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Nominal phrase structure in Ikyaushi (M.402)

Abstract

Linguistic treatments of Bantu languages have traditionally focused on broadly historical/
comparative studies or on prototypical characteristics of the family, such as the nominal
class system, the complexity of the verbal TAM system, or the tonal system. Consequently,
far less attention has been placed upon the nominal phrase as a syntactic unit. To this
end, Rugemalira (2007) proposes greater emphasis on Bantu morphosyntax generally.
As such, the present study – situated within a broader discussion of the Bantu NP
(cf. Chitebeta 2007, Godson & Godson 2015, Lusekelo 2009, Makanjila 2019, Möller
2011, Ondondo 2015, Rugemalira 2007) – builds upon Spier (2016, 2020, 2021) and intro-
duces the first descriptive account of the nominal phrase in Ikyaushi, an underdocumented
linguistic variety spoken in the Republic of Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo.
The data for this study, which arrive from fourteen narratives shared orally by male and
female native speakers of the grandparental generation, indicate that seven distinct
elements may co-occur with the nominal, but utterances with between one and three
co-occurring adnominals are far more frequently attested and more straightforwardly
comprehensible to speakers.

Keywords: nominal phrase, noun classes, morphosyntax, adnominal modifiers, Bantu
languages

1. Introduction

The Aushi[1] are a matrilocal, matrilineal ethnolinguistic group located in the Lwapula Province of the Republic of Zambia and in the (Haut-)Katanga Province of the Democratic Republic of Congo. They speak a linguistic variety (M.402), the endonym for which is *Ikyaushi*, related to varying degrees to others in close geographic proximity, though particularly to Bemba (M.42), Taabwa (M.41), and Bwile (M.401)[2]. The four are grouped together in Maho (2009) and, following the conventions of Bantu classification, indicates both that Bemba and Taabwa are more distinct from the others and also that the true status of Aushi and Bwile has yet to be determined with confidence.

Nonetheless, given the extremely limited scholarship on Ikyaushi, the present study focuses specifically upon the structure of the nominal phrase and is based on two continuous summers of fieldwork among seven different speakers[3] in Mansa Town and the surrounding villages of Matanda, Kabunda, and Mabumba, all of which are located in the Lwapula Province of the Republic of Zambia. These speakers ranged in age from 57 to 67 ($\bar{x}$=60, M=60), which corresponded roughly to the grandparental generation. Two of the speakers were men, and the remaining five were women. Although chain-sampling was ultimately used in recruiting participants, specific attention was paid to equitable distribution among demographic factors (age, gender, etc.), geographic location,

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[1] Other names attested include the following in alphabetical order: Avaushi, Aushi, Avaushi, Bahushi, Bahusi, Baousi, Baoussi, Batushi, Ba-Usi, Umwausi, Ushi, Usi, Uzhil, Vouaoussi, Wa-uzhi, Waushi, and Wa-Usi. Many of these show clear phonetic and/or orthographic influence from the L1 of the speaker(s) who transcribed the names. However, the term *Aushi* is used here to represent both the singular and plural endonyms (*Umwaushi* and *Abaushi*).

[2] Marten & Kula (2008) argue that all four of these members constitute a single dialect continuum, while Ohannessian & Kashoki (1978) state that the M.40 family is a grouping of language "clusters". On the other hand, speakers of Ikyaushi vehemently insist that their linguistic variety is distinct from i.a. Bemba and, despite linguistic similarities at every modular level, it is not the place of an outside scholar to deny the self-concept of others; consequently, here it is referred to simply as a "linguistic variety" as opposed to a "language" or "dialect".

[3] By request of the participants, the author would like to acknowledge the personal contribution of the following speakers for sharing their time and stories: Leonard J. Mumba, David Kalobwe Maluba, Agnes Kaunda Chiwamine, Rosemary Mushota, Scolastica Kalengule Chiwamine, Exildah Mwansa Musoka, and Sarah Mweba. Similarly, two local teachers (Barnabas Chabala and Rose Kibwe) and one radio producer (Martin Kunda) provided additional support.

and topics of discussion. While women are significantly overrepresented, for instance, the total recording time was equivalent, indicating that the female participants provided a greater number of recordings, but that each individual recording was far shorter than those of their male counterparts.

