

THE SYNTAX OF KIKAMBA NOUN MODIFICATION

BY

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DECLARATION

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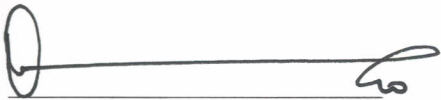


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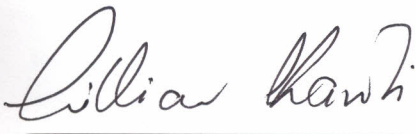
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DEDICATION

TO

MY LATE MOTHER LUCY NJERI MAITHYA

Though gone, You are always in my heart.

and

To my beloved hubby Katunga, my two angels Norah and Natasha and my little prince

Lee for their love, patience, moral support and prayers.

TO GOD BE THE GLORY

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KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

S.....	Sentence
NP.....	Noun Phrase
VP.....	Verb Phrase
V.....	Verb
N.....	Noun
POS.....	Possessive
Adj.....	Adjective
Dem.....	Demonstrative
Q.....	Quantifier
Num.....	Numeral
IP.....	Inflectional phrase
INFL.....	Inflection
COMP.....	Complementizer
DET \ D.....	Determiner
DP.....	Determiner Phrase
Spec.....	Specifier
AGRP.....	Agreement phrase
PF.....	Phonetic form
LF.....	Logical form
NUMP.....	Number phrase
MP.....	Minimalist Program
∅.....	Null determiner
Table I.....	Kikamba demonstratives
Table II.....	Kikamba possessive stems
Table III.....	Comparative forms of adjective in Kikamba

ABSTRACT

This study sought to critically analyse the apparent distinction between determiners and adjectives word categories in the morpho-syntax of Kikamba. In so doing we were in agreement with Watters (2004) who advocates for the need to define word classes in each specific language rather than assume universal similarities in all languages. Kikamba is a language with rich morphology hence we adopted a Minimalist Theory which recognizes the need for morpho-syntactic tests to be carried out on words to determine their categorial status. This was made possible with the provision of the Structure Dependence Principle within Minimalism which stipulates that all grammatical categories in natural languages are category based.

There are several works on the noun modifiers whose contribution to the study has been of great importance. They all analysed the noun modifiers under different research problems and hence left a knowledge gap that justified our investigation.

Our main objective was establishing any difference between the two word categories, evidenced in the grammar of Kikamba. Our findings were that determiners and adjectives are semantically, morphologically and syntactically different. One major difference between the two was the recursive nature of adjectives. However, similarities between the two categories were evident and especially in the fact that Kikamba allows both categories to inflect for plurality, to be negated and to be substituted in a case where there is no multiple modification. Consequently we concluded that determiners and adjectives belong to two different word categories but in some morpho-syntactic environments the opposition is neutralized.

In chapter one our work entailed an analysis of the language background, the statement of the problem, the objectives, the hypotheses, the scope and limitations, the rationale, the literature reviewed, and lastly the methodology. In chapter two we focused mainly on the noun modifiers and carried out a structural description. Our main concern in chapter three was to define the Kikamba determiner. We examined the noun modifying elements with an aim of finding out which ones could possibly have been referred to as determiners. We also carried out morpho-syntactic tests to distinguish the adjective from the determiner. Chapter four concentrated on the Kikamba determiner phrase. We analysed the implications of the DP Hypothesis on Kikamba syntax. Lastly in chapter five we gave a summary, conclusion of our research findings and a few recommendations for future research.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 OVERVIEW

In this chapter we briefly look at the general background of the language of analysis and its basic features. We shall also look at the Statement of Problem, the Objectives and the Hypotheses of the study. The Rationale and Theoretical Framework are also analysed. The study is carried out within the Minimalist Program. The scope and limitations of the study are also analysed. The works that have been read are discussed at length in relation to their relevance to the issues under investigation.

1.1 LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

This section starts with the general background information on the Kikamba language (the speakers and their various dialects). It also provides a brief comment on the basic language features of Kikamba language.

