

Structure of the Determiner Phrase in Ekegusii: A Minimalist Approach

Edinah Gesare Mose¹, Phyllis Wacuka Mwangi², Martin Mburu Waweru³

¹Department of Linguistics, Literature and Foreign Languages, Kenyatta University, Kenya.

²Department of Linguistics, Literature and Foreign Languages, Kenyatta University, Kenya.

³Department of Linguistics, Literature and Foreign Languages, Kenyatta University, Kenya.

ABSTRACT: This article that is based on the Minimalist Program examines the structure of the Determiner phrase in Ekegusii, a Bantu language spoken in Kenya. There is the assumption that the Minimalist Program (MP) is a Universal Grammar Theory which can account for syntactic phenomena in human languages. However, for Ekegusii determiner phrase, this has not been accounted for adequately. The data used in this article was extracted from Mose's Masters' thesis. A descriptive research design was used. Then purposive sampling was done whereby it was carried out in three stages. First, 10 native speaker respondents were targeted and they wrote a composition each. Secondly, appropriate sentential constructions were sampled from the compositions depending on the structure of the determiner phrase. Thirdly, stories were sampled from the Ekegusii Bible and written Ekegusii sources. A total of 140 sentential constructions were used for the analysis. The findings indicated that the DP in Ekegusii projects various functional projections. They include demonstrative phrase (DemP), possessive determiner phrase (PossD) and quantifier phrase (QP). Further, the DP can have adjunction in form of Adjective phrases, prepositional phrases and relative clauses. The order in which all these elements occur varies. For instance, in a situation where all the functional elements are present, the noun complement comes first, then demonstratives, followed by possessives and lastly the quantifiers. However, when there is adjunction, the D elements follow the noun, then adjective phrases which are either followed by a relative clause or a prepositional phrase, or prepositional phrase and then the relative clause. The article concludes that in the DP structure in Ekegusii, all functional projections and adjunction is generally post-nominal.

Keywords - Determiner phrase, Minimalist program, projection, movement, feature checking

1. INTRODUCTION

This article examines the internal structure of the Determiner Phrase (DP) in Ekegusii, a Bantu language which is spoken in Kenya and classified as E42 by Guthrie (1971). The DP stands for a phrase headed by an element of category D. According to Chang (2003), the possible candidates for the category D include: definite and indefinite articles, demonstratives, quantifiers and possessives. However, for Bantu languages definite and indefinite articles are unattested though definiteness or specificity are marked (Mose, 2012; Carstens, 1991). The DP first originated in the work of Abney (1987) who provided empirical and theoretical arguments for the creation of a functional category; the determiner phrase, which is the maximal category projected by the class of determiner elements and it is considered the head while the noun phrase is a complement. Since phrases are named after their heads, a phrase headed by a determiner is therefore a DP. The DP hypothesis made it possible to account for clausal and phrasal constructions within the Minimalist Program (MP) as it accorded them uniform treatment (Bernstein, 1997). Thus, following Abney's proposal and using the MP, researchers

have proved that the NP is complement of the DP (Longobardi, 1994; Bernstein, 1997; Santelmann, 1993 and Kester, 1993).

Therefore, in the analysis of the DP, the canonical order across Bantu languages indicates that the D elements follow the noun (Makanjira, 2019; Fossi, 2015; Carstens, 1991). However, this is contrary to Germanic languages like English whereby the determiners; pre-, central and post precede the noun complement (Leech & Svartvik 2002; Huddleston & Pullum, 2005).

Besides the D elements, other elements that modify the nominal complement are Adjective Phrases (AP), Prepositional Phrases (PP) and Relative Clauses (R. cl). On adjectives, research within the MP hold no consensus about the merging point of adjectives to the DP. Moreover, literature cross-linguistically indicates that across Romance languages adjectives tend to follow nouns while for Germanic languages they precede the noun (Bernstein, 1997). Nonetheless, for Bantu languages adjectives occur post-nominally (Carstens, 1991; Mose, 2012, Makanjira, 2019). This article analyses adjectives as phrasal adjuncts adjoined to the DP because it is possible to have more than one adjective. This view of adjectives being adjuncts since they are phrasal categories adjoined to the NP is supported by many linguists (Radford, 2004; Bernstein, 1993; Svenonius, 1992; Valois, 1991).

Prepositional phrases signal the location of the entity picked out by the noun; in other words, they give additional information pertaining to time and place (Adger, 2003). He adds that it is important to think about the semantic relationship between the noun and PP. If the PP is an argument of the noun then it must be in a complement position; however, if the PP is not, then it must be adjoined. Literature across languages indicates that PPs can function as both pre-modifiers and post-modifiers of the NP (Leech & Svartvik, 2002). In this article PPs are analysed as adjuncts, adjoined to the NP complement.

Relative clauses, just like PPs and APs, give more information about nouns and can be adjoined to nouns (Abdoulaye, 2011). Further, a relative clause comprises (a relative, noun) a term that is core-referenced with another term (the antecedent NP) in the main clause (Downing, 1978). While there is a lot of literature on formation of relative clauses across languages (Payne, 1997; Mpiranya, 2015) this article espouses a relative clause in relation to the additional information it gives to a DP. As such, the relative clause is treated as an adjunct adjoined to the DP.

2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This article is an extraction of Mose' Master's thesis (2012). In the main study, a descriptive research design was used as it provided a picture of a phenomenon as it naturally occurs (Hedrick et al., 1993). In this case, the phenomena was the structure of the Ekegusii determiner phrase. Then purposive sampling was done and it was carried out in three stages. First, ten respondents who wrote a composition each were sampled. Secondly, the appropriate sentential constructions were sampled depending on their DP structure. Thirdly, stories from the Ekegusii Bible and written Ekegusii sources (Ngoko, 1979) were sampled. Specifically from the Bible, the book of Esther Chap 2:1-23 which has the story of Esther's crowning as the queen was used. From the compositions, 100 sentences were sampled, while 20 were obtained from the Bible story and another 20 from Ekegusii written works. This gave a total of 140 sentential constructions for the DP analysis. Moreover, these sentential constructions were analysed to deduce the DP internal elements in Ekegusii and the order in which they occur. Further, the Minimalist Program was used to account for the DP structure in Ekegusii. The Minimalist program according to Chomsky (1995) is a program that moves away from excessive complexities as it creates a model to describe language in the most natural and elegant way. In addition, it provides principles for how an analysis is constructed as opposed to providing filtering conditions that constrain output representations (Chomsky, 1993). Hence, the MP's principles of select, merge, agree and then move were used to analyse the DP's internal structure in Ekegusii.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The Structure of the Determiner Phrase in Ekegusii.

This section discusses the D elements and other constituents that form the DP in Ekegusii language. From the data that is presented herein, the DP in Ekegusii has the following functional elements: demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers. Typically, the D elements in Ekegusii follow the NP-D sequence. This is consistent with findings from other Bantu languages like Chimakonde (Makanjira, 2019); Ngêmbà (Fossi, 2015) and Kiswahili (Carstens, 1991).

Demonstratives

Cross-linguistically, demonstratives constitute a class of deictic expressions whose function is “pointing out,” equivalent to *deixis* (Diessel, 1999; Lyons, 1999; Dixon, 2003). Demonstratives are very prevalent in the DP in Ekegusii.