To this end, the participants shared a total of fourteen fictional stories and informational narratives on culturally salient topics, all of which serve as the corpus of data on which the present study is based. As such, although the exemplars provided are not from spontaneously occurring speech, they are still entirely organic, as prompts were not provided for the stories or narratives, and all were generated individually by speakers on their own terms and based on their own personal interests. For example, although the author was not interested *a priori* in issues of traditional (sexual) education or a young lady's first menstruation, these were topics selected and relayed by some of the female participants; on the other hand, the male participants provided more trickster tales and a historical account of the origins of the Aushi from their original homeland in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

As such, this article is divided into three additional parts. Section 2 provides both a general overview of research discussing the Aushi people and language, and also a more detailed literature review of the nominal phrase in Bantu linguistics. While the more ethnographically informed scholarship is not of immediate relevance for the present study, it is included here for the reader, as Ikyaushi remains a heavily underdocumented linguistic variety. Section 3 presents the findings of this study and offers a discussion of the results, particularly as it concerns the combinatory possibilities of and restrictions on co-occurring elements in the nominal phrase. Finally, Section 4 summarizes the contribution of the present study and introduces areas for further research in this field.

2. Literature review

The following two sections provide more detailed background on both the published literature on the Aushi people, culture, and language, and also on prior studies of the nominal phrase in other Bantu languages in East and East-Central Africa. Each language is referenced according to its classification in Maho (2009), and their glossonyms are provided without the nominal class prefix.

2.1. The Aushi people and language

The Aushi have been recognized historically for their reliance upon slash-and-burn

agriculture (*kitemene*) and for their affinity and aptitude for fishing. Today, however, the Aushi are more commonly found working in the (copper) mining industry or, in the case of Mansa Town, selling produce and household wares. Nonetheless, it is unclear precisely how large this ethnolinguistic group is, given the unreliability of the government census results and the wildly different estimates provided in the extant literature; as a result, their reported (ethnic) population size ranges from 20,000 to 200,000.

Prior scholarship on the Aushi people is generally limited to short ethnographic--style accounts from geographic explorers, businessmen, and anthropologists, the latter of whom almost always made quite cursory references to the Aushi. Perhaps the earliest reference is found in personal journals from exploration of the continent by Europeans during the mid-19th century, particularly from Victor Giraud (1890), whose characterization of the Aushi was far from complimentary. Other early references are found in the administrative records of the British South Africa Company (1899) and Chesnaye (1901), a manager of the Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. These were slightly more objective but still remarkably brief.

On the other hand, the strictly anthropological literature presents more accurate characterizations of Aushi life. Barnes (1926) provides a description of iron-smelting practices, explains the process of establishing and using the kilns, and introduces some of the terminology used to identify each part of the kiln and stage of the smelting process. Philpot (1936) takes as his primary goal a discussion of the deity Makumba[4] but also presents a timeline for tribal leadership succession and a list of taboos and rituals associated with religious practices. Whiteley (1951) offers the first truly ethnographic account of the Aushi, including them in a chapter entitled *The Bemba and related peoples*. Before discussing agriculture, hunting, and fishing, age-sets, and political organization, he proposes that the Aushi are a subgroup of the Bemba, a view that has impacted the perception not only of the distinctiveness of the ethnic group but also the uniqueness of their linguistic variety. Finally, Kay (1964) presents the economic structure of a single village, i.e. of Chief Kalaba, and provides quantitative and qualitative data concerning everyday tasks in agriculture, fishing, hunting, and domestic activities.

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[4] Unlike what is described in Philpot (1936), native speakers insist that Makumba was never a physical presence or deity. One stated, for example, that "[i]t's a spirit that perhaps [occurs] just once or twice in a year, but what I know about that is that, so, when there's an earth tremor, the belief is that it's Makumba – that the spirit is moving to Congo or something like that. They say it's more intense on the water".

Of particular interest for the present study, however, is the extant scholarship concerning Ikyaushi. The earliest resource (Doke 1933) is a list of words collected during a two-day fieldwork trip, completed with the assistance of two young boys, to complete an encyclopedic entry in Johnson (1919-1922). It was a full 50 years later that Kankomba and Twilingiyimana (1986) collected another list of words with the objective of providing more phonologically accurate data, for instance by marking tone. More recently, Ilunga (1994) wrote and defended his graduate-level thesis on the verbal phrase at the Institute Supérieur Pédagogique de Lubumbashi. Intending to fill a larger gap in the phonological understanding of Ikyaushi, e.g. in contrast to neighboring CiBemba, Bickmore (2018) studied the tonological rule-ordering and constraints on the subjunctive verbal mood. Finally, Spier (2020) presented the first descriptive grammar, dictionary, and collection of texts in Ikyaushi. Nonetheless, there have not yet been any specific accounts of the nominal phrase in this particular linguistic variety, nor have the data previously analyzed, excluding in Spier (2016, 2020, 2021), been based on a corpus of culturally salient topics, i.e. as opposed to elicited sentences, verbal paradigms, or lists of words.

