeletal part of it. Our mental lexicon can tell us which words can go where in a ‘sentence skeleton’. So, the full procedure for making a sentence consults the mental lexicon.

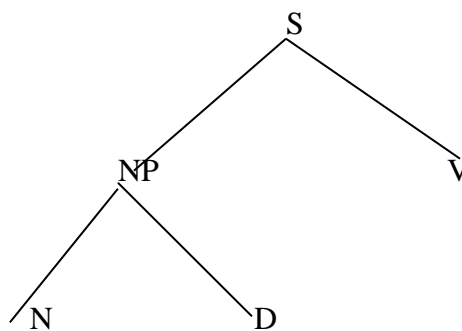
Step One:

Use the phrase structure rules to make a syntactic tree structure.

$S \rightarrow NP V$

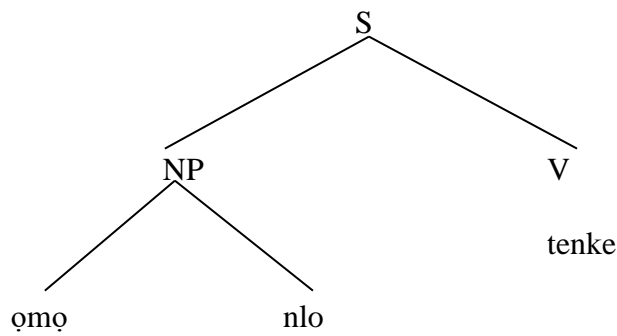
$NP \rightarrow N D$

Figure 4a. syntactic tree structure



Insert the words with the matching lexical categories under the lexical category labels in the tree.

4b. syntactic tree structure



omɔ      nlo      ten k e                      (the dog barked)

Dog      the      bark TNS

The PS rules make syntactic tree (sentence skeleton). The system looks in the lexicon for words matching the categories in the tree. The system inserts the words into the tree, under the right category labels.

We now have the following, simple rules for sentences:

$S \rightarrow NP V$

$S \rightarrow NP V NP$

These two rules don't cover all sentences of C'Lela:

Sentence

Rule Needed

omɔnlo somk n'mi

$S \rightarrow NP V P$

Dog that run TNS inside

That dog ran inside

omɔnlo somk ʌn mi u'bu

$S \rightarrow NP V P NP$

Dog that run TNS P CM3 house

If there is a D, it has to precede the N or come after the D and any ADJ

Conclusion:

This one rule (with parentheses) can replace our four earlier

This rule tells us that sentences can be made from smaller lexical categories:

That dog ran into the hose

ɔmɔnlo gabka musunlo ʌn mi u'bu

$S \rightarrow NP V NP P$

Dog that follow TNS cat that inside CM3 house

That dog followed that cat into the house

ɔmɔnlo gabka musunlo n'mi u'bu dede

$S \rightarrow NP V NP P NP ADV$

Dog that follow TNS cat that inside CM3 house yesterday

That dog followed that cat inside the house yesterday

Towards verb phrases, the following combined with the phrase makes a complete sentence.

Sentence

Rule Needed

ɔmɔnlo somka

$S \rightarrow NP V$

Dog that run TNS

That dog ran

ɔmɔnlo somka taha

$S \rightarrow NP V P$

Dog that run TNS here

That dog ran here

ɔmɔnlo somka n'mi u'bu

$S \rightarrow NP V P NP$

Dog that run TNS inside CM3 house

That dog ran inside the house

ɔmɔnlo gabka musu hna

$S \rightarrow NP V NP$

Dog that follow TNS cat this

That dog followed this cat

omono gabka musunlo taha

$S \rightarrow NP V NP P$

Dog that follow TNS cat that here

That dog followed that cat here

omono gabka musuhna n'mi u'bu dede

$S \rightarrow NP V NP P NP ADJ$

Dog that follow TNS cat this inside CM3 house yesterday

That dog followed this cat inside the house yesterday

$VP \rightarrow V$

$VP \rightarrow V P$

$VP \rightarrow V P NP$

$VP \rightarrow V NP$

$VP \rightarrow V NP P NP ADV$

Our Phrase Structure Rules:

**For NPs**

$NP \rightarrow N (D) (A)$

**For Ss**

$S \rightarrow NP VP$

**For VPs**

$VP \rightarrow V$

$VP \rightarrow V P$

$VP \rightarrow V P NP$

$VP \rightarrow V NP P$

$VP \rightarrow V NP P NP ADV$

Observations:

Together, these rules for VP say the following:

A VP has to have a V in it.

A VP can (but need not) have an NP in it

A VP can (but need not) have a P in it

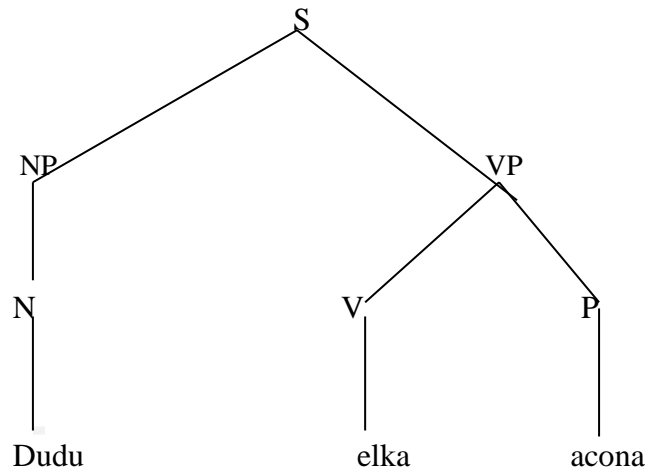
If a VP has a P in it, it can have another NP after the P

Using parentheses, we can say all this in one rule:

VP → V (NP) (P) (NP)

These three rules work together with the mental lexicon to create a sentences of C'Lela.

Figure 5. Sentence



Dudu elka acona (dudu climbed up)

Dudu climb TNS above

Waa'wanta gab co acona

child girl follow 1pl up

The girl followed us up

Zegro ruk na ise an teme (zegro went out now)

Zegro go out TNS AG outside now

In C'Lela prepositions appear within the VP. Where ever it allows a preposition it allows a verb before it and an adverb of time after it.

For PPs

PP → P

PP → P ADV

Apparent Pattern:

Wherever C'Lela allows P, it also allows P followed by ADV

Capturing the Pattern:

Using parentheses, these rules can be condensed into one:

$$PP \rightarrow P (ADV)$$

(a PP must have P, and can optionally have ADV after P)

Our Four Phrase Structure Rules:

$$S \rightarrow NP VP$$
$$NP \rightarrow N (D)(A )$$
$$VP \rightarrow V (NP) (PP)$$
$$PP \rightarrow P (NP)(ADV)$$

Our linguistic systems make sentences by using these PS rules and our 'mental lexicon'.

## **2.14 Reviews on Morphosyntax**

A number of studies have contributed to the existence of the branch of linguistic referred to as morphosyntax. These include the works of: crystal (1980), Anderson (1986), Halle and Marantz (1993), Marantz (1992), Halle and Keysler (1993), Harley and Noyer (1999), Embick and Halle (2001) and kibort (2007) among the most outstanding ones. They described morphosyntax as a part of morphology that covers the connection between syntax and morphology and is capable of explaining why a word is included in a particular grammatical class.

The question of what grammatical relation morphology should allow to the syntax may be systematically considered Vis a Vis the lexicalist hypothesis, viz: syntax neither manipulates nor has access to the internal forms of words. Anderson (1986), in his mission to test the hypothesis, cites several properties that appear to call for a non-

null interaction of syntax and word structure. He identifies the major areas where syntax and morphology interface:

1. a. Agreement properties: aspects of the exact form of a word which are determined by reference to the properties of some other word in the same structure.
1. Innate properties: properties of a word which must be accessible to whatever rule, may assign agreement properties to other words in concordial agreement. Example; gender and noun.
2. Configurational properties: assigned on the basis of the larger structure in which a word appears.
3. Phrasal properties: ascribed to larger, phrasal domains but realised on particular words within these domains. Some of these are responsible for determining the way these domains behave syntactically.

He further asserts that all the above properties appear to have a harmony: they fall under the notion of inflectional morphology. Inflectional morphology consists of exactly those aspects of word structure that are syntactically relevant, in the sense of being determined by or are accessible to syntactic rules. Marantz (1997) sums it up by saying that a theory of inflectional morphology becomes precisely a theory of the qualification of the lexicalist hypothesis.

Inflectional morphology involves concepts that are more important to how the word relates to other words in a construction than to the lexical item itself. Harley and Noyer (1999) say that inflectional morphology is compulsory. The sovereign words in an inflectional language form natural syntactic classes. Each syntactic class is

associated with a set of grammatical categories, and the values of those grammatical categories constitute the paradigm. The inflectional categories associated with a given class are important to that class; prime examples are tense, aspect and mood, which are relevant to verbs as opposed to case which is relevant to nouns. Inflectional morphemes and grammatical categories they express are productive: if a new lexical item enters a given syntactic class, it will inherit all the associated inflectional morphemes (Embick and Halle 2001). Inflectional morphemes are regular; every member of a paradigm is instantiated for every word in a given class. Productivity and regularity make the associated categories obligatory for the given syntactic class of words. If, for example, a language inflects its nouns for number and case, all nouns will obligatorily express these categories.

Inflectional categories are necessarily participatory, for they must interact with the meanings of the lexical items they are attached to as well as with other elements in the constructions where they appear.

In the same vein, Marantz (1997) further suggests an alternative way of putting it saying that a morphological rule is inflectional in so far as it obeys the projection principle, which licenses it to apply in the syntax. Harley and Noyer (1999), paraphrased the same when they said that a theory of inflectional morphology is exactly a theory of just how much interpenetration of the morphology by the syntax there is, or vice versa.

Halle and Marantz (1993), Harley and Noyer (1999), Embick and Halle (2001) advanced a piece based observation of a word formation, in which the syntax/morphology interface is as transparent as possible. They posit that there are two types of primitive elements in the grammar that serve as the terminals of the syntactic

derivation, and, accordingly, as the primitives of word formation. These two types of terminal correspond to the standard distribution between functional and lexical categories.