1.1.1 The Akamba People

The speakers of the language under investigation are the Akamba people who belong to the Bantu community. They are found in Kenya's Eastern Province in Machakos, Kitui, Mwingi and Makueni as their home districts. *A-kamba* (pl) *C2-kamba* (*mu-kamba* (sg) *C1-kamba*) is the correct reference for this group though most people due to the influence of Kiswahili refer to them as *wa-kamba*. The Akamba speak the language known as Kikamba. The region they occupy is *U-kamba-ni* which is divided into two sections by the Athi River. We have the western group, which is Machakos and Makueni

districts, and the Eastern group, which is Kitui and Mwingi districts. There are traces of the Akamba in Embu districts, Ithanga in Thika district, Makuyu, Shimba Hills, Kwale, Kilifi and other parts of the country especially in the urban areas.

1.1.2 The Language and its Dialects

The language under investigation in this study is Kikamba. The term Kikamba consists of two morphemes namely {ki-} a class 7/8 prefix and {-kamba} the stem.

Guthrie (1948) classifies Kikamba as belonging to group 50 of zone E no. E55.

According to Guthrie Kikamba belongs to the central branch of the Bantu languages of Kenya together with the Gikuyu, Tharaka, Embu and Mbeere languages.

Heine and Mohlig (1980:9) recognize five Bantu groups in Kenya:

- The Coastal group
- The Taita group
- The Central Kenya group
- The South Nyanza group
- The Luhya group

Kaviti (2004:7) argues that the above grouping uses a geographical and synchronic dialectal proximity.

Kikamba is grouped in the Central Kenya group, which has two main groups:

- The Kamba -Gikuyu group
- The Meru-Tharaka group

The Kamba – Gikuyu group includes Kamba, Embu, Gikuyu, and Chuka while the Meru – Tharaka group has Meru, Igoji, Nithi and Tharaka.

According to Heine and Mohlig (op. cit), Kikamba has at least four different dialects namely:

- Masaku dialect
- Southern Kitui dialect
- Northern Kitui dialect
- Mumoni dialect

Maundu (1986) classifies Kikamba into five major varieties:

- The Kitui North variety spoken in
- The Central Kitui variety
- Eastern Southern variety
- Kilungu and Makueni variety
- Machakos variety

Mwove (1987:5) cited in Kaviti (2004) classifies Kikamba into two main dialects, which are further divided into sub-dialects.

- Kitui dialect (Ki-kitui)

Sub-dialect:

- Kitui North variety
- Central, Eastern, Southern Kitui

- Machakos dialect(Ki-masaku)

Sub-dialect:

- Kilungu and Makueni
- The standard Machakos variety

The native speakers of Kikamba distinguish two main dialects. The Akamba of Kitui refer to the Machakos dialect as: *Kikamba kya iulu* (Kikamba spoken in the high place) or *Kikamba kya malela* (the Kikamba of the malela) as observed by Kaviti 2004. On the other hand Akamba of Machakos refer to the dialect of Kitui as *Kikamba kya Athaisu* (the Kikamba of the Athaisu).

The Akamba

The native speakers of Kikamba in Kitui district recognize a third dialect spoken mainly in Mwingi district as *Kikamba kya ngura* (Kikamba spoken by the Ngura) which is what Heine and Mohlig refer to as the northern Kitui dialect.

The Akamba

Likewise the Akamba of Machakos recognize a dialect spoken in Kilungu area referred to as *Kikamba kya Kilungu* (Kikamba spoken in Kilungu).

1.1.3 Basic Language Features

Kikamba (as is typical of Bantu languages), is a language with rich morphology. It has overt morphological gender agreement, evident in person, number and class.

Gregersen (1969) observes that the mechanism of agreement in Bantu languages is the type that has alliterative concord. This is true of Kikamba as illustrated in example 1 (a) and (b).

1). (a) Ka-ana ka-ya ka-seo
 C12-child 12-AGR-that 12AGR-good
 “That good child”

(b) Va-ndu va-ya va-seo
 C16-place 16AGR-that 16AGR-good
 “That good place

The absence of such alliteration would cast doubt on whether the language is genuinely Bantu. Kikamba is a highly agglutinative language, hence the centrality of morphology to its grammatical analysis, which justifies the morpho-syntactic approach, adopted in this study. It has a typical agglutinative structure where the bound nominal and verbal morphemes are strung together in a sentential construction, as illustrated in.

