The Morpho-syntactic Differences among Kalenjin Dialects: An

Analysis of Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot

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Abstract
Kalenjin is a language spoken primarily in Kenya. A majority of the Kalenjin speakers inhabit the Rift Valley region in Kenya. Scholars who have done research in Kalenjin somehow agree that Kalenjin dialects are not uniform in as far as their linguistic structure and intelligibility is concerned. This study aims at establishing the extent to which Pokot morpho-syntactic structure is different from those of other Kalenjin dialects by comparing it with Tugen. The study randomly selected 90 subjects. The data was collected using language tests which were answered orally and tape-recorded for further analysis. The results were analyzed, interpreted and described by using cognate percentages, spread cognate percentages and the inspection method. The findings of this study make an important addition to the information on Kalenjin. It is also useful for those interested in Kalenjin translations. Key words: Kalenjin, Morphosyntax, structure, lexicostatistics, morpheme, cognate

1.0 Introduction
Comparative studies form an important part of linguistics and improve our understanding of languages (dialects) in the world. There are two types of linguistic comparison, the historically oriented comparison and the typological comparison, Robin (1980). The historically oriented comparison is also termed as comparative historical linguistics. The typological comparison involves the comparison of features of different languages and dialects with a view to establishing any linguistic ties or point out and explain differences that are there. This study is a typological comparison between the Pokot dialect and two other Kalenjin language dialects, Kipsigis and Tugen. The study was aimed at examining the lexical structures in order to establish the extent of similarities and differences between the Pokot and the two selected dialects.

This research was geared towards establishing the extent to which Pokot is different from other Kalenjin dialects on the basis of their morphosyntactic structure. According to Towett (1979), there are six Kalenjin dialects viz: Kipsigis, Nandi + Terik, Keiyo + Marakwet, Tugen, Sebei and Pokot. Ogot (1976) gives eight dialects viz: Kipsigis, Nandi, terik, Elgeiyo, Tugen, Marakwet, Kong and Sebei. Ogot (1976), Towett (1979) and Moghine and Heine, (1980) share the view that Pokot is different from the other dialects, although they do not provide any linguistic evidence. This study establishes the extent of these differences by comparing the morphosyntactic structure of Pokot versus those of Tugen and Kipsigis.

About the term Kalenjin, Tucker and Bryan (1964) say that the term is a cover term which means “I tell you” and was adopted by speakers as self-designating expression during the late forties and fifties and the term is now in general use in Kenya. Rottland (1978) and Tapsue and Creider (2001) share this view. The name has since been taken over in the field of African Linguistics as a useful label to cover an entire language group. The dialects under study fall under the Kalenjin group.

Various scholars have carried out research based on the Kalenjin dialects. Ochieng (1975) describes the emergence and the spread of the Kalenjin tribes. He gives a detailed description of the spread and the activities of each of the Kalenjin groups. He argues that the origin of the Kalenjins is within Kenya and not outside as argued by other scholars. Ogot (1976) gives the Kalenjin dialects, which he calls tribes as, Kipsigis, Nandi, Terik, Elgeiyo, Tugen, Marakwet, Kony and Sebei. He points out that the Kalenjin spectrum of dialects though just about mutually intelligible district by district are not uniform. Ogot groups these dialects into three main “dialect clusters” He names them as Pokot, Elgon and Southern Kalenjin dialects, which include Marakwet, Tugen, Nyangori (Terik) Elgeiyo and Kipsigis. He points out that Pokot tends to be different. He does not give any linguistic explanation neither does he point out the level at which it’s different. The present study examined the morpho-syntactic structure of Pokot and those of Tugen and Kipsigis in order to establish if there are any significant differences in Pokot structures that make it outstandingly different as pointed out by other scholars, thus giving an explanation by pointing out which linguistic aspects the Pokot dialect may be differing
from other Kalenjin dialects therefore filling the gap in knowledge left by the above mentioned scholars.