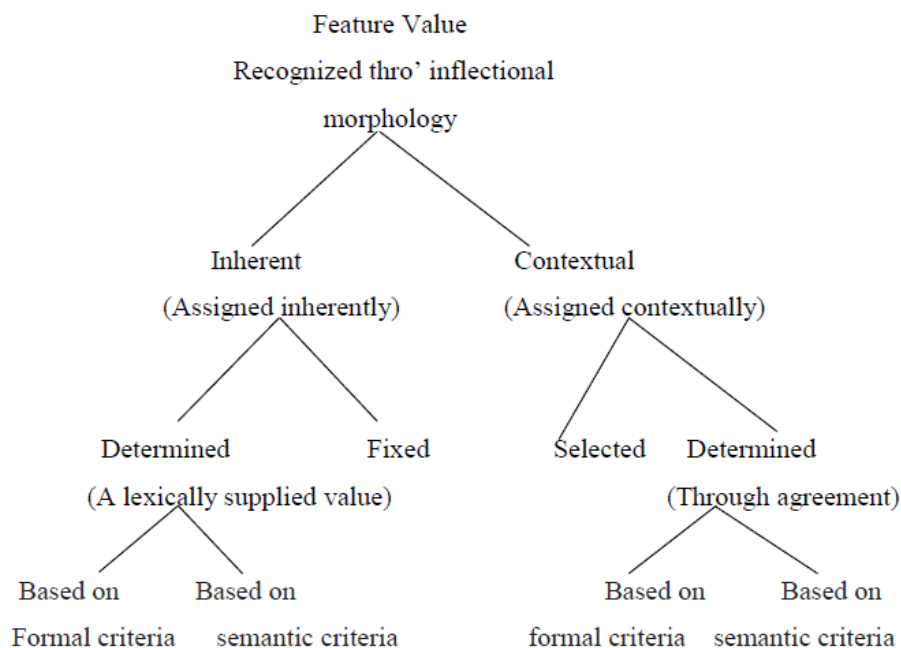
Marantz (1992) posits that due to the modularity hypothesis, grammar is blind to concepts, and cannot therefore be invoked to explain formal properties of grammar. Consequently, the only level able to explain why a word is included in a particular grammatical category is the morpho-syntactic level. Moreover, as one of its strongest statements, this theory predicts that the independently motivated morpho-syntactic operations must be able to explain the categorization of a word.

The theories of arguments structured by Halle and Keyser (1993, 1998) argue that syntax alone determines the category of an element, so no element belongs to a grammatical category prior to its syntactic projection. Halle and Keyser (1993) admit the existence of a lexical-syntactic level where argumental structure is defined.

Crystal (1980), reports that typological research done so far often combines morphology and syntax in a single unit called morpho-syntactic.

Kibort (2007) defines a morphosyntactic feature as a feature whose values are involved in either agreement or government. Since agreement requires the presence of the controller which is specified for the feature value it imposes on the target, the values of a morphosyntactic feature may be contextual (when found on targets and governees) or inherent (when found on controllers of agreement) This she summarized in the Phylogenic tree below:

Figure 6: Morphosyntactic Feature Values (Adapted from Kibort, 2007)



Both agreement and government are concepts that are necessary to describe inflectional morphology. Both involve specifying, or determining, a feature value on an element in the clause. In the case of agreement we call this element ‘target’, and in the case of government we call it ‘governee’. In both agreement and government the demand for the specific feature value comes from elsewhere (i.e. not from the target or the governee): it comes from a ‘controller’ (in the case of agreement), or from a ‘governor’ (in the case of government). In this way, agreement and government ‘share the characteristic of being syntactic relations of an asymmetric type’ both agreement and government can apply to more than one element in the clause simultaneously, resulting in multiple occurrence of the same feature specification in the domain. In agreement, we find that an element may control a set of targets in the clause (and beyond). In government, we find that an element typically governs a unit consisting of one or

more elements. The most familiar example of government of a feature over a unit is the assignment of case to (the elements within) a noun phrase. When a noun and its adjectival modifier are in the same case, it is because the case value is imposed on both simultaneously. In the search for possible morphosyntactic features, Kibort (2007) arrived at the following feature elements, which were found to exist in at least one language (for each feature) in which they can be morphosyntactic.

Morphosyntactic features (Adapted from Kibort, 2007)

Table 10: Morphosyntactic Features

	Participates in Agreement	Participates in Government
Gender	✓	
Number	✓	
Person	✓	
Case	✓	✓

The table above indicates that gender type, person number and case elements are all features of the morphosyntactic structure realized through either agreement or government. Number is a morphosyntactic feature if it participates in agreement or government in the language, regardless of whether it is expressed on the controller (the noun - as in the majority of languages where number is inflectional; or the noun phrase) or not. If number is not found affecting other elements of the clause, it can only be regarded as a morphosemantic feature in the language. Nominal number is inherent to nouns, and contextual to all other elements in the clause which express number due to agreement. On some nouns, number is lexically supplied - this is the case with nouns which have one lexically determined number value that they impose on the agreeing elements like in the English words, *health*, *trousers*, *news*. In other cases, where the nouns of a given language can be associated with different number

values available in this language, number is semantically selected. In such languages, number (both inherent and contextual) is typically regarded as an inflectional feature if it is obligatory.

The category of person exists in a language if it is possible to make a distinction between at least two of the basic participants in a speech act. This is achieved, for example, by allowing self-reference or reference to the addressee. Such reference can be made with the conventional use of any type of noun, or by using some special words that lexicalise the meanings of 'speaker (1)' and 'addressee (2)'. However, the morphosyntactic feature of person can be posited for the language only if this feature participates in agreement (or government) in the language. The morphosyntactic feature of person reflects the grammaticalisation of the category of person in the language. Person as a morphosyntactic feature is typically a feature of agreement. When it is found on controllers of agreement, it is an inherent feature, and when it is found on targets of agreement - it is a contextual feature.

The controllers of agreement in person are linguistic elements that express syntactic arguments - these are typically nouns or pronouns, but may also be pronominal affixes. It is along these same elements that this study has based its morphosyntactic structure description.

Though most of the world's languages have been identified, only a small portion of them have actually been either described or documented Kube (2006), and most of these are the internationally recognized languages like English and French. The Bamako conference held in March 2006, called on linguists to play a more vigorous role not only in describing and promoting all languages in their respective countries but also to sensitize their governments to set up more supportive language

policies. Grimes (2000) explain that English language is one of the languages that have received the widest description so far. Different aspects of the language have been described at various grammatical levels. Crystal (1980) did a description of the English morphosyntactic structure. In his work, he discusses the relationship between English word formations studied in morphology, and the syntactic structure.

In arranging the elements of syntactic structure, Crystal (1980) asserts that the morphological aspect often plays an important role. Azaar (1993) agrees when he says; it is easier said than done to separate morphological aspect from syntactic structure. Crystal (2000) expounds by saying that word inflection actually enters the formal syntactic structural description unnoticed. This rather extensive treatment of English morphosyntax identifies a number of areas where morphological forms determine the arrangement of syntactic structure. At the word level, this influence is realized in the formation of plural and tense morphemes. The word 'cooks', for example, consists of the free morpheme 'cook' and the inflectional bound morpheme 's'. The word 'cooks' occurs in an English sentence whose subject is singular noun or uncountable noun and the tense is simple present.

At sentence level the subject must agree with the verb, for example: (2)

2. a) The boy is eating

\*b) The boy are eating

3. a) The boys are eating

\*b) The boys is eating

4. a) The student walks to school

\*b) The student walk to school

5. a) The students walk to school

\*b) The students walks to school

6. a) That man has gone

\*b) That man have gone

In the above examples, the nouns (underlined) influence the choice of the verb; the subject (noun/pronoun) must agree with the verb. Singular subjects require singular verbs as in the examples; i(a), iii(a) and v(a). Plural subjects on the other hand require plural verbs; sentence ii(a) and iv(a). Ignoring the morphological elements in syntax results in ungrammatical structures as in part (b) of each pair. Crystal (1980) notes that this relationship is also manifested at the phrase and word level.

In Phrase level, determiners must agree with the nouns in number. Look at the following examples:

7. this student

that student

a student

8. these students

those students

several students

many students

a lot of students

a few students

9. \*this students

\*that students

\*these student

\*those student

In example (2i) the determiners *this* and *that* need singular noun. The morpheme {s} is needed in the noun when it comes after the determiners ; ‘these, those, several, many, a lot of, and a few’ like in example (2ii). The phrases in (2iii) are not grammatically correct because they do not agree with the nouns.

Bassani (2012) in the study of morphology-syntax interface, presented a paper on the creation of complex words which brings to light the interface between morphology and syntax and the question of whether the composition of words is in fact directly related to the composition of sentences in a transparent interface between syntax and morphology. An important point to be analyzed in this respect is the fact that bound morphemes seem to be dependable for the introduction and relation of arguments in the argument structure of a given verb. If it can be shown that pieces of words can directly or indirectly build or change argument structure (as well as aspectual and semantic structure). Bassani (2012) presented the nature of word and phrasal composition on an empirical level, showing that the prefixes *a-*, *en-*, and *es-* of the relation between prefixes of Brazilian Portuguese and argument structure can contribute semantic, aspectual, and argument structure to the root to which they attach when they combine with *v* forming a kind of complex head (*v-p*). Consider the example (10) below;

4. a. *O guia a-grup-ou os turistas.*  
the guide **PREF-group-PST.3SG** the tourists  
‘The guide grouped the tourists.’
1. *O João en-lat-ou as ervilhas.*  
the John **PREF-can-PST.3SG** the peas  
‘John canned the peas.’
2. *A Maria es-vazi-ou o tanque.*

the Mary **PREF-empty-PST.3SG** the tank

‘Mary emptied the tank.’

