Morpho-Syntactic Properties of Kisukuma Nouns

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Abstract— The study focused on identifying the morphological properties found in Kisukuma nouns which make nouns different from other Bantu languages. The study was guided by distributed morphology theory developed by Halle and Marantz (1993). The study was purely qualitative approach whereby data were collected through questionnaires, documentation review as well as focused group discussion. Ten respondents who were the native speakers of the Kimunantunzu dialect of Kisukuma age of forty-one to eighty were chosen. The study found that the interrelation between morphology and syntax in Kisukuma nouns can be analyzed without ignoring the morpho-syntactic properties. Moreover, it was found that the agreement properties are triggered by the nouns. That is to say, nouns determine what other elements could co-occur with them and bring a meaningful sentence or phrase. Also affixes are very important in forming nouns in Kisukuma just like in other Bantu languages. The researcher recommends that more interrelation studies to be investigated on the other levels of linguistics as well as distinction among the dialects of Kisukuma.

Keywords— Noun, verb, adjective, distributed morphology, demonstratives, morphology, syntax, morpho-syntax.

I. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

A study in the morphology and syntax of Bantu languages has a long tradition, dating back to the 19th century. The earliest studies tended to focus on morphology, and in particular on the noun class system and verbal morphology. Considerable analytical work is contained in early descriptive grammar. The first comparative work includes Bleek (1862) and Meinhof (1906) which is the companion volume to his comparative phonology (Meinhof 1899). Both comparative grammar work provides detailed discussions of Bantu noun classes and lay the foundation of the widely adopted Bantu noun class numbering system. Meeussen, (1967) remains the most comprehensive account of Proto-Bantu morpho-syntax to date.

Booji (2007) says that there are four issues that have to be dealt with when we consider the relationship involving morphology and syntax. First, is the differentiation of the empirical domains of these two modules of the grammar: when is it a multi morphemic sequence word, and when is it a phrase? Second, morphology and syntax interact in two ways: syntactic constructs may form parts of complex words, and syntax in its turn governs the use of morphological case marking on words. And the third domain of investigation is how morphological operations may affect the syntactic valence of words. Finally, languages may have syntactic alternatives to the morphological expression of grammatical and semantic content, and we might therefore want to know more about the division of labour between morphology and syntax in this respect.

On the other hand, Croft (2019) adds that morpho-syntax refers to the combination of morphology and syntax. The syntax is the analysis of the internal structure of utterances/sentences, more specifically, how words are put together. Morphology is the analysis of the internal structure of words, including prefixes, suffixes and other

internal changes to words, that generally have a meaning (elusive as that meaning sometimes is). Therefore, morpho-syntax is the analysis of the internal structure of utterances, both above the word level and below it. Why combine morphology and syntax? This is because grammatical constructions involve both. The following are the examples of the English Numeral Modification construction;

1)   English Numeral Modification:

        One tree

        Two tree-s

        Three tree-s

Therefore, the levels of linguistics work together as a system. They should not only be considered as independent levels but also as depend on each other at some point hence, the researcher chose to look at the interface between morphology and syntax specifically the morpho-syntactic features of nouns in Kisukuma. This problem is accentuated by the fact that the present studies in Kisukuma lack some important morpho-syntactic issues which this study covers. 1.3 Statement of the Problem.

II.   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Bantu languages have attracted the attention of many scholars in Africa and in Tanzania in particular and other parts of the world. Linguists have studied and documented Bantu languages for example Nyakyusa, Sukuma, Chagga, and many others. The studies have covered different perspectives in morphology and morpho-syntax and other levels of linguistics. Different scholars (Mangula 2012, Mbuki 2019, Luhende 2018, Batibo 1976 and Katamba and Stonham 2006) have discussed different aspects on morphology and some of them discuss the interface between morphology and syntax, semantics and phonology and so forth. Different aspects on morphology are word structure, types of morphemes, morphemes and features, words: form class, structure class, word formation processes as well as the interface between morphology and syntax and covered areas like morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Kisukuma. Therefore, the levels of linguistics work together as a system. They should not only be considered as independent levels but also as depend on each other at some point hence, the researcher chose to look at the interface between morphology and syntax specifically the morpho-syntactic features of nouns in Kisukuma. This problem is accentuated by the fact that the present studies in Kisukuma lack some important morpho-syntactic issues which this study covers.

III.   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study was guided by the following objectives;

   i.   To analyse the morphological properties of Kisukuma nouns

   ii.   To investigate the agreement properties of Kisukuma nouns

IV.   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is beneficial as it expands the linguistic knowledge on the interface between morpho-syntactic features of nouns in Kisukuma. The current study is a reference material for scholars who have interest in learning more about this field. In addition, the study is beneficial to the researcher because it broadens linguistics knowledge particularly in morphology and syntax by investigating different issues related to nouns in Sukuma language. Also, the study of morpho-syntax in Sukuma language provides a useful contribution to Bantu linguistics.

V.   LITERATURE REVIEW

This section consists of the theoretical literature in which different theories related to this topic are discussed to develop a theoretical gap. Empirical literature is also presented according to the study objectives. Finally, the researcher combines the two above to identify the gap which is filled by this study i.e. the research gap

5.1 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by the theory called Distributed Morphology Theory. This theory supports the connection between the levels of linguistics namely semantics, morphology, syntax and phonology. Distributed Morphology (DM) was introduced by Halle and Marantz (1993). The theory proposes a radical departure from previous morphological models: all the operations attributed to morphology are distributed among several components and do not belong to a single module. According to this theory, all word and phrase formations occur within a unified computational model as a result of the syntactic combination of heads. The internal structure of words is visible to syntactic operations.

5.2. Empirical Literature Review

This part discusses the related literatures basing on the objectives of the study. The first part discusses the morphological properties of nouns in which noun class system is discussed and other morphological properties including derivation and inflection. The second part discusses the agreement properties of nouns in which noun agreement with other constituents in the syntactic structure is discussed.

Morphological Properties of Nouns

Noun Class System

Noun class system is well known to be recognized in Bantu languages but there are other non-Bantu languages that also have the noun class system such as the Australian language Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972) which has four noun classes. Three of the classes in Dyirbal are associated with one or more basic concepts while class IV is a residue class covering everything else. The three noun classes include:

i.   Class I – male humans, nonhuman animates;

ii. Class II – female humans, water, fire, fighting;

iii. Class III – non-flesh food.

According to Nurse and Philipson (2003), noun class systems are a strong areal feature in Africa. Heine (1982) reports that two thirds of the approximately 600 African languages he surveyed have noun classes. In all branches of Niger-Congo, except Mande, the simple noun can usually be analysed as consisting of a stem and an affix, normally a prefix (Welmers 1973:159). This is especially true for Bantu where nouns are categorized into numerous noun classes on the basis of the prefixes that they take.

For example, Mpobela (2012) gives the structure of the noun in Runyambo that is made up of an augment (AUG) except for a few classes. It is followed by a prefix (NCP) and a root. Also, she adds that Runyambo nouns can be changed into adjectives and adverbs.

Thanasoula (2013) says that Lushese classifies nouns into 15 nominal classes marked by prefixes before the nominal root. Nouns may be also marked by augments, which are pre-prefixes composed by sole vowels. The vowel of the class marker determines the vowel quality of the preceding augment. In addition to their semantic motivation, the noun class prefixes express number since they are divided into singular and plural classes.

Mpobela (2012) gives the structure of the noun which is very important in this study as it helps to show the difference between nouns and adjectives and adverbs. Therefore, the basic structure of the noun is (AUGMENT) + PREFIX + ROOT + (SUFFIX). Therefore, Mpobela 2012, Demuth 2000, Maho 1999, Nurse and Philipson (2003) are of the view that traditionally, Bantu languages are assumed to have 15 to 21 noun classes as far as Proto-Bantu noun classes are concerned.