1a). *Omosacha oyo*,

Man this (this man),

b). *Rituko erio*

day that (that day)

In the examples 1a) and b) the demonstratives *oyo* and *erio* point out the referents which are *omosacha* and *rituko* respectively. Ekegusii distinguishes two kinds of demonstratives, namely: (a) the proximal demonstrative *eye* (this), *ebi* (these) and (b) their distal counter parts *eria* (that) and *ebiria* (those). These demonstratives can be used to indicate referentiality. In addition to distal demonstratives, Ekegusii has a third class that indicates distance away from both the speaker and hearer. The table below shows the three types of demonstratives.

Table 3.1: Types of Demonstratives in the Ekegusii

	Near Speaker	Near Hearer	Away from both
Demonstratives	<i>Oyo</i>	<i>Oria</i>	<i>Oriaa</i>
Person (honorific)	<i>Omoibi oyo</i> Thief <u>this</u> (this thief)	<i>Omoibi oria</i> Thief <u>that</u> (that thief)	<i>Omoibi oriaa</i> Thief <u>that</u> (that thief)
Thing	<i>Omote oyo</i> Tree <u>this</u> (this tree)	<i>Omote oria</i> Tree <u>that</u> (that tree)	<i>Omote oriaa</i> Tree <u>that</u> (that tree)
Place	<i>Ase aya</i> Place <u>this</u> (this place)	<i>Ase aria</i> Place <u>that</u> (that place)	<i>Ase ariaa</i> Place <u>that</u> (that place)
Time	<i>Chinsa echi</i> Time <u>this</u> (this time)	<i>Chinsa chiria</i> Time <u>that</u> (that time)	<i>Chinsa chiriaa</i> Time <u>that</u> (that time)

The demonstratives given in Table 3.1 point out the referents; person, thing, place and time. As shown, referents are in relation to; near the speaker, near the hearer and away from both. In all the instances, the demonstratives show agreement with the NP. Another observation which can be made in regard to the demonstratives in Ekegusii is that they can mark definiteness. Definiteness refers to an entity that is familiar, by virtue of being present either in the physical discourse environment or in the discourse context as an entity that is identifiable to both the speaker and addressee while indefiniteness refers to an entity which the speaker assumes the address cannot identify (Lambrecht, 1994). Definiteness in Ekegusii can be expressed either through bare nouns or demonstratives. Research indicates that languages compensate for the lack of one category- that the dual functions of demonstratives are caused by the absence of another element and the demonstrative performs the compatible role of the definite article (Chang, 2009). Thus, in Ekegusii demonstratives are seen to perform a dual role as shown by the following data.

2a). *Omongina oyio*

Woman that (that woman)

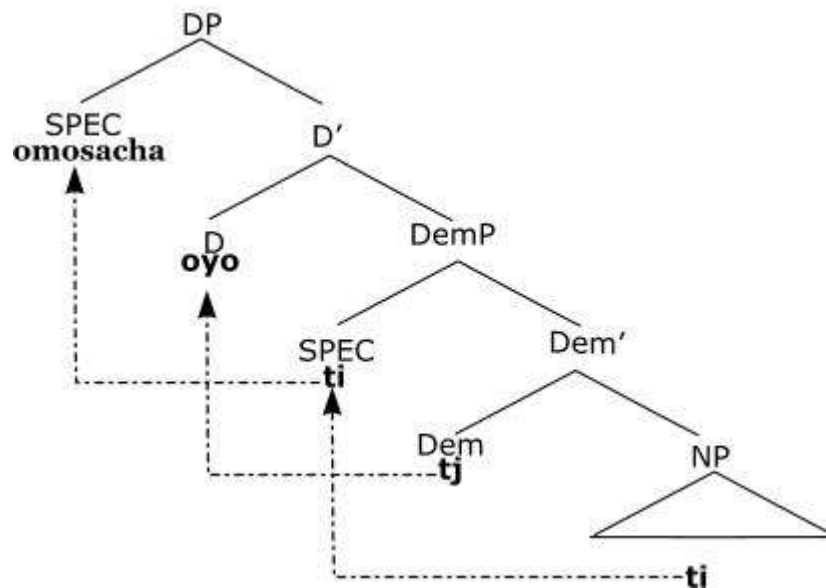
b). *Rituko erio*

In both instances (2a, b), *omongina* and *rituko* are familiar to the speaker and the hearer.

Giusti (1993) argues that demonstratives are generated in the specifier position of a functional projection below the DP, then they raise to SPEC DP universally. Bernstein (1997) adds that this is so because demonstratives in Germanic and Scandinavian languages must precede nouns. However, for Ekegusii this is not the case because demonstratives are post nominal. Hence, we propose a modification to Giusti's proposal in that in Ekegusii demonstratives are generated in the Dem position which is projected below the DemP which is below the DP and they move to D position (which is a strong head position). As for the SPEC DP position it is filled by the NP complement made possible because of overt noun raising in Ekegusii. Here is an illustration.

3). *Omosacha oyo*

Man this (this man)



The demonstrative *oyo* is base generated at the Dem position of the DemP. Since the D position is a strong head position, the demonstrative moves to fill it overtly, while the NP *omosacha* first moves to the specifier position of the demonstrative, then to the to the specifier position and in both instances to check phi features.

Possessives.

Possessives express relationship of ownership or belongingness (Lyons, 1999). In Ekegusii, possessives show agreement with the noun in terms of number and person as indicated by the data below.

1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
(4)a. <i>endoto yane</i> , Dream mine, (my dream)	<i>endoto yao</i> , dream yours, (your dream)	<i>endoto yaye</i> dream his/hers (his/her dream)
(4)b. <i>Chindoto chwaito</i> , Dreams ours, (our dreams)	<i>chindoto chwaino</i> , dreams yours, (your dreams)	<i>chindoto chwabo</i> dreams theirs (their dreams)
(5)a. <i>Omwana one</i> , Child mine, (my child)	<i>omwana oo</i> , child yours, (your child)	<i>omwana oye</i> child his/hers (his/her child)
(5)b. <i>abana baito</i> , Children ours, (our children)	<i>abana baino</i> , children yours, (your children)	<i>abana babo</i> children theirs (their children)

The possessives in 4a and b, *yane/ chwaito*; *yao/ chwaino*; *yaye/chwabo* in their singular and plural forms agree with the noun *endoto* and *chindoto* in singular and plural respectively as well as in terms of person. Similarly, the possessives in 5a and b, *one/baito*, *oo/baino*, *oye/babo* in their singular and plural forms respectively show agreement with the noun *omwana* and *abana* in terms of number and person. Dawn (1997) observes that possessive pronouns and other possessive markers are functional projections which project the possessive determiner phrase (PossD). Although, Picallo (1994) argues that possessives are universally base generated specifically in a position lower than all the functional projections like demonstratives, Bruge (2002) adds that the order of functional projections varies cross-linguistically; that the post-nominal possessive occupies a position immediately lower than the post-nominal demonstrative. In Ekegusii, possession is realized in two ways:

Possessive determiner. Consider:

(6)a. *Omwana oye*

Child his/hers (his /her child)