These prefixes can be easily identified when attached to categorized words, in a synchronic decomposition process like in *a-vermelh-ar* ‘to redden’, *en-gavet-ar* ‘to put in the drawer’, *es-faque-ar* ‘to knife’), but they can also be identified in contexts of bound roots in which the base is not a word in the language (e.g. *a-greg-ar* ‘to add’, *en-gren-ar* ‘to gear’) via commutation (*a-gregar/se-greg-ar* ‘to add/to segregate’; *a-gred-ir/re-gred-ir/pro-gred-ir* ‘to assault/to regress/to progress’; *a-vis-ar/re-vis-ar* ‘to warn/to review’), and some seem to occur with a single bound root (*afastar/\*refastar/\*profastar/\*defastar* ‘to depart’), in which case the real status of the prefix becomes unclear and cannot be recognized by some speakers.

On the other hand, the same prefixes can show no structural contribution and contribute no predictable meaning to the verb in some bound root formations. On a theoretical level, he proposed that prefixation contribution is determined by locality domains of attachment, rather than resorting to a lexical/non-lexical formation explanation. So, he proposed that prefixes can merge in three different places in syntactic structure: a. within rootP; b. outside rootP but not above the first categorizer (cyclic head); c. above little *v* or some other categorized structure, functioning as word modifiers, Bassani mentioned the distinction among lexical, inner, and superlexical prefixes that can be treated in terms of locality attachment on syntactic structure, dispensing with a two place theory of word formation. Moreover, he said that the proposal of an “above VP” and “below VP” attachment for prefixes Svenonius (2004) is too rough to account for BP data like that treated in his paper, since he would have to assume that the prefixes *a-*, *en-*, and *es-* attach below VP, which would make the distinction between rootP internal and rootP external prefix attachment impossible.

From Bassani (2012) we can say that in Brazilian Portuguese “prefix” simply refer to a position within the word, but does not reveal anything detailed about the function of the morpheme in relation to the whole structure. Because he discussed Brazilian Portuguese prefixes that function as modifiers briefly, and studied more extensively those that behave like heads. Consider example 11 below

3.     *a. a-levantar*  
       PREF-stand  
       to stand up
  
1.     *en-cobrir*  
       PREF-cover  
       to cover
  
2.     *(se) esbater*  
       (REFL) PREF-bater  
       to beat (yourself)

Although they may occur with categorized words, they cannot occur with already-prefixed

words of any kind like; [**des**fazer]V ‘undo’ > \***ades**fazer/\***endes**fazer/\***esdes**faze, [**pré**-escola]N ‘preschool’ > \***apré**scolarizar/\* **enpré**scolarizar/\***espré**scolarizar), including those prefixed by themselves ; [**a**medrontado]N/A ‘frightened’ > \***enamed**rontizar/\***esamed**rontizar, [**en**caixe]N ‘fit’ > \***aen**caixar/\***esen**caixar. This fact is especially important since it is evidence for the proposal that these particles are structurally internal.

From the above prefixes can be said to be helpful particles involved in complex word formation. Prefixes are also a common tool for word formation in languages.

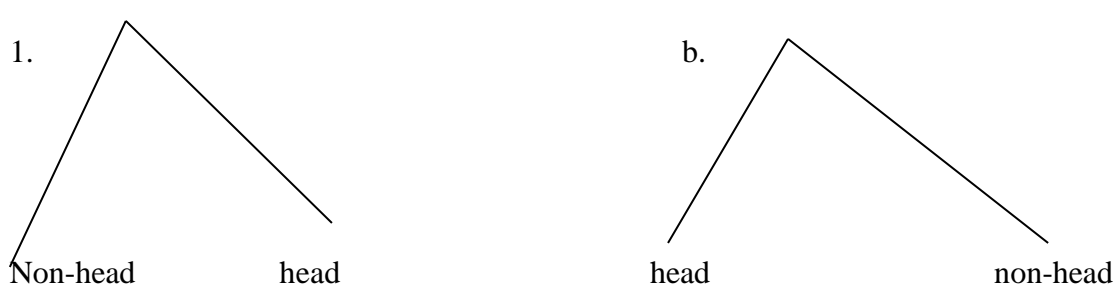
Padrosa-Trias (2010) considered a type of complex word-formation ‘compounding’ and its relation to the morphology-syntax interface. Presents an argument that was given for the plausibility of a model of grammar in which word

syntax (referred to as morphology) and phrasal syntax (referred to as syntax) is two distinct modules within a bigger syntactic module which he compared to the works of (Jackendoff 1990, 1997, 2002, Ackema and Neeleman 2004).

In addition, he provided some evidence that was provided for the generation of complex words, compounds included, in the morphological subcomponent, and making reference to the works of Ackema and Neeleman's (2004) morphologically-based account of compounding, based on their competition model between syntax and morphology, was shown to be able to satisfactorily account for compounding in English and Romance (Catalan and Spanish), provided a semantic constraint assumed in their theory. By contrast, Harley's (2004, 2008) syntactically-based account of compounding, based on Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, Marantz 1997, b, 2001, 2007, Harley & Noyer 1999, Embick & Noyer 2007,), a model in which syntax (the only generative component) is responsible for both word and phrase structure, was shown to have some problems for the correct generation of compounds in English. In the second part he explained the existence of heads in morphology, contrary to (Zwicky 1985, Bauer 1990, and Anderson 1992) was shown to play a fundamental role in the classification of compounds in English and Catalan. Afterwards he explained the nature of the compounding elements in English and Catalan. He concluded that English compounds can consist of (i) a root, a lexeme or a phrase in the non-head position, and (ii) a root or a lexeme in the head position. Regarding Catalan compounds, they can consist of (i) a root, a stem, a lexeme or a phrase in the non-head position, and (ii) a root, a stem or a lexeme in the head position. In both languages, roots are only present in the case of neo-classical compounds. Then he gave a brief overview of several types of compound classifications from the works of (Lees 1960, Hatcher 1960, Levi 1978, Downing 1977, Bauer 1983, 2003, Booij

2005, Plag 2003). After concluding that none of them was satisfactory enough, what looked like the most promising classification of compounds available in the literature was explored: Bisetto and Scalise's (2005) classification. It provided three macro-types of compounds, which are based on the grammatical relation between the two constituents: subordinate (SUB), attributive (ATR) and coordinate (CRD). Each macro-type is in turn divided into two subtypes: endocentric vs. exocentric. Bisetto and Scalise acknowledge that their classification contains rough subdivisions and that adding another layer of analysis to their two levels would refine it, a task which was partially carried out too. That is, he incorporated the category of the input compounding elements and the category of the resulting compound into the original scheme of Bisetto and Scalise (2005), thus creating further subdivisions in their classification. The resulting scheme was used when carrying out an exhaustive study of the compounds available in English and Catalan. Although Bisetto and Scalise's classification was his starting point, he departed from it substantially. He reduced B&S's three macro-types of compounds to one type. His proposal was that all compounds are based on a head vs. non-head relation, from which the different interpretations arise (SUB, ATR). He suggested that the (context and) semantics of the compounding elements determines whether the non-head has to be interpreted as a kind of attribute or complement to the head. The existence of CRD compounds and exocentric compounds was denied: he suggested that what are generally called CRD compounds are cases of asyndetic syntactic coordination (not compounds) and that all compounds are endocentric. He concluded that productive English compounds have the structure given in (a) while Catalan compounding is mainly characterized by the structure given in (b).

Figure 3



Padrosa-Trias (2010) presented Snyder's Compounding Parameter (Snyder 1995, 1996, 2001, 2002), along with some revisions it has undergone (Beck & Snyder 2001, Snyder et al. 2001, Roeper et al. 2002, Roeper & Snyder 2005, Snyder 2005). After identifying which complex predicates were relevant to the terminal coincidence relation TCP (e.g. strong resultatives, verb-particle constructions including non-directional verbs), the workings of the [TCP] were considered in a few languages. He concluded that a strict application of the compounding/complex-predicate parameter cannot be maintained. In addition to the apparently exceptional behaviour of Basque in being a [+TCP] language and yet not having strong adjectival resultatives, there are a few other languages (e.g. Catalan, Greek, Japanese) which behave in the same way. Snyder's alleged dependence of complex predicates on noun noun compounding was also questioned: Latin and Slavic languages like Russian have resultatives but no noun noun compounding. Additionally, Snyder's claim that complex predicate constructions are learned as a block had to be discarded in view of languages like Catalan, Greek, Russian and Latin that allow only some of them. In short, the validity of the [TCP] was denied. He also considered whether there is a real connection between resultatives and compounding. To this end, two syntactic analyses of resultatives (Kratzer's 2005 and Mateu's 2000, 2010) were briefly reviewed. The possibility of extending their analyses to primary compounds was considered but he concluded that such an extension is not possible. Compounding and resultative constructions seem to be two different

phenomena. Finally, he addressed the question of why in some languages like Catalan NN compounds are productive, albeit to a lesser degree than NN compounds in a language like English. He suggested that the answer could be found in some mapping principles applying at the word level and in the morphological complexity of the compounding elements.

Devonish and Castillo (2002) analysed both simple and complex sentences showing us the link between morphology and syntax of Garifuna sentences. In their analysis they concluded that Garifuna sentences can be: morphologically and syntactically transitive, morphologically intransitive but syntactically transitive or morphologically and syntactically intransitive. Look at the following examples;

2. Morphologically and Syntactically Transitive Predicators

a.

*L-eiha-u*

He see her

(He sees her)

vs.

*L-eiha-u mutu ligiya mutu tugiya*

He see her, person he, person she

(The man sees the woman)

b.

*T-eiha-i*

She see him

(She sees him)

vs.

*T-eiha-i mutu tugiya mutu ligiya*

She see him, person she, person he

(The woman sees the man)

We see, in the first example of each pair in 12) above, that transitive predicators can take both pronominal prefixes and suffixes. These are used to signal respectively subject and object. Thus, in each of the first examples, *eiha* ‘see’, a transitive predicator, takes the agent prefixes, *l-* ‘third person singular masculine’ and *t-* ‘third person singular masculine’. They concluded that in these constructions, the prefix position represents the morphological subject. As suffixes signalling the recipient of the action, we saw respectively *-u* ‘third person singular feminine’ and *-i* ‘third person singular masculine’. They concluded that these suffixes represent the morphological object.