As important points of contact between the various Kalenjin dialects, Otterloo (1979) mentions: Endo Marakwet-East Pokot, Keiyo-North Tugen, Cherangany with Keiyo, Endo M. and Talai M. living in Cherangany, Terik-Nandi (Terik living among Nandi) and Endo marakwet-Talai Marakwet (market). In his study of the Kalenjin dialects, Otterloo(1979) looked at linguistic similarities and differences between all the Kalenjin dialects with an aim of establishing an appropriate dialect for orthography. He also touches on the language policy in Kenya at that time (1979). He used the Kalenjin union Bible for comparison. He noted that Pokot is different from other Kalenjin dialects and that they do not understand the scripture well. He went further to say that Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, Tugen and Terik enjoy a high degree of understanding, they also understand the scripture well because the Kalenjin scripture is translated to a dialect (Nandi + Kipsigis) from which greatly resembles these dialects. He points out that Pokot’s relative position is very far from that of mainland Kalenjin and that it is very distinct and it needed its own literature. This work is largely generalized and lacks details of individual dialects; a lot of detail was left out because the study was urgently needed for use in some parts of the Rift Valley. This study diverges from Otterloo’s in the sense that it gives a detailed analysis of the morpho-syntactic structures of Pokot, Kipsigis and Tugen by applying the inspection method, the cognate percentage and spread cognate percentage methods which Otterloo does not use in his study. Nevertheless, both studies are comparative.

Toweett (1976) further covers the main areas of the Kalenjin language. He describes the phonological, lexical, morphological and the syntactic aspects of the language. His work is thus basically descriptive. Toweett gives a list of the Kalenjin dialects in order of their numerical strength as: Kipsigis, Nandi + Terik,Keiyo + Marakwet,Tugen, Sebei, Pokot. He describes the Pokot as the least Kalenjin basing his argument on the observations made during his study.

Rottland (1982); the study had an aim similar to that of Otterloo. In most cases results similar to those of Otterloo were found. However in some instances, the results indicated minimal or major diversities. He concluded that development of a separate literature for the Pokot was the only option. He further suggested that Akiek is far removed from Kalenjin dialects and if the dialect was still vital, a separate literature was the only option.

Baroja-et al. (1989) is possibly the most comprehensive work on Pokot grammar. The work is complete with Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the dialect. They point out that the verb of the dialect presents many variations and thus appear complicated. In their study they did an analysis of the Pokot grammar, the work explains the structures of the dialect, its characteristics and its forms. He observes that the Pokot is grouped under Kalenjin and linguistically there are three main groups: Nandi, the Sebei and Pokot, he points out that the Pokot dialect is the most complicated of them all; they argue that it is easier for a Pokot to understand Nandi than a Nandi to understand Pokot, not to mention speaking it. They point out regional variations: East Pokot (Kaa Tiyati) Psikor area (Kaa Cheptulei) the area around Cheparerya (Kaa Cheripko) the area around Kunyao (Kaa Sawrya). They however say that the dialect has great homogeneity regardless of the region in which the speaker comes from. This work acted as a point of reference especially as far as Pokot was concerned.

It has been observed by Ogot (1976), Towett (1979), Mohline and Heine (1980) that Pokot is different from other Kalenjin dialects. Asked what language they would use to address speakers of other Kalenjin dialects, the Kipsigis interviewed responded as indicated in table 1(cf. table 1). Mohline and Heine’s (1980) data shown in the table was used to illustrate the extent of mutual intelligibility between the Kalenjin dialects. It is easy to see at a glance that many speakers prefer to use Swahili while speaking to a Pokot although other intervening variables may have led to the varied interaction indicated. Only 15% of Kalenjin was spoken between Kipsigis and Pokot speakers while 76% Kiswahili was used. The concern of this study was thus to investigate the differences between the morpho-syntactic structure of Pokot and the two other dialects of Kalenjin. i.e. Kipsigis and Tugen.

2.0 Methodology
This research drew a sample from the dialect groups viz: Kipsigis, Tugen and Pokot which included both males and females of age thirty and above. The study used 55 word-phrases. The researchers employed both random and stratified sampling procedures to select the sample from the stated population. The subjects were selected from three regional settlements of the speakers of the dialects under analysis, namely, Bomet, Koibatek and West Pokot districts. Thirty (30) subjects were selected from each of the three dialects, of these thirty, fifteen were male and fifteen were female. Of these fifteen males and females, five were of different ages, that is 30 – 40, 41 – 50 and 51 and above. The sample size thus was ninety subjects. Data collection was by the use of language performance tests specially designed, pilot-tested and adjusted to suit the contextual realities in the field. Performances were tape recorded in order to capture detail for later retrieval and analysis. The
administration of the language tests and the tape recording was conducted by the researcher with the assistance of informants. The literate respondents were furnished with the language performance tests and for the illiterate respondents, the tests were orally administered. The data from the audio cassettes was replayed and transcribed in phonemic form.