Possessive marker (-ya-) an equivalent of (of) in English as in

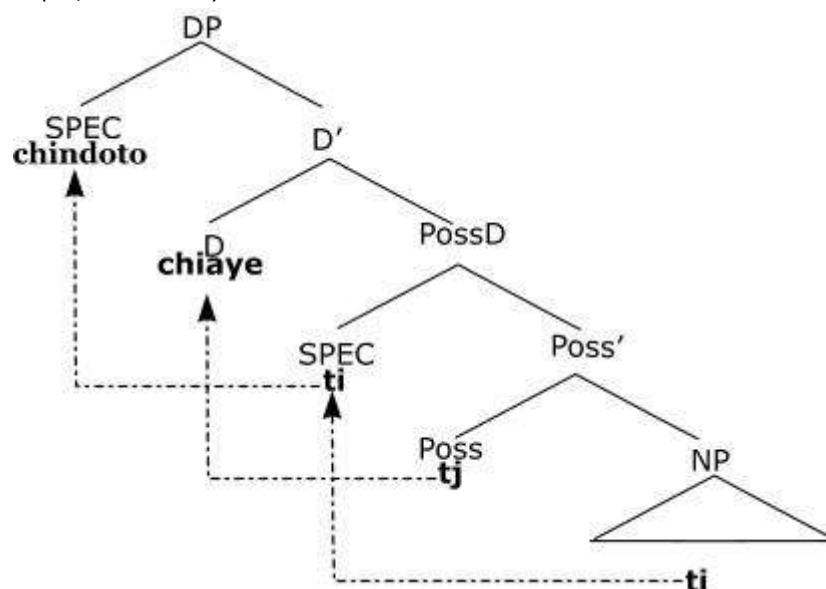
6)b. *Enyomba yabakungu*

House of women (women's house)

From the data (6a,b) we can note that possession in Ekegusii can be marked by possessive determiner -ye- and possessive marker -ya- which is an equivalent of (of) in the English language. However, the possessive marker -ya- though expressing ownership, is realized more as a preposition by translation. Thus, in this article it is analysed as an adjunction. Here is an illustration from the data.

7). *Chindoto chiaye*

Dreams his/her (his/her dreams)

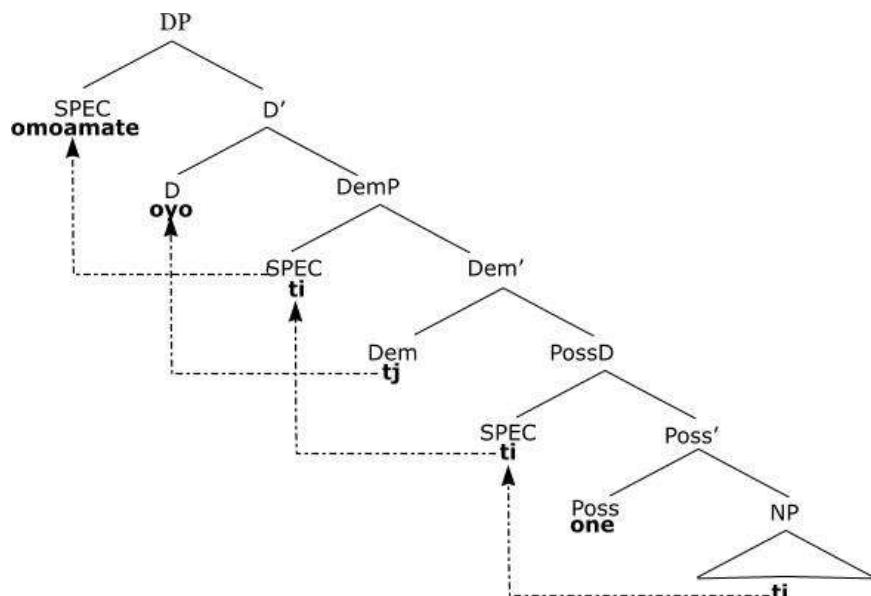


The D position is a strong head position which has to be filled hence, the possessive *chiaye* which is base generated at the poss position of the PossD has to move and fill it. Again in Ekegusii the possessive is postnominal forcing the movement of the NP *chindoto* upwards to check the phi features.

Further, when we have other projections like demonstratives the possessive does not raise; instead the NP checks the phi features in Spec-head configuration as shown in 8 below:

8). *Omoamate oyo one*

Neighbour this mine (this my neighbour)

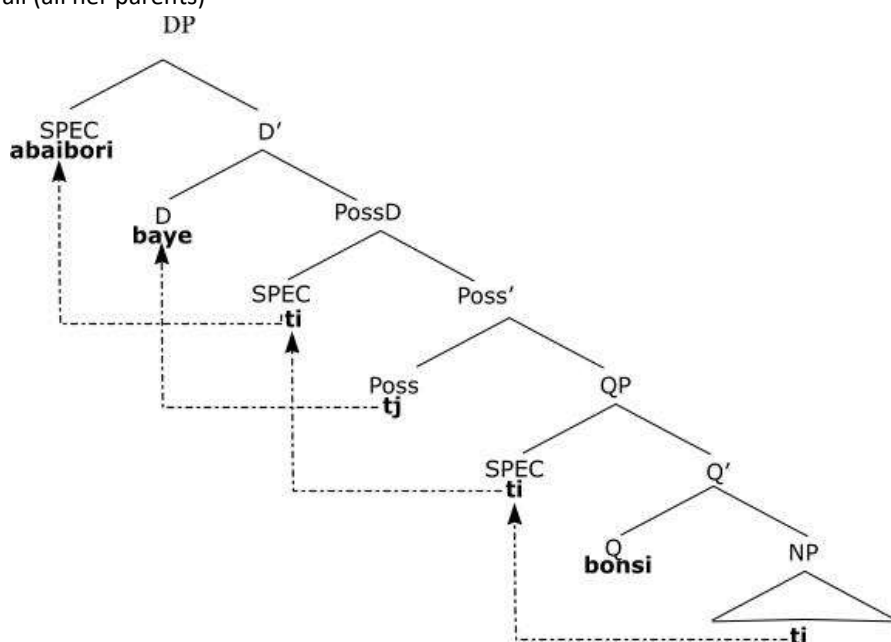


The possessive *one* is base generated at the poss position of the possessive determiner phrase, it does not move; instead the NP moves to the spec position to check the phi features. The demonstrative *oyo* is base generated at the demonstrative position of the DemP and since the D position is a strong head position it is moves to overtly fill it. The NP also moves to check the phi features first with the possessive, then the demonstrative before it lands at the specifier position.

However, where we the quantifier the possessive moves from its insitu position where it is generated to fill the strong head position as shown in (9) below:

9). *Abaibori baye bonsi*

Parents her all (all her parents)



First, the NP *abaibori* moves to the Spec position of the QP, then it moves to the Spec of the PossP before finally landing at the Spec position of the DP and in all the instances it checks the phi features. Since the quantifier *bonsi* does not compete with the possessive for the same space in Ekegusii, it does not move. However, the possessive *baye* moves to occupy the strong head D position which must be overtly filled.

Quantifiers.