2.) (a) Ni – n – a : – kol – a
 Preprfx – AGR (1st Psn Sing) – TNS (prst.pft) – sfx.
 ‘(I) have had enough’

(b) Nyie ni – n – a : - neen – a
 1st Psn Sg. Preprfx – AGR (1st Psn.Sg) – TNS – speak – sfx.
 ‘I have spoken/just spoken’

The noun in Kikamba must agree in number with its modifiers: demonstratives, possessive and genitive pronouns, numerals, quantifiers and adjectives.

3.) (a) I-vuku ya-kwa
C5-Book 5AGR-mine
'My book'

(b) Ma-vuku ma-kwa
C6 – Books 6AGR – mine
'My books'

4.) (a) Ka-lamu ka-kwa
C12 – pen 12AGR – mine
'My pen'

(b) Tu-lamu tw-akwa
C13-pens 13AGR- mine
'My pens'

The prefix in the subject noun, which varies according to the noun class also, appears in the verb of the sentence. The verb also carries tense and aspect in a sentence.

5. Ka-ana ni – ka – kom – a
C12 child prefx – 12 AGR – sleep – sfx.
"The little child has slept"

Syntactically, Kikamba, is a head initial language. The modifiers of the noun phrase follow the noun unlike in English where they precede the noun. This may be seen in examples 3 and 4 above.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Noun modification in Kikamba is intriguing because all the modifiers are **optional**, eliminating one possible criterion for separating determiners (as functional categories) from adjectives (as lexical categories). Semantically, one is tempted to treat the noun modifier in 6 (a) as a determiner and the one in 6 (b) as an adjective.

6 (a) *mu-itu* *u-no*
 C1 – girl 1 AGR this
 “*This* *girl*”

(b) *mu-itu* *mu-asa*
 C1 – girl 1 AGR tall
 “*Tall* *girl*”

This study intends to investigate, using morphological and syntactic criteria whether there is any grammatical (syntactic/morphological) evidence of this apparent word-class distinction between *u-no* (an apparent determiner) and *mu-asa* (an apparent adjective) in Kikamba.

Under the Minimalist program, morphology plays an important role (c.f Chomsky 1993: 32). We therefore will attempt to determine if there are any syntactic and morphological properties of *u-no* (this) (and other words in its class) which point to its being in a word-

class separate from that of *mu-asa* (tall)? Or could it be that the semantic intuitions about *u-no* (this) and *mu-asa* (tall) are misleading?

This problem is made even more intriguing by the fact that in most of the relevant works (c.f. Kaviti 2004, Njagi 1997 and Kamango 1980) the distinction is assumed. Moreover, most of the works on determiners and adjectives use the categorization criteria relevant for analysing English data. Givon (1970: 20) comments that the adjective is a very intriguing grammatical category in Bantu languages and it is still an open question whether a lexical category adjective existed at all in proto-Bantu. To add to this, Mohlig (1976:5) argues that a grammar of any natural language should be described in terms of units that are inherent and natural in that particular language and have not been imported from outside; at worst, from the language of description, the so-called '**meta-language**'.

We are left to ask, could it, be that there is no distinction between Determiners and Adjectives in Kikamba? If so would it be **justifiable** to place all the Kikamba noun modifiers in the functional class of Determiners or in the lexical class of Adjectives?

The research questions outlined above constitute the essence of our research problem

1.3 OBJECTIVES

This study will be guided by the following objectives:

- Firstly, to establish whether there is a distinction between determiners and adjectives in Kikamba.
- Secondly, to investigate whether there are any structural properties of adjectives that are similar to determiners.

- Thirdly, to find out the distributional differences, if any, between determiners and adjectives in Kikamba syntax.
- We will also determine which elements occupy the head of the DP in Kikamba.
- will also attempt to find out where the modifiers are generated in the case of multiple modifications.
- Lastly, to find out if there is any overt morphological indication of the relationship between the determiners and other elements in the phrases in which they occur.

1.4 HYPOTHESES

Our working hypotheses in this study are that:

- There is syntactic evidence for the apparent distinction between determiners and adjectives.
- There is morphological evidence for the apparent word-class distinction as stated in (i) above.
- In some morphological and syntactic environments the ‘opposition’ is neutralised.
- The elements commonly known as determiners syntactically do not belong to the same category and they occupy different structural positions within the DP.
- There is overt morphological agreement between the determiners and the other elements in the phrases in which they occur.
- The determiner is the head of the DP.
- In the case of multiple modifications of the head noun, the modifiers are generated in different SPEC positions.