2.2. Research on the Bantu nominal phrase

Due in large part to the most recognizable features of Bantu languages, the vast majority of morphosyntactic scholarship on such languages tends to focus primarily either upon the nominal class and concord systems or on the complex morphology of verbal phrases, including numerous (often phonologically-marked) tense and aspectual distinctions, infixed object markers, derivational affixes, etc. Moreover, as Lusekelo (2009) notes, descriptive grammars of Bantu languages have historically either only described nominal modifiers in isolation from one another or have provided incredibly brief overviews of the nominal phrase in simply one or two pages. It is, thus, unsurprising that Africanists have "taken up" Rugemalira's (2007) call to action to consider more closely the syntactic structure of the nominal phrase and to discover if any generalizations or implications are possible for Bantu languages more broadly. To this end, a few of such studies are presented below for consideration.

For his presentation of the underlying phrase structure for the nominal phrase in Bantu languages, Rugemalira (2007) considered data from a range of languages, including Mashami (E.62a), Swahili (G.41-43), Nyambo (JE.21), Ha (JD.66), Nyakyusa (M.31), Safwa (M.25), and Sukuma (F.21), ultimately concluding that the nominal serves as the head of the phrase, which is followed by a possessive or pronominal determiner before any other modifiers and can optionally be

preceded by a demonstrative pronoun (if not already located post-nominally) and the adverbial 'each/every' which he glosses, following Polomé (1967), as a "distributive".

Godson and Godson (2015) analyzed the nominal phrase in Uru (E.622d), a dialect of Chagga in Tanzania, and confirmed the identical ordering provided by Ruge-malira (2007). In his examination of the determiner phrase in Makonda (P.23) of Tanzania and Mozambique, Makanjila (2019) found that all nominal modifiers, excluding the demonstrative pronoun, occur post-nominally. The demonstrative, however, can appear both pre- and post-nominally without rendering the phrase agrammatical. Additionally, the possessive pronouns appear before other post-nominal modifiers, relative clauses are found after any nominal modifier, and only the quantifier -ohe 'all' is realized preferentially before the demonstrative *if* it arises post-nominally.

Chitebeta (2007) generally follows the same template but remarks that pre- and post-nominal demonstratives are possible in Tonga (M.64), while only the latter is grammatical in Lenje (M.61). Similarly, she suggests in the proposed phrase structure rule that possessives can also appear pre- or post-nominally, although this is not exemplified fully in the body of the thesis. All other adnominal modifiers appear after the head, and their placement is regulated according to the other elements present.

In Möller's (2011) analysis of Kwere (G.32), it is determined that all modifiers are post-nominal, and the demonstrative seems to be most closely bounded to the head, even in the presence of a possessive pronoun. Only the adverbial *chila* 'each/every' appears in pre-nominal position, and seven possible patterns characterize the data, though no phrase structure rule is offered nor a discussion of co-occurrence is undertaken. In contrast to the other studies, Möller (2011) presents the concord system as bifurcated into the "noun class prefix" and the "agreement class prefix". Such a distinction is interesting but unnecessary for the present study.

Ondondo (2015) argues for an entirely different underlying phrase structure altogether in Kisa (JE.32), a dialect of Luhya spoken in western Kenya, agreeing solely with the previous scholars that the adverbial *buli* 'each' always appears before the head of a phrase. On the other hand, post-nominal demonstratives indicate (non-)proximity, while pre-nominal demonstratives serve a discourse--pragmatic function in which the noun is emphasized, i.e. 'these friends' vs. '*such* friends'. Three entirely different syntactic slots are provided for quantifiers, two of which are reserved for the so-called *all*-quantifier and the *only*-quantifier, and

one particular slot is allocated for the associative phrase.