Table 1 Proto Bantu Noun Class Prefix

NC	Welmers's PB (Welmers 1973)
1	*mo-; (1a ø)*
2	*va-; (2a va-)*
3	*mo*
4	*me*
5	*le*
6	*ma-; ma*
7	*ke*
8	*vi-; 8x li*
9	*ne*
10	*li-ne*
11	*lo*
12	*ka*
13	*to*
14	*vo*
15	*ko*
16	*pa*
17	*ko*
18	*mo*
19	*pi*
20	*ɣo*
21	*ɣi*
22	*ɣa*
23	*ɣe*

Source: **Based on Nurse and Philipson (2003)**

It should be noted that original Bleek–Meinhof numbering appears in parentheses where it differs from current numbering; subclasses are also included; [*va*] corresponds to IPA [*βa*] Nurse and Philipson (2003. Also, to be reminded the prefixes are the proto Bantu noun classes so they may change depending on the language in use due to various reasons like phonological but the study won't discuss that.

On the other hand, Mpobela (2012) adds that one of the best-known features of the Bantu languages is their noun class system. All nouns are assigned to a noun class, where the number of noun classes varies between 12 and 23. This leads to the need of this study which tends to investigate among other morphological properties, the number of noun classes in Kisukuma and the place of all nouns including the derived nouns into the noun class system in Kisukuma.

Luhende (2018) opines that Bantu languages are assumed to have 21 noun classes as far as Proto-Bantu noun classes are concerned. This is not the case in Sukuma where only 18 noun classes have been retained. Morphologically, a prefix is affixed to the noun stem, one for a singular and the other for a plural noun. Thus, all the nouns with the same prefixes are assigned to the same noun class. This study will discuss this morphological property of which Luhende discussed the English loan words while the current study will discuss all Kisukuma nouns wether borrowed or inherent, basic and derived.

Noun class systems are typically found in languages with a fusional or agglutinating (not an isolating) profile. Noun class agreement is often a major criterion for distinguishing nouns from other word classes. In a language where noun and adjective have similar morphology, an adjective can usually take any noun class marking whereas a noun is normally restricted to one class.

Bollaert (2017) explain that noun class systems have the following definitional properties. One is that some constituent outside the noun itself must agree in noun class with a noun. Agreement can be with other words in the noun phrase (adjectives, numbers, demonstratives and articles.) and/or with the predicate of the clause or with an adverb. That is, noun class can be realized in a number of morpho-syntactic (depending on the agreement rules in the language) and its scope can be a noun phrase and/or a clause. Noun classes are defined syntactically. They constitute a closed obligatory grammatical system (which often arises as the result of grammaticalization of some other noun categorization device. Noun classes are realized with affixes or with clitics, and in most cases, there is a limited, countable number of noun classes. The agreement properties will be discussed in detail in table 2

The second property is that noun class membership is assigned on semantic-and sometimes also morphological and phonological-principles. Each noun in the language belongs to one (or occasionally more than one) class (es). This feature of one noun belonging to more than one noun class is discussed in Runyambo by Mpobela (2012) who argues that in Runyambo, nouns can belong to up to 11 classes. She gives the example of the root *"–ntu"* as in the table 2.

Table: 2. The root "-ntu"

NC	AUG	Prefix	Noun	Gloss
1	*o-*	*-mu-*	*omuntu*	Person
2	*a-*	*-ba-*	*abantu*	People
7	*e-*	*Ci*	*ecintu*	Thing
8	*e-*	*Bi*	*ebintu*	Things
10	*e-*	*N*	*enyintu*	Things (pejorative)
11	*o-*	*Ru*	*oruntu*	Thing (pejorative)
12	*a-*	*Ka*	*akantu*	Person/thing (diminutive)
13	*o-*	*Bu*	*obuntu*	People/things (diminutive)
		Tu	*utuntu*	Things (diminutive)
14	*o-*	*Bu*	*obuntu*	Humanity
16	*a-*	*Ha*	*ahantu*	At a place

Source: Mpobela (2012)

Van de Verde (2019) adds that one of the quintessential typological properties of the Bantu languages are their pervasive system of noun classes and noun class agreement. This is undoubtedly the aspect of their grammatical structure that is most discussed in the literature, if only because every grammar sketch of a Bantu language contains a section on noun classes.

Demuth (2000) also agrees that Bantu noun class systems can be roughly characterized in the following typological terms: First, noun classes tend to be realized as grammatical morphemes rather than independent lexical items. Second, they function as part of larger 'concordial' agreement systems where nominal modifiers, pronominal and verbs are all morphologically marked with the same noun class (gender) feature. Kunkeyani (2007) argues that nouns of Bantu languages are classified grammatically according to prefixes whether overt or null, and the concordial agreement associated with them. Third, although productive semantic classes have been

reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, much of the semantics of current Bantu noun classes is no longer productive, and in some languages the number of classes has been morphologically reduced. Nonetheless, noun class systems are grammatically productive in most Bantu languages, and semantically productive to some degree.

Mbuki (2019) says that the morphological structure of nouns serves to analyse the structure of a noun in a given language. Therefore, many Bantu languages like Runyambo, Mashami, Sisumbwa, Nyakyusa, Nyamwezi and Kisukuma just like other Bantu languages have a stem and affixes in nouns. For example, the noun affixes in Kisukuma may include: determinants, locative derivation, size derivation, classifiers and others. As seen in the noun class system above, Bantu nouns consist of Augment/pre-prefix, noun class prefix and a root which are discussed below.

Noun Class Prefixes (NCP)

In English language (Zapata 2000), prefixes are bound morphemes that are added at the beginning of the word. For example, un- in 'unnoticed', a- in 'amoral', and sub- in 'subway'. It should be noted that prefixes are represented by the morphemes followed by a hyphen (-) which indicate that there are another element/s next to it including a root. Katamba (1993) and Katamba and Stonham (2006) add that a prefix is an affix attached before a root or stem or base like re-, un- and in-: re-make, re-read, un-kind, un-tidy, in-decent and in-accurate

For example;

3)   un-+ happy (adj.) = unhappy (adj)

re-+classify (v) = reclassify (v)

by-+ product (n.) = by-product.

According to Dixon (1972), noun classes constitute an obligatory grammatical system, where each noun chooses one from a small number of possibilities. Ways of marking noun class include a prefix to the noun (and usually also to other constituents in the noun phrase, or in the sentence, that show concord with it), as in Bantu languages; an obligatory article. However, Sagna (2008) asserts that the prefix in a noun is an overt morphological marker that in most cases indicates the class membership of a noun and is thus referred to as a "noun class marker". Noun class markers function as inflectional markers to express the grammatical category of number by coding singular, plural and also collective. They also have derivational functions illustrated by the semantic variations resulting from the combination of different noun class markers with the same root. Such a function of noun class markers is widespread across Niger-Congo languages (Grinevald and Seifart, 2004, Mufwene, 1980).

4)   *a̱-ssanum/ u̱-ssanum* 'rich person/ rich people'

e̱-vven/ si̱-vven 'oar/ oars'

i̱u-ppu/ mu̱-ppu/ ba̱-ppu 'bird/ birds/ collection of small birds'

As for Katamba (2003), the noun class prefixes commonly come in pairs of singular and plural. It would be a stretch to say that every singular class has its definite plural class, as some nouns do not have a plural, or some nouns can form their plural in multiple classes, but there is a tendency towards it. Such pairs can also be called genders. The extent to which these genders form semantic units varies. To give an example, classes 1/2 hold human creatures and classes 3/4 typically hold nouns referring to trees and plants, but on top of that the latter also hold a disparate set of other nouns. Lastly, the noun class system regulates the concordance of noun phrase modifiers and verbs.

Noun Derivation Processes

Schadeberg (1990) elaborates that Bantu languages are rich in morphology, inflectional as well as derivational. The line between the two kinds of morphological processes is usually easy to draw. The derivation of nouns from verbs involves several productive processes, some of which are so widespread that they have been reconstructed for PB. The process involves two parts: the derivation of a nominal stem from a verbal base B by the addition of a final suffix F, and the assignment of the derived nominal stem to a nominal class (or gender).

Alexiadou (2014) asserts that nominal derivation (nominalization or noun derivation) is a process that derives a noun from another word category, normally a verb or an adjective. Thus, it is a category changing operation which can take place with or without inducing a change on the form of the source element. Across languages, both morphological types of nominalizations are possible. For instance, in English we have, on the one hand, nominals derived from, for example, verbs via the addition of a derivational affix as well as so-called zero derived nominals that lack any overt morphological change.

