# Possessive Noun Phrase: From Simple to Complex

*Ibrahim D. Rwakakindo[*] and Abel Y. Mreta[**]*

**Abstract**

*This study seeks to examine the possible expandability of possessive noun phrase (PNP) in Kisubi, a Bantu language spoken natively in Biharamulo district located in the north-western part of Kagera region, Tanzania. Precisely, the core objective of this paper is to investigate the presence of potential syntactic slots between the head noun ($N_1$ – herein referred to as the possessee) and the dependent noun ($N_2$ – herein referred to as the possessor), and the way they are patterned in relation to the head noun. Similarly, the paper investigates the saturational level of the PNP. Furthermore, the study confines itself to the nominal possessive noun phrases because of their potentiality of having syntactic slots between $N_1$ and $N_2$; and it is guided by the Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG). The data are generated by six (6) native speakers of Kisubi, who are obtained through snowball sampling technique. They are collected using structured interview, introspection and Focus Group Discussion; and are analysed using tables and tree structure inherent in PSG. The findings established that there is a maximum of five (5) syntactic slots between $N_1$ and $N_2$, and they are occupied by elements such as demonstrative, adjective, quantifier, numeral and ordinal. Of the elements (herein referred to as syntactic intrusives), the demonstrative is designated as a determiner because of its syntactic behaviour of occurring consistently closer to the head noun; and the remaining elements are designated as modifiers because of their syntactic behaviour of hopping from one syntactic position to another.*

**Key words:** *possessive noun phrase, syntactic intrusive, determiner, modifier, peripheral modifiers, alienable, inalienable, phrase structure grammar, possessor, possessee, etc.*

## Introduction

This paper investigates the possible expandability of the structure of possessive noun phrase in Bantu focusing on Kisubi, a Bantu language spoken natively in Biharamulo district in the north-western part of Kagera region, Tanzania. Kisubi, which is more dominant than other languages in the district, is alternatively referred to as Ekisubhi [ekisuβi], Orusubhi [orusuβi] and/or Subi; and its speakers, whose number is said to be 135,479 (Rugemalira and Muzale, 2008: 79), are variously referred to as Wasubi, Basubi,

[*] Assistant Lecturer, Department of Foreign Languages and Literature, The University of Dodoma, P.O. Box 626, Dodoma, Tanzania, E-mail: rwakakindo@yahoo.com

[**] Senior Lecturer, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 35040, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, E-mail: mretaone@yahoo.co.uk

Abhasubhi [aßasuβi] and/or Subi. Unfortunately, the language is so far not documented in spite of falling into the category of endangered languages (ethnologue 2013); and above all, it has not yet been classified into its requisite zone. In the classificatory system of Guthrie (1967/71), it was erroneously classified into zone D60 and individually coded D64, and it was erroneously named Shubi. In later developments, Maho (1999) relabeled the language Subi, Shubi, or Sinja. In fact, Kisubi does not fall into zone D60; it does not relate to languages found in this zone, which include Kinyarwanda, Kirundi, Kiha, Kihangaza and Kishubi; but it closely relates to languages in zone JE20 – the Haya-Jita group of the narrow Bantu. Hence, if re-zoning of Bantu languages is done, Kisubi can certainly be zoned JE20 since there is a very significant lexico-semantic similarity and mutual intelligibility with many languages found in this zone, such as Kihaya, Kinyambo and Kizinza.

Nevertheless, many scholars have been contending that possessive noun phrase (PNP) is made up of two principal elements, the possessing element (herein referred to as the possessor, which is a dependent noun, functioning as a modifier) and the possessed element (herein referred to as the possessee, which is a head noun) (see, for example, Guma (1971), Hyman (1977), Harford (1985), Taljaard and Bosch (1988), Mugane (1997), Matambirofa (2000), Rosenbach (2002) & Alexiadou et al. (2007). This, in our view, is a simple structure of possessive noun phrases. However, this paper moves a step further into arguing that in a nominal possessive noun phrase in Kisubi and possibly in other Bantu languages, there are potential syntactic slots between the possessor and the possessee, and such slots can be occupied by elements which may further modify the head noun, thus making the structure of possessive noun phrase complex. In the context of this paper, such additional elements between the possessor and the possessee have been referred to as peripheral modifiers or syntactic intrusives. Just for the matter of convenience, the label "syntactic intrusives" will be used throughout the paper. Therefore, the authors of this paper assert that the structure of possessive noun phrase is elastic, i.e. it can be expanded further without losing the whole sense of possessiveness. In order to bring this contention into actuality, the paper seeks to address three fundamental questions: firstly, what are the elements, besides the possessor, that can further modify the head noun in the PNP? Secondly, which order do the syntactic intrusives take in relation to the head noun? And thirdly, what is the saturational/desirable level of the PNP?

## Literature Review and Theoretical Orientation

The authors reviewed a good number of literature related to this study and found that neither of the scholars had endeavored to address the question of possible expandability of the structure of possessive noun phrase. This seemed to be an inherent gap that called for bridging. The central arguments put forth by many scholars in the surveyed literature were threefold: firstly, the PNP is constituted by two semantically asymmetrical elements, the possessor and the possessee, and that the former is more significant than the latter, i.e. the absence of the possessor erases the whole concept of possession; hence, the possessor seems to be more significant than the possessee (Hyman, 1977; Mugane, 1997; Matambirofa, 2000; just to mention a few. Secondly, the PNP is in two categories, alienable and inalienable (Den-Dikken, 2006; Kula, 2009; Gebregziabher, 2012). In alienable PNP, the possessee semantically stands independent of the possessor, i.e. it is not intrinsically related to the possessor; hence, it is associated with multiple interpretations. For example, in the alienable PNP *Juma's book,* the possessee *book* may have different conceptions: a book which was written by Juma; a book which was bought by Juma; a book which is preferred to be read by Juma; a book which belongs to Juma; and other socio-culturally architectured meanings (slang). Hence, the interpretation of alienable nouns (possessees) is subject to the context, regardless as to whether the speaker is a native or a non-native, but proficient in the language. On the other hand, in inalienable PNPs, the possessee is semantically dependent on the possessor, i.e. it is intrinsically related to the possessor. For example, in the inalienable PNP *Juma's hand,* the possessee *hand* cannot be defined without referring to the entity that possesses it; it is directly linked to a certain entity. In other words, a *hand* is a part of the body; hence, it cannot exist independently. And thirdly, in other languages, alienable and inalienable PNPs can be distinguished either morphosyntactically (Gebregziabher, 2012) or morphophonologically (Dobler, 2008). In languages, such as Kisubi, where alienable-inalienable distinction is not made in their grammar, the only way of distinguishing them is by relying on the semantic approach since alienable and inalienable constructions are configurationally similar.