3.0 Morphosyntactic Analysis
Below are the phrases and statements used in morpho-syntactic analysis. The order of the phrases and statements according to the dialects is as follows:

(a) Kipsigis abbreviated as K
(b) Tugen abbreviated as T
(c) Pokot abbreviated as P

The morphemes that were compared are underlined.

3.1 Adjectival concord
In this section, we looked for those morphemes that mark number i.e. those morphemes that indicate singular and plural and at the same time echo the class of the noun. This can be illustrated using phrases (A) 1 and (B) 1 below:

K: / la:kwet ne miŋin /
T: / la:kwe ne miŋin /
P: / moniŋ oŋ munun /
The root words in the above examples are / la:k /, / la:kw / and / mon / consecutively, the Prefixes – wet –we and –ŋ show that the child is one. While in (B) 1, the addition of the prefixes –oːk, -oːk in both Kipsigis and Tugen indicate that the noun is plural. As mentioned earlier in this study, relative markers play an important role in the marking for singular and plural in Kalenjin; in (B) 1 of the Pokot, the prefix does not change in the plural but the relative marker changes from / no / to / tʃo / thus indicating that the noun is plural rather than singular. However in the present study the researchers compared morphemes thus in the judgment of cognacy in the next section (c.f. cognacy in morphemes), Pokot will be considered as non-cognate as far as this phrase is concerned.

The adjective also changes when the noun changes in number, therefore / miŋin / in Kipsigis and / miŋin / in Tugen change to / meŋket / and / munuŋ / to / muŋket / in Pokot.

(A) Singular
1. Small child: (a) / la:kwet ne miŋin /
   (b) / la:kwe ne miŋin /
   (c) / moniŋ oŋ munun /
2. Small house: (a) / kot ne miŋin /
   (b) / kot ne miŋin /
   (c) / ko oŋ munun /
3. Small tree: (a) / keːt ne miŋin /
   (b) / keːt ne miŋin /
   (c) / ket oŋ munun /
4. Small animal: (a) / tioŋ ne miŋin /
   (b) / tioŋ ne miŋin /
   (c) / tioŋ o munun /
5. Small pot: (a) / tereː ne miŋin /
   (b) / tereː ne miŋin /
   (c) / tor o munun /

(B) Plural
1. Small children: (a) / laːkoːk tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (b) / laːkoːk tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (c) / munuŋ tʃo muŋketʃ /
2. Small houses: (a) / korik tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (b) / korik tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (c) / korin tʃo muŋketʃ /
3. Small trees: (a) / keːtik tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (b) / keːtik tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (c) / ket tʃo muŋketʃ /
4. Small animals: (a) / tioŋiːk tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (b) / tioŋiːk tʃe meŋketʃ /
   (c) / tʃoŋin tʃo muŋketʃ /
5. Small pots: (a) / tere:nik t[e meŋketʃ /  
(b) / tere:nik t[e meŋketʃ /  
(c) / toren t[lo meŋketʃ /  

3.2 Verb Conjugation

As far as verb conjugation is concerned, the researchers looked at those affixes that show number and tense, i.e. those affixes that conjugate the verb in terms of tense and number. In this case, where the noun is singular, the affix on the verb that marks tense and number should be singular and vice verse. Therefore the morphemes underlined in this section are those morphemes affixed to the verb that mark tense and number in the verb and those morphemes that mark number on the noun. In a statement, for example (C) 1, the morpheme {-e} which is prefixed to the verbal root / lul / (fall), indicates number which in this case is singular and tense. The addition of the prefix changes the verb from fall to falling which is / lule / in Kipsigis and Tugen, Pokot is slightly different because other than the morpheme –e, / mi / is also a marker for tense (continuous). –e is equivalent to the ‘-ing’ morpheme in English. Statement (C) 6 is the plural version of (C) 1 where {-tos} is a tense marker similar to / -ing / in English and at the same time it marks for plural so it indicates that the noun is in plural so / lultos / in Kipsigis and Tugen is equivalent to ‘are falling in English’. In Pokot the morpheme is ku- and it plays the same role as –tos.