By way of comparison, the second example in each pair shows the same predicator with the same affixes as the first. However, there are now expressed subjects and objects in the form, respectively, of nominal phrases, *mutu ligiya* ‘the man’ and *mutu tugiya* ‘the woman’. These phrases follow the predicator, inclusive of its affixes. They concluded that these phrases express subject and object at the syntactic level. The syntactic order is Subject and then Object. Each of the subject and object phrases includes the independent pronominal forms *ligiya* ‘he’ and *tugiya* ‘she’, which are here employed to mark the nominal phrase, the NP, as definite.

So far, they have presented a model of a neat match between the signalling of subject and object at the morphological level and at the syntactic level.

### 3. Morphologically Intransitive, Syntactically Transitive (with Subject Prefix)

*T-ichiga ti aban búngidu t-un t-iraii*  
 She-give (particle) a bucket her-to her-child  
 ‘She gave a bucket to her daughter’ (Taylor 1977:122)

This case is sentences in which the predicator is morphologically intransitive but syntactically transitive. In 13) above, the predicator root, *ichiga* ‘give’, can take both a subject prefix, e.g. *t-* ‘she’ and object suffix *-i* ‘it/masc.’, to give *t-ichiga-i*, literally ‘he-give-it’. It should be mentioned here that non-human nominals are assigned masculine or feminine gender lexically. The item *búngidu* ‘bucket’ is masculine and, therefore, if the speaker was intending to refer to ‘bucket’, the suffix form would be *-i* ‘it/masc.’. By contrast, if the intended referent were *gárada* ‘book’, which is lexically specified as feminine, the pronominal suffix representing it would be *-u* ‘it/fem.’ Suffix. However, in the particularly sentence presented in 14), the predicator takes a morphological subject, the prefix *t-*, and no morphological object. This is in spite of the fact that it has a syntactic object, *aban búngidu* ‘a bucket’.

To understand the significance of the absence of an expressed morphological object in the above example, to understand the nature of the marking of definiteness and indefiniteness in Garífuna. The form *aban* ‘one, a’ functions as the indefinite marker in the above sentence must be understood. The use of this marker signals that the item, *búngidu*, ‘bucket’, is being introduced for consideration by the interlocutors in the discourse for the first time. If, at the same time, the appropriate morphological object, *-i* ‘it’, were employed, they would have a conflict at the level of definiteness. The pronoun affix, *-i* ‘it/masc.’, by its very nature refers to an entity already introduced into the discourse. There would hence be a clash between the morphological object affix and the indefinite noun phrase which functions as the object at the syntactic level. Where there is such a lack of correspondence, the predicator stem is left morphologically without an object.

4. Morphologically Intransitive, Syntactically Transitive (with Aorist Tense and Subject Suffix)
- a. *Enga-t-u uraga bun ligira buga*  
Tell-TNS-she story you-to other day  
(She told you stories (i.e. She was story telling) the other day)
  - b. *Enga t-umut-i úraga b-un ligira buga*  
Tell she-TNS-it/masc. story you-to other day  
(She told you the story the other day)
  - c. *enga t-umut-i úraga ligia b-un ligira buga*  
Tell she-TNS-it/masc. story the you-to other day  
(She told you the story the other day)

The use of the aorist tense/aspect as in the examples in 14) above require the use of the auxiliary, *-umut-*, if both subject and object affixes are to be employed, as in 14)b and 14)c. These must be used when the object NP is definite, whether marked by the object pronominal suffix at the morphological level alone as in 14)b or by both the object suffix and the pronominal definite marker, *ligiya* in the case of 14)c. Nouns without any marking for definiteness, either at the morphological or syntactic levels, may be used to refer to the class to which an entity belongs, signalling the generic they presented this in the example 10)i above in which *uraga* ‘story’ simply refers to members of the class ‘story’, appearing with neither the pronominal form, *ligiya*, nor the morphological object suffix, *-i* ‘it/masc.’ The pronominal suffix which does occur, *-u* ‘she’, is actually here a subject suffix representing the female teller of the stories.

If we look at the syntactic object of 14)b. and 14)c. , *uraga* ‘story’ and *uraga ligia* ‘story it’ respectively, they both get translated as ‘the story’. The reason for this, they suggested, is that the pronominal object antecedent, i.e. *-i* ‘it’ in both cases, is definite and forces a definite interpretation on its object nominal referent, with or without the definite marker, *ligiya*. However, in the first example, 14)a. there is no

object pronominal affix. The pronominal suffix is the pronoun subject, -u 'she'. There is no definite pronoun acting as an antecedent for the nominal object, *úraga*. Neither is there a definite marker, *ligiya* following. This frees the object from any definite meaning and opens it to the generic meaning of 'stories' as in 'story telling' which is assigned it in 14)a.

In their conclusion, one significant observation is that fully formed sentences may operate in the role of subject and of object. The most widely distributed sentence type in this role, however, appears to be those without a tense or aspect marker, of the type. *l-abosiha D. yebe l-uagu E.* 'D boasts a lot about E to no purpose' presented in one of their examples. More detailed investigation is needed in this area. A significant portion of their analysis of sentence structure in Garífuna will involve trying to separate out the effects of morphology from those of syntax and then developing an understanding of how they interact with each other.

Mendikoetxea and Uribe-Etxeberria (1997) provided an overview of some of the most relevant aspects concerning the connection between morphology and syntax. One of the central issues in relation to the morphology-syntax interaction is to establish what morphological operations take place in the syntax and what morphological operations take place in the Lexicon. It was "Remarks on Nominalization" (Chomsky 1970) that lexicalist approaches to the morphology-syntax connection started to emerge. In 'Remarks', Chomsky argued that some derived nouns like *destruction* should be derived lexically, rather than transformationally. His position was that the use of transformations should be restricted to capture the relations between linguistic forms in regular and productive processes; operations that make use of idiosyncratic information and are not totally productive and transparent should

belong in the Lexicon. Thus, nouns like *destruction* and verbs like *destroy*) were proposed to be related in the Lexicon rather than the syntax because of the relative non-productivity of the relations between these verbs and their derived nouns, as well as because of the idiosyncratic semantic relation between these two categories: the verb and its corresponding derived nominal. The two types of processes -lexical and transformational- are illustrated by the contrast between gerundive nominalizations (GN) (*Mary's giving a book to Ann*) and derived nominalizations (DN) (*Mary's gift of a book to Ann*). While GNs are highly productive, regular and predictable, DNs are mostly unproductive and idiosyncratic. The former are derived by the application of syntactic transformations, while at least some DNs are listed in the Lexicon rather than transformationally derived. Still, DNs are somehow related to their corresponding verbs and gerundival and they show many of their properties. They also stated that the idea that some DNs belong in the Lexicon rather than the syntax came to be known as the *lexicalist hypothesis* to derivational morphology. There are two theoretical positions within this lexicalist approach to derivational processes, which are conceptually different, though often not distinguished: (i) what is generally known as the *weak lexicalist hypothesis*, by which DNs are mostly lexically derived, but which could admit some transformational derivations of DNs, and (ii) what Perlmutter (1988) refers to as the '*split morphology*' hypothesis, which denies the possibility that there are DNs that can be derived by means of transformations.

The lexicalist hypothesis which emerged from 'Remarks' paved the way, finally, for another interpretation of the syntax-morphology relation, by which morphological operations in general whether they are inflectional or derivational take place in the Lexicon: i.e. transformational rules cannot refer to word internal processes. This is known as the *strong lexicalist hypothesis*, whose origins are found in

Jackendoffs (1972) (*Extended Lexicalist Hypothesis*) and which gained strong support in the 70s and 80s. Some advocates of the strong lexicalist hypothesis like Selkirk (1982) and Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), however, allow syntactic rules to refer to morphological features. They addressed one of the basic questions concerning the relation between syntax and morphology which they said is how to provide a structural representation for morphologically complex words.

The idea that inflectional affixes are generated in independent syntactic positions is already present in early work in generative grammar. And the idea that at least some inflectional morphology is dealt with the syntax by having inflectional affixes as heads projecting their own phrases can, in principle, be understood within the framework of weak lexicalist hypotheses for the syntax morphology relation.

Baker's (1985, 1988) work on complex predicate formation has to be mentioned among those having the biggest impact on our understanding of the interrelation between certain syntactic phenomena and morphological operations. Baker studies a wide range of incorporation processes crosslinguistically, where one semantically independent word ends up being 'inside' another (passives, applicatives, causatives, noun incorporation and possessor raising, among others). These processes are analysed by Baker as the result of applying standard (syntactic) movement operations to words (heads), rather than phrases: as such, they must obey principles governing movement in the syntax like the *Empty Category Principle* and Travis' (1984) *Head Movement Constraint*, which impose some limitations on the type of complex predicates found in the languages of the world. In his framework, the ordering of morphemes within a single word is constrained (as well as by selectional restrictions and subcategorization) by the *Mirror Principle*, according to which morphological derivation must directly reflect syntactic derivations, and vice versa.

Regarding the morphology-syntax interface, a crucial hypothesis of Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program (MP) is that syntactic operations are triggered by morphological features. These are part of the feature specification of lexical items and enter into checking operations in the syntax. The grammar contains a computational system and a lexicon. Under minimalist assumptions, the computational system consists of only two interface levels of representation, PF and LF, which interact with other subsystems of the mind/brain. The inventory of functional categories as the locus of formal features is drastically reduced in Chomsky (1995) in an attempt to limit the enormous descriptive power of the late Principles and Parameters model and in search of explanatory adequacy (now formulated in terms of the question 'How perfect is language?').