1.5 RATIONALE

This study is important since the Structure Dependence Principle under Minimalism stipulates that all grammatical operations in natural languages are category based. Thus, any word-based operation will apply to whole categories. This makes it necessary to determine grammatical categories to which lexical and functional elements belong.

The Minimalist Program presupposes a well-defined set of functional and lexical categories. Under Minimalist assumptions, the functional categories are understood to determine the parametric settings any given language selects for each of the parameters of Universal Grammar. Hence, any investigation on their behaviour is very significant.

Most of the works on African languages, especially those that have touched on the two word categories (e.g Kaviti (2004), Njagi(1997) have assumed, the English language criterion for categorization will be applicable for African languages as well. A gap is left for us to carry out a structural description of the Kikamba determiner and adjective class in order to identify their inherent characteristics.

Watters (2000: 194) says:

“The specific ways in which word classes are used [in African languages] need to be defined for each language rather than assumed from their use in English or other European languages”.

Moreover, Radford (1981: 15) says,

“Constituents and categories have the status of theoretical constructs, that is to say they are part of the grammatical apparatus which the linguist needs in order to explain certain facts about a language.(Just as molecules, atoms, subatomic

particles are part of the apparatus which the physicist finds he needs in order to explain the nature of matter in the universe)."

Hence the scientific investigation and findings on the apparent word-class distinction of determiners and adjectives is quite significant.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section provides the theoretical framework adopted in investigating the problem stated in 1.2. The theory summarized in this section (Minimalist program) is a recent formulation by Noam Chomsky (1993/1995). It has its roots in the Principles and Parameters Framework (PPF) developed by Chomsky during the 1980's to the 1990's.

1.6.1 Background of the Theory

The Minimalist framework relies heavily on the principles of Universal Grammar (which are an inherent part of the child's language faculty, inherent across languages and which determine the nature and acquisition of grammatical structure). These principles characterize the structure of all natural languages. Basically, what this means is that, the Minimalist framework departs sharply from Government and Binding as it no longer depends on the interaction of rules and modular principles as it is in the latter. It is reduced to general principles that ensure that linguistic expressions in a language satisfy the conditions that hold at the interface levels of linguistic representation. These levels are the phonetic (PF) and logical (LF) levels.

The development of the theory was motivated by the desire to know how:

- the internalized linguistic system (or I – language) in Chomsky’s language, which enables humans to speak and understand their native tongues, is represented in the human brain.
- the children acquire such knowledge.

The Minimalist framework has quite a number of assumptions about language and the parameters of UG.

Languages are based on simple principles that interact to form intricate structures. (Chomsky 1993:2)

Radford (1997) argues that, the language faculty incorporates a theory of UG, which includes a set of structural parameters. This implies that all natural languages differ in their properties and mainly those that each language selects for their functional categories. These parameters include head parameter, WH- parameter and so on.

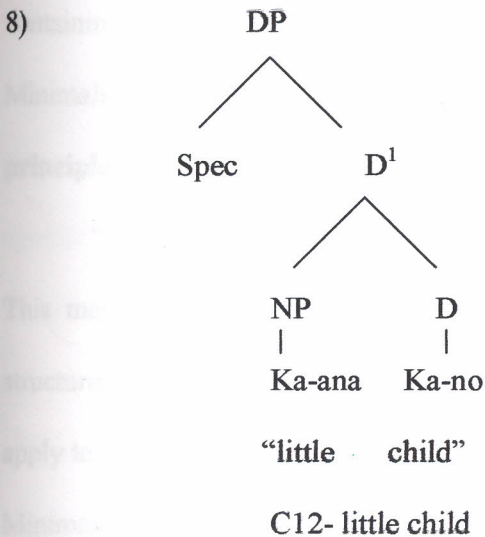
1.6.2 Tenets of Minimalism

It is believed that the UG has two components. That is the lexicon and computation system. The lexicon specifies the items that enter into the computational system. The computation system, with derivations that are driven by morphological properties, determine the syntactic differences among languages. The lexicon contains all the lexical entries of a language (verbs, nouns, adjectives etc). It also has the functional categories (tense, agreement, complement, and determiner) and morpho-syntactic features. The functional categories and morpho-syntactic features are language specific.