Just to recap, in all these literature, an attempt was not made to address the question of syntactic intrusives between the possessor and the possessee, which are likely to make the structure of the PNP

complex. Hence, this study strived in order to address this phenomenon.

Nevertheless, this paper is guided by the theory of Phrase Structure Grammar which is particularly suitable in analyzing constituent structures of different natural languages. According to Brinton (2000: 165), the theory consists of a set of ordered rules known as rewrite rules, which are applied stepwise. For example, in analysing the internal structure of a noun phrase, the following phrase structure rule may be employed: NP → (DET) N (PP). Since this study was essentially on possessive noun phrase, which is a subset of a noun phrase, the phrase structure rule that analyses noun phrases was to be slightly modified so as to accommodate the obligatoriness of the basic constitutive elements of the PNP; hence, the output of the modified rule took the following shape: PNP → N (SI) PP, where N = Noun; SI = Syntactic Intrusive; and PP = Possessive *of*- prepositional phrase. Within SI, there are determiner and modifier(s); and PP syntactically represents the dependent noun, which is configurationally a prepositional phrase.

## Methodology

The study was conducted in Biharamulo district where Kisubi is spoken natively. Three wards, namely Nyarubungo, Nyamahanga and Runazi – which were purposively sampled – were involved in the study; and each ward provided two respondents, a female and male, with 50 years and above, who helped in generating data for this study. The study was qualitative in nature with some micro quantitative elements such as tabulation and computation of percentages so as to obtain syntactic patterns with higher response rates. Since we could not distinguish easily the linguistic abilities of the potential respondents, we had to use snowball sampling technique in order to obtain them. Data were collected using structured interview, Focus Group Discussion and introspection.

Before field excursion, an interview guide containing questions that were put into categories was prepared. Each category had four syntactic patterns of intrusives (it is worth noting that such syntactic patterns of intrusives were given in Kisubi), and each respondent was supposed to pick one pattern that had the right syntax of intrusives. During field excursion, the researchers read each category and its associated syntactic patterns of intrusives (the reading was done thrice so that each respondent could hear correctly and then respond appropriately). After the reading, each respondent was told to pick the pattern that seemed to have the right syntax.

Recording of responses was done in the field notebook, after which computation of percentages was done so as to work out the pattern that had the highest response rate. Moreover, the same categories and their associated syntactic patterns were presented to the Focus Group Discussion. During the discussion, some interview results remarkably changed; others slightly changed; and others remained constant. Hence, the FGD results were given an upper hand since the FGD was regarded as a filter or confirmer of the interview results. Lastly, the results from the structured interview and FGD were tabulated, just for comparison and for easy analysis, and computation of percentages was done so as to obtain patterns with higher response rates (cf. Tables 1, 2, 3 & 4 on the Appendix Section).

After working out the patterns with the right syntax of intrusives, additional illustrative phrases were given, but a few, in order to crystallize the decision made; and such phrases were analyzed using the tree structure approach inherent in the Phrase Structure Grammar. The PNP analysis rule so formulated under the section of literature review and theoretical orientation was used in analysing the phrases in question.

## Results and Discussion

### The Established Syntactic Intrusives and their Order in Relation to the Head Noun

To begin with, it is worth reiterating that a simple possessive noun phrase in Kisubi is free of intrusive elements; it constitutes two principal elements: the head noun (the possessee – $N_1$) and the dependent noun (the possessor – $N_2$), as in (1).

(1) omwana wa Juma
child ($N_1$) of Juma ($N_2$)
'Juma's child'

When the head noun is further modified by intrusive elements, the structure of the possessive noun phrase becomes complex, as in (2).

(2) omwana mlaingwa wa Juma
child ($N_1$) tall of Juma ($N_2$)
'Juma's tall child'

Apart from this reiteration, the following are the findings of the study with regard to the intrusive elements that further modify the head noun, thus making the structure of the possessive noun phrase complex: a total of five (5) elements (syntactic intrusives) which can

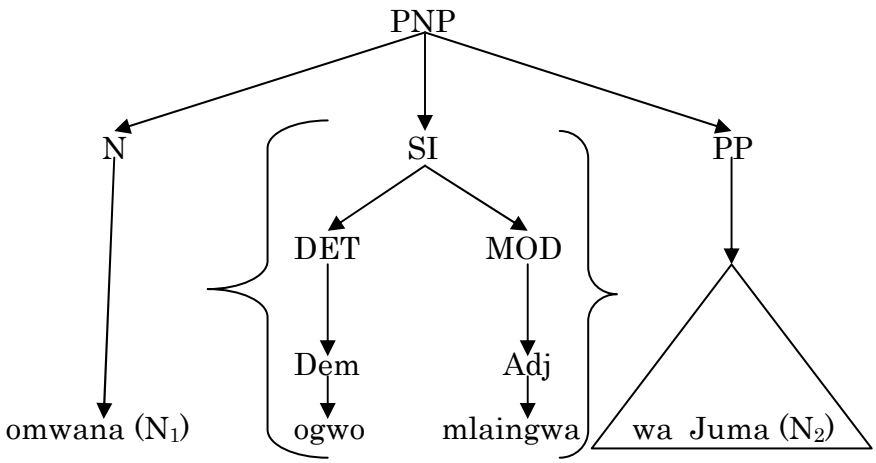
potentially occur between the head noun (the possessee, herein labeled as $N_1$) and the dependent noun (the possessor, herein labeled as $N_2$) were identified, namely *adjective, demonstrative, quantifier, numeral* and *ordinal*; and most of them did not have fixed syntactic positions; hence, they were designated as modifiers. Of the five elements, only the demonstrative – in most occurrences – seemed to occupy the first position from the head noun; hence, it was designated as a determiner. The syntactic intrusives and their associated syntactic behaviours are presented in Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 (cf. the Appendix Section). Table 1 in the appendix section shows the preferred order of two intrusives.

Based on the patterns with the highest response rate in categories A, E, H and J in Table 1 (cf. the appendix section), the demonstrative is consistently closer to the head noun; and in the remaining categories, to a larger extent, the syntactic intrusives seem to alternate positions. Taking category A as an example, the PNP analysis rule – using a tree structure – can be applied as in (3) and (4).