Seiss (2011) argued for a different treatment of morphologically and syntactically motivated dependencies in the Murrinh-Patha verbal template. Dependencies which encode morphological features and depend on the linear order and the template slots are modeled in the XFST morphology. This avoids the use of morphological form features in the f-structure and is thus true to LFG's lexicalist hypothesis. On the other hand, the dependencies between classifier and lexical stems are modeled in the syntax. They do not depend on linear order, but rather on syntactic features such as valency, aspect, etc. Moreover, the semantic meaning of a verb is determined jointly by the classifier stem and the lexical stem so that both components need to be present in the syntax in order to be able to be passed on to the semantics. This shows that just because some morphemes combine to form a word, their restrictions are not always best treated in the morphology. The division of work between morphology and syntax is made possible by the sophisticated morphology-syntax interface assumed in his paper. Due to the modular architecture, dependencies

within a word can either be dealt with in the syntax or the morphology. This allowed him to treat the phenomena in a computationally efficient and theoretically elegant way.

### **2.15 Structural Framework.**

The relevance and usefulness of theory in academic work cannot be over emphasized. The theoretical framework that was adopted in this study is the Distributed morphology theory. In generative linguistics, Distributed morphology is a theoretical framework introduced in 1993 by Morris Hall and Alec Marantz. The central claim of Distributed Morphology is that there is no division between the construction of words and sentences. In Distributed Morphology there is no unified lexicon as in earlier generative treatments of word formation. Rather, the functions that other theories ascribe to the Lexicon are distributed among other components of the grammar.

Although there are numerous hypotheses and direction in current Distributed Morphology research, three core properties define the theory: late insertion, under specification, and syntactic hierarchical structure.

Late insertion refers to the hypothesis that phonological expression of syntactic terminals is in all cases provided in the mapping to phonological form (PF). In other words, syntactic categories are purely abstract, having no phonological content. Only after syntax are phonological expressions called vocabulary items, inserted in a process called spell-out. The output of a syntactic derivation is interpreted by choosing the appropriate forms of words. The form of a word is determined by what occurs in the syntactic derivation. The syntactic derivation proceeds independently of what may be available in the lexicon.

Under specification of vocabulary items simply means that phonological expressions need not be fully specified for the syntactic positions where they can be inserted. Hence there is no need for the phonological pieces of a word to supply the morphosyntactic features of that word; rather vocabulary items are in many instances default signals inserted where no more specific form is available.

According to root hypothesis, all actual nouns, adjectives and verbs are composed of abstract roots. On their own lack meaning. It is words; roots combined with nominal adjectival or verbal features that we pronounce. Roots lack a fixed or precise semantic interpretation. It is only in the specific environment of certain morphemes that they acquire an actual interpretation as nouns or verbs. The root 'hammer', for example is assigned an interpretation of a manner verb when in a verbal environment as in:

5. a. We have to hammer the nail properly.

And as an instrument (noun) used for hammering when embedded in a nominal environment;

b. I need a hammer and two nails.

Syntactic hierarchical structure all way down entails elements within the syntax and within morphology enters into the same types of constituent structure. DM is pieced based in the sense that the elements of both syntax and morphology are understood as discrete instead of as the result of morphophonological processes.

In developing this theory Marantz (1997) came up with a model of grammar;

16. Roots, features-----syntactic computation-----phonological

Embick and Noyer (2001) further argue that Distributed Morphology conceives of the architecture of the grammar as mentioned in the Late Insertion Model, in which morphology refers to a sequence of operations that apply during the PF derivation,

operations that apply to the output of the syntactic derivation. This theory is in its essence a syntactic theory of morphology, where the basic building blocks of both syntax and morphology are the primitives in 1) above. There is no Lexicon distinct from the syntax where word formation takes place; rather, the default case is one in which morphological structure simply is syntactic structure.

DM rejects the lexicalist hypothesis because there is no lexicon in the sense familiar from GG of the 1970s and 980s. For linguist, committed to the lexicalist hypothesis, this aspect of DM may be of the most difficult to understand or to accept, but it is never the less a central tenet of the theory.

Because there is no lexicon in DM, the term lexical item has no significance in the theory, nor can be said to ‘happen in the lexicon’, nor can anything be said to be ‘lexical’ or ‘lexicalized’. Because of the great many tasks which the lexicon was supposed to perform, the terms ‘lexical’ and lexicalized are ambiguous (Aronoff 1994).

Embick and Noyer (2001) summarize the theory of Distributed Morphology by saying; roots appear in syntactic structures with abstract morphemes. The latter receives phonological form through the process of vocabulary insertion, in which (potentially underspecified) vocabulary items pair phonological exponents with conditions on insertion. Readjustment rules apply in specific contexts to alter phonological forms in a way that is distinct from vocabulary insertion. Such rules are specified in the grammar to apply only in certain environments; apparently these environments may be simply listed. These mechanisms constitute a departure from the ideal type of syntax/morphology interaction, by introducing a distinction between morphophonology and syntax/semantics.

This theory was therefore chosen as it enabled the making of concrete predictions about the interface between morphology and syntax.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the procedures that were followed in conducting the research. It is divided into two parts; data collection methods and data analysis. The data collection part examines the research design which was used, how the research was conducted, the type of information gotten, how it was obtained and applied, the area of study, the population sample size, sampling procedures and finally the data collection tools. Data analysis covers the procedure that was used for interpreting and analyzing the data collected.

#### **3.2 Data Collection**

The approach employed in this research study was the qualitative technique. Qualitative approach brings convergence and synergism to research programming, monitoring and evaluation. For in-depth information on a phenomenon, qualitative approach is the best. Descriptive research design was used to collect data. Descriptive research is a process of collecting data in order to test hypotheses or to answer questions concerning the current status of the subjects in the study. Descriptive research determines and reports the way things are. The subjects that was studied in this research is a corpus of the C'lela language collected from field report via focus group discussion, elicitation from the indigenous Lelna people and written texts. Samarin (1967) and Rivierre (1992) give the fullest accounts of what constitutes a good corpus for morphosyntactic analysis. They are:

1. Dialectally uniform.
2. Natural, i.e. produced and accepted by native speakers as appropriate under a given set of circumstances.
3. Varied, i.e. it would ideally cover all varieties of language that can be attributed to (a) the age, (b) sex and (c) social class or occupation of the speaker, (d) the emotion at the time

of speaking, (e) the speed of utterance, and (f) the topic, (g) type and (h) style of discourse.

4. Complete in that all the closed classes of linguistics elements are fully accounted for.
5. Repetitious in order to facilitate the identification of the distribution and function of particular grammatical elements.
6. Interesting, i.e. containing authentic genres and telling something about the culture of the speech community

The above data collection procedure ensured that enough data conforming to the standards mentioned was collected. The corpus contained 30 texts comprising two textual genres that is oral history (a recount of the history of Zuru and the people), personal life texts, folk stories and general conversations.

### **3.3 Area of Study**

Zuru area was purposively chosen because it is the home of the largest population of C'lela speakers, even though Lelna are found in almost every part of Nigeria, retirement from national service influenced population spread. Many retired public servants decided to settle in some other states of their choice in the country; and it is in this area that the standard dialect of the C'lela language is spoken.

### **3.4 Target Population**

Target population is that population to which a researcher wants to generalize the results of a study. The target population of this study was speakers of C'lela known as Lelna approximately 30 years and above. This age bracket was identified as the most appropriate for this study because they are only few who have the ability to use it fluently without resorting to a corrupted version mostly spoken by the younger generation 30 years and below which they

see as a style or modernisation because they tend to mix C'lela with English or Hausa as the case may be using the C'lela noun class markers for English or Hausa words.

The study used a sample of 30 subjects. These were selected from among the natives of C'lela. Linguistic studies do not require the statistical analysis of hundreds of speaker's records. Variations can emerge even from samples as few as twenty five speakers. In the light of such views, a sample drawn from 30 respondents is deemed sufficient to enable a thorough description of the morphosyntax of C'Lela language. To pick the initial subjects, purposive sampling was employed as part of a multistage sampling procedure. Purposive sampling is defined as that sampling technique that allows researchers to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study, in the cause of the study the subjects suggested more people with the required criteria for the study which made my work easier and faster.

### **3.5 Instruments**

With regard to morphosyntactic analysis, a good corpus imply the following recommendations for gathering textual data: First, for a varied corpus, there is need to make recordings of several types of text spoken by different kinds of people, such as traditional narratives (epics, legends and other forms of prose), spontaneous narratives (anecdotes, personal histories among others), descriptions of activities, descriptions of objects and conversations. As the corpus should also be repetitious, each genre should be represented more than once, that is texts spoken by different kinds of people and dealing with diverse topics. The selections of certain grammatical constructions depend on the linguistic and extra linguistic context of the speech event. To collect data representative of the fore mentioned requirements, this study used two data collection instruments: Focus group discussion and elicitation. The informants in their groups were participating in narrations, dialogues, descriptions of events among other activities. The interest of the researcher was not on the activities but on the utterances made in the process of interaction. The researcher used mostly field notes and

audiotape recording to collect raw data as the activities progresses. Tape recording reduces the tendency of selective data collection, and also allows for play back which facilitates better data analysis. Use of more than one data collection method is in accordance with a data collection principle which states that inclusion of multiple sources of data collection in a research project is likely to increase the reliability of the observations. Denzin (1989) coined the term triangulation to refer to the use of multiple methods of data collection. This concept refer to the use of a variety of methods and techniques of data collection in a single study. The underlying assumption is that, because various methods complement each other, their respective shortcomings can be balanced out.

### **3.5.1 Communicative Focus Group Discussions**

Focus group discussion is a form of qualitative research in which a group is identified and involved in a discussion that will elicit their perceptions, opinions and beliefs towards certain issues. Here, the group of Lelna identified is then engaged in an interactive setting where the participants were free to talk with other group members and with the facilitator in a natural setting. These sessions was captured through audio-recording. Any other note worthy aspects of the communication engendered was noted.

The sample of 30 was divided into 6 groups of 5 members each this was on the basis of proximity. Each group was brought together in an interactive setting, where the participants were involved in sessions of spontaneous narrations, conversations, topical discussions, description of activities and events, anecdotes and personal histories in a group. The C'lela communicative data elicited from the sessions provided enough basis for the morphosyntactic description.