Finally, Lusekelo (2009) focuses on written and spoken sources exclusively in Nyakyusa (M.31) and is responding directly to Rugemalira (2007), particularly because the data used in the former's study contradict the latter's conclusions on more than one occasion, particularly as it concerns the placement of and the hierarchical relationship between the demonstrative and the possessive modifiers, ultimately remarking that both of these modifiers, in addition to the nominal augment, function as markers of definiteness.

Nonetheless, there are competing schemata offered to represent the preferential and/or underlying ordering of elements in the nominal phrase. Consequently, in Table 1 are listed some of the proposals discussed in the aforementioned studies. Although every language has idiosyncratic meanings attached, for instance, to the syntactic ordering of the elements in the nominal phrase, there are some clear commonalities. First, half of the proposals suggest that a prenominal demonstrative is always grammatical. Second, all of the proposals clarify that a possessive and/or a demonstrative are the most closely bounded to the head. Third, the proposals that present the relative clause or associative phrase seem to indicate that these occur most frequently at the rightmost edge of the phrase, excluding in Ondondo (2015). Finally, all of the proposals indicate that there is relative freedom for many of these elements, as they appear below as clusters surrounded by parentheses/round brackets.

TABLE 1. Some proposals for nominal phrase structure

Source	Pre-	Head	Post-
Ondondo (2015)	Distr	Noun	Poss+Quant+Num+Adj+Assoc+Dem+Quant['all']+Quant['only']
Möller (2011)	Distr	Noun	(Num/Dem)+Poss+Adj+(Loc/Num/Poss/Assoc)
Chitebeta (2007)	Distr Poss Conj	Noun	(Poss/Adj/Dem/Num/Quant)
Makanjila (2019)	Dem	Noun	(Poss/Quant)+(Dem/Adj)+(Num/Rel)
Godson & Godson (2015)	Dem Distr	Noun	(Poss/Dem)+Num+(Ord/Assoc)+(Quant, Adj, Rel)+Inter
Rugemalira (2007)	Dem Distr	Noun	(Poss/Dem)+Num+(Ord/Assoc)+(Quant, Adj, Rel)+Inter
Lusekelo (2009)	Distr	Noun	(Poss/Dem)+(Num/Quant/Adj)+(Inter/Rel)

3. Findings and discussion

Although the existence of every lexical category can be supported on the basis of four interrelated sets of criteria (the semantic, morphological, syntactic, and discourse-pragmatic), the nominal phrase in Ikyaushi is most straightforwardly analyzed according to its morphosyntactic behavior. As such, the nominal – as a lexical category – morphologically consists minimally of a root and a nominal class prefix, which may optionally be accompanied by the corresponding augment and/or utilize prefix-stacking, as in (1a-c), respectively. It has been suggested by scholars for quite some time (see e.g. Bokamba 1971, Hyman & Katamba 1993, Choti 2008, etc.) that the use of the augment may indicate definiteness, but this has neither been confirmed nor rejected in Ikyaushi as a possibility. As such, each nominal exemplar could reasonably be glossed with both the definite and indefinite determiners. One pattern that did emerge, however, was that post-nominal adjectivals infrequently retained the augment.

(1)   a. (*i*)*ki-buumba*   b. *ubw-aato*   c. *utu-ka-fund-ish-a*
         7CL-soil   14CL-canoe   13CL-12CL-teach-CAUS-FV
         'wall'   'canoe'   'unsatisfactory teacher'

Additionally, the choice of the nominal class prefix is, in most cases, not simply an arbitrary decision, as both the prefix and the augment carry semantic material necessary to understanding the utterance. For instance, the first and second classes are perhaps the most time-stable, as they refer cross-inguistically in Bantu languages to human or human-like roles; classes three and four, to flora and naturally occurring phenomena, though not exclusively; etc. This does not mean, however, that every root can be accompanied by every nominal class prefix, resulting in a different meaning. Nonetheless, (2) below presents six lexemes derived from the same underlying root, albeit with the augment and prefix of six different nominal classes, though (2a) and (2b) arguably represent a single exemplar, as they constitute one of the most straightforward singular-plural pairings[5].