Appah (2003) defines nominal derivation as the process or result of forming a noun from words (verbs, adjectives and other nouns) phrases or clauses. Therefore, the term nominal derivation make room for both category changing derivations like those that involve verbs and adjectives and non-category-changing derivations like the derivation of nouns from other nouns. In the body of the work, 'nominalization' and 'nominal derivation' will be used interchangeably to refer to the process by which nouns are formed.

Bauer (2002) comments that derivational patterns commonly change the word-class of the base lexeme. For example, nouns can be derived from verbs, adjectives from nouns, and so on. For such cases, the terms denominal ('derived from a noun'), deverbal ('derived from a verb') and deadjectival ('derived from an adjective') are in general use. Mpobela (2012) argue that derivation is the process of forming words whose meanings or categories are distinct from the source roots or stems (Kahigi 2008; Radford *et.al* 1999). Derived words may be formed through prefixation, suffixation, circumfixation, infixation or confixation. This becomes derivation when these morphological processes change the word class or meaning. One of the functions of derivational morphology is to change the syntactic category of a word. Lardiere (2006) argues that even if one does not know the lexical category of a word, the derivational category can often provide highly reliable information about its syntactic category. He gives the examples; x-ize is a verb while x-ation is a noun in English. The selection of derivational affixes is restricted that some of the affixes can be attached to certain word categories and be restricted to others.

Bauer (2002) adds that since creating new words for new concepts is one of the chief functions of derivational morphology, and since we have a greater need for naming diverse nominal concepts, languages generally have more means for deriving nouns than for deriving verbs and adjectives. MacCarthy (2002) asserts that nouns derived from adjectives and from verbs are extremely numerous.

Deverbal nouns (V- N)

The derivation of nouns from verbs involves several productive processes, some of which are so widespread that they have been reconstructed for PB. The process involves two parts: the derivation of a nominal stem from a verbal base B by the addition of a final suffix F, and the assignment of the derived nominal stem to a nominal class (or gender).

Infinitives

Nurse and phillipson (2003) assert that from a morphological point of view, infinitives are nouns by virtue of having a nominal prefix, but they also have verbal characteristics such as the possibility to include an OCd (object concord as well as a limited range of inflectional morphemes in pre-stem position (motional -*ka*-, negative markers). The infinitive stem has the F *-*a*, and is thus the same as the default stem used in verbal inflection. In some languages, the infinitive has a conjoint form with F *-*á* linking it syntactically to a following complement. The negative infinitive sometimes has a different F which it shares with certain negative tenses. Infinitives are generally assigned to class 15, nominal prefix (NPx) *ku*-, less commonly also to class 5, nominal prefix (NPx) *i*-. Some languages attest both (Forges 1983, Hadermann 1999). Other noun classes (9, 14) are also sometimes employed. The use of the prefix *ka*- after verbs of motion may derive from the motional -*ka*- rather than from class 12. The homophony between the nominal prefix (NPx) of class 15 and the locative class 17 raises the question whether the infinitive with *ku*- derives from the locative. Whatever the answer may be, the infinitive has in many languages displaced the original small set of non-verbal nouns from class 15 (*ku_bóko* 'arm', *ku_gulu* 'leg', *ku_tui* 'ear', *ku_jápa* 'armpit'). This study was expected to look on the case of Kisukuma nouns how the infinitives are handled and other parts of the body are handled as well.

Deadjectival nouns (A- N)

In Bantu languages nouns of quality are freely derived from adjectives and from nouns denoting kinds of people (generally classes 1/2) by placing the stem into class 14 (Noun class prefix *bʊ*-). And the noun of quality are constructed from the derived adjective for example *bʊ-játo*, 'boat', *bʊ-táa* 'bow', *bʊ-joga* 'mushroom', *bʊ-tíkʊ* 'night'. Derived adjective are also found in the non Bantu languages as the example 6 illustrate

Castelo (1966) gives examples from Taglog;

5)	Simple Adjective		Derived Noun	
	murà	unripe/immature	*ka-murá-an*	raw/immaturity
	lumà	old	*ka-lumá-an*	oldness
	buháy	alive	*ka-buháy-an*	aliveness
	taló	lost	*ka-talú-han*	loss
	banál	religious	*ka-banál-an*	religiousness
	tamád	lazy	*ka-tamár-an*	laziness
	múra	cheap	*ka-murá-han*	cheapness

Denominal nouns (N-N)

Nouns are derived from nouns by shifting them from one class (gender) to another. Nouns are derived from adjectives by assigning them to a specific class. It is this derivational or "autonomous" use of noun class assignment which most clearly shows (some of) the semantic content of Bantu nominal classes (Nurse and Philippson 2003). For example;

6)   *ki-bánjá* (cl. 7/8) clearing prepared for building

          mbánjá (cl. 9/10) chief's village

          lu-bánjá (cl. 11/10) dwelling-place, courtyard, family; meeting, affair, law court, guilt

          i-bánjá (cl. 5) debt

As other Bantu languages the formation of noun from other word categories such as verb, adjective, as well as noun themselves use the class prefixes as well as they must be kept in the appropriate class that they may belong to and of cause this vary from one bantu language to another therefore this study was expected to look on the Kisukuma derived nouns from other word categories in relation to the noun class distribution.

Diminutives and Augmentatives

In Bantu languages, augmentatives and diminutives are marked by affixes that are the heart of inflection but they cannot be marked by derivational affixes in many African languages (Anderson 1982). He also claims that, the formation of diminutives and augmentatives in Bantu languages is the derivational use of inflectional affixes. On the other hand, Bauer (2004) claims that diminutives and augmentatives have been shown in many ways not to be typical of derivation nor inflection. He goes further into giving the reason for that as he says; "diminutives in many languages are more productive than is typical of derivational morphology yet with proliferation of possible markers which is otherwise more expected in derivational morphology".

Nurse and Philippson (2003) agree that diminutives are widely formed by assigning nouns to classes 12/13 (nominal prefix (NPx) ka-/*tu*-), in the NW also to classes 19/13 (nominal prefix (NPx) pi-/*tu*-). Classes 12 and 13 have very few nouns inherently assigned to them, and these have no obvious semantic feature of 'smallness' (example; *ka-nua* 'mouth', *ka-já* 'home', *tu-bíi* 'excrements', *tu-ló* 'sleep'). Also the study examined on how the diminutives are constructed and assigned to classes in Kisukuma nouns constructed.

Augmentatives are widely formed by assigning nouns to classes 5/6 (NPx *i-/ma*-) or 7/8 (NPx *ki-/bi*-). In some eastern languages, there is also an augmentative class *gu*-.

In Nyamwezi (F22), animals shifted to the "augmentative" gender 5/6 are individualized. Augmentative and diminutive classes often have affective values; common pairings are "small is beautiful" and "big is ugly and dangerous", but the inverse relationship also occurs. Such secondary meanings may explain the occurrence of shifts between augmentative and diminutive meanings.

In the formation of diminutives and augmentatives, the derived nominal prefix (NPx) is sometimes placed before the inherent nominal prefix (NPx) (rather than substituted for it), especially with classes 9/10 where the (historical, underlying) identity of the stem-initial C may be obscured by the sound changes of prenasalization (nominal prefix (NPx) *N-).

Compounding

To Bauer (2003), compounding has links with syntax as well as morphology. Some scholars have tried to distinguish them including English and between those compounds which are a result of morphological processes and those which are the result of syntactic processes. Spencer (1991) argues that in many respects, compounding represents the interface between morphology and syntax per excellence. This is particularly true of synthetic compounds. These are compounding whose head is derived by affixation from a verb, such as 'truck driver', in which 'truck' appears to be an argument of the (stem) verb 'drive'. In different languages, we find differences in the types of categories that can be compounded. Some languages like English permit a great variety of noun-headed compounds but also allow compounds headed by adjectives or (to some extent) verbs. Other languages may only allow, say, noun-noun compounds, while yet others permit a greater range than English. Booji (2007) claims that the productivity of compounding in many languages is largely due to its semantic transparency and versatility, when a new compound is formed, we already know the meaning of its constituents and the only task we face is to find out about the semantic relation between the two parts. The general semantic pattern of a compound of the form XY is that it denotes a Y that has something to do with X, or vice versa, depending on the language.