### **3.5.2 Direct Elicitation**

Elicitation in a broad sense refers to generally making data available for collection i.e collecting linguistic data by asking native speakers to produce words, phrases or sentences that

can serve as data for analysis of a particular linguistic phenomenon. Data on morphosyntactic phenomena can be gathered by various methods of elicitation, for this study non-translational elicitation was employed. Since linguistic elicitation is artificial even under the best of circumstances, for purposes of this study, it was used as a backup method, a means of filling in gaps in the data. The researcher prepared a list of specific questions that she wants to ask the consultants in order to obtain data for hitherto unexplored areas of grammar or to clarify problems that will come up when analyzing the results of preceding sessions.

### **3.7 Method of Data Analysis**

Data collected is being grouped into related paradigms; the paradigms were based on the morphological aspects which have syntactic relevance. They were realized in the different forms of words, that is nouns, verbs, pronouns and adjectives. After categorization, an analysis was done using the morpheme-based approach of morphological analyses also known as item-and-arrangement approach. This approach proceeds from a picture of each language as a set of elements and the patterns in which those elements occur. Effective categorization was done, and the elements (morphemes) were identified, the representations of the number and agreement features on other features was analyzed in relation to their consistency and effect on the syntactic structure of the language.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION**

This chapter presents an analysis of the data collected for this study. The analysis is based on a quantity of tape-recorded text material drawn from C'Lela speakers, field notes, the C'Lela dictionary, general narratives and grammar books. Naturally occurring speeches taken from six focus groups. Elicitation was used as a backup data collection tool and the researcher used her native intuition too. This resulted in words and sentences from which this analysis is based.

The discussion presents the morphological elements of C'Lela and their possible rules of combinations at the interface of the two: The morphology- syntax interface.

#### **4.1 Structural Analysis**

Morphological analysis amounts to recognizing relations among whole words in the mental lexicon based on similarities in meaning and form. This study used the item-and-arrangement approach of morphological structure analysis. This approach takes a structuralistic approach to word analysis. This way of analyzing word forms treats words as if they were made of morphemes put after each other like beads in a string to make generalisations about the observed pattern in C'Lela.

#### **4.2 Aspect of Morphosyntax of C'Lela**

The discussions below are evident of the interface between morphology and syntax in C'Lela which shows agreement between noun classes and categories. C'Lela noun class system involves singular and plural patterns as well as agreement markings triggered by these noun classes. The agreement markers manifest on syntactic constituents like nouns, verbs and adjectives. The agreements play an important role in separating one class from the other. Any feature which marks agreement displays the interrelatedness between morphology and syntax (Morphosyntax). The first feature which registers a lot of interaction is the number feature, which is manifested through agreement between different noun classes.

Agreement by number is indicated by prefixes attached to the word stems and suffixes in C'Lela. Number in morphosyntax is manifested through subject agreement which is obligatory in all contexts. Facts from the data attest to the fact that in C'Lela, some of the noun cannot stand alone as in English, but must be prefixed by a

pronominal agreement proper to the noun which makes its subject. This is syntax, for the choice of pronominal is influenced by a feature outside it.

Human language makes use of a variety of operations or processes that can modify the structure of a word, either by adding some elements to it or by making an internal change in order to express a new meaning.

There are different ways through which the lexicon and lexical items of a language can be formed. Hence, this section is to show how words are constructed and to display the agreement between them in C'Lela.

#### 4.3 **Inter Class Number Agreement**

The main thing to know about C'Lela noun morphology is the way in which the noun class system is organized which was demonstrated in chapter two of this work. It is important to go beyond making an inventory of class prefixes and suffix. The understanding of each class is incomplete until the agreement marking on target elements such as adjectives, verbs and even nouns is studied.

As we have learnt that C'Lela nouns display membership to one of the noun classes mentioned in chapter 2 of this research that C'Lela has twelve (12) classes of nouns, two (2) of which have two sub-classes each. These classes are named by the class prefix or suffix which appears on the noun in isolation, joined in the case of a null class prefix with a common agreement prefix. Another way noun class membership is shown is by agreement prefixes displayed on target elements in a noun phrase of which are the head. Bellow is examples of number agreement in C'Lela. All humans and members of the animal kingdom belongs to C'Lela class one nouns and have their plurals by agreeing with the rule of class two which takes a class suffix of



- |    |          |                 |
|----|----------|-----------------|
| 4. | Kaci     | (hen)           |
|    | Kacni    | (hens)          |
|    | Hen AG2  |                 |
| 5. | Gwele    | (goat)          |
|    | Gwelne   | (goats)         |
|    | goat AG2 |                 |
| 6. | Gwele    | (goat)          |
|    | *gwelene | (ungrammatical) |

This is the most common form of noun class number agreement. Class 2 is the most frequent pairing of all. It is believed that nouns belonging to this class do not take class prefix but, there are few exceptions where a class prefix like/ *k'*/ and /*i'*/ can match in some cases in C'Lela. Example is *k'musu* (class marker 11 + cat) to mean a very big cat (by size) and to indicate a position *i'dapta* (class marker 7 + monkey) to indicate a position sometimes for mockery in size to mean very small. Even when these class prefixes are attached these nouns will still follow the normal agreement patterns of class 1 nouns when it occurs in a sentence and agree in number as well.

C'Lela nouns belonging to class 3 to 12 comprises of all non animate count nouns and have a class prefix attached to them. Marking agreement in this group is less complex morphologically, since it involves only the substitution of one of the class prefix for another, (inter class agreement) consider the examples in 2 below.

(2)

- |    |          |                                |         |              |
|----|----------|--------------------------------|---------|--------------|
| 1. | Class 3  | wẹ(year) subs. CM4             | s'wẹ    | (years)      |
| 2. | Class 3A | u'belā(CM farm) subs. CM 6     | c'belā  | (farms)      |
| 3. | Class 3A | u'na(CM leg) subs. CM 4        | s'na    | (legs)       |
| 4. | Class 5  | d'bete(CM stomach) subs. CM 6  | c'bete  | (stomachs)   |
| 5. | Class 5  | d'ise(CM eye) subs. CM 10      | ise     | (eyes)       |
| 6. | Class 7  | i'hono(CM calabash) subs. CM 8 | m'hono  | (calabashes) |
| 7. | Class 9  | v'gyu(CM finger) subs. CM10    | gyu     | (fingers)    |
| 8. | Class 13 | a'yomko(CM work) subs. CM 4    | s'yomko | (works)      |
| 9. | Class 13 | a'koma(CM hand) subs. CM 6     | c'koma  | (hands)      |

All C'Lela noun prefixes consists of either single phonemes or are null class.

#### 4.4 Noun Noun Agreements

In C'Lela nouns agree with nouns to produce a single noun. The noun phrase construction joins two nouns and is highly productive in C'Lela. The morphological process which involves the combination or joining of two or more separate words to produce a single form is called compounding. The head noun is being qualified by the second noun. The semantic relationship is that of possession. There are three segmental elements that occur between the head noun and the associated noun in a construction. The noun marker pointing agreement to the head noun; second, a linking /n/ which is present under certain conditions, third, the noun class prefix of the associated noun. Example 3 a) and b) indicates a situation where the associated noun has no class prefix or a null class, here the head noun changes position to be qualified

with the associated noun. c), d) e) and f) bellow shows the three segmental elements head noun class markers, linking /n/ and the class prefix of the associated noun.

(3)

- |    |                        |                               |
|----|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | C'kuru                 | (rooms)                       |
|    | Hamcne                 | (visitors )                   |
|    | kur c'hamcne           | (visitors room)               |
|    | Room AG6 visitor C2M   |                               |
| 2. | U'bada                 | (cloth made from animal skin) |
|    | Wa                     | (boy)                         |
|    | Bad u'wa               | (a child's cloth)             |
|    | (cloth AG3a child)     |                               |
| 3. | V'daga                 | (waist band)                  |
|    | arma                   | (man)                         |
|    | Daga v'arma            | (a man's waist band)          |
|    | Waist band AG9 man     |                               |
| 4. | U'bela                 | (farm)                        |
|    | C'kunku                | (potatoes)                    |
|    | Bel u c'kunku          | (potato farm)                 |
|    | Farm AG3a CM6 potatoes |                               |

5.	D'dopro	(joint)
	V'gyu	(finger)
	Dopro d'v'gyu	(finger joint)
	Joint AG5 CM9	
	*d'dopro d'vgyu	(no semantic meaning)
6.	k'kuru	(room)
	s'to	(soup)
	kur k' s'to	(kitchen)
	room AG11 CM4 soup	

## 1. Noun Verb Agreement

Agreement between nouns and verbs occur when the noun is in subject position, its class prefix is deleted. The subject pronominal on the verb shows the agreement with the class marker of the subject as shown in example 4 a). We already know that verbs in C'Lela do not have class marking affix associated with it in its simple form. The presence of a subject agreement on the verb is obligatory, not optional. However nouns from the null prefix class in isolation have a corresponding null subject agreement marker on the verb when they are used as subject position consider example b) c) and d) below. And the retention of subject prefix plus the verb will give an ungrammatical construction in C'Lela as shown in example e) below.

Example 4

- |    |                       |                    |
|----|-----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | K'leve                | (road)             |
|    | Govke                 | (weeding)          |
|    | lev k'govke           | (main road)        |
|    | Road AG11 weeding TNS |                    |
| 2. | Bɛnya                 | (rice)             |
|    | Enka                  | (ripe)             |
|    | Bɛnya enkka           | (ripe rice)        |
|    | Rice AG10 ripe TNS    |                    |
| 3. | ɔmɔ                   | (dog)              |
|    | ruku                  | (go out)           |
|    | ɔm ruku               | (the dog went out) |
|    | dog AG1 go out        |                    |



4.	m'neve	(oil)
	taka	(finished)
	nev m'taka	(the oil has finished)
	oil AG8 finish	

5.	m'ho	(water)
	taka	(finished)
	*m'ho m'taka	(no semantic meaning)

#### 4.6 Noun with Possessive Adjective Agreement

C'Lela has a set of pronominal morphemes used to indicate possession. A possessed item is seen as having only a temporary dependence on a possessor. These morphemes are not bound suffixes, but bound adjectival roots that mandatorily take prefixes marking their agreement with the head noun in a noun phrase. A corresponding adjectival stem can stand alone as a pronoun, with its agreement prefix indicating the noun class membership of its referent.