(2)   a. *umu-ntu*   b. *aba-ntu*
         1CL-entity   2CL-entity
         'person' (human entity')   'people' (human entities')

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[5]   These pairings include the following: 1/2, 1a/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 8/6, 9/6, 9/10, 10/2, 12/13, 14/6, 15/4, and 15/6. Unsurprisingly, class 6. (*ama-*) is the most productive marker of plurality.

c. *utu-ba-ntu*
    13CL-2CL-entity
    'small humans' (pseudo-human entities)

d. *ubu-ntu*
    14CL-entity
    'humanity' (abstract human entity)

e. *iki-ntu*
    7CL-entity
    'thing' (non-human entity)

f. *aka-ntu*
    13CL-entity
    'thing' (small, [non-]human entity')

Furthermore, some perform a discourse-pragmatic function, in which certain inherent qualities are conveyed through a small set of prefixes, some of which belong to the nominal class system, that does not simply specify the grammatical number- and gender-marking typically indicated through the prefixes. For instance, *ka-* refers to shrewdness; *ba-*, to a superior level of respect; *shi-*, to maleness; *na-*, to femaleness; *utu-*, to a lack of development, immaturity, or another negative attribute to demonstrate shortcoming of some sort; and *we-*, to a phonetically reduced, cliticized vocative for the second-person singular (<*weebo*). These are each represented respectively below in (3a-h).

(3) a. *ka-ka-lulu*
         12CL-12CL-rabbit
         'clever rabbit'

     b. *ba-n-sofu*
         HON-9CL-elephant
         'respectable elephant'

     c. *shi-fwe*
         MASC-1PL.POSS
         'our father'

     d. *na-kulu*
         FEM-big
         'grandmother'

     e. *na-m-fumu*
         FEM-9CL-chief
         'chieftess'

     f. *utu-boowa*
         13CL-mushroom
         'immature mushrooms'

     g. *ba-na-ka-bu-umba*
         HON-FEM-12CL-14CL-clay
         'respectable female creator'

     h. *we=mw-aume*
         2SG=1SG.man
         '(you) man!'

However, the syntactic criteria for the nominal phrase are slightly more complex: It must be able to take i.a. adjectival modifiers, numeral and non-numeral quantifiers, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, and the periphrastic genitive/associative phrase. Finally, it must be able to serve as the subject or object of reference as in (4) and (5), respectively; must be able to be coordinated through the use of the conjunction *na*, as in (6); and, although the nominal serves as the head of the phrase, must also be replaceable through ellipsis or pronoun substitution.

(4) a. *fweebo*   *uyu*   *mu-ntu*   *ta-tu-mw-ishib-e*
         1PL.PRON 1CL.DEM   1CL-entity   NEG-1PL-3SG-know-FV
         '[And] us, we don't know this person.'

b. *neebo*   *n-di*   *mw-ina*   *kwelu*
1SG.PRON 1SG-COP   1CL-clan   anthill
'Me, I am [a member of the] anthill clan.'

(5) a. *n-ø-dee-ku-mon-a (weebo)*   b. *ba-ø-lee-i-mon-a*
1SG-PRES-PROG-2SG-see-FV (2SG)   3PL-PRES-PROG-REFL-see-FV
'I am seeing you [right now].   'They are seeing themselves (right now).'

(6) *im-busa*   *shi-bili*   *im-busa*   *y-a*   *kw-a*   *na-mayo*
9CL-*imbusa*   9CL-two   9CL-*imbusa*   9CL-ASSOC   17CL-ASSOC   FEM-mother

na   *im-busa*   *y-a*   *kw-a*   *shi-taata*
and   9CL-*imbusa*   9CL-ASSOC   17CL-ASSOC   MASC-father

'[There are] two [types of traditional] education: education for girls and education for boys.'

It should be noted, however, that the pronoun resulting from this substitution is unable to accept the modifiers as a typical nominal could. For classes one and two and any non-human, anthropomorphic referents, such substitution would require the corresponding independent pronoun for animates; for all other classes, this would be the corresponding demonstrative pronoun. The former is illustrated in (7a-b) below; the latter, in (7c-d).