Another element which manifested itself in the DP in Ekegusii is the quantifier. They are so called because they serve to quantify the noun that they follow (Radford, 2004). The quantifiers in the Ekegusii showed agreement with the NP complement in terms of number. Further, more than one quantifier could be realized in the DP. As shown below:

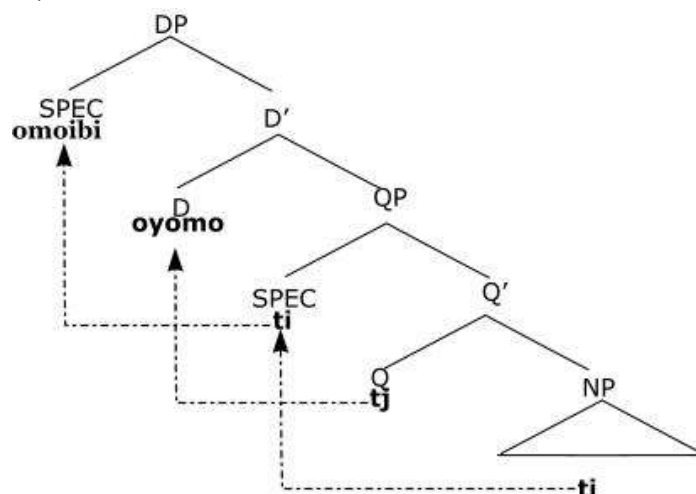
- | | |
|--|---|
| 10)a. <i>Omwana oyomo</i>
Child one (one child) | b. <i>Abana babere</i>
Children two (two children) |
| 11)a. <i>Omote oyomo</i>
Tree one (one tree) | b. <i>Emete ebere</i>
Trees two (two trees) |
| 12)a. <i>Oroche oromo</i>
River one (one river) | b. <i>Chindoche ibere</i>
Rivers two (two rivers) |
| 13). <i>Abaibori bonsi bane</i>
Parents all four (all four parents) | |

Examples 10)a, 11)a and 12)a show the quantifiers *oyomo* for child, *oyomo* for tree and *oromo* for river agreeing with the singular nouns *omwana*, *omote* and *oroche* respectively. Similarly, the plural noun forms *abana*, *emete*, *chindoche* agree with the quantifiers *babere*, *ebere*, *ibere* respectively in terms number. Moreover, the DP in example (13) indicates that quantifiers can co-occur in the Ekegusii DP. The quantifiers, *bonsi* and *bane* give more information about the NP. We also observe that in Ekegusii, the quantifiers can be used to mark indefiniteness. From the examples above (10a, b), (11a, b), (12a, b) and (13) the quantifiers indicate that the NPs they come after are not familiar to the speaker or the hearer.

Researchers suggest that quantifiers head a functional projection; hence, project a maximal projection (QP) (Radford, 1994; Valois, 1991). They further add that there are still controversies as to which elements can be classified as quantifiers. However, for this article we consider cardinal and ordinal numbers as well as some quantity words like *all*, *some*. So, the following schematic form for Ekegusii quantifiers is proposed.

14). *Omoibi oyomo*

Thief one (one thief)

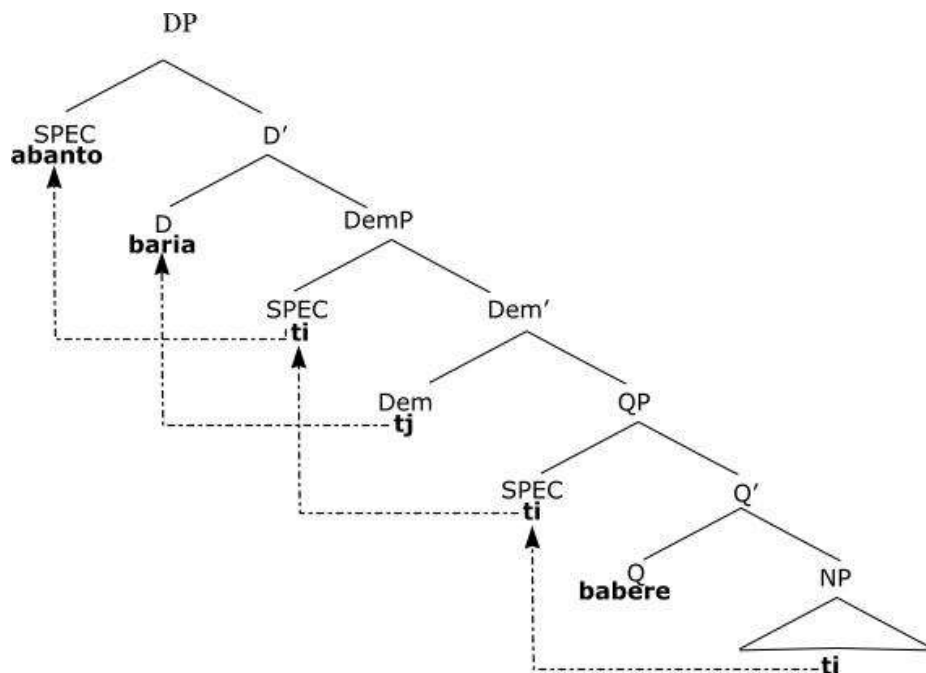


The quantifier *oyomo* is generated at the quantifier position of the QP and since the D position is a strong head position the quantifier moves to fill it. The NP *omoibi* also moves first to check the phi features with the quantifier then to the specifier position to check the number features.

Equally, when we have other projections like demonstratives, the quantifier does not raise. Instead it is the NP that moves to the specifier of QP and in this position checks phi features. Here is an example from the data.

14). *Abanto baria babere*

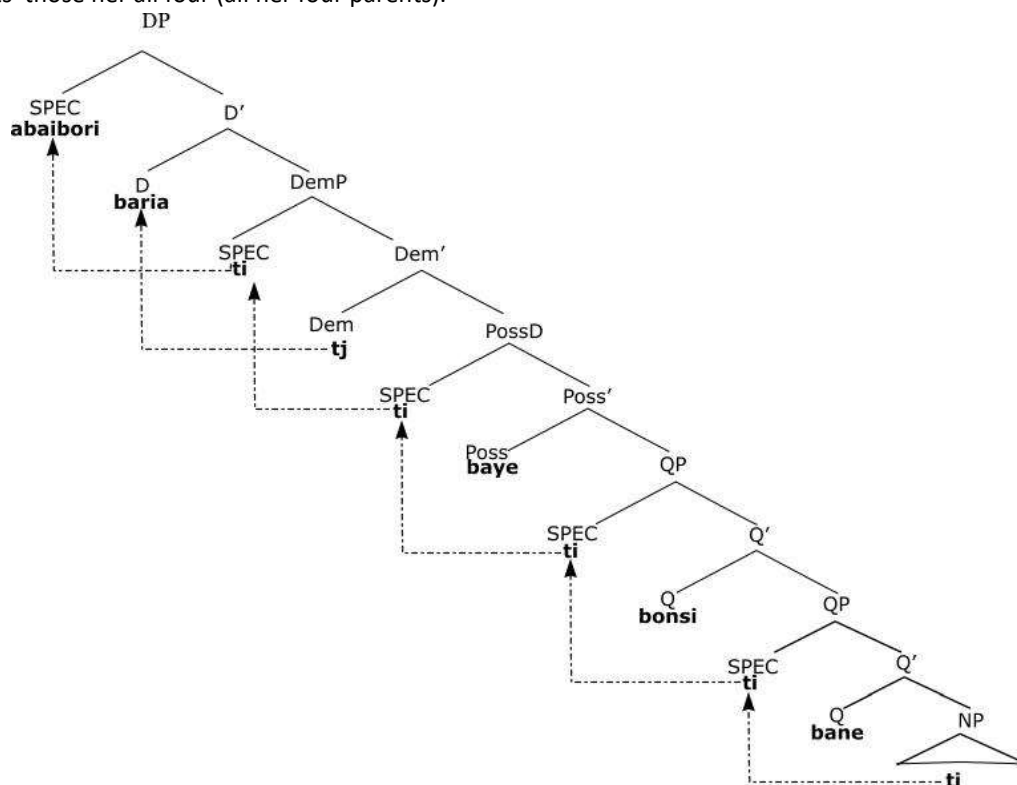
People those two (those two people)