In C'Lela, we have 9 personal possessive adjective roots. They are;

1 <sup>st</sup> singular (1s)	-ri	(my)
2 <sup>nd</sup> sg	-rovo	(your)
3 <sup>rd</sup> sg (possessor from class 1)	-ru	(his/her/its)
1 <sup>st</sup> plural (general)	-cinna	(of all of us)
1 <sup>st</sup> (inclusive)	-na	(our)
1 <sup>st</sup> (exclusive)	-co	(our)
2 <sup>nd</sup> plural	-no	(your)





5.	musu	(cat)
	-ne	(their)
	*musu ne	(no semantic meaning)

It is ungrammatical to use the form in f above. This pattern of noun phrase is head Noun, followed by the bound possessive adjective. The possessive adjective has an agreement marker as its prefix.

### 1. Nouns with Deictic Adjectives Agreement

In C'Lela conversations, noun phrases consists of a head noun followed by a deictic adjective are widely used. Deictic are bound roots, requiring a noun class agreement prefix together with the noun prefix , each can stand alone as a pronoun.

There are four deictic bound pronominal roots in C'Lela. They are;

-hna/ -na	(this)
-nlo	(that)
-nzo	(that) younder
-ne	(the)

These four are formed by adding the agreement prefix /u-/ to each root like this;

u + hna	→ uhna
u + nlo	→ unlo
u + nzo	→ unzo
u + ne	→ une

consider this usage in the following examples:

(6)

a. gwele	(goat)
unhna	(this)
gwel unha	(this goat)

	goat AG1 this	
6.	omɔ	(dog)
	unlo	(that)
	omunlo	(that dog)
	C1 dog AG1 that	
7.	gwele	(goat)
	une	(the)
	gwelune	(the goat)
	C1 goat AG1 the	
8.	gwelne	(goats)
	nahna	(these)
	gwelnanha	(these goats)
	goat C2.AG2 this	
9.	idoro	(pot)
	ihna	(this)
	dorihna	(this pot)
	pot AG7 this	

From example 6 d) and e) we see that the agreement markers changes with the noun markers, similarly noun class 5 will carry /d/ agreement, class 4 /s/ others will follow suit according to the class markers. These demonstratives are widely used in C’Lela not only as indicators of physical location.

### 1. Nouns with Attributive Adjectives

It is observed that in C’Lela, that attributive adjectives can either be bound adjectives roots with an agreement prefix and an agreement suffix as indicated in



## CHAPTER FIVE

### FINDINGS, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### 1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings, summary and conclusions that have been drawn from the findings of the study. The first section of the chapter gives the findings, followed by the summary and then the conclusion drawn from the study.

#### 5.2 Findings

From the data analysis, it is obvious that; C'Lela vocabulary items, whose morphological forms cannot be solely determined on their own, are empty of semantic meaning. They include the traditional roots of nouns and prefixes. The nouns are *-tagu* (-shirt), *-kunku* (sweet potatoes) and prefixes like; /d'/, /c'/, /s'/, /k'/, on their own are meaningless and hardly ever exist in that form, they are combined with certain morphemes which then give them their phonological and semantic meanings. This is in accordance with the theory of distributed morphology which guided this study. It says that derivation of all forms of words take place in accordance with the architecture in the Late Insertion model. Root and abstract morphemes are combined into larger syntactic objects, which are moved when necessary. The form of a word to be used is determined by what occurs in the syntactic derivation. Previous reports, argued that during the vocabulary insertion, individual vocabulary items are consulted, and the most specific rule that can apply to the abstract morphemes applies. In this case the vocabulary item is consulted in terms of its noun class, number, and person then an abstract morpheme which best suits apply

It is evident that C'Lela is a language with considerable prefixing, and suffixing. The inflections are used to express noun class, number, person and tense. Most inflections come before the stem. The words *c'ce* (trees), *c'kunku* (sweet potatoes), *i'tagu* (a shirt), *a'koma* (hand), *d'kwintā* (hoe) has clear indications of the existence of different inflections coming before the root. They combine to come up with the required words. Each affix typically represents a meaning, for example, plural, tense, noun class. The single word *k'logosov'godo* is the equivalent of the English word 'loud speaker' the *k'* representing class 11 *logo* 'make big' *v* class 9 and *godo* 'voice'. Typically an affix will represent one meaning; cases of an affix representing two or more meanings also exist. An item-and-arrangement approach to morphological analysis revealed that C'Lela is an inflectional language with considerable prefixing and suffixing; it employs the rules of affixation to form its words. The words consist of identifiable elements (morphemes) which are brought together through affixation.

Its affixations are realized in morphological alterations made of morphemes put after each other, this involves the affixation of one morpheme to another in order to form its words. The affixes are used to typically represent units of meaning. C'Lela's affixation process is prefix inclined, that is most of its affixes come before the stem. The only suffixes identified are the suffix *ine/ini* which serves as a phonological filler when the verb is in relative perfective aspect. The other is */kV/* for the past and */tV/* 'bo' morpheme expressing the future perfective aspect, and for class two nouns realised with */nV/*.

Like other western kainji languages, C'Lela has a noun class system that involves singular and plural patterns as well as agreement markings triggered by these noun classes. The noun classes are identifiable by the prefixes attached on the nominal stem and the agreement concords attached on the nominal modifiers; each noun class

has affixes unique to its own class. This noun class forms a basis for agreement marking. The agreement markers manifest on the syntactic constituents like the adjectives and verbs. All the concords are governed by the inherent noun class of the head noun.

Generally, this study has shown the significant role that morphology as an aspect of grammar plays in the overall understanding of the syntax of C'Lela.

### **1. Summary of Findings**

1. C'Lela has a noun class system that involves singular and plural patterns as well as agreement marking triggered by these noun classes.
2. The noun classes are identifiable by the prefixes attached on the nominal stem.
3. Noun affixation are prefix inclined, the only suffix identified is the class two nouns realised with nV.

### **5.4 Conclusion**

The study evidenced a high level of inter-dependency where the morphological structure of words is just but syntactic derivations. The phenomenon though a morphological one, touches every level of language; phonology, syntax and semantics, either directly or indirectly.

Word forms are manipulated by their individual syntactic environments, and this was evident in case of agreement. This shows that, all the different levels of grammar are entwined in one way or the other with a general objective of communication. The morphological structures analyzed in this study have shown clear indications of the same. The analysis further authenticated the role of the distinct units (morphemes) in creativity of word forms.



## REFERENCES

- Ackema, P. and Neeleman, A. (2004). *Beyond Morphology: Interface Conditions on Word Formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aliero, M .A. (2013). *Aspects of the Morphology of C'Lela*. PhD Thesis, Legon: University of Ghana, Legon.
- Aliero, M, A. (2015). Morphophonological process of the C'lela noun. *Ghana Journal of Linguistics*
- Amfani, A. H. (1990). *A glottochronology of four Benue-Congo languages in Zululand*. In *Studies in the History of the People of Zuru Emirate*, edited by A. R. Augi and S. U. Lawal. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Amos, B, K. (2014). *The Zuru People*. Unpublished manuscript, zuru.
- Anderson, S. (1986). *Disjunctive Ordering in Inflectional Morphology*. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*: Cambridge, Mass:
- Anderson, S. (1992). *A-Morphous Morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ango, S, P. (2004). *An Orthography for Writing C'Lela*. Guide Paper, Zuru, Kebbi State: Committee for the Standardization of C'Lela Orthography.
- Augi, A. R., and Lawal. S., (1990). *Studies in the history of the people of Zuru Emirate*. Enugu: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Azaar, B. (1993). *Understanding and Using English Grammar*. Washington: Prantice-Hall.
- Baba, W. I. (1992). *Aspects of Zuru Emirate Languages*. Zuru, Kebbi State: self-published.
- Baker, M. (1985). *The Mirror Principle and Morphosyntactic Explanation*. *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- Baker, M. (1988). *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Change*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Bako, A. (1990). Transition and changes in religions and belief systems in Zuru Emirate. In *Studies in the history of the people of Zuru Emirate*, by A. R. Augi and S. Lawal. Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth edition Publishers.
- Bashir, I. L. (1990). Socio-economic transition in colonial Zululand 1901-1950. In *Studies in The History of The People of Zuru Emirate*, by A. R. Augi and S. Lawal, Enugu, Nigeria: Fourth Dimension Publishers.
- Bassani, I. (2012). Morphology-Syntax Interface: The Relation Between Prefixes of Brazilian Portuguese and Argument Structures. *Issues of proceedings of the 35<sup>th</sup> annual pan Linguistics Colloquium, Volume 18*.

- Bauer, L. (1983). *English Word-Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bauer, L. (1990). *Be-heading the word*. *Journal of Linguistics*.
- Bauer, L. (2003). *Introducing Linguistic Morphology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Beck, S and Synder, W., (2001). *Complex Predicate and Goal PPs: Evidence for a Semantic Parameter*. Proceedings of the 25<sup>th</sup> Boston University Conference on Language Development, Volume 1, 114-122. In Padrosa-Trias, Complex word-formation and the Morphology-Syntax Interface. Dissertation, Universitat Antnoma de Basolona.
- Bisetto, A. and Scalise, S. (2005). *Classification of compounds*. *Lingue e Linguaggio* 2:
- Blench, R. M. and McGill J. S, (n.d), *The West Kainji Languages of North-western and Central Northern Nigeria: Comparative Wordlists*.
- Blench, R., (2006). *Archaeology, Language, and the African Past*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.
- Booij, G. (2005). *The Grammar of Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Bushman, H. (1976). New York: Routledge Publisher.
- Bushman, H. (1976). *Effects of a full and Modified Suggestopedic Treatment in Foreign Language Learning*. Brigham Young University.
- Cayetona, E, (1993). *The peoples Garifuna Dictionary*. Belize: National Garifuna Council.
- Chomsky, N. (1970). *Remarks on Nominalization*. In Jacobs R. and Rosenbaum, P. (eds.). *Readings in English Transformational Grammar*. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn and co.
- Chomsky, N. (1993). *A Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory*. In Hale, K. And Keyser, S. J. (eds.). *A view from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvian Bromberger*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. pp. 1-52. [reprinted in Chomsky 1995a]
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *Bare Phrase Structure*. In Webelhuth, G. (ed.). *Government and Binding theory and the Minimalist Program*. London: Blackwell.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Crozier, D., and Blench., R. (1992). *An Index of Nigerian Languages: Second Edition*. 2. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.
- Crystal, D. (1980). *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Colorado: West view Press Boulder Press Boulder.