Lieber (2009) claims that English and other languages there may be a number of different ways of classifying compounds. In order to explain the various types of compounds, there is one indispensable term which is the head of the compound. In compounds, the head is the element that serves to determine both the part of speech and the semantic kind denoted by the compound as a whole. For example, in English the base that determines the part of speech of compounds such as 'greenhouse' or 'sky-blue' is always the second one; the compound

'greenhouse' is a noun as 'house' is, and 'sky-blue' is an adjective as 'blue' is. Similarly, the second base determines the semantic category of the compound – in the former case a type of building, and in the latter a colour. English compounds are therefore said to be right-headed.

Nurse and Philippson (2003) elaborate that Bantu Compound nouns of the structure A-B generally refer to a "B-like kind of A", that is to say the first part is the head of the compound. This is also true of the more petrified types of compounds. Most types of compounds are restricted to fully lexicalized forms; regional productive processes are the formation of names and diminutives, compounds with *mw-ana* and *mw-ene* as well as agent nouns with complements. Compound verbs are extremely rare, but reduplication is much more common with verbs than with nouns. To Booji (2007), in many languages, compounding (also called composition) is the most frequently used way of making new lexemes. Its defining property is that it consists of the combination of lexemes into larger words. In simple cases, compounding consists of the combination of two words\ in which one word modifies the meaning of the other, the head. This means that such compounds have a binary structure.

In Sagna (2008), compounding is an unproductive process in Gújjolaay Eegimaa (it is very seldom used to create new lexical items), whereby a lexical unit is created generally from the combination of two independent lexical items. Two types of compounds are identified and discussed here: endocentric and exocentric compounds. Endocentric compounds are those whose output word class is determined by the lexical category of their definable head, whereas exocentric compounds do not have a definable head (Dimmendaal, 2000) as in examples;

9)   **Endocentric**

a-ffan-bu-xut

NC1- old-NC5a-initiation

'lit: head initiation' (head of initiation ceremony)

e-be -ba-xa

NC3-cow-NC5b-forest

'lit: Cow forest' (buffalo)

Exocentric

ga- jjamen-e-mit

NC9-goat-NC3-sky

'lit: Sky's goat' (kind of locust)

bu-jju-si-jjamen

NC5a-mucus-NC4-goat

'lit: Goat's mucus' (Macrosphyra longistyla plant)

In Gújjolaay Eegimaa, elaborate that the head in a compound is the leftmost element of the combination. A further difference between endocentric and exocentric compounds is that endocentric compounds have compositional meaning while the meaning of exocentric compounds is not compositiona

Noun Inflection Processes

For Marzi et al (2020), Inflection is the morphological marking of morpho-syntactic and morpho-semantic information like case, number, person, tense and aspect (among others) on words. For instance, a word may be specified as singular for the grammatical category of number. That is, it has a certain value for the feature 'number'. Anderson (1982) definess inflection as the morphology that is relevant to the syntax; inflectional morphology realizes all the morpho-syntactic features of a word (plural, indicative, active and the like each specifying a morpho-syntactic category such as number, mood, voice) depending on the syntactic context in which the word is inserted. Inflection plays, therefore, the role of "adjusting" the words provided by the Lexicon to the morpho-syntactic requirements of the syntax.

Booji (2007) explains the list that presents a (non-exhaustive) survey of the different types of morpho-syntactic information that are found as morphological markings on nouns, verbs, and adjectives in the languages of the world: Nouns: number (singular, plural, dual and others.), case (nominative, genitive, accusative and the like.), definiteness, and gender,

Inflection is the morphological marking of properties of a lexeme resulting in a number of forms for that lexeme, a set of grammatical words (Booij, 2007). All languages have contrasts such as singular versus plural, and past versus non-past. These contrasts are always marked with the help of inflection, the modification of words form through processes such as affixation, suppletion and internal change, and others to indicate the grammatical subclass to which it belongs (O"Grady et.el. 1996).

Different languages vary quite dramatically in the amount of inflectional complexity that their words exhibit. Some languages such as Vietnamese and Igbo; a language of Nigeria, have no (or virtually no) inflectional values, and others have inflection for more than a dozen values (though it is uncommon for a single word-form to be inflected for more than half a dozen values). However, despite all this diversity, the types of inflectional values

that we find across languages are surprisingly uniform. Perhaps more than two-thirds of all inflectional values fall into one of the classes of suggests. Inflectional values are often naturally grouped together into super-categories that we will call inflectional features.

Booji (2007) says that there are two inflectional dimensions for nouns that are found in many languages. The dimensions are referred to as morpho-syntactic categories because they may play a role both in morphology and in syntax. For each dimension or category, there is more than one value. In the case of Polish nouns, there are two values for number: singular and plural, and seven different values for case: nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, instrumental, locative, and vocative. These values are referred to as morpho-syntactic features. A particular cell in the paradigm of *"kot"* meaning cat is thus filled with a word form with a specific set of morpho-syntactic features.

Furthermore, Morpho-syntactic features are inflectional features that play a role in syntax. To be precise, they play an essential role in the interface between morphology and syntax. For example, the syntax of languages often requires that words in specific syntactic contexts agree with respect to the value for certain features of other syntactically related words. An example is subject-verb agreement in English as well as in Bantu languages: the finite form of a verb has to agree in the values for person and number with those of the subject. Another well-known type of agreement is gender agreement: in many languages determiners and modifying adjectives have to agree in gender with their head no

Agreement Properties of Bantu Nouns

According to the traditional view, the relation between morphology and syntax is as follows. While morphology builds up word forms typically by combining roots with other roots and with affixes, as well as by applying other operations to them. Syntax takes fully inflected words as input and combines them into phrases and sentences.

Morphology is concerned with the ways in which words are formed in the languages of the world. Syntax, in contrast, is concerned with identifying the rules that allow us to combine words into phrases and phrases into sentences. Morphology and syntax then, are generally concerned with different levels of linguistic organization. Morphologists look at processes of lexeme formation and inflection such as affixation, compounding, reduplication, and the like. Syntacticians are concerned, among other things, with phrase structure and movement rules, and rules concerning the interpretation of anaphors and pronouns. Nevertheless, there are many ways in which morphology and syntax interact. Haspelmath and Sims

(2010) noted that agreement features are sometimes overtly marked only on the target. For instance, in Italian, determiners and adjectives agree with nouns for gender. But while Italian nouns are all lexically associated with one of the two genders, they do not have morphological marking for gender

Bantu languages have large systems of noun class affixes which are portmanteau morphemes of noun class with number. Since they appear both on the noun itself and on the agreeing constituents, they qualify as noun classes. For instance, Van de Verde, Bostoen, Nurse and Phillipson (2019) argue that singular nouns trigger the same agreement patterns and have their plural in the same class, but differ in the shape of their nominal prefix in ways that are not phonologically predictable. They tend to be divided into subclasses. Bantu subclasses are typically labelled by means of a letter after the class number. For example, Devos (2008) distinguishes in Makwe G402 between class 10 (prefix *ji-*), class 10a (prefix *Ø-*) and class 10b (prefix *jiN-*). Such subclasses and their labels are typically language-specific, or even description-specific, with one notable exception: class 1a, which can be found throughout Bantu. The so-called class 1a was first systematically described by Doke (1927) as a set of nouns that lack a prefix in the singular and usually trigger class 1 agreement. It normally contains proper names, some kinship terms, personified animals and borrowings. Class 1a is radically different from the other subclasses. Its lack of a nominal prefix in most languages is not due to prefix loss, but goes back to Proto-Bantu at least.

The following example of an animate agreement is found especially in zone K and among the coastal languages of zone G and E (Wald 1975, Maho 1999), where animate nouns trigger agreement pattern 1 in the singular and 2 in the plural. Whatever morphological class to which they belong, where the Swahili class 7 noun *"kiboko"* 'hippo' triggers class 1 agreement of both the demonstrative and the verbal object prefix, in contrast to *"kisu"* 'knife' which triggers syntactic class 7 agreement.