As observed, the quantifier *babere* is generated at the quantifier position of QP. In this position, it does not move; rather, the NP *abanto* moves to the spec position to check the phi features. As for the demonstrative *baria*, it moves to fill the D position which is a strong head. The NP *abanto* moves to check features with the quantifier, then the demonstrative before finally landing at the specifier position where it checks phi features. Lastly, it is possible for quantifiers in the Ekegusii DP to co-occur and that is why it is possible to project more than one quantifier phrase.

15). *Abaibori baria baye bonsi bane*

Parents those her all four (all her four parents).

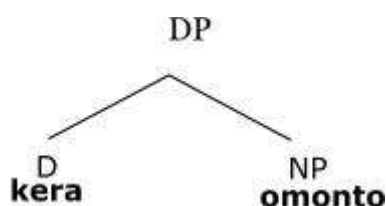


Here the DP projects two QPs. The NP *abaibori* moves to the Spec position of the QPs, PossD and DemP to check the phi features, before the NP finally lands at the Spec position to check the number features. The demonstrative *baria*, which is generated at the demonstrative position of the DemP, has to move to the D position to fill it because it is a strong head.

In instances where we have all the D elements as witnessed from the Ekegusii data, the elements follow each other in the order of demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers.

The last observation we make in regard to functional Ds is that there are occasional instances when the determiner in Ekegusii DP is in a prenominal position; nevertheless, this is a marked choice.

- | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------------|
| 16)a. <i>Kera omento (sg)</i>
Every person | b. <i>kera egento(sg)</i>
every thing | c. <i>kera ase(sg)</i>
every place |
| 16)b. <i>Kera abanto(pl)</i>
Every person | b. <i>kera ebinto(pl)</i>
every thing | c. <i>kera ase(pl)</i>
every place |



The quantifier *kera* is in a prenominal position hence movement does not occur. Moreover, the quantifier does not inflect with the category of noun or number. The DP takes the NP *omento* as a complement.

Adjoined Adjective Phrases.

Ekegusii adjoins adjective phrases within the DP as shown:

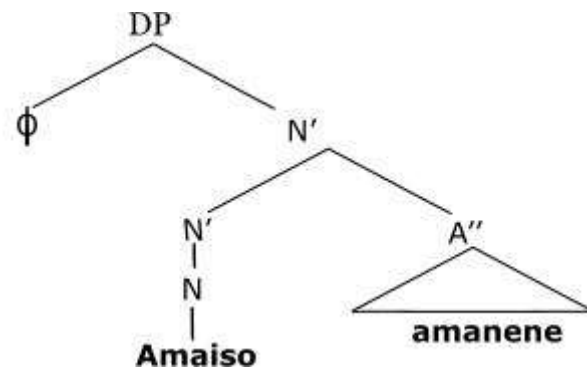
- 17). *Amaiso amarabu*
Eyes white (white eyes)
- 18). *Abaiseke abekungi abanyabieni*
Girls virgins beautiful (beautiful virgin girls)
- 19). *Abaiseke abake abaya abanyakieni*
Girls young good beautiful (good beautiful young girls)

Adjectives are divided into two categories depending on how they associate with nouns. An adjective that precedes a noun is *attributive* and the other that follows the noun it describes is said to be *predicative* (Chang, 2009). Examples 17, 18 and 19 indicate that adjectives in Ekegusii are generally post nominal since they come after the noun they describe. However, they cannot be regarded as being predicative because they are not part of the verb phrase. Moreover, more than one adjective can occur in the DP.

Different linguists have varied views as to how adjectives should be analysed. For instance, Longobardi (1994), Cinque (1994) and Holmberg (1993) propose that attributive adjectives be treated as specifiers of a functional projection in which case stacking of adjectives is possible since each adjective is a specifier. They add that the particular functional projection in which an adjective may appear is understood to be related to the semantic class of the adjective. In this way, ordering restrictions on adjectives can be accommodated, as the functional categories project in a certain hierarchical order that is common across languages.

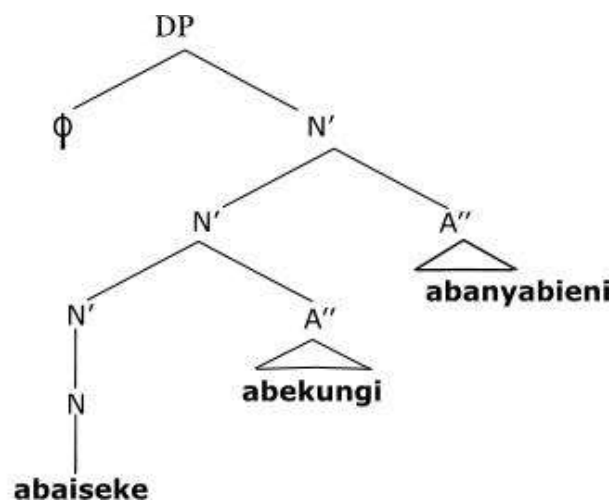
However, others propose that adjectives be treated as phrasal adjuncts adjoined to the NP (Bernstein, 1993; Svenonius, 1992 and Radford, 2004). In this article we considered adjectives as phrasal adjuncts. Besides Rizzi (1990) notes that phrasal adjuncts do not interfere with other movements, adding that languages with overt noun raising exhibit post-nominal adjectives, a case observed in Ekegusii DP. Consider:

20). *Amaiso amarabu*
 Eyes white (white eyes)



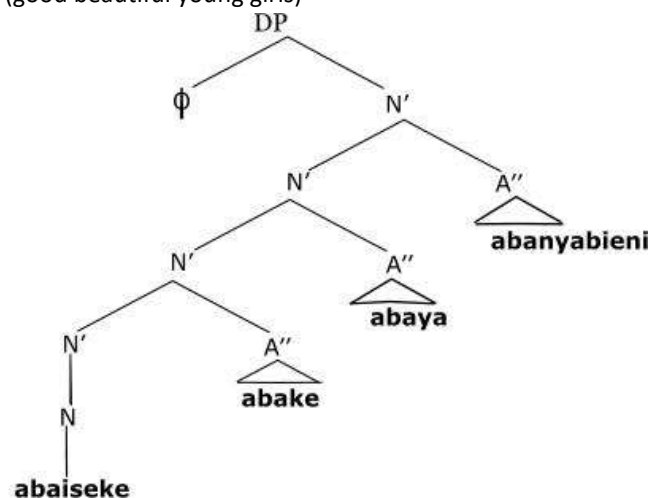
The AP *amarabu* is postnominal in Ekegusii and is adjoined to the noun *amaiso*. The DP has a null determiner and it takes the NP as complement.