- Crystal, D. (1980). *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. London. Andrew Deutch.
- Crystal, D. (1992). *An Encyclopedia Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. UK: Blackwell Publishers.
- Crystal, D. (2008). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Sixth Edition Black well Publisher.
- Dancy, P. (1972). *Wordlist (100 items) of the Lela language*. Archived wordlist, Cornell-SIL Language Archive, Ithaca, NY.
- Danladi, S (2015). *Orthographies of Nigeria Language manual XI (2015)*: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council.
- Denzin, N. (1989). *Interactive Interactionism*. Newbury Park: C. A. Sage Publishers.
- Dettweiler, S. (2002). *Discourse Features of C'Lela*. (2001). Levinsohn Workshop Write-Up, Jos, Nigeria: unpublished manuscript.
- Dettweiler, S. (2015). *C'lela Grammar Portrait*. Final version. @sil.org.
- Dettweiler, S. And Dettweiler S. (1993) *Introductory Survey of the Lela People and Language*. Sociolinguistic Survey (for non-technical audience), United Missionary Church of Africa, Ilorin, Nigeria: United Missionary Church of Africa.
- Dettweiler, S. and Dettweiler S. (2005) *Sociolinguistic Survey (Level One) of the Lela People*. Sociolinguistic Survey (for Technical Audience), Ilorin, Nigeria: United Missionary Church of Africa.
- Devonish, H. and Castillo E. (2002). *On The Interaction of Morphology and Syntax : Simple and Complex Sentences in Garifuna*. Belize: School for Continuing Studies Country Conference, august.
- Di Sciullo, A. M. and Williams, E. (1987). *On the Definition of Word*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Downing, P. (1977). *On the Creation and Use of English Compound Nouns*. Language
- Embick, D. and Noyer, R. (2001). *Morphological Merger & Locality*. Paper presented at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Embick, D. and Halle M. (2001). *Aspects of the Latin Conjugation in Distributed Morphology*. Cambridge, Mass MITWPL.
- Grimes, B. (2000). *Ethnologue* (fourteenth edition) Dallas Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Guarte, J. M. and Barrios, E. B. (2006). Estimation under purposive sampling. *Communications in Statistics—Simulation and Computation*

- Gunn, H. D. and Conant, F. P. (1960). *Peoples of the Middle Niger Region Northan Nigeria: Western Africa part xv*. International African Institute Sociolinguistic Survey (level one) of the Lelna people.
- Hale, K. & Keyser, S. (1993) *Argument Structure and the Lexical Representation of Syntactic Relations*: Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Hale, K. and Keyser, S. (1998). *The Basic Elements of Argument Structure*: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 32; Cambridge, Mass MIT Press.
- Halle, M. and Marantz, A. (1993). *Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection: The View from Building 20* Cambridge MA: MIT Press.
- Harley, H. (2004). *Merge, conflation, and head movement: The First Sister Principle revisited*. In Moulton, K. and Wolf, M. (eds.). *Proceedings of NELS 34*. University Massachusetts Amherst: GSLA.
- Harley, H. (2008). *Compounding in Distributed Morphology*. Ms. University of Arizona. The final version can be found in: Lieber, R. and Štekauer, P. (eds.). 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Compounding*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harley, H. and Noyer, R. (1999). *Distributed Morphology*: Cambridge, Mass.: MITWPL.
- Harris, P. G. (1938). *Notes on the Dakarkari Peoples of Sokoto Province. Nigeria*.
- Hartmann, R. R. K. (1980). *Contrastive Textology: Comparative Discourse Analysis in Applied Linguistics. Studies in Descriptive Linguistics, Volume 5*. Heinle & Heinle Publishers, 51 Sleeper Street, Boston, MA 02210. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*
- Hatch, E. and Farhady, H. (1982). *research design and statistics for applied linguistics*.
- Hatcher, A. G. (1960). An Introduction to the Analysis of English Noun Compounds. *Word Journal of the International Linguistic Association* 16
- Hoffmann, C. (1967). *An outline of the Dakarkari noun class system and the relation between prefix and suffix noun class systems*. In G. Manessy, ed., *La Classification nominele dans les langues Nigro-Africanes*,
- Jackendoff, R. (1990). *Semantic Structures*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, R. (1997). *The Architecture of the Language Faculty*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Jackendoff, R. (2002). *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Katamba, F. (1993). *Morphology*, Mordan Linguistic service New York. St Martins Press.
- Kibort, A. (2007). *Towards a Typology of Grammatical Features* Oxford: OUP.

- Kratzer, A. (2005). *Building Resultatives*. In Maienborn, C. and Wöllstein, A. (eds.). *Event Arguments: Foundations and Applications*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Kube, S. (2006). *Joining Forces for Preserving Africa's Linguistic Diversity*. Report on the Joint UNESCO/ACALAN meeting of Experts, held in Bamako, Mali, 23-25 March 2006. Paris: UNESCO.
- Lees, R. B. (1960). *The Grammar of English Nominalizations*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Levi, J. (1978). *The Syntax and Semantics of Complex Nominals*. New York: Academic Press.
- Marantz, A. (1992). *How morphemes are realized phonologically*. Paper presented at the DIMACS Workshop on Human Language, Princeton University. Manuscript, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Marantz, A. (1997). *No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphology Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon*, University of Pennsylvania. Working Paper in Linguistics.
- Mateu, J. (2000). *Why Can't We Wipe the Slate Clean? A Lexical-Syntactic Approach to Resultative Constructions*. Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics 8:
- Mateu, J. (2010). *Two Types of Small Clause Results: Weak Resultatives Involve Incorporation, While Strong Resultatives Involve Conflation*. Ms. UAB.
- Matthews, P. H. (1997). *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics*. Oxford university press.
- Mendikoetxea, A and Uribe-Etxeberrian M. (1997). *Morphology –syntax interface*. Irvine.
- Padrosa-Trias, S. P.(2010). *Complex Word-formation and the Morphology-Syntax Interface. Dissertation, Universitat Antnoma de Basolona*.
- Perlmutter, D. (1988). *The Split Morphology Hypothesis: Evidence from Yiddish San Diego*. Academic Press.
- National Population commission (NPC) (2009). *National population census, 2006*. Federal Republic of Nigeria official Gazette.
- Rikoto, B, D, and Rumu S, B. (1996). *An Inventory of the Phonemes of C'Lela*. conference paper, Zuru, Kebbi State, Nigeria: Committee for the Standardization of C'Lela Orthography.
- Rikoto, B. D. (2002). *Dictionary: C'Lela-English-Hausa*. Lagos: RNI Print Productions.
- Rivierre, J. 1992. 'Text Collection', in Luc Bouquiaux and Jacqueline Thomas (eds.) *Studying and describing unwritten languages*. Dallas: SIL, 56-63.

- Roeper, T, Synder, W, and Hirmatsu, K, (2002). *Language Acquisition in a Minimalist Framework: Root Compounds, Megers, amd the Syntactic-Morphology Interface*. Frank Furt: Peter Lang.
- Rowbory, D. 2009. *A Focused Study of C'Lela Verb Inflection* Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology
- Rowlands, E.C. (1962). Notes on Some Class Languages of Northern Nigeria. *African Language Studies* 3.
- Samarin, W. (1967) *Field linguistics. A guide to linguistic fieldwork*. New York etc. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Scalise, S., Bisetto, A. and Guevara, E. (2005). “*Selection in Compounding and Derivation*”. In Dressler, W. U., Kastovsky, D., Pfeiffer, O. E. and Rainer, F. (eds.). *Morphology and its Demarcation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Seiss, M. (2011). Implementing the Morphology-Syntax Interface: Challenges from Murinhpatha. In Mirrian Butt and Tracy Holloway king (eds), *Proceedings of the LFG 11 Conference, University of Ottawa, Canada*.
- Selkirk, E. (1982). *The Syntax of Words*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Smith, R, D. (2007) *The Noun Class System of Ut-Ma'in, a West Kainji Language of Nigeria*. MA Thesis, Grand Forks ND: University of North Dakota.
- Synder W. (1995). *Language Acquisition and Language Variation: The role of Morphology* [doctoral dissertation]. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics.
- Synder W. (1996). *The Acquisitional Role of the Syntax –Morphology Interface: Morphological Compounds and Syntactic Complex Predicates*. In proceedings of the 20<sup>th</sup> Annual Boston University Conference on Child Language Development, Volume 2. Somerville. MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Synder W. (2001). *On the Nature of Syntactic Variation : Evidence from Complex Predicate and Complex Word-formation*. *Language*, 77, 324-342.
- Synder W. (2002). *Preposition Standing and the Compounding Parameter: A Developmental Perspective*. Proceedings of the 26<sup>th</sup> Annual Boston Conference –citesseer.
- Synder W. (2005). *Motion Predicates and the Compounding Parameter*. University of Maryland – Academia edu.
- Synder, W, Felber, S, Kang B, and Lillo-Martin D. (2001). *Path Phrases and Compounds in the Acquisition of English*. Papper at BULLD 26, November 2<sup>nd</sup>.
- Taylor, D, (1977). *Languages of the west indes*. Baltimore, MD:John Hopkins University Press.

- Tomori, S. H. (1977). *The Morphology and Syntax of Present Day English. An Introduction*. Ibadan : Heinemann books Ltd.
- Williamson, K, and Kiyoshi, S. (1968). *Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist*. Vol. I. Ibadan: West African Linguistic Society.
- Yule, G. (1996). *The Study of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zwicky, A. M. (1985). Heads. *Journal of Linguistics* 21.