(7) a. *nomba*   *n-ø-ko-mon-a*   *uyu*   *uyu*   *mu-ntu*
now   1SG-PRES-15CL-see-FV   1CL.DEM 1CL.DEM 1CL-entity

imi-bebe   *y-akwe*
3CL-behavior   3CL-3SG.POSS
'Now I see this [person], this person's behavior.'

b. *na*   *uyu*   *a-a-fik-a*
and   1CL.DEM 3SG-PST-arrive-FV
'And [then] this [Rabbit] arrived.'

c. *iyo*   *ø-kilemba*   *a-ø-lee-fway-a*   *iyo*
4CL.DEM 1CL-bean   3SG-PRES-PROG-want-FV 4CL.DEM
'Those beans, s/he wants those [beans].'

d. *ki-suma*   *mu=kwai*   *kuti*   *na-ø-bomb-a*   *uyu*
7CL-good 1CL-respectful.TERM   able 1SG-PRES-WORK-FV 3CL.DEM
'That's fine, sir. I can do this [work].'

Finally, the object of reference can be replaced by an interrogative, though such constructions occurred with (apparently) far greater infrequency in the narratives collected for the present study than in those previously cited. In fact, this particular construction only arose in exemplars like (8) and (9).

(8) *mu-ø-lee-fway-a*   *tu-kit-e*   *shaani*
     2PL-PRES-PROG-WANT-FV   1PL-DO-SBJV.FV   how
     'What do you want us to do?'

(9) *atini naani*
     PRAGCOP who
     '[They asked,] who is [it]?'

Nonetheless, the full nominal, verbal, syntactic, and pronominal concord system is reproduced in Table 2 for the readers' consideration.

Importantly, Rugemalira (2007: 135) notes that "[t]he syntactic criteria pertain to the positions that an element may occupy in the noun phrase as well as the possibilities of, and limits on, co-occurrence of an element with other elements". This qualifier is quite significant, as the total number of possible, distinct elements in the nominal phrase depends upon those which are already present and how their combinatory capabilities permit or prevent other elements from occurring in a certain syntactic slot. To this end, the data consulted for this article indicate that up to seven distinct elements, excluding the associative phrase, may co-occur within a singular nominal phrase, though with an important caveat: Even though there were also naturally occurring instances of four distinct elements, those with one, two, or three were the most frequently represented in the corpus. Nonetheless, this does not mean that only four lexical items may be found together, as, for instance, more than one adjectival or associative phrase could be present within the same nominal phrase, as in (10) and (11) below.

(10) *iki-tabu*   *ky-andi*   *ki-mo*   *ki-kulu*
     7CL-book   7CL-1SG.POSS   7CL-one   7CL-big

     ki-suma   *saana*   *ky-a*   *iki-ngeleshi*
     7CL-good   very   7CL-ASSOC   7CL-English
     'my one big, really good English book'

(11) *iki-tabu*   *ky-a*   *iki-ngeleshi*   *ky-a*   *umw-ana*
     7CL-book   7CL-ASSOC   7CL-English   7CL-ASSOC   1CL-child

     mu-suma   *w-a*   *im-fumu*   *y-a*   *bw-aushi*
     1CL-good   1CL-ASSOC   9CL-chief   9CL-ASSOC   14CL-Aushi
     'the Aushi people's chief's good child's English book'

In fact, this is to be expected, as Rijkhoff (2002: 23) notes that the grammatical complexity found in naturally occurring speech tends not to be as great as that of their written counterparts. Thus, while the previous two exemplars were verified by more than one native speaker as grammatical and logical, it should be

TABLE 2. Concord system in Ikyaushi

Class	Nominal Morphology		Verbal Morphology		Syntactic		Demonstrative Pronouns			
	Augment	Prefix	Subject	Object	Relative	Associative	Immediate	Proximal	Medial	Distal
1	u	mu	n- u- a-	-n-/-m- -ku- -mu-/-mw-	uu-	wa (u-a)	uno	uyu	uyo	ulya
2	a	ba	tu- mu- ba-	-tu-/-tw- -mi- -ba-	aba-	ba (b-a)	bano	aba	abo	balya
3	u	mu	u-	-u-	uu-	wa (u-a)	uno	uyu	uyo	ulya
4	i	mi	i-	-i-	ii-	ya (i-a)	ino	iyi	iyo	ilya
5	i	shi	li-	-li-	ishi-	lya (li-a)	lino	ili	ilo	lilya
6	a	ma	i-	-i-	aya-	ya (i-a)	yano	aya	ayo	ilya
7	i	ki	ki-	-ki-	iki-	kya (ki-a)	kino	iki	ikyo	kilya
8	i	fi	fi-	-fi-	ifi-	fya (fi-a)	fino	ifi	ifyo	filya
9	i	N	i-	-i-	ii-	ya (i-a)	ino	iyi	iyo	ilya
10	i	N	shi-	-shi-	ishi-	sha (sh-a)	shino	ishi	isho	shilya
11	u	lu	lu-	-lu-	ulu-	lya (li-a)	lino	ulu	ulo	lulya
12	a	ka	ka-	-ka-	aka-	ka (k-a)	kano	aka	ako	kilya
13	u	tu	tu-	-tu-	utu-	twa (tu-a)	tuno	utu	uto	tulya
14	u	bu	bu-	-bu-	ubu-	bwa (bu-a)	buno	ubu	ubo	bulya
15	u	ku	ku-	-ku-	uku-	kwa (ku-a)	kuno	uku	uko	kulya
16	Ø	pa	—	—	upa-	pa (p-a)	pano	apa	apo	palya
17	Ø	ku	—	—	uku-	kwa (ku-a)	kuno	uku	uko	kulya
18	Ø	mu	—	—	umu-	mwa (mu-a)	muno	umu	umo	mulya