(3) Omwana ogwo mlaingwa wa Juma

child ($N_1$) that tall of Juma ($N_2$)

'That tall child of Juma'

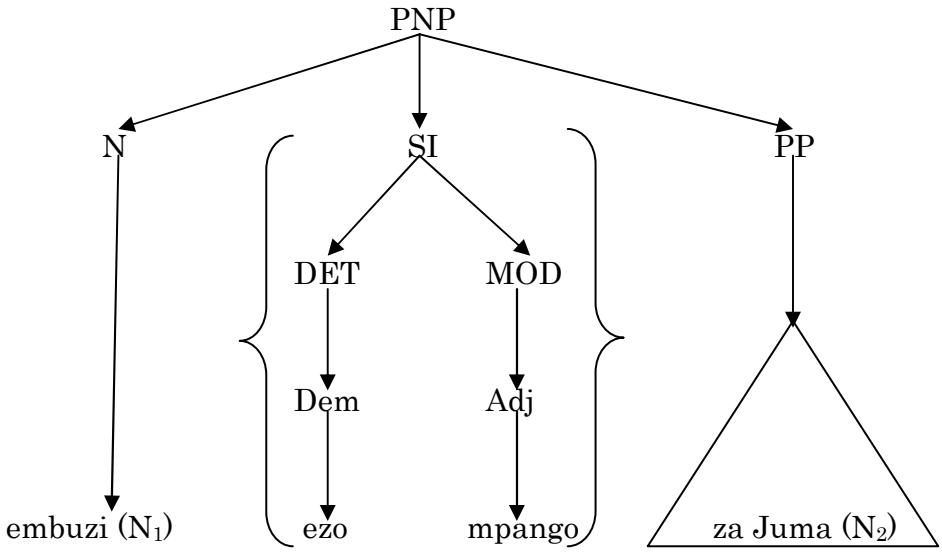



'That tall child of Juma'

(4) embuzi ezo mpango za Juma

goats ($N_1$) those fat/big of Juma ($N_2$)

'Those fat/big goats of Juma'




'Those fat/big goats of Juma'

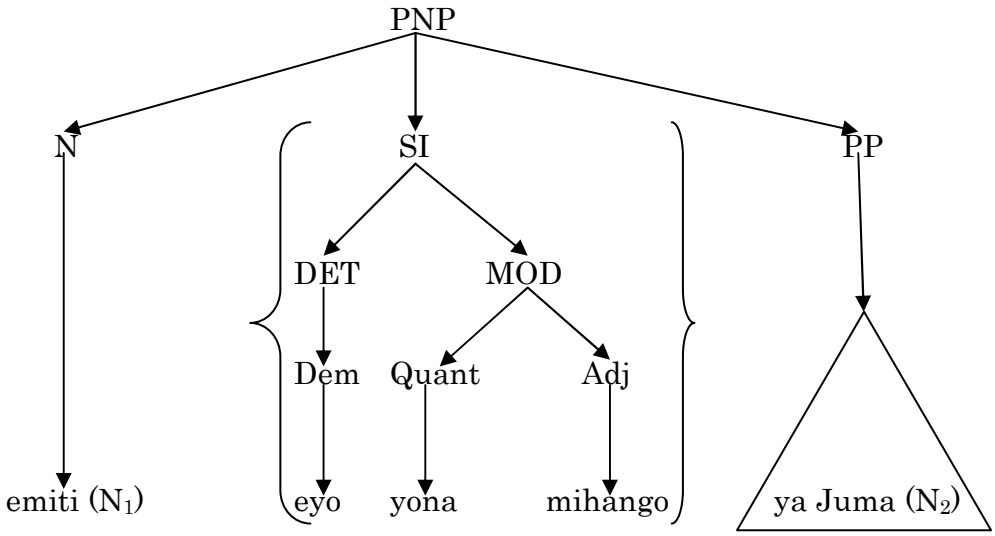
In the tree structures in (3) and (4), $N_1$ and $N_2$ are obligatory syntactic components; the brace-bracketed elements occurring between the two syntactic extremes, $N_1$ and $N_2$, are optional.

Apart from Table 1, Table 2 shows the preferred order of three intrusives (cf. the appendix section). In Table 2, the asterisked categories deserve particular attention; hence, they will be commented on as follows: Firstly, in Table 2 Category A, the findings show that 5(83%) respondents were of the opinion that the syntax of patterns **i** & **iv** was relatively acceptable, whereas 1(17%) respondent opined that pattern **i** had the right syntax. When the same category was presented to the Focus Group Discussion, the findings did not have a greater variance since 4(67%) respondents agreed with the syntax of patterns **i** & **iv** and the remaining 2(33%) said that pattern **i** had an acceptable syntax. Hence, following the majority's opinion, patterns **i** and **iv** were taken as having the required syntax. One of the picked up patterns is illustrated in (5) and (6).

(5) emiti eyo yona mihango ya Juma

trees ($N_1$) those all big of Juma ($N_2$)

'All those big trees of Juma'

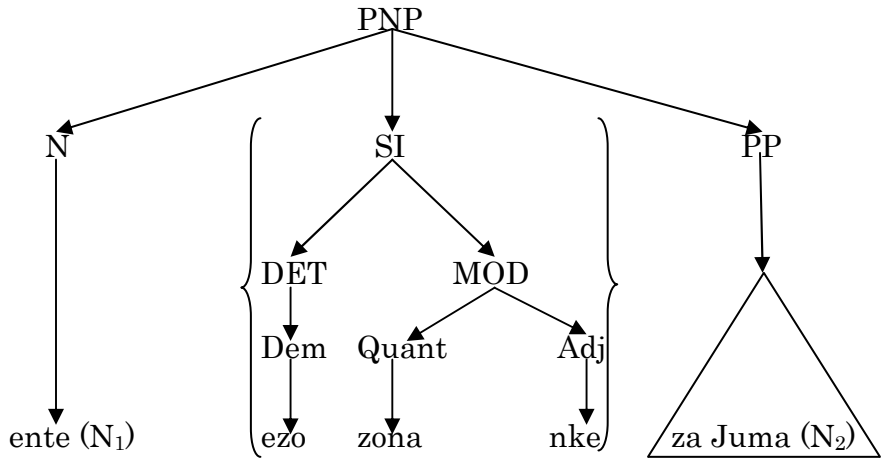



'All those big trees of Juma'

(6) ente ezo zona nke za Juma

cows ($N_1$) those all small of Juma ($N_2$)

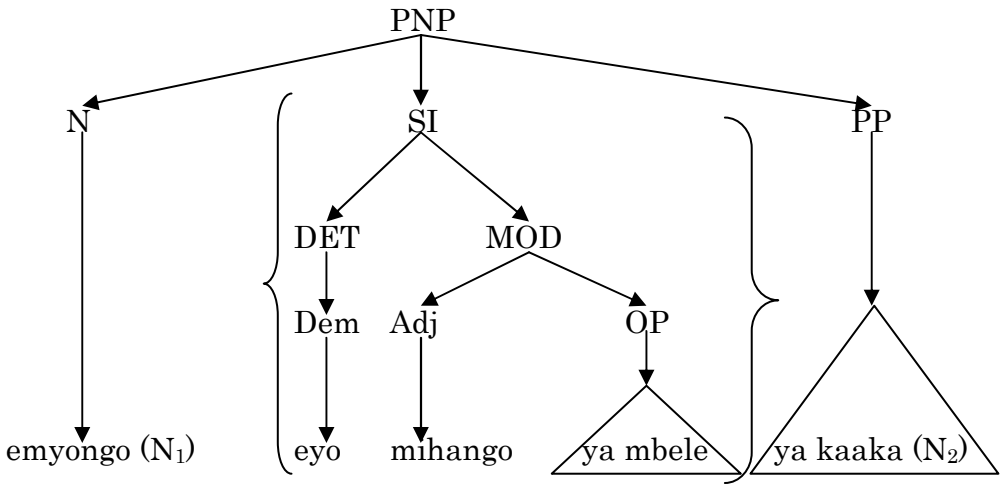
'All those small cows of Juma'