(C) 1. The old house is falling
   / (a) lule kot ne jos /  
   / (b) lule kot ne jos /  
   / (c) mi kurule kajai pojos /  

2. The old king is coming
   (a) / none laitoria:t ne jos /  
   (b) / noni laitoria:nte ne jos /  
   (b) / noni amerikwọnon ki joist /  

3. The clever girl is playing
   (a) / ure:reni t[lepto ne ọ:men /  
   (b) / ure:reni t[lepto ne ọ:men /  
   (c) / mi kpirono t[lepto no t[ler /  

4. The beautiful dress is burning
   (a) / kerera:t inkoroi ne kara:ran /  
   (b) / kerera:t inkoroi ne kara:ran /  
   (c) / kipat[apati]a aanajanai karam /  

5. The new pot is broken
   (a) / jejet tere:t ne le:1 /  
   (b) / kije tere: ne le:1 /  
   (c) / kima teronai re:1 /  

6. The old houses are burning
   (a) / lultos korik t[e jose:n /  
   (b) / lultos korik t[e jose:n /  
   (c) / kut[ondoi kori t[a pujo[a /  

7. The old kings are coming
   (a) / pwane laitorinik t[e jose:n /  
   (b) / pwoni laitorinik t[e jose:n /  
   (c) / ameriko tinnet[a poj pkomo /  

8. The clever girls are playing
   (a) / ure:rentos tipik t[e jose:n /  
   (b) / ure:rentos tipik t[e jose:n /  
   (c) / mi kpironoi tipin t[lo t[lerot /  

9. The beautiful dresses are torn
   (a) / kereroti:n inkoroi:k t[e kororo:n /  
   (b) / kereroti:n inkoroi:k t[e kororo:n /  
   (c) / kipok[e anaŋkoi t[o karamat /  

10. The new pots are broken
    (a) / jejet:n tere:ni:k t[e le:la:ʃ /  
    (b) / jejet:n tere:ni:k t[e le:la:ʃ /  
    (c) / kimego toronit∫ai karamat /  

While statements 1 to 10 are in the present tense, statements 11 to 20 are in the past tense. Kalenjin marks the past in three different ways, this can best be explained by using the following sentences.
English       Kalenjin
(1) the tree burned (today)          / kalal ketit /
(2) the tree burned (yesterday)      / kolal ketit /
(3) the tree burned (long ago)        / kilal ketit /

From the sentences above it can be observed that different morphemes are used to mark the different times the action took place in the past. In these statements the subjects were asked to use the ‘long ago’ tense, which in all the dialects is ‘{ki-}’.

11. The old house fell
   (a) / kilul kat ne jos /
   (b) / kilul kat ne jos /
   (c) / kitîndoi kori tlo pujoa /

12. The tall tree burned
   (a) / kilal ke:tit ne koi /
   (b) / kilal ke:tit ne koi /
   (c) / kinag ke: ñkog /

13. The old king came
   (a) / kino laitoriante ne yos /
   (b) / kina laitoriante ne yos /
   (c) / kino amerikwo no pujoa /

14. The beautiful dresses got burned
   (a) / kikerer inkoriet ne kara:ran /
   (b) / kikerer inkorie ne kara:ran /
   (c) / kipakile ananja /ñkaram /

15. The new pot broke
   (a) / kije tere: ne le:1 /
   (b) / kije tere: ne le:1 /
   (c) / kima tor /ñkire:1 /

16. The old house burned
   (a) / kilal kot ne jos /
   (b) / kilal kot ne jos /
   (c) / kinog ko pujoa /

17. The old houses fell
   (a) / kiuuljo kori:k tle jose:n /
   (b) / kiuuljo kori:k tle jose:n /
   (c) / kiuru ko pujoa /

18. The clever girls played
   (a) / kuirere:nso tipik tle ño:men /
   (b) / kuirere:nso tipik tle ño:men /
   (c) / kipirono tipin tlo kiñrero /

19. The beautiful dresses got burned
   (a) / kikereris inkoroi:k tle koro:ron /
   (b) / kikereris inkoroi:k tle koro:ron /
   (c) / kipokile anankan tlo karamad /

3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns serve the purpose of being noun substitutes in Kalenjin just as they do in English. The persons, whom they substitute, like in English, are six: I, you, (sing) he/she, we, you (pl.) and they. These pronouns also have their objective cases like in English. The subjective pronouns are prefixed to the verbal stem in both Kipsigis and Tugen. However in Pokot they are suffixed to the verb but ‘he’ and ‘they’ are prefixed to it (the verb).

In the three dialects, the third person ‘he’ and ‘they’ subjective case is realized in the affix marking tense unlike other pronouns which are separate from the tense marking morpheme. In statement 5 and 6 below, the prefix ‘{ki}’ marks both tense and the pronoun ‘he’ and ‘they’ consecutively.