21). *Abaiseke abekungi abanyabieni*
 Girls virgins beautiful (beautiful virgin girls)



The APs *abekungi* and *abanyabieni* are postnominal and they are adjoined to NP *abaiseke*.

22). *Abaiseke abake abaya abanyabieni*
 Girls young good beautiful (good beautiful young girls)



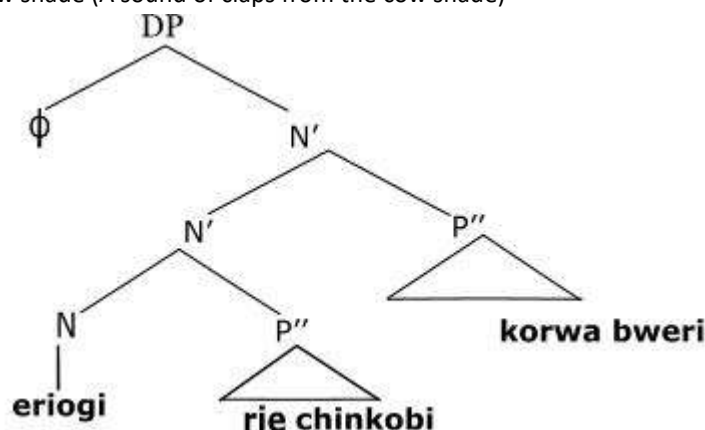
The APs *abake*, *abaya* and *abanyabieni* as observed are postnominal. They are adjoined to NP *abaiseke*. Examples 21 and 22 indicate that it is possible to have more than one AP modifying the NP complement. When this occurs the adjectives are simply adjoined.

Adjoined Prepositional Phrases.

Prepositional phrases can either be complements or adjuncts depending on the semantic relationship between the PP and the noun. For instance, if a PP is an argument of the noun then it must be in a complement position; however, if the PP is not, then it just an adjunct. In either case, PPs are adjoined. Data from Ekegusii reveals that the PPs occur both as complements and adjuncts. Here is an example:

23). *Eriogi rie chinkobi korwa bweri*

Sound of claps from cow shade (A sound of claps from the cow shade)



First PP *korwa bweri* is adjoined to the noun since it gives extra information about place, while the other PP *rie chinkobi* is a complement to the noun *erlogi* thus a sister to a zero bar category.

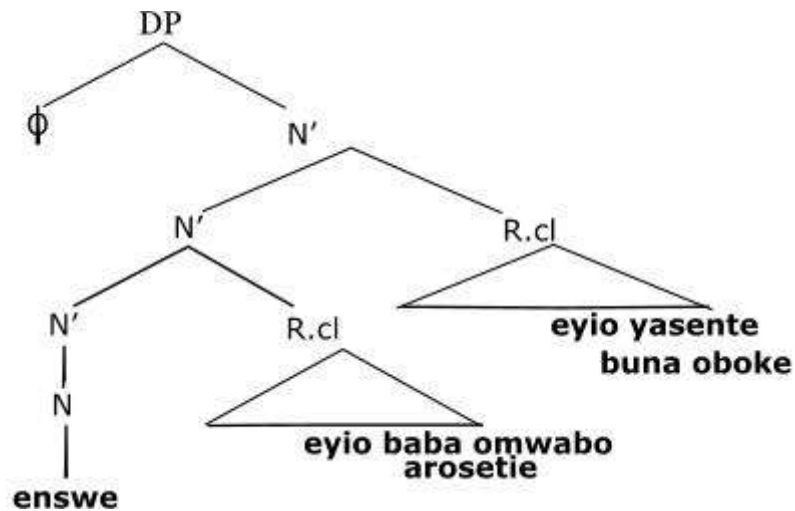
Adjoined Relative Clauses.

Relative clauses, just like PPs and APs, give more information about nouns; therefore, they can be adjoined to nouns. So, considering the data from the DP in Ekegusii, we note that, the DP in Ekegusii distinguishes two types of relative pronouns. One is the relative pronoun *oyio* (who/that) that takes the shape of the distal demonstrative (which introduces non -locative expressions). This relative pronoun introduces a relative clause that gives more information about the noun. The other is *eyio*- (which) which introduces a relative clause with a noun referring to a thing. Morphologically, both *oyio* and *eyio* agree with the noun. Here are the examples from the data:

24). *Enswe eyio baba omwabo orosetie eyio yasente buna oboke- eyio*- relative pronoun

Relative clause	Relative clause
Fish which	mother his
made	which tasted
	like
	honey

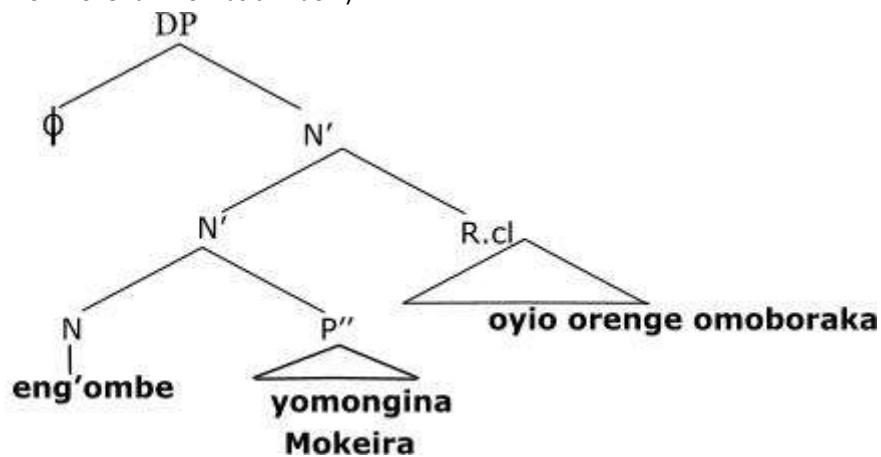
(A fish which his mother made which tasted like honey)



The relative clause *eyio baba omwabo arosetie* and *eyio yasente buna oboke* are adjoined to the NP *enswe* hence are sisters to a bar category.