'All those small cows of Juma'

Secondly, in Table 2 Category C, the findings showed that 3(50%) respondents picked up patterns **i** & **ii** as having the right syntax, while 2(33%) respondents argued that the syntax of patterns **i** & **ii** was relatively acceptable besides another pattern which they proposed, i.e. $N_1$, **Ord., Dem, Adj.**, $N_2$. Moreover, 1(17%) respondent picked up pattern **i** as having an appropriate syntax. During the Focus Group Discussion, the consensus was reached in which 5(83%) respondents argued that the syntax of patterns **i** and **ii** was correct. One of the picked up patterns is illustrated in (7).

(7) emyongo eyo mihango ya mbele ya kaaka
pumpkins ($N_1$) those big of first of grandmother ($N_2$)
'Those first big pumpkins of grandmother'



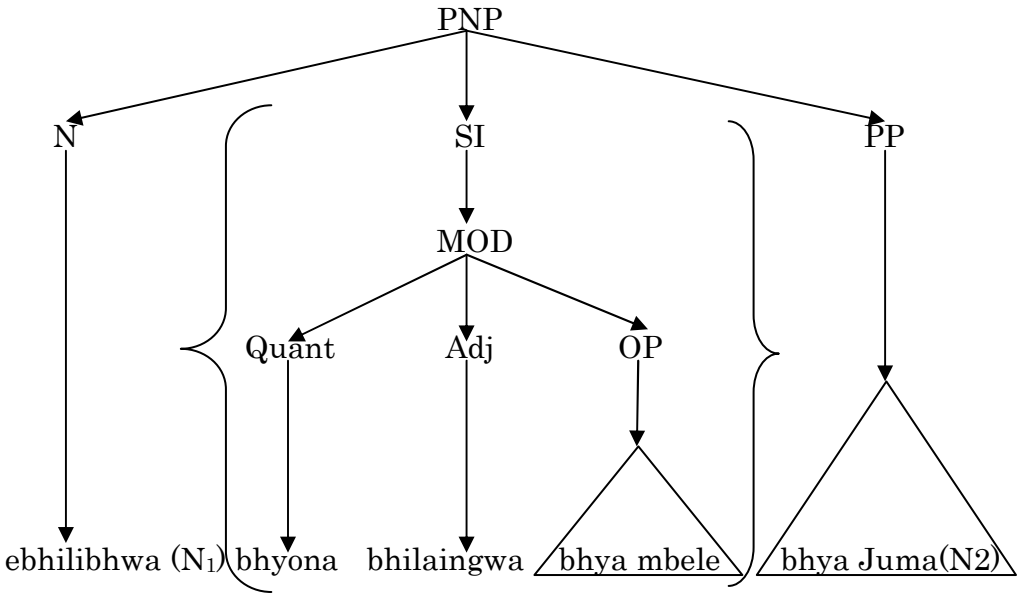

'Those first big pumpkins of grandmother'

Thirdly, in Table 2 Category E, it was revealed that 3(50%) respondents opined that pattern **ii** was relatively acceptable, whereas the remaining 3(50%) said that pattern **iv** was syntactically acceptable. During the focus group discussion, 4(67%) respondents were of the opinion that pattern **iv** was more correct that others, and the remaining 2(33%) said that pattern **ii** was more correct. The researchers, on the basis of the results, finally ruled out that the two patterns, **ii** & **iv**, were the ones which ordinary Kisubi speakers use. An illustrative example for one of the patterns is in (8).

(8) ebhilibhwa bhyona bhilaingwa bhya mbele bhya Juma [For pattern **ii**]

cassavas ($N_1$) all long of first of Juma ($N_2$)

'All first long cassavas of Juma'




'All first long cassavas of Juma'

NB: In Kisubi and probably in other Bantu languages, all ordinals do take concordial morphemes of the nouns they modify, thereby configurationally producing an "Ordinal Phrase". Thus, in (8), *mbele* cannot stand alone without the concordial morpheme *bhya*.

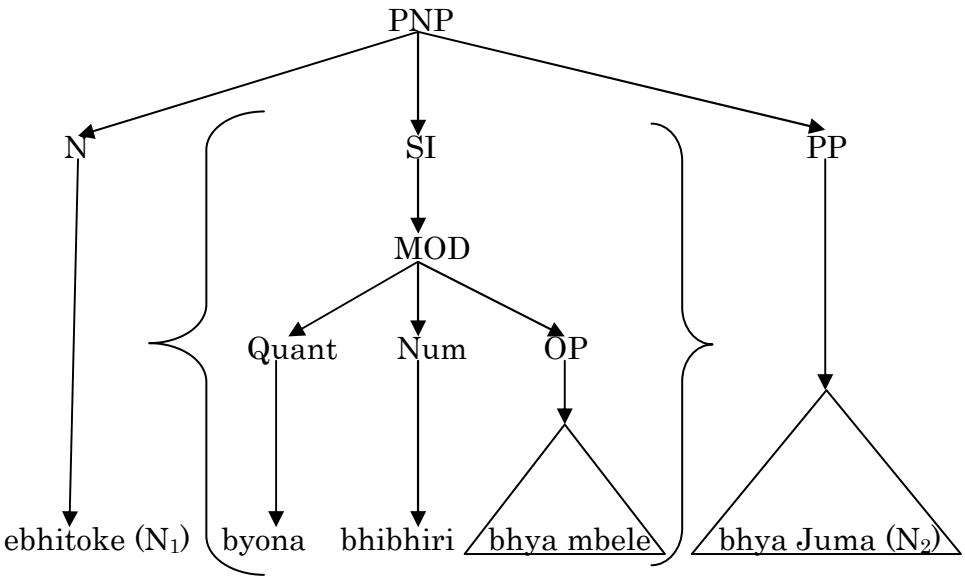
Fourthly, in Table 2 Category I, the findings indicated that 3(50%) respondents picked patterns **i** & **iv** as the most correct ones. In contrast, 3(50%) said that pattern **iii** had the most correct sequence of intrusives. During the Focus Group Discussion, the results slightly changed: 5(83%) respondents argued that patterns **i** & **iv** had the most acceptable sequence of intrusives, and 1(17%) remained with the stand that pattern **iii** was correct. On the basis of the results, patterns **i** & **iv** were taken as having the most acceptable syntax. An illustrative example of one of the patterns is given in (9).