The three dialects do not differentiate between ‘she’ and ‘he’, so to make the difference, names for either male or female are used. The pronouns are also used if the person had been mentioned earlier and thus the speakers have someone specific in mind. The objective pronouns are prefixed to the verbal stem as illustrated by the underlined morphemes.

1. I went to the river
   (a) / kiowe oinet /
2. We went to the river
(a) / kikipe oinet /
(b) / kikipe oine /
(c) / kikpetja lalwa /
3. You (sing) went to the river
(a) / ki:we oinet /
(b) / ki:we oine /
(c) / kiwe i lalwa /
4. You (PI) went to the river
(a) / kiope oinet /
(b) / kiope oinet /
(c) / kiapakwe lalwe /
5. He went to the river
(a) / kiwo oinet /
(b) / kiwo oinet /
(c) / kiwo lalwa /
6. They went to the river
(a) / kipa oinet /
(b) / kipa oinet /
(c) / kipa lalwa /
7. He saw me
(a) / kikeron /
(b) / kikeron /
(c) / kisuwetjan /
8. Cheptoo saw us
(a) / kikeret∫ Cheptoo /
(b) / kikeret∫ Cheptoo /
(c) / kisuwet∫at∫a /
9. He told us you (sing) to go
(a) / kile In iwe /
(b) / kile ḫun iwe /
(c) / kimwou i l户口o /
10. He told you (pl) to go.
(a) / kilent∫ok ope /
(b) / kilent∫ok ope /
(c) / kilent∫akwa apa /

3.4 Possessives

The underlined morphemes below are possessive morphemes. In the three dialects possessives are made with the addition of suffixes to the stem of the noun. Therefore in statement (E) 1 below the following morphemes are equivalent to the possessive pronoun ‘my’ in English.

K:  - ḫ
T:  - ḫ
P:  - ɬ

These possessive pronouns change to plural when the nouns they are suffixed to change from singular to plural. The possessive morphemes above changed to the suffixes in (E) 6. Thus
K:  -t∫u:k
T:  -t∫u:k
P:  -t∫an

E). 1. My dress is drying
(a) / soe inkorie:  ɯɲ
(b) / jomei inkorie:  ɯɲ
(b) / mi joemi sire  an ʃ
2. His dog is dead
   (a) / kime ŋokta /  
   (b) / kime sese /  
   (c) / kima kukido /  
3. Your cat is sleeping
   (a) / rue pakeŋu:ŋ /  
   (b) / ruei pusinu:ŋ /  
   (c) / kuruwe t∫epusi an  
4. Our house is burning
   (a) / lole ko  
   (b) / lole ko  
   (c) / negoi kont∫a /  
5. Their cow is grazing
   (a) / oketi tatanwa:ŋ /  
   (b) / oketi tetanwa:n /  
   (c) / oketi tetanwa /  
6. My dresses are drying
   (a) / saitos iŋkoroi:kt∫u:k /  
   (b) / jamtos iŋkoro:inkt∫u:k /  
   (c) / mi suruket∫an kujomo /  
7. His dogs are dead
   (a) / kime:jo ŋokikt∫i:k /  
   (b) / kime:jo sesenikt∫i:k /  
   (c) / kimego kukinedet∫i /  
8. Your (sing) cats are sleeping
   (a) / ruitos pakono:ku:k /  
   (b) / ruitos pusiniku:k /  
   (c) / rujo∫epunit∫iku /  
9. Our houses are burning
   (a) / loltos kori:kt∫ok /  
   (b) / loltos kori:kt∫ok /  
   (c) / nogjo korit∫a /  
10. Their cows are sick
    (a) / miontos tukwa:k /  
    (b) / miontos tukwa:k /  
    (c) / toŋunote tukawa /  
3.5 The Demonstrative

Like possessives, the demonstratives are formed by the addition of suffixes to the stem of the noun. The underlined in the statements below are demonstrative pronouns suffixed to the noun.