8)   Swahili G42 (Wald 1975: 241-242)

   a. *ki-le*   *ki-su,*   *ni-li-ki-on-a.*

   PP7-DEM   7-knife   SP1SG-PST-OP7-see-FV

                      'That knife, I saw it.'

   b. *Yu-le*   *ki-boko,*   *ni-li-mw-ona.*

   PP1-DEM   7-hippo   SP1SG-PST-OP1-see-FV

                      'That hippo, I saw it.'

Another example from Nurse and Phillipson explains that noun class prefixes are at the heart of an extensive system of concord (that is agreement) in Bantu, as seen in the Swahili

9)   a. *M-toto m-dogo a-mefika*

              cl. 1 child cl. 1 little cl. 1 arrived

              'The little child arrived.'

          b. *Ki-kapu ki-dogo ki-mefika*

              cl. 7 basket cl. 7 little cl. 7 arrived

              'The little basket arrived.'

The head noun takes a prefix, marking its class and other words in construction with it take an appropriate matching prefix. Thus, the noun *"mtoto"* belongs to class 1, which is marked by the prefix *"m-"*, and so the adjective as well as the subject pronoun (*a-*) agreeing with it in the verb take matching prefixes. Likewise, the noun *"kikapu"* belongs to class 7 which is marked by the prefix *"ki-"* and so the adjective as well as the subject pronoun agreeing with it in the verb also take the class 7 prefixes. The fact that in some cases it is an identical shape that is prefixed, as in the case of class 7 *ki- ki- ki-*, prompted linguists to speak of 'alliterative concord'. But as the first example with the prefixes *m- m- a-* shows, concord need not be alliterative.

Some Ganda class 3 concord patterns

10)   a) Noun_Adjective

              mutí munene 'big tree'

              tree big

          b) Noun_Demonstrative

              mutí guno 'this tree'

              tree this

          c) Noun_Numeral

              mutí gùmû 'one tree'

              tree one

          d) Noun_Associative construction

              mutí gwá (_gu_á) múkázi 'woman's tree'

              tree of woman

          e) Noun_Relative

              (o_) mutí o-gw-agwa 'tree that fell' (_o_gu_a)

              tree Ag. -rel_fell (Ag._Augment)

Van de Verde (2019) adds that Noun classes can be defined as sets of nouns that trigger the same agreement pattern. Noun class assignment is typically coded by means of a nominal class prefix in the Bantu languages.

Bantuists use numbers, rather than labels such as 'feminine' or 'neuter', to refer to individual noun classes. Numbers are assigned to classes in individual languages on the basis of cognacy. Odd numbers are used for classes that contain singular nouns and even numbers for plural classes, with some exceptions, most notably class 12 (SG) and 13 (PL). Singular – plural class pairings are usually called genders. The classic Swahili G42 for example shows that noun class prefixes and agreement prefixes of the noun -kapu 'basket' in the singular (class 7) and plural (class 8).

For example; Swahili G42

11)   a. Ki-kapu   ki-kubwa   ki-moja   ki-li-anguk-a.

              7-basket   NP7-big   NP7-one   SP7-PST-fall-FV

              'One large basket fell.'

          b. Vi-kapu   vi-kubwa   vi-tatu   vi-li-anguk-a.

              8-basket   NP8-big   NP8-three   SP8-PST-fall-FV

              'Three large baskets fell.'

Generally, nouns in Bantu agree with all the elements that occur with them be it in the phrase or sentence. Nouns can therefore agree with adjectives, verbs, numerals, demonstratives. Agreement properties can be discussed basing on the word categories with which the nouns agree as shown in Rugemarila (2007) presents such agreement markers in Mashami on table 2.3.

Table 3. Agreement Markers in Mashami

Cl	Prefix	Example	Gloss	S. Aff	Ob. Aff	Adj. Agr	Num One/Two	Demonstratives This	That 1	That 2	Poss My	Ass Con
1	*n*	*ńndû*	Person	*a*	*n*	*Mu*	*umwi*	*eu*	*ito*	*ulya*	*akwa*	*wa*
2	*bha*	*bhándû*	People	*bha*	*bha*	*Bha*	*bhabhii*	*bhandi*	*wando*	*bhalya*	*bhakwa*	*bha*
3	*n*	*nRí*	Tree	*u*	*u*	*Mu*	*umwi*	*eu*	*ito*	*ulya*	*wakwa*	*wa*
4	*mi*	*miRí*	Trees	*i*	*i*	*Bha*	*ibhii*	*ei*	*iyo*	*ilya*	*yakwa*	*ya*
5	*i*	*Iyái*	Egg	*lyi*	*lyi*	*I*	*lyimwi*	*ilyi*	*ilyo*	*lilya*	*lyakwa*	*lya*
6	*ma*	*mayái*	Eggs	*a*	*ya*	*Ma*	*abhii*	*andi*	*ando*	*alya*	*akwa*	*a*
7	*ki*	*kíndô*	Thing	*ki*	*ki*	*Ki*	*Kimwi*	*iki*	*ikyo*	*kilya*	*kyakwa*	*kya*
8	*fi*	*fíndô*	Things	*fi*	*fi*	*Fi*	*fibhii*	*ifi*	*ifyo*	*filya*	*fyakwa*	*fya*
9	*n*	*mbuRû*	Goat	*i*	*i*	*Shi*	*imwi*	*ei*	*iyo*	*ilya*	*yakwa*	*ya*
10	*n*	*mbuRû*	Goats	*ti*	*ti*	*shi/ti*	*ibhii*	*iti*	*eto*	*tilya*	*takwa*	*ta*
10a	*ngi*	*ngíbángâ*	Swords	*ti*	*ti*	*shi/ti*	*ibhii*	*iti*	*eto*	*tilya*	*takwa*	*ta*
11	*u*	*ubángâ*	Sword	*lu*	*lu*	*Lu*	*lumwi*	*ilu*	*elo*	*lulya*	*lwakwa*	*lwa*
12	*ka*	*kambuRû*	Small goat	*ka*	*ka*	*Ka*	*kamwe*	*aka*	*ako*	*kalya*	*kakwa*	*ka*
14	*u*	*undu*	Humanness	*u*	*u*	*U*	*lumwi*	*eu*	*elo*	*ulya*	*lwakwa*	*lwa*
15/5	*i*	*ioRâ*	Marrying	*ku/lyi*	*ku/lyi*	*Ku*	*lyimwi*	*ilyi/kunu*	*ilyo*	*lilya/kulya*	*lwakwa*	*lya*
16	*a*	*ándô*	Place	*ku*	*ku*	*Ku*	*amwi*	*andi*	*ando*	*alya*	*kwakwa*	*kwa/a*
17	*ku*	*kundô*	Place	*ku*	*ku*	*Ku*	*kumwi*	*andi*	*efo*	*kulya*	*kwakwa*	*kwa*
18	*-*	*nRín*	In the tree	*ku*	*ku*	*Ku*	*kumwi*	*kunu*	*efo*	*kulya*	*kwakwa*	*kwa*

Source: Rugemarila (2007)

As seen in table 3, Mashami nouns agree with the elements with which they appear in the sentence or phrase. The agreement patterns determine the noun class of the noun they are agreeing with. This study aims at finding out the agreement patterns between nouns and other constituents with which they appear in syntactic structures. This helped the researcher to come up with the comprehensive patterns of agreements in Kisukuma.

Studies Related to Nouns

Different studies have been done in Bantu language on Derivational Morphology, Noun Morphology and Morphology in general. These discussions vary in one way or another from one language to another. The division of labour between morphology and syntax is thus perfect: morphology only operates below the word level whereas syntax only operates above the word level. Moreover, these two components of grammar are ordered in strict sequence, such that the syntax takes over after the morphology has done its work.