(9) ebhitoke bhyona bhibhiri bhya mbele bhya Juma

[For pattern **i**]

bananas all two of first of Juma

'All first two bananas of Juma'




'All first two bananas of Juma'

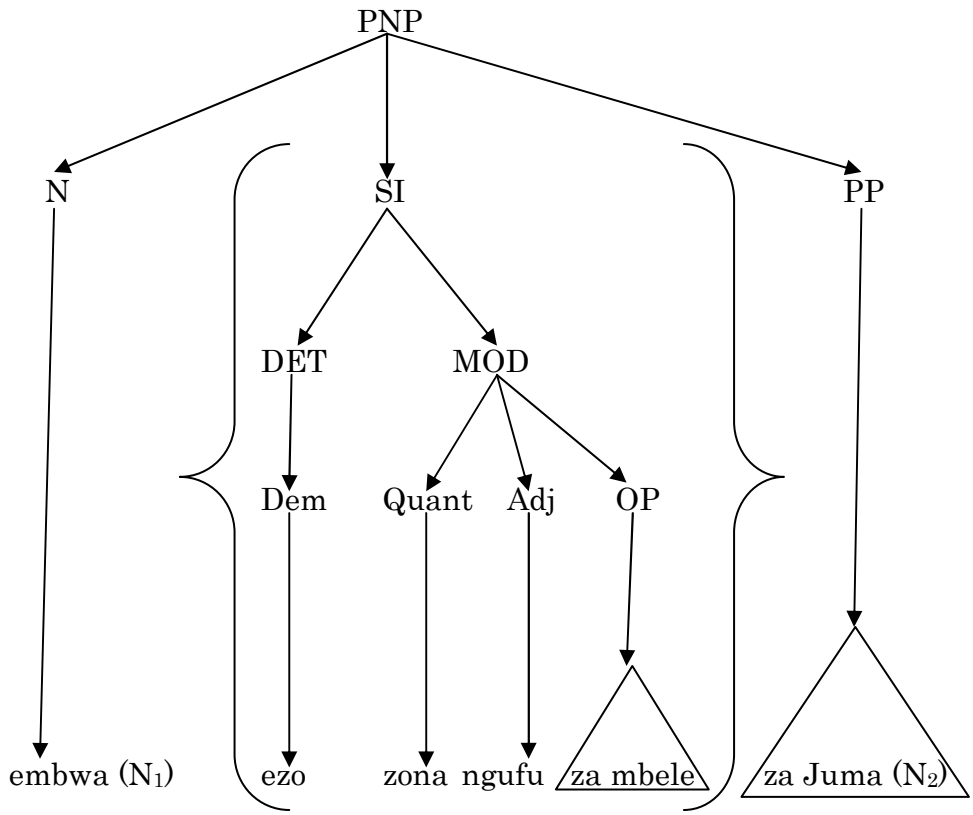
Apart from the results of the order of three syntactic intrusives, Table 3 in the appendix section shows the preferred order of four syntactic intrusives.

In Table 3 Category B (cf. the appendix section), the findings indicate that all 6(100%) respondents opined that patterns **i** & **ii** had the most acceptable syntax. However, when the patterns were discussed during the FGD, results were relatively different: 4(67%) were of the argument that patterns **i** & **ii** were syntactically correct, whereas 2(33%) argued that pattern **iii** had the most acceptable syntax. Hence, patterns **i** & **ii** were picked up as having the most correct syntax. An illustrative phrase in support of the results is in (10).

(10) embwa ezo zona ngufu za mbele za Juma

dogs ($N_1$) those all short of first of Juma ($N_2$)

'All those first short dogs of Juma'



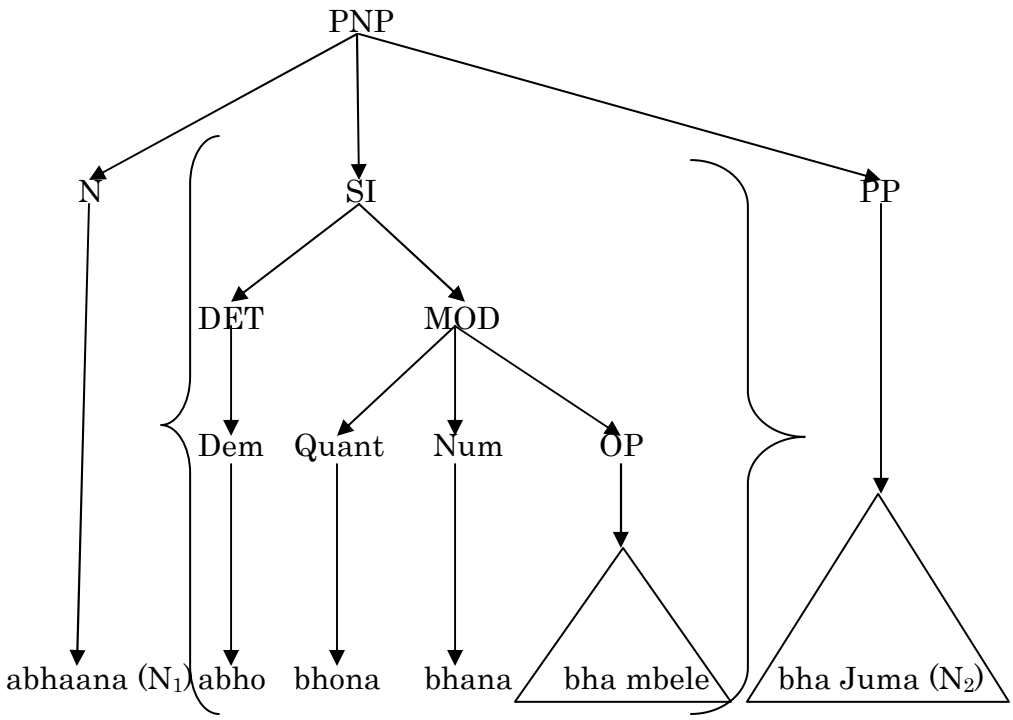

'All those first short dogs of Juma'

On the other hand, in Table 3 Category C (cf. the appendix section), the findings indicate that 4(67%) respondents were of the opinion that patterns **i** & **ii** had the right syntax; whereas the remaining 2(33%) said that intrusives in pattern **iii** were correctly ordered. During the FGD, the results slightly changed: 5(83%) respondents argued that patterns **i** & **ii** had the right syntax, whereas 1(17%) remained with the stand that pattern **iii** was correctly ordered. An illustrative phrase in support of the results is in (11).