1. That pot is new
   (a) / Le:l tero:nono /  
   (b) / Le:l tero:no /  
   (c) / rel tero:no /  
2. This pot is new
   (a) / le:l tere:ni /  
   (b) / le:l teroni /  
   (c) / le:l teroni /  
3. Those pots are new
   (a) / le:lat∫ tere:ni:t∫u:n /  
   (b) / le:lat∫ tere:ni:t∫u:n /  
   (c) / relat∫ tore:ni:t∫i:no /  
4. These pots are new
   (a) / le:lat∫ tere:ni:t∫u /  
   (b) / le:lat∫ tere:ni:t∫u /  
   (c) / le:lat∫ tore:ni:t∫i /  
5. That (yonder) are new
   (a) / le:l teroni:n /  
   (b) / le:l teroni:n /
The list below indicates which morphemes are considered to be cognates and which ones are not. All the statements elicited were considered. From the concordial morphemes below we calculated the cognate percentages from which we drew conclusions about the relationships of Pokot with the dialects morpho-syntactically as well as drawing general conclusions.

**COGNACY**

### 3.6.1 Adjectives

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### 3.6.2 Verb Conjugation

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pokot</th>
<th>Kipsigis</th>
<th>Tugen</th>
<th>P/K</th>
<th>P/T</th>
<th>K/T</th>
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### 3.6.3 Pronouns

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<th>Tugen</th>
<th>P/K</th>
<th>P/T</th>
<th>K/T</th>
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63
3.6.4 Possessives

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<td>-atʃa</td>
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<td>- ṭi</td>
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<td>10.</td>
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<td>-kwa</td>
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3.6.5 The Demonstrative

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<td>-tʃ</td>
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<td>5.</td>
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<td>-ninana</td>
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3.7 Concordial morphemes Cognate Percentages

To establish the degree of correspondence in the morphosyntactic structures of Pokot versus those of Tugen and Kipsigis, we compared the cognate percentages of the concordial morphemes i.e. those morphemes that are cognates as a percentage of the total number of the phrases and statements are compared. The formula used was successfully applied by Ingonga (1991) and Persson (1979).

**Kipsigis and Pokot**

Total number of statements: 55
Cognate concordial morphemes: 22
Cognate percentage = \(\frac{\text{number of cognate morphemes} \times 100}{\text{Number of statements}}\)

\[\frac{22}{55} \times 100 = 40\%\]

**Tugen and Pokot**

Total number of statements: 55
Number of concordial morphemes: 22
Cognate percentage = \(\frac{\text{number of cognate morphemes} \times 100}{\text{Number of statements}}\)

\[\frac{23}{55} \times 100 = 41.8\%\]

**Kipsigis and Tugen**

Total number of statements: 55
Number of concordial morphemes: 54
Cognate percentage = \(\frac{\text{number of cognate morphemes} \times 100}{\text{Number of statements}}\)

\[\frac{54}{55} \times 100 = 98\%\]

4.0 Discussions

From the percentages above, it can be observed that Pokot morpho-syntactic structure is different from those of Kipsigis and Tugen. Between Kipsigis and Pokot, the correspondence of the concordial morphemes is only 40%, which implies that 60% do not correspond thus different. While between Tugen and Pokot, the
correspondence of the morphemes is 42% therefore 58% of the morphemes do not correspond. The percentage of correspondence in both cases is below average. The study found out that Pokot morpho-syntactic structure is different from those of Kipsigis and Tugen. The sentence structure of Pokot and that of Kipsigis is similar: V-N-ADJ. However the concordial morphemes which were the interest of this study demonstrated a big difference. The correspondence between Pokot and Kipsigis morphemes was low, out of 55 statements; only 22 were cognates giving a 40% cognate percentage implying that they are 60% different. The Pokot morpho-syntactic structure is significantly different from that of Kipsigis and Tugen.

5.0 Conclusion
The morpho-syntactic structure of Pokot is 42% similar to that of Tugen and 58% different. Only 23 morphemes correspond out of 55 morphemes examined. The morpho-syntactic structure is significantly different from that of Tugen. Although there are similarities between Pokot and Tugen morpho-syntactic structures, these similarities are to a very small extent. The differences override these similarities. Going by the figures arrived at above, it can be said that the Tugen morpho-syntactic structure is closer to that of Pokot than Kipsigis is to Pokot. This can be attributed to Geographical barriers and changes. It is clear that the morpho-syntactic structure of Pokot is significantly different from that of Kipsigis and Pokot and it can there be generalized that it is different from the other Kalenjin dialects. In fact it should be classified as an independent language.

References

Table 1: Language used by Kipsigis speakers while speaking to speakers of other Kalenjin dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Talking to</th>
<th>Kipsigis Language used</th>
<th>Kalenjin</th>
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<td>Elgeiyo</td>
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<td>85%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<td>Marakwet</td>
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