Appah (2003) conducted a study titled Nominal Derivation in Akan. The study discovered that there are four derivational processes involved in the derivation of nouns in Akan. These are subject dropping, object fronting, compounding and affixation. The last two of these processes are purely morphological but the first two are syntactic (argument structure) processes that have got morphological implications. Of the four processes mentioned above, the one that almost all derived nouns undergo is affixation, which is the process by which the noun that is being formed selects an affix of the appropriate form depending on the semantic properties of the entity to be named. The process of affixation ultimately places the derived noun in a noun class. The other process which is also very common, though somewhat obscure is subject dropping.

Appah (2003) concludes that derivational process is necessary in order to account for the absence of subject markers as segments in most nouns derived from clauses and for cases where elements in the subject phrase remained as segments in the derived noun. That is, our view that some nouns are derived from fully specified lexical entries is given credence by the presence of subjects or subject markers in some nouns derived from clauses just as much as the absence of subject markers in most nouns derived from clauses justifies our positing the process of subject dropping. Hence, Appah's study did a good analysis on noun derivation in Akan. So, due to this study, the researcher is inspired to conduct the same study but in other Bantu language namely

Kisukuma so as to document the language for further use in the field of Linguistics.

Mangula's (2012) study covers two processes in morphology- inflection and derivation, how they apply to Kisukuma language, while paying attention to the Jinakiiya dialect which is spoken in some parts of Shinyanga and Simiyu regions. The study is undertaken considering the fact that languages of the world differ morphologically in a number of ways. The classical theory, which is now considered as a traditional method of analysing the structure of words is used to guide this study. The analysis however, was shaped to fit in Morpheme-Based Morphology. A good number of nouns, verbs and adjectives were collected in the area where the dialect is spoken and then using tables, realization of morphemes in each word including attachment of different affixes was done. The findings of the study however, despite the unique characteristics the data displayed in the analysis and discussion, the two processes as described by the already existing knowledge from other languages work well to Kisukuma language.

Although Mangula did a good study and cover the derivation and inflection in Kisukuma. There is a gap where he used only one theory that was not enough to satisfy the study due to that he recommended the same study and use not only the morpheme-based theory but also to add other theories so that to make the study satisfied. Mangula (2012) noticed that it is the fact that therefore, the knowledge that this study has given regarding derivation and inflection is not satisfactory. It is recommended that future researchers in linguistics should think of researching on derivation and inflection but in the lines of the modern theory or the convergence theory.

Mbuki (2019) did a study that sought to analyse the Clause Chaining Features available in Kisukuma under the framework of Role and Reference Grammar. The aim was to investigate the clause linkage of clause chaining in Kisukuma and even more to interrogate how Role and Reference Grammar Theory can be used to capture clause chaining in Kisukuma. The study shows that clause chaining has long been identified as narrative tense, consecutive, conjunctive participles or co-verbs. The study also shows that all the three text types that is coordinate, subordinate and co-subordination are available in Kisukuma but clause chaining can only be found in co-subordination. The study shows that the role and reference grammar is inadequate in terms of analysing features like the subject nominal, derivation as well as the clause linkage markers in Kisukuma co-subordination. Hence, the theory fails to show how clause chains in LSC model. However, other features of the

language are appropriately catered for compared to how the traditional grammar theories work.

Mbuki study tries to look at the Noun morphology in Kisukuma where the scholar deal with the noun class system and look at the affixes especially prefixes which are added to the root to form meaningful words. Also, Mbuki tries to look at the noun derivation in a small part to show size derivation and proceed with verb morphology. Therefore, Mbuki's study shortly looksat the noun derivation but does not do deep to show derivational processes involves in noun formation since his study was not based on the noun derivation only.

Luhende (2018) conducted a study to investigate the lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Kisukuma in the domains of the Determiner Phrase DP, Inflectional Phrase IP and Verb Phrase VP. The findings of the study demonstrate that English loanwords in Sukuma exhibit lexical-semantic and morpho-syntactic properties similar to inherent (that is native) Sukuma words. In the DP domain, English loan nouns are modified to conform to the Sukuma nominal morphology. Each English loan noun, for example, is assigned to the Sukuma noun class system, exemplifying a noun class prefix. Furthermore, various inherent Sukuma nominal affixes are evidenced to occur with English loan nouns, similarly to inherent Sukuma nouns. The findings of the study give evidence that some of the English loan nouns in Sukuma undergo semantic broadening, semantic narrowing, or semantic shift, and that borrowed compound nouns are lexicalized in Sukuma.

With regard to the IP and VP domains, the findings of the study give evidence that English loan verbs are modified for integration into the complex agglutinative Sukuma verbal morphology. For example, English loan verbs inflect for the three tense forms and they occur with various Sukuma verbal derivational suffixes, such as the applicative and causative, hence, exhibiting the same morpho-syntactic properties similar so inherent Sukuma verbs. It is proposed in this study that English verbs borrowed in Sukuma, in most cases, are associated with the development of science and technology, and innovation, thus, they express new concepts and entities which did not previously occur in the lexicon of Sukuma.

This study dealt with morpho-syntax properties of English to cover the loanwords in Kisukuma from this point of view the researcher noticed that Luhende does not look at the nouns in general instead he works with the loanwords only, hence this study will therefore look the morpho-syntactic properties of

noun in Kisukuma with the inclusion of the other nouns that are not English loanwords.

Robinson (2016) did a paper titled The Description of the Nyakyusa derivation and inflection. He described Nyakyusa, by examining the extent to which affixation is attested and making a distinction between inflection and derivation. Studies show that the distinction between them is not clear. There is a blurred distinction between derivation and inflection based on the morphology of the noun. The noun class prefixes are inflectional since they mark person and number contrast and the same prefixes are derivational since they derive new nouns with various degrees of semantic relationship to the original noun. Therefore, it seems to be difficult to draw a clear demarcation between derivational and inflectional affixes based on the morphology of noun in Nyakyusa. However, based on the morphology of the verb, several affixes can be analyzed as inflectional while others are derivational. The pre-root and some post-root affixes of the verb are inflectional since they mark tense/aspect and polarity while most post-root affixes are derivational.

Bollaert (2017) discussed the synchronic phonology of Sagala and presented a first overview of its noun class system. The study covered Sagala's synchronic phonology, the phonemes as well as the syllable structure, prosody and morpho phonological processes. The study shows that Sagala is a fairly typical Bantu language with a 5V system. A remarkable feature is the aspirated nasals which are also present in a few neighbouring languages.

 Sagala does not have distinctive tone. It does have alternating stress. In the section on nominal morphology, Sagala's nominal morphology was discussed by paying attention to every class individually. The noun prefixes (and pre-prefixes) and the classes' semantic content were analysed. Sagala has at least fourteen noun classes grouped into eight singular/plural pairings. It is yet unclear whether the three locative prefixes common in Bantu exist, due to lack of data. The augment is present in Sagala in classes 5 and 9. Its function is still unclear.

Batibo (1976), in his PhD thesis describes some aspects of derivation and inflection in verbs and nouns. He describes inflection in Kisukuma nouns by giving singular and plural forms of certain vocabulary items. He discovered that plural affixes occur as prefixes in Kisukuma nouns. The affixes do not occur in a form of addition as it is in English but in the form of substitution. He gave examples as follows:

12)   Class I: muunho/baanho "person/persons"

            Class III: lyaana/maana "child/children"

Class IV keenho/shiinho "thing/things"

Batibo (Ibid) tried also to look on verb extension. He dealt with nineteen verb extensions, giving their forms and meaning, order, repetition of extension and co-occurrence. Regarding the order and co-occurrence, Batibo (Op cit) found that extensions in Kisukuma are arranged from the least productive to the most one and can be combined from two to five extensions. In this order, passive was seen usually to occur at the end. He again discovered that it is possible to have extension repetition in Kisukuma. Thus, two elements identical in forms but different in meanings can be combined together. Batibo's study was too general, so, he did not go deep in each aspect of the derivational and inflectional processes.