(11) abhaana abho bhona bhana bha mbele bha Juma [For pattern **i**]

children ($N_1$) those all four of first of Juma ($N_2$)

'All those first four children of Juma'



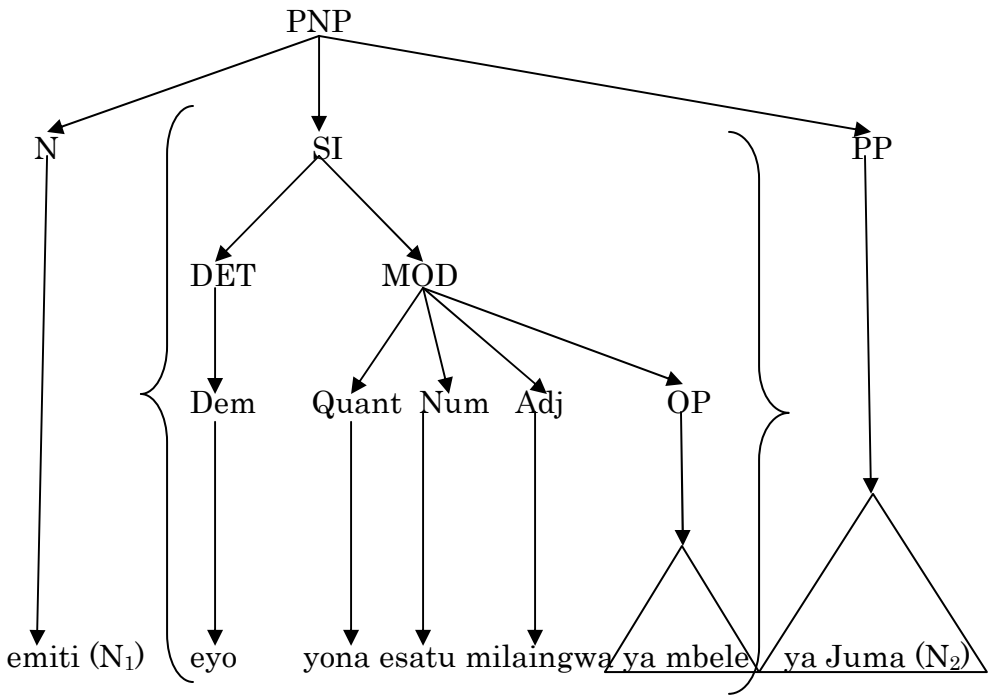

'All those first four children of Juma'

Lastly, Table 4 in the appendix section shows the preferred order of five intrusives. With reference to Table 4, the ordering of many intrusives really gave the respondents hard time in selecting the most plausible pattern. Despite such intricacies, 4(67%) respondents were of the argument that the syntax of patterns **i** & **ii** was more acceptable. However, 2(33%) said that pattern **iii** had a correct sequence of intrusives. During the FGD, results showed that 5(83%) respondents were of the argument that patterns **i** & **iv** had an acceptable syntax; and 1(17%) maintained the stand that pattern **iii** was syntactically correct. Hence, patterns **i** & **ii** deemed to have the most acceptable sequence of intrusives. An illustrative phrase for one of the picked up patterns is in (12).

(12) emiti eyo yona esatu milaingwa ya mbele ya Juma [For pattern **i**]

trees ($N_1$) those all three tall of first of Juma ($N_2$)

'All those first three tall trees of Juma'




'All those first three tall trees of Juma'

Generally, the findings which have been presented and analysed in this section largely show that there are five syntactic slots between $N_I$ and $N_2$; and of the slots, it has been validated that the first slot from the head noun, in most of the picked up patterns and in which the demonstrative occurs, is occupied by the demonstrative followed by any of the remaining intrusives. For example: firstly, in Table 1 Categories A, E, H & J, the demonstrative occurs in pattern **i** which was picked up as having the most correct sequence of intrusives. In this pattern, the demonstrative consistently occurs in the first slot after the head noun. Secondly, in Table 2 Categories A, B, C, F & H, the picked up patterns were seven (7); but the demonstrative was closer to the head noun in six (6) patterns. In the remaining pattern, i.e. pattern **iv** in Category A, the demonstrative alternated position with the quantifier. Thirdly, in Table 3 Categories A, B, C & D, the picked up patterns were six (6); but the demonstrative cliticized first to the head noun in four (4) patterns. In the remaining two patterns, i.e. pattern **ii** in Categories B and C, the demonstrative alternated position with the quantifier. And fourthly, in Table 4, the picked up patterns were two, i.e. patterns **i** and **iv**; but the demonstrative appeared in the first slot after the head noun in pattern **i** and alternated position with the quantifier in pattern **iv**. In short, out of

the 19 acceptable patterns that had a demonstrative as an intrusive, the demonstrative appeared first to the head noun in 15(79%) patterns. In the remaining 4(21%) patterns, it alternated with the quantifier. With these results, the demonstrative was designated as a determiner; and the remaining intrusives were designated as modifiers because of their syntactic behaviour of hopping from one syntactic slot to another, as it is subsequently detailed.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that there is no fixed order of intrusive-modifiers in the PNP, and that Kisubi speakers in normal conversation cannot insert all the five syntactic intrusives between $N_1$ and $N_2$ unless the context of conversation dictates so. Hence, in normal conversation, the intrusivized PNP structure contains four elements: Head noun + Determiner + Modifier + Dependent noun [$N_1$>DET>MOD>$N_2$]. This is comparatively similar to what Rugemalira (2007: 148) observed when he was arguing on the expansive nature of a noun phrase. He said that:

> "Given the various syntactic and semantic restrictions on the co-occurrence of the elements of the noun phrase, it is reasonable to argue that it is not possible to expand the phrase indefinitely since the restrictions have a cumulative effect. Indeed, it does appear that the normal noun phrase is likely to select a (pre)determiner, a determiner and one modifier".

Building on Rugemalira's (ibid.) assertion, a single modifier in the intrusivized PNP is enough unless an interlocutor deems it necessary to over-modify the head noun.

With reference to the preceding paragraph, Lukusa (2002), Ndomba (2006), Rugemalira (2007) and Lukeseko (2009b) are of the proposition that, of the elements that constitute an NP, there are those which permanently occur closer to the head noun and those which always occur in the periphery of the head noun. According to these scholars, elements consistently occurring closer to the head noun have been termed as determiners and those in the periphery of the head noun have been termed as modifiers. This line of argument is also supported by scholars, such as Polome (1967), Van de Velde (2005) and Moller (2011). What needs to be added here is that, in other researches on constituent structures of particular languages, an element may in many occurrences occupy a certain slot and it does not do so in very few occurrences. Hence, an element of this nature deserves also to be designated as a determiner.