noted that it did take some speakers a short period of time to understand both precisely, as this complexity was not similarly witnessed in the narratives transcribed or observed in naturally occurring speech.

Nonetheless, the underlying phrase structure is schematized on the basis of the attested exemplars as the following:

(12) NP → (Distr/Dem)N(Poss/Dem)(Num/Quant)(Adj*Adv)(Rel*)(Inter)

The *Dem* contains the quadrifurcated demonstrative pronouns[6]; *Distr*, the adverbial *kila* 'every'; the *Quant*, a numeral or non-numeral quantifier[7]; the *Num*, a cardinal number[5]; the *Poss*, a possessive pronoun[8]; the *Adj*, any number of adjectival modifiers, though certainly very few true adjectivals[9] exist in this particular linguistic variety; the *Adv*, an adverbial modifier[10] of the preceding adjectival; the *Rel*, a relative clause to provide additional context; and the *Inter*, an interrogative pronoun. Table 3 presents one or two exemplars for the most frequently attested, recurring nominal phrases from the narratives.

TABLE 3. Attested elements of the nominal phrase

Elements	Pattern	Exemplar	Gloss
1	N	*amasumbu* *Leesa*	'fishing nets' 'God'
2	Distr+N	*kila bushiku* *kila ng'anda*	'every day' 'every house'
	N+Dem	*kilemba iyi* *taatafyala uyu*	'these beans' 'this son-in-law'
	Dem+N	*uyu muntu* *balya abapongoshi*	'this person' 'those parents-in-law'
	N+Quant	*ulupwa lonse* *ifyakulya ifingi*	'all of the family' 'many foods'

[6] These correspond roughly to the immediate, proximal, medial, and distal and refer deictically to gradual degrees of physical, visual, and emotional proximity/distance from the speaker and/or hearer.

[7] The non-numeral quantifiers include *-onse* 'all', *-ingi* 'many', and *-mbi* '[an]other'.

[8] The possessive pronouns require concord agreement and include the following: *-andi* 'my', *-obe* 'your, sg', *-akwe* 'his, her, its', *-esu* 'our', *-enu* 'your, pl', and *-abo* 'their'.

[9] These include the following: *-suma* 'good, beautiful', *-bi* 'bad, ugly', *-kulu* 'big, wide', *-noono* 'small, little', *-tali* 'high, long', *-ipi* 'low, short, narrow', *-bishi* 'unripe', and *–pya* 'new'.

[10] The two most frequently occurring are *saana* 'very, quite' and *fye* 'simply, just'.