VI.   METHODOLOGY

This study applied qualitative research approach in a case study design. Therefore, in qualitative research approach statements and description were provided in clarifying the collected data through different techniques. The study chose this approach because the research was qualitative by nature. Furthermore, this approach suits the study because it needed much investigation of terms that were better described by words rather than numbers, thus the study focused on discovering and explaining the new knowledge. Moreover, a case study design consisted of an in-depth study with the aim of producing description of data. Case study design was used to narrow down the geographical area and huge topic to be discussed in the study. Therefore, the researcher decided to use case study design as it narrows down the Bantu languages into specific Bantu language namely Kisukuma language, also Sukuma speech community covers the larger geographical area and dialects into a single district that is Busega district.

The researcher used various data collection techniques to collect relevant data on morpho-syntactic properties of Kisukuma nouns. The study used interview to get data from respondents.

VII.   FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The findings were presented and discussed basing on the study objectives follows;

7.1 Morphological Properties of Kisukuma Nouns

Morphological properties of nouns can be explained in different ways such as noun class system which is very crucial in Bantu languages. There is no Bantu language that does not have a noun class system, but they do vary from one Bantu language to another and that is why the study had to explore on the noun class system of Kisukuma. Another way is through inflection and derivation of nouns including noun formation processes. The study will discuss them one by one.

Kisukuma Noun Class System

The structure of Kisukuma nouns is made up of augments (AUG) or pre prefix, prefixes and the root, however there is also suffixes but they occur in the derivation process and in the aspect of the deverbal nouns. Kisukuma is very rich in augments and this is because the augments in other Bantu languages are only two but in Kisukuma there are five augments which are *"a, ɛ, i, o and ʊ"* and some within these Kisukuma augment can be used in singular and plural as pairs of the noun class system for instance the augment *"o"* can be used in class 1 and 1a while the augment *"a"* can be used in class 2 and 2a as pairs for singular and plural in 1 and 2 as well as 1a and 2a, although the augments exist in Kisukuma they are optional and they can be used in a noun or not but still the words will have its meaning and the noun will be grammatical this is to say Kisukuma noun can appear as *"onseza"* to mean brother or *"nseza"* to mean brother as well and both noun will have the same meaning with or without the use of augment.

Moreover, prefixes are very obligatory and crucial in Kisukuma noun because the prefixes are responsible for making singularity or plurality of the noun not only that but also select its agreement on other word categories like verb and adjectives. Root is an dependent aspect where it needs to be attached with prefix to convey the meaning without the prefix the root will not have the meaning for example the root *"-so"* itself have no meaning but when it is attached with the prefix *"-li-"* to convey the noun *"liso"* to mean eye then the root will get the meaning there some exception in the Kisukuma noun for instance the noun class 1a which denote kinship terms where the stem can have its meaning without the class prefix.

7.2 Agreement Properties of Kisukuma Nouns

Kisukuma like other Bantu languages have a big number of nouns, these nouns do trigger the agreement Kisukuma nouns with other word categories with which the nouns appear in a syntactic construction be it a sentence, phrase or clause. The agreement of nouns as mentioned above trigger many word categories such as demonstratives, adjectives, numerals as well as verbs to agreement with them. The following are the word categories with which Kisukuma nouns agree.

Noun to Demonstratives Agreement

In Kisukuma, the nouns trigger any kind of demonstrative that is suitable to be used on that kind of noun in singular and in plural, the use of demonstrative will be different since the noun itself will be either singular or plural also the demonstrative are used to each group of noun because the nouns belong to a certain class of noun, as in the examples from the field in 2;

13)   *cl.1*   *nyanda uyu*   this boy

        cl.1   *ng'wanike uyu*   this girl

        cl.9   *meza iyi*   this table

        cl.9   *isumbe ili*   this chair

        cl.3   *linti ili*   this tree

        cl.6   *minze aya*   this water

        cl.11   *mongo uyu*   this river

        cl.9   *nhumba iyi*   this house

        cl.11   *ibarabara iyo*   that road

        cl.1   *nhu uyo*   that person

        Source: Field data 2021

As the examples shown above the study shows that in the singular form of nouns, The use of demonstrative 'this' or 'that' has different forms and they are used in different kinds of nouns. The plural nouns on the other hand demonstrate 'those' and 'these' in Kisukuma have different forms as well such as;

14)   *ßayanda aba*   these boys

        ßanike aba   these girls

        meza iji   these tables

        masumbe aya   these chairs

        manti aya   these trees

        minze aya   these water

        ibarabara iji   those roads

        ßanhu abo   those people

        ngobo ijo   those clothes

        shule isho   those schools

*Source: **Field data 2021***

From the above examples, the study shows that the use of demonstrative in the nouns, changes because the agreement between nouns and its demonstratives not only that but also the demonstrative are selected depending on the noun class

of the word belongs to is very important so as to have a meaningful phrase.

Locative demonstratives

In Kisukuma there are several locative demonstratives that can be placed in class 16, 17 and 18 in Kisukuma noun class system; this is because they direct something far, near or inside. Let see the examples below;

15)   *aha*   *ha - toshaga*

        cl.16 here cl.16 is enough

        Here is enough

        uko   *kule*

        cl.17 there cl.17 far

        There is far

        omukaya   *omo*   *halegiti*

        cl.18   cl.18 inside   dark

        It is dark inside

The examples 15 show that the of the locatives have agreement with the verb in the sentence this means that the verb has to use the verb which agrees with the locatives so the prefixes in the verb have to co-occur with the locatives that denote class 16, 17 and 18 in noun class system in Kisukuma for example *"aha"* to mean here makes the verb to be *"hatoshaga"* to mean is enough so the prefix *"ha"* in the verb *"hatoshaga"* agrees with the locative *"aha"* in class 16.

Possessives Agreeing with Nouns

In Kisukuma, the possessives agree with noun in Kisukuma. If the noun is in plural form then the possessive has to be in plural also if the noun mark animals or plant or human then the possessive has to belong to that category for example;

16)   <u>*Nhumba*</u> <u>*ya*</u>*-kwe*   Your house

        Cl9   *cl9*

        <u>*Ng'wana*</u> <u>*o*</u>*-ko*   Your child

        Cl1   *cl1*

        <u>*Lisumbe*</u> <u>*lya*</u>*-kwe*   His/her chair

        Cl9   *cl9*

        <u>*Masumbe*</u> <u>*ga*</u>*-ne*   My chairs

        Cl10   *cl10*

        <u>*Shilatu*</u> <u>*sha*</u>*-kwe*   His/her shoes

        Cl8   *cl8*

Data from the field in example 16 shows that possessive in Kisukuma must agree with the noun. For instance, the noun *"shilatu"* to mean shoes which belong to class 8 has the prefix *-shi-* and the possessive has to agree with the same class as noun used in the phrase.

Quantifiers

Kisukuma quantifiers must have the agreement with the noun from the class system it belongs to depending on the noun in use. For example,

17)   *β̱a-a̱na*   *ḇa-inge*   *ba-lejaga shule*

cl2 child cl2 many

Many children do not go to school.

nhu̱mba   *ni̱-nge* *shazengilwe*

cl9 house   cl9 many

Many houses are built

shitungulu nge-hu shikutosha

cl8 onion cl8 few

Few onions will be enough

The quantifiers in Kisukuma as well have to have the agreement with the noun in the sentence this is because the noun class prefix of the noun used has to select its quantifiers so as to have a grammatical sentence for instance the noun *"nhumba"* to mean house has the prefix *n-* in class 9 in noun class system use the quantifier *"ninge"* so as to agree with class 9 noun class.

Nouns agreement on Numerals

Nouns can agree with numerals with which they occur. Numerals will acquire the noun class of the noun with which it occurs.

18)   *β̱a-nhu ba-bili*   two people

m-nhu u-mo   one person

n-humba i-datu   three houses

ma-ge a-nane   eight eggs

i-ge li-mo   one egg

lu-shu lu-mo   one knife

ma-we a-datu   three stones

ma-fulela ma-bili   two pans

le-nti li-mo   one tree

*Source: **Field data 2021***

The above example shows that some numerals are the same but they have different prefixes which on the other hand are used to agree with the noun that is being used for example the number *"limo", "lumo"* and *"umo"* to mean one also the variation of same number must change as the example shown above because of the noun class to which a noun belong for instance, *nhu* 'person' belong in class 1; therefore, *umo* to mean one has to belong in class one. Also, *β̱anhu* 'people' belong to class 2 to mark plural term for human beings and the numeral *babili* hence, *-ba-* as the prefix has to agree with the class 2. However, the agreement on numerals ends with 5. From six forward the nouns do not agree with numerals.