On the other hand, Mugane (1995) and Mohammed (2001 as cited in Matlhaku & Letshoto, 2014) are of the argument that modifiers are elements in the NP whose syntactic positions are either fixed or variable but never occur closer to the head noun. This is what was observed in the constituent structure of the PNP in Kisubi: the demonstrative, out of the 19 accepted syntactic patterns as having the requisite syntax, 15(79%) patterns showed that the demonstrative was consistently closer to the head noun; and in the remaining 4(21%) patterns, the quantifier seemed to be closer to the head noun. By these findings, the demonstrative was unquestionably classified as a determiner. The quantifier, although it consistently occurred closer to the head noun in four patterns, it could not be classified as a determiner because in other accepted patterns in which it was a member, it never occurred immediately after the head noun (cf. Table 2 Categories A [i] & I [iv]; Table 3 Categories A [ii], B [i] & C [i]; and Table 4 [i]). On the basis of these data, the definition of determiner needs to be slightly modified. Hence, the determiner should be conceived of as any syntactic element in the NP/PNP which permanently or in most of the occurrences appear immediately after the head noun; whereas the modifier is any syntactic element which has fixed or variable position after a determiner, or is any syntactic element which never occurs immediately after the head noun; or is any syntactic element which, in most of the occurrences, does not appear immediately after the head noun. It should be noted that the frequency of the element to hop from one syntactic slot to another in the NP/PNP qualifies it to be a modifier. In the structure of the PNP in Kisubi, elements such as *quantifier, adjective, numeral* and *ordinal* are classified as modifiers.

### The Saturational Level of an Intrusivized Possessive Noun Phrase

Linguistically, saturation means the upper limit (Rugemalira, 1993) beyond which the output may be ill formed. This means that no addition of an argument – for the case of the verb – can be made; for example, Rugemalira (ibid.) when examining verb extensions in Runyambo and constraints on predicate structure argued that a verb in Runyambo can carry up to three arguments. This means that a verb in Runyambo carries a maximum number of three arguments only. Generally, this indicates that the structure of various units of language is limited in terms of size in order to maintain the grammaticality of the constructions so produced. In the context of this study, saturation means the maximum number of syntactic intrusives that can be accommodated by an ordinary PNP, or which can maximally occur between $N_1$ and $N_2$. Therefore, in this study, it

was observed that between $N_1$ and $N_2$ there are five syntactic slots only, hence the saturational point of the PNP.

## Conclusion

Across the study findings, three major issues have been brought to board: elements that further modify the head noun, their order of occurrence and the number of intrusives which can maximally occur between the head noun ($N_1$) and the dependent noun ($N_2$). Unlike in the NP structure where the relative clause – as a modifier – seems to have a fixed position, though not in all languages; in the intrusivized Kisubi PNP, no any intrusive-modifier claims to have a fixed position. Furthermore, this study has restricted its attention to the nominal possessive noun phrases because of their potentiality of having slots between the two asymmetrical nouns. Therefore, other studies need to be conducted focusing on either nominal or pronominal PNP, or both so as to establish the available potential syntactic slots between $N_1$ and $N_2$; hence, an added input to the total stock of knowledge on PNPs. The bottom line argument of this study is that, since many scholars have intentionally or unintentionally been bypassing the study of intrusivized possessive noun phrases, this study therefore expects to inspire scholars so that they may venture into other native or non-native languages and try to uncover the syntactic intrusives that can occur between $N_1$ and $N_2$.

## References

Alexiadou, A., Haegeman, L. & Stavrou, M. (2007). *Noun Phrase in the Generative Perspective*. Berlin: Walter de Gyuyter GmbH & Co.

Brinton, L. J. (2000). *The Structure of Modern English: A Linguistic Introduction*. The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Den Dikken, M. (2006). *Relators and Linkers*. MIT Press.

Dobler, E. (2008). The Morpho-phonology of (in)alienable Possession. *The Proceedings of the 2008 Annual Conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association*.

Ethnologue. (2013). *Languages of the World*. Berlin: Walter de Gyuyter GmbH & Co.

Gebregziabher, K. (2012). The Alienable-inalienable Asymmetry: Evidence from Tigrinya. In R. M. Michael et al. (eds.). *Selected Proceedings of the 42nd Annual Conference on African Linguistics*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project: 161–182.

Guma, S. M. (1971). *An Outline Structure of Southern Sotho*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter and Shooter.

Guthrie, M. (1967-71). *Comparative Bantu: An Introduction to Comparative Linguistics and the Prehistory of the Bantu Languages (4 vols)*. Farnborough: Gregg Press.

Harford, C. (1985). Aspects of Complementation in Three Bantu Languages. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington.

Hyman, L. (1977). The Syntax of Body Parts. In Byarushengo et al. (eds.). *Haya Grammatical Structure*. Los Angeles, Department of linguistics, University of Southern California.

Kula, N. C. (2009). Nominal Compounding and Associative Phrases in Bemba. In M. Brenzinger & A. M. Fehn (eds.). *Selected Proceedings of the 6th World Congress of African Linguistics*, Cologne: Köppe: 431–441.

Lukusa, S. T. M. (2002). *Groundwork in Shiyeyi Grammar with Shiyeyi-English Glossary*. Frankfurt am Mainz: Peter Lang.

Lusekelo, A. (2009b). The Structure of the Swahili Noun Phrase: Evidence from Fictional Narratives. In W. Burger & M. Pienaar (eds.). *Die Tand van die Tyd: Opstelle Opgedra aan Jac Conradie*, Bloemfontein: Sun Press: 45–60.

Maho, J. F. (2009). The Online Version of the New Updated Guthrie List: A Referential Classification of the Bantu Languages.

Matambirofa, F. (2000), Some Aspects of the Architecture of the Possessive Noun Phrase in Bantu. *Zambezia*, XXVII(I), University of Zimbabwe.

Matlhaku, K. & Rose, L. (2014). The Syntax of the Setswana Noun Phrase. *Marang: Journal of Language and Literature*, 24.

Mohammed, M. A. (2001). *Modern Swahili Grammar*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers.

Moller, M. (2011). The Noun Phrase in Kwere, a Bantu Language of Tanzania, Goteborgs Universitet.

Mugane, J. (1995). Gĩkũyũ NP Morpho-syntax. In I. Maddieson & T. J. Hinnebusch (eds.) *Trends in African Linguistics* 2: *Language History and Linguistic Description in Africa*. Trenton New Jersey: Africa World Press, Inc.

Mugane, J. M. (1997). *A Paradigmatic Grammar of Gikuyu,* Stanford, CSLI Publications.