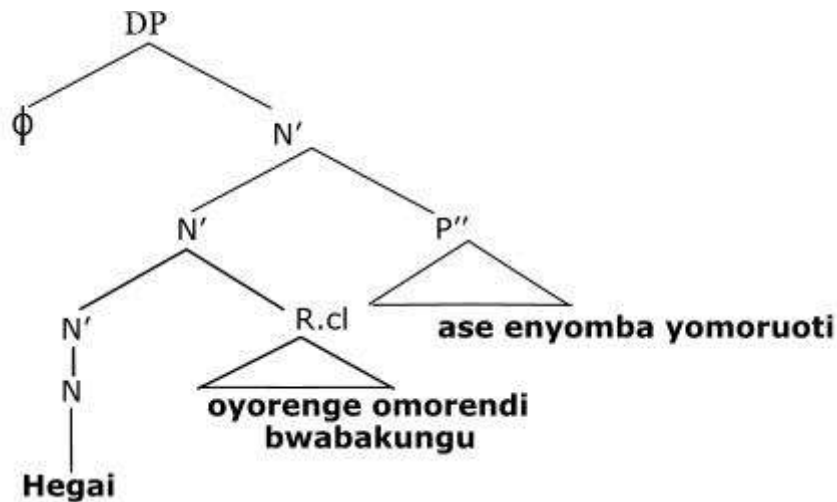
- 25). *Eng'ombe yomongina Mokeira oyio orenge omoboraka*- *oyio*- relative pronoun
 PP Relative clause

Cow for woman Mokeira who was widow
 (A cow for Mokeira who was a widow)



The relative clause *oyio orenge omoboraka* is adjoined to the NP, while the PP *yomogina Mokeira* complements the noun.

- 26). *Hegai oyorenge omorendi bwabakungu ase enyomba yomoruoti*
 Hegai who was in charge of women in house of king (Hegai who was in charge of women in the king's house)



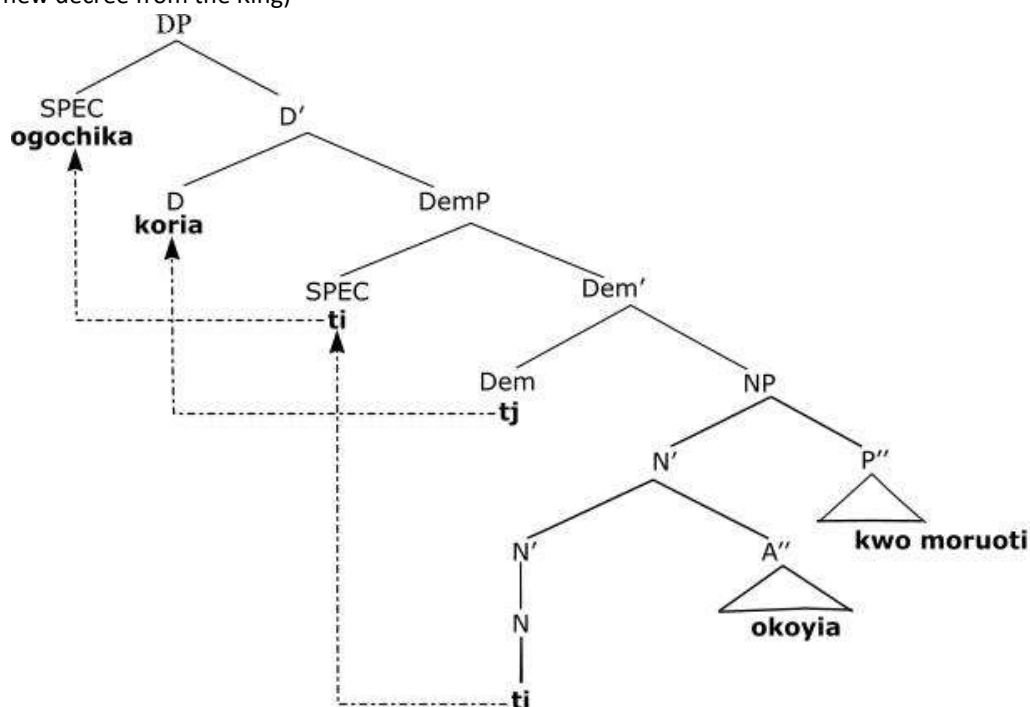
The adjuncts *ase enyomba yomoruoti* which is a PP and *oyoreng omorendi bwabakungu* which is a relative clause are adjoined to the noun since they give additional information about the noun. Examples (25) and (26) indicate that when adjoining to the NP complement, the PP may precede the R.cl or the R.cl may precede the PP.

From the data given, we note that when adjunction occurs, the DP can take a null determiner and the NP complement with adjuncts in form of APs, PPs and R.cls. The order in which all these elements occur varies. For instance, during adjunction, APs tend to follow the noun then either a relative clause or PPs or PPs then the relative clause. Also the DP in Ekegusii can have the D elements and adjunction as shown.

27). *Ogochika koria okoyia kwomoruoti*

Decree that new from king

(That new decree from the King)

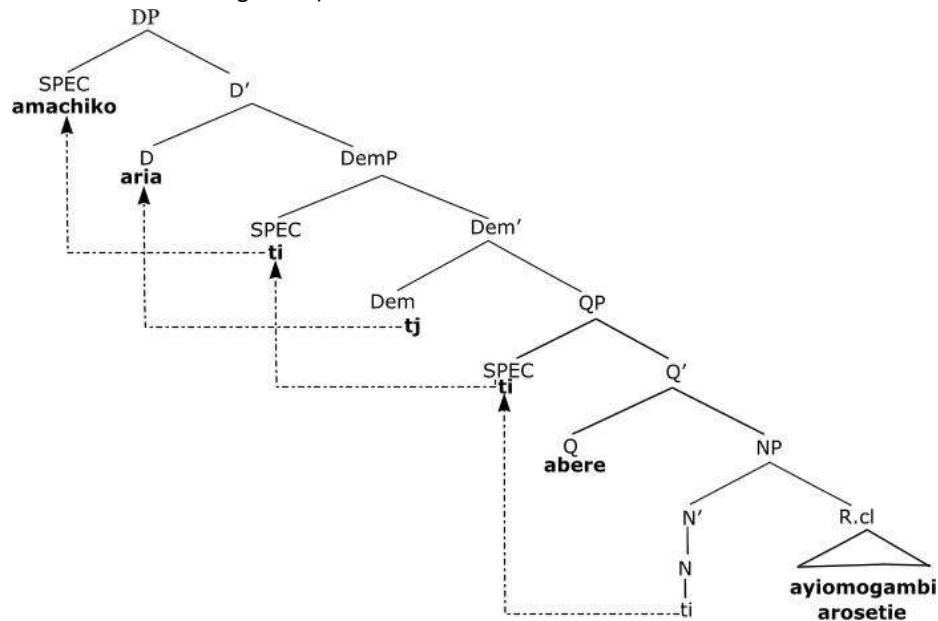


The PP *kwo moruoti* and AP *okoyia* are adjoined to the NP *ogochika*. Since the AP and PP do not interfere with movement, the noun raises to the spec position of the DemP then to the spec position of the DP to check phi features. The Dem *koria*, which is generated at the Dem position of the DemP, moves to fill the D position which is a strong head.