Elements	Pattern	Exemplar	Gloss
	N+Num	*ikibwe kimo* *abaana batatu*	'one pebble' 'three children'
	N+Poss	*ng'oma yandi* *umwana wabo*	'my drum' 'their child'
	N+Rel	*muntu uushalubile* *kalulu kalitumpa saana*	'a saved person' 'very stupid rabbit'
	Dem+Rel	*balya abaleechiseka*	'those who are laughing at him'
	N+Assoc	*inshita sha kale* *umwonga wa Lwapula*	'a long time ago' 'the Lwapula River'
	N+Adj	*ng'anda itali* *ikitabu kipya*	'a tall house' 'a new book'
3	N+Assoc+Assoc	*imfwa ya kwa Yesu*	'the death of Jesus'
	N+Rel+PP	*ikinongo ikyali pa mumana*	'the clay pot which is in the lake'
	Dem+N+Poss	*uyu umupongoshi wabo*	'this child-in-law of yours'
	N+Poss+Adj	*ng'anda shandi shinoono* *ikyuungwa kyandi kikulu*	'my small houses' 'my big orange'
	N+Adj+Rel	*imfumu iyimbi iyakuti ikale*	'another chief who is able to stay'
	N+Num+Rel	*akanakashi kamo akapalamine*	'a woman who has come here'
	Dem+N+Rel	*uyu umulumendo waishile* *aba bantu bakaisa*	'this young man who has come' 'those people who will come'
3/4	Dem+[N]+Rel+Quant	*aba abashala bonse*	'all of those [people] who remained'
4	N+Poss+Adj+Adv	*munandi musuma saana*	'my very good friend'
	N+Poss+Adj+Rel	*umwina mwandi umupya uwalenga ikumi*	'my tenth new wife'

Although the speakers for the present study indicated a clear preference for pre-nominal placement of the demonstrative pronoun, it also arose in immediately post-nominal position when not co-accompanied by a possessive pronoun, which mirrors native speaker preferences uncovered in other Bantu languages

discussed above[11]. Similarly, this schema follows the general observations made in Lusekelo (2009) in which common patterns of the Bantu nominal phrase are explicated, viz. that the nominal serves as the head, that some languages permit the placement of the demonstrative both pre- and post-nominally, that the possessive is the most closely post-nominally bounded element, and that relative clauses appear at the rightmost edge of the nominal phrase. Contrasting directly with these generalizations, however, placement of the demonstrative pronoun both before and after the associative phrase was accepted as grammatical by many speakers of Ikyaushi, though it resulted in emphatic readings. This is illustrated in (12a-b), as the demonstrative agrees, regardless of its placement, with the head noun and *not* strictly with that which it emphasizes (compare 13a-b with 13c).

(13) a. *im-fumu   ilya   y-a   bw-aushi   ya-a-fw-a*
      9CL-chief   9CL.DEM9CL-ASSOC   14CL-Aushi   9CL-PST-die-FV
      '*That chief* of the Aushi died.'

   b. *im-fumu   y-a   bw-aushi   ilya   ya-a-fw-a*
      9CL-chief   9CL-ASSOC14CL-Aushi   9CL.DEM9CL-PST-die-FV
      'That chief *of the Aushi* died.'

   c. *im-fumu   y-a   bw-aushi   balya   ya-a-fw-a*
      9CL-chief   9CL-ASSOC14CL-Aushi   14CL.DEM9CL-PST-die-FV
      'That chief of those Aushi [people] died.'

4. Conclusion

This article has presented the first formal investigation of the nominal phrase structure of Ikyaushi, an underdocumented Bantu linguistic variety. In pursuit of this goal, the existing literature on the Aushi and their language was first discussed, and this was followed by an examination of other analyses of the nominal phrase in a variety of Bantu languages in East and East-Central Africa. Hereafter, the data in Ikyaushi were explored in light of these prior analyses, ultimately resulting in a few generalizable conclusions. First, the noun serves as the head of the nominal phrase. Second, the demonstrative *or* distributive can appear in pre-nominal position, and this seems to be the default location for the former.

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[11] As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, there may also be a discourse-pragmatic function involved in the placement of the demonstrative, particularly in constructions where novel information is presented and/or a nominal phrase is foregrounded, as naturally-occurring data – as opposed to elicited data – indicates that speakers have access to and can utilize linguistic resources differently.

In utterances where the nominal phrase only contains two or three elements, however, the demonstrative can appear in post-nominal position when not already occupied by a possessive pronoun. Third, all other adnominal modifiers appear in post-nominal position, including numerals, quantifiers, adjectives, adverbials, relative clauses, and interrogatives. Finally, important points of differentiation in the analysis offered here are: (a) that the adverbial is presented as a distinct element that arises post-adjectivally; (b) that more than one adjectival or relative clause is possible and reflected as such in the proposed phrase structure rule; (c) that the associative phrase remains unlisted in the phrase structure, given that it can occur in far too many unique positions to warrant its inclusion in the abstract underlying structure proposed here; and (d) that the template offered here characterizes the data in Ikyaushi but is not intended to be applied broadly to Bantu languages more generally, as existing studies have (expectedly) demonstrated idiosyncratic features of particular languages.

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