Ndomba, R. (2006). Samatengo Noun Phrase Structure. Unpublished MA (Linguistics) Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam.

Polomé, E. C. (1967). *Swahili Language Handbook*. Washington DC: Centre for Applied Linguistics.

Rosenbach, A. (2002), *Genitive Variation in English: Conceptual Factors in Synchronic and Diachronic Studies*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rugemalira, J. M. (1993). *Runyambo Verb Extensions and Constraints on Predicate Structure*. Published PhD Thesis, University of California at Berkeley, USA: University of California.

Rugemalira, J. M. (2007). The Structure of Bantu Noun Phrase. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics*, 15: 135–148.

Rugemalira, J. M. & Muzale, H. R. T. (2008). Researching and Documenting the Languages of Tanzania. *Language Documentation and Conservation*, 2(1), Tanzania: LOT Project: 68–108.

Taljaard, P. C. & Bosch, S. E. (1988). *A Handbook of IsiZulu*. Pretoria: J. L. Van Schaik (Pvt).

Van de Velde, M. (2005). The Order of Noun and Demonstrative in Bantu. In K. Bostoen & J. Maniacky (eds.). *Studies in African Comparative Linguistics with Special Focus on Bantu and Mande*. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa: 425–44.

## Appendices

**Table 1: The Preferred Order of Two Syntactic Intrusives (N = 6)**

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| A | i | $N_1$, Dem, Adj, $N_2$ | 6 | 100 | 4 | 67 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Adj, Dem, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 0 | 0 | 2 | 33 |
| | iv | I don't' know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| B | i | $N_1$, Quant, Adj, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Adj, Quant, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 3 | 50 | 6 | 100 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| C | i | $N_1$, Num, Adj, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Adj, Num, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 6 | 100 | 6 | 100 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D | i | $N_1$, Adj, Ord, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Ord, Adj, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 6 | 100 | 6 | 100 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| E | i | $N_1$, Dem, Quant, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| | ii | $N_1$, Quant, Dem, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 1 | 17 |
| | iii | Both i & ii are correct | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| F | i | $N_1$, Quant, Num, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Num, Quant, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii are correct | 6 | 100 | 6 | 100 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| G | i | $N_1$, Quant, Ord., $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Ord., Quant, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 6 | 100 | 6 | 100 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| H | i | $N_1$, Dem, Num, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 3 | 50 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Num, Dem, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 2 | 33 |
| | iii | Both i & ii are correct | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| I | i | $N_1$, Num, Ord., $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Ord., Num, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 6 | 100 | 6 | 100 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| J | i | $N_1$, Dem, Ord., $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 6 | 100 |
| | ii | $N_1$, Ord., Dem, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | Both i & ii above are correct | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | I don't know/I am not sure | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

**Source:** Field Data, 2016

**Key:** IRs = Interview Results; FGD. Rs = Focus Group Discussion Results; and % = Percentage.

**Table 2: The Preferred Order of Three Syntactic Intrusives (N = 6)**

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| **A | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Quant, Adj**, $N_2$ | 5 [1] | 83 [17] | 4 [2] | 67 [33] |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Adj, Quant, Dem**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Quant, Adj, Dem**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Quant, Dem, Adj**, $N_2$ | 5 | 83 | 4 | 67 |
| B | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Num, Adj,** $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 6 | 100 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Adj, Dem, Num,** $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 0 | 0 |

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Num, Dem, Adj,** $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Num, Adj, Dem,** $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| ***C | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 3 [2+] [1] | 50 [33+] [17] | 5 | 83 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Dem, Ord, Adj**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 5 | 83 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Ord, Adj, Dem**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Adj, Dem, Ord**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D | i | $N_1$, **Adj, Quant, Num**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Quant, Adj, Num**, $N_2$ | 5 [1] | 83 [17] | 4 [2] | 67 [33] |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Num, Adj, Quant**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Num, Quant, Adj**, $N_2$ | 5 | 83 | 4 | 67 |
| **E | i | $N_1$, **Adj, Quant, Ord**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Quant, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 2 | 33 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Ord, Adj, Quant**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Quant, Adj**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 4 | 67 |
| F | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Quant, Num**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Quant, Num, Dem**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Num, Dem, Quant**, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 1 | 17 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Num, Quant,** | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| | | **Dem**, $N_2$ | | | | |
| G | i | $N_1$, **Adj, Num, Ord**, $N_2$ | 1 | 17 | 1 | 17 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Num, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 1 | 17 | 1 | 17 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Ord, Adj, Num**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Num, Adj**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 4 | 67 |
| H | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Num, Ord**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Num, Dem, Ord**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Ord, Dem, Num**, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 1 | 17 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Num, Dem**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **I | i | $N_1$, **Quant, Num, Ord**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 5 | 83 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Num, Quant, Ord**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Ord, Quant, Num**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 1 | 17 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Num, Quant**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 5 | 83 |

**Source:** Field Data, 2016

**indicate categories in which respondents picked more than one pattern.

***indicate categories in which respondents picked more than one pattern, and other respondents added an extra pattern indicated by a plus (+) symbol.

Table 3: The Preferred Order of Four Syntactic Intrusives [N = 6]

| Categories | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| A | i | $N_1$, **Adj, Dem, Quant, Num**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Dem, Adj, Quant, Num**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Quant, Adj, Dem, Num**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Num, Quant, Dem, Adj**, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 1 | 17 |
| **B | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Quant, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 6 | 100 | 4 | 67 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Quant, Dem, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 6 | 100 | 4 | 67 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Quant, Dem, Ord, Adj**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 2 | 33 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Adj, Quant, Dem**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **C | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Quant, Num, Ord**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Quant, Dem, Num, Ord**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Num, Quant, Dem, Ord**, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 1 | 17 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Num, Dem, Quant**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| D | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Num, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 3 | 50 | 4 | 67 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Num, Dem, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 2 | 33 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Adj, Num, Dem, Ord**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Ord, Adj, Num, Dem**, $N_2$ | 1 | 17 | 0 | 0 |

**Source:** Field Data, 2016

Table 4: The Preferred Order of Five Syntactic Intrusives [N = 6]

| Category | | PNP Patterns given to the respondents | Number of respondents who agreed with the syntax and their percentages | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | IRs | % | FGD. Rs | % |
| | i | $N_1$, **Dem, Quant, Num, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |
| | ii | $N_1$, **Dem, Quant, Num, Ord, Adj**, $N_2$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | iii | $N_1$, **Quant, Dem, Num, Adj, Ord**, $N_2$ | 2 | 33 | 1 | 17 |
| | iv | $N_1$, **Quant, Dem, Adj, Num, Ord**, $N_2$ | 4 | 67 | 5 | 83 |

**Source:** Field Data, 2016