28). *Amachiko aria abere ayiomogambi arosetie*

Decreases those two which king made

(those two decrees which the king made)

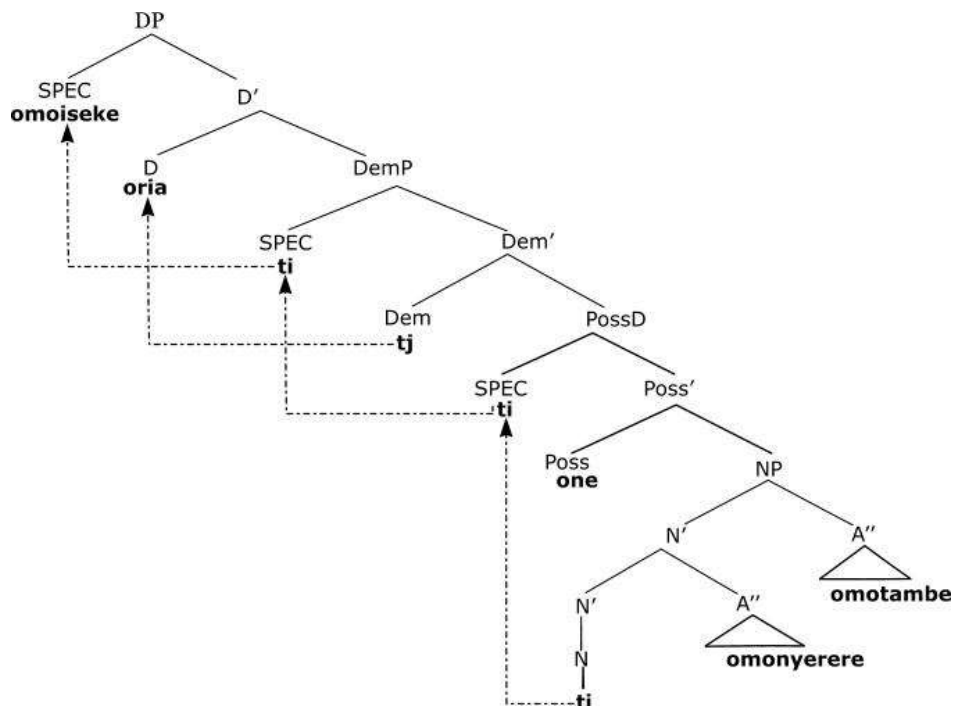


The relative clause *ayiomogambi arosetie* is adjoined to the NP as an adjunct. The NP *amachiko* raises to the spec position of the DemP to check agreement features before moving to the spec position of the DP, a position associated with number features. As for the Dem *aria*, it moves to the strong D position, having started from the weaker Dem position. Finally the quantifier *abere* is the lowest functional projection thus, it does not move.

29). *Omoiseke oria one omonyerere omotambe*

Girl that mine thin tall

(That slender tall girl is mine)

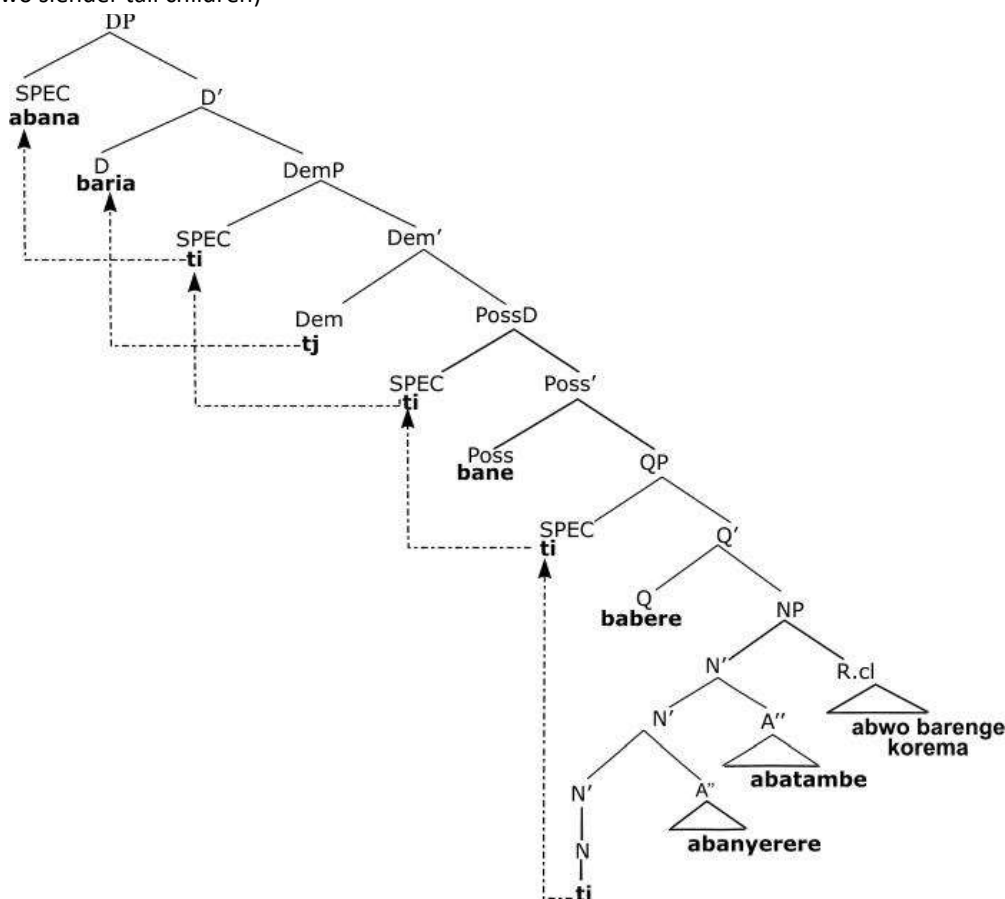


The possessive *one* is base generated at the Poss position of the PossD, since possessives do not compete for the same position with demonstratives in Ekegusii it does not move. Instead, the Dem *oria* moves to fill the strong head position which triggers movement. The NP *omoiseke* on the other hand, raises to the spec positions of the PossD and DemP to check phi features, from here it further moves to settle at the spec position where it will check the number features.

30). *Abana baria bane babere abanyerere abatambe abwo barenge korema*

Children those mine two thin tall who were digging

(Those two slender tall children)



The relative clause *abwo barenge korema* is adjoined to the NP *abana*, thus a sister to N-bar category. Likewise the APs *abanyere* and *abatambe* are adjoined to the NP also sister to bar category, since the adjoined elements do not interfere with the NP movement, the NP moves to the spec positions of the QP, PossD and DemP to check phi features respectively, before finally landing at the spec position of the DP, a position associated with number features. Since the D position is a strong head it triggers the movement of the adjacent weak head *baria* to fill it.

4. CONCLUSION

We conclude that the DP in Ekegusii projects functional demonstratives, possessives, and quantifiers. In addition to the functional Ds, the DP in Ekegusii can have adjunction in form of APs, PPs and R.cls. The order in which all these elements occur varies. For instance, in a situation where we have all the functional elements, demonstratives come first, followed by possessives and lastly the quantifiers then APs, PPs and R.cls or APs, R.cls and PPs. Moreover, the DP in Ekegusii may have a null determiner and adjunction. Still when there is a null determiner, APs tend to follow the noun then they are either followed by a relative clause or a prepositional phrase, or prepositional phrase and then the relative clause. Lastly, all the elements which occur in the DP in Ekegusii (functional Ds and adjunction) are post-nominal. This leads to overt noun raising as the NP

complement raises to check phi features before landing at the SPEC DP position.

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Corresponding Author: Mose, Gesare Edinah, Lecturer, Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.

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