Nouns - Adjectives Agreement

Also, adjectives agree with the noun with which they occur in a syntactic construction. For instance, in the plural formation, the adjectives have a certain prefix that will agree with that plural noun similarly to singular forms. For example;

19)   *ng'wa̱-nike* *o̱-wiza*

cl1 girl   cl1 beautiful

Beautiful girl

β̱a-nike   *ḇa-wiza*

cl2 girl   cl2 beautiful

Beautiful girls

ṉ-yanda o̱ - wiza

cl1 boy cl1 handsome

`   Handsome boy

β̱a-yanda   *ḇa-wiza*

cl2 boy   cl2 handsome

Handsome boys

ge-tungulu *gi-do*

cl7 onion   cl7 small

A small onion

shi-tungulu shi-do

cl8 onion   cl8 small

Small onions

Source: Field data 2021

As the examples in 19 illustrate, each Kisukuma noun belongs to a certain noun class due to that every noun governs the morphology on adjectives like in *bawiza* 'handsome' or 'beautiful' agree with the noun class 2 *ßayanda* 'boys' that mark plurality of the noun. Another example *gido* 'small' agrees with the noun *"getungulu"* to mean onion which belongs to class 7 and not any other class. Also, the study found that gender agreement to mark handsome or beautiful in Kisukuma is used for the both genders as shown in the example above.

Verbs Agreeing with Nouns

Verb agreement is very important in bringing the grammatical and meaningful phrase or sentence in grammar, the following are the examples that explain the agreement of the verb with its subject, also it seems that like Kisukuma noun the verb also depend on the prefix that are attached to the verb

20)   *Ng'wa- nike a- lesata*

      cl.1   stem   cl.1 sick

      The girl is sick

      ßa-nike ba-lesata

      cl.2 stem cl.2 sick

      The girls are sick

      ng'wi-mbi wi-mbile

      cl.1   stem cl.1 stem

      The singer is singing

      ka - numba ka - bomokile

      cl.12 house cl.12 collapse

      A small house collapsed

      ka-gefulela ka-tobokile

      cl.12 pan   cl.12

      The small pan has a hole

      Source: Field data 2021

The examples above show that the agreement of verb with the noun can be identified through the prefixes used like *"ka-ka", 'ßa-ba", "ng'w-wi"* and *"ng'w-a"* all these are

prefixes added to the verb stem. These agreement morphemes are always referred to as subject markers, object markers depending on the location of the noun with which they agree. Sentences level as well as other elements which agree with the noun class are exemplifies in 21;

21)   *Ka - ana   ka - do   ka - jimelile*

      cl.12 child cl.12 small cl.12 lost

            A small child is lost

      ßa-nhu   ba-bili   ßa-lukile

      cl.2-person cl.2 two cl.2 vomited

            Two people vomited

      Ba-dimi   ba-jimejaga ng'olo

      cl.2 Shepherd cl.2 losts   sheep

            Shepherds lots the sheep

      *Source: **Field data 2021***

The above sentences show that the elements agree with the noun for a specific noun class system the study confirms that there is no way that class 1 can use class three agreement or class 2 agreement because the result will be ungrammatical. For example, in 11, one cannot say

22)   **ng'wanike bawiza alesata* 'a beautiful girl are sick',

Generally, Kisukuma nouns agree with other elements they occur within a syntactic structure as shown on table 4

Table 4 Kisukuma nouns agreement

NC	Aug	Pr	Stem	Example	Gloss	Agrs	Adj.Agr	Num S & P	Poss mine	Dem this and that		Semantics field
1	ɔ-	-n-	-sati	onsati	Person	a-	m-	umo	one	uyu	uyo	Human
2	a-	-ba-	-sati	abasati	Sick people	ßa-	ba-	babili	bane	aba	abo	
1a	ɔ-	Ø	ßaßa	oßaßa	Father	a-	m-	umo	one	uyu	uyo	Kinship terms.
2a	a-	-ßa-	ßaßa	aßaßaßa	Fathers	ßa-	ba-	babili	bane	aba	abo	Plural class 1a
3	ʋ-	-mu-	-ti	umuti	Tree	go-	m-	umo	gwane	uyu	uyo	Plant/object
4	i-	-mi-	-ti	imiti	Trees	ya-	mi-	ibili	yane	iyi	iyo	
5	i-	-li-	-no	ilino	Tooth	lya-	i-	limo	lyane	ili	Ilo	Thing/animal
6	a-	-mi-	-no	amino	Teeth	ga-	ma-	abili	gane	aya	ayo	
7	i-	-ge-	-tabu	igetabu	Book	gi-	cha-	gimo	chane	iki	icho	Object
8	i-	-shi-	-tabu	ishitabu	Books	shi-	sha-	shibili	shane	ishi	isho	
9	ɛ-	-n-	-basa	embasa	Axe	li-	ya-	imo	yane	iyi	iyo	Thing/animal
	ɛ-	-n-	-buli	embuli	Goat							
10	a-	-ma-	-basa	amabasa	Axes	shi	ja-	abili	jane	iji	Ijo	
	ɛ-	-m-	-buli	embuli	Goats			ibili				
11	ɛ-	-n-	-gh'ingi	engh'ingi	Pole	ya-	ndi-	imo	yane	iyi	iyo	Long/thin objects
12	a-	-ka-	-negene	akanegene	Small baby	ka-	ka-	kamo	kane	aka	ako	Diminutive
13	ʋ-	-tu-	-negene	utunegene	Small babies	tu-	tu-	tubili	tone	utu	uto	
14	ʋ-	-bu-	-nonu	ubunonu	Sweetness	bu-	bu-	-	bane	ubu	ubo	Abstract entities
15	ʋ-	-kɔ-	-zuga	ukuzuga	To cook	go-	ko-	-	kwane	uku	uko	Verbal infinitive
15 a	ʋ	-ku-	-gulu	ukugulu	Leg	go-	ngu-	gumo	gwane	ugu	ugo	Body parts
16	a-	-ha-	-numba	ahanumba	At the house	ha-	ha-	hamo	yane	iyi	iyo	
17	ʋ-	-gu-	-kanisa	ugukanisa	At the church	gu-	gu-	-	-	-	uko	Location
18	ʋ-	-mu-	-kanisa	umukanisa	In the church	m-	m-	-	-	umu	umo	

Source: **Field Data** (*2021*)

VIII.   CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Conclusion

The agreement properties of Kisukuma nouns shows that Kisukuma nouns are in concord with other word categories such as demonstratives, adjectives, numbers and verbs. This is to say the study discovered that agreement properties of Kisukuma nouns trigger the concord with other elements that are in phrases, clauses and also sentences in which the nouns are found. Also, nouns are responsible in marking numbers to mean singular or plural, the verbs and adjectives have to agree with the noun first so as to appear in form of singular, plural, diminutive and so forth. Furthermore, the study found that Kisukuma nouns just like the other Bantu languages affect other word categories in a way that when the noun is in a plural form, it makes other word categories that follows it in the same syntactic construction to be in a plural form as well. In most of the Kisukuma nouns, the agreement is shown by the prefix and not the stem.

8.2. Recommendations

Basing on the study findings, study covered morpho-syntactic properties of Kisukuma nouns. The researcher recommends that; since two levels of linguistics was addressed future studies may focus on;

i.   Similar topic but looking on interrelationship between morphology and other levels of linguistics like phonology so as to expand the knowledge in Kisukuma language. Also, the similar topic can be done in other Bantu languages. Other researchers may also focus on the distinction between the dialects of Kisukuma as well as their similarities in terms word formation of the language in question.

ii.   Future studies may also use ethnographic design as opposed to a case study design used in this work. The researcher also recommends that, future studies may focus on the other linguistics levels such as: pragmatics, semantics and phonology. It is hoped that, the documentation of the recommended studies is one step of making Kisukuma to be among the most cited and documented languages in the field of linguistics

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