The various components of the lexicon enter into the computation system through the process of **numeration** (which is selection items). The merger process then combines the morpho-syntactic and lexical constituents in a pair wise fashion to form a phrase structure tree (syntactic structures). Each word in the tree comprises a set of phonetic, semantic and grammatical features.

- 7) Ka-ana ka-no
 C12-Little-child (N) C12AGR-this (Dem)
 ‘This little child’

The noun and demonstrative **merge** to form the noun phrase, now known as the **Determiner Phrase**. This can be illustrated in a partial tree:



Structures built must be **licensed** by the morpho-syntactic or lexical information of the lexicon for the building process to go on.

At spell-out the phrase structure is then split into two components, the **PF** component and **LF** component, whereby the phonetic and semantic features are processed separately. This is also referred to as the interface level: the level at which the grammar connects outside the domain of grammar. The process of spell-out is linked to the Principle of Economy, which requires that (all other things being equal) syntactic representation should contain as few constituents and syntactic derivations as possible (Radford 1997: 505).

1.6.3 Minimalism and Grammatical Categories

Sentences are structured out of words and phrases, each of which belong to a specific grammatical category and serve a specific grammatical function within the sentence containing it.

Minimalism postulates a Universal Grammar Principle, **Structure dependence principle**, which states that all

“Grammatical operations are structure – dependent (Ibid: 14)”.

This means that grammatical operations only apply to certain types of grammatical structures and not others. That is whether or not a particular grammatical operation can apply to a particular expression depends on the syntactic structure of the expression. The Minimalist Program however maintains that these derivations and representations must conform to an Economy criterion.

The principle unveils the need for classifying grammatical categories. A principled description of the grammar of any language requires us to recognize that all words belong

to a restricted set of grammatical categories. By definition, a grammatical category is a class of expressions which share a common set of grammatical properties. A syntactic and morphological criterion is used in categorizing the classes and this is what this research undertakes to carry out limiting ourselves to the noun phrase 'modifier'.

Chomsky's Minimalist Program incorporates a morphological component. The Minimalist Program is dependent on the nature of the morphology of a language. In our study this is quite significant as we attempt to categorize grammatical words. For example words like *cat*, *dog*, *book*, *pen* all belong to the grammatical category of nouns since they all share morphological properties that are common. They inflect for plurality (*cats*, *dogs*, *books*, *pens*). Syntactically they also can be pre-modified by a determiner. For example, *the cat*, *the dog* e.t.c.

Basically, what this means is that any evidence used in categorizing words is **morpho-syntactic** in nature. The morphological and syntactic properties of a word provide a guide to its categorial status. Kaviti (2004) argues that morphological evidence is **suggestive** rather than **conclusive**. Hence morphological evidence in determining categorial status of a word must be checked against syntactic evidence.

The theory assumes that word categories carry three different sets of grammatical features:

- Head features that determine the intrinsic grammatical properties of lexical categories.

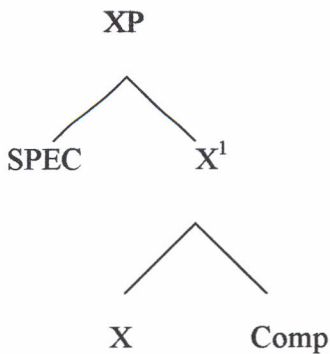
- Specifier features that determine the kind of specifier which lexical categories permit.
- Complement feature, which determine the kind of complements that lexical categories co-occur with.

A head checks features of its specifier and its complement. The specifier and complement features are assumed to be un-interpretable. All the abstract features are checked because they are not supposed to surface at the interface representation (Cook and Newson 1996). Some of the head features are interpretable such as number features and others such as case features are un-interpretable. The only grammatical features at the LF are interpretable head features.

1.6.4 Minimalism and the X-Bar Theory

The specifier-head, head-head, and head-complement relationship of the X-bar theory are retained in the MP (Chomsky 1993: 6). The diagram below shows the X-bar maximal projection.

9)



Although the Maximal Projection Principle (Chomsky 1981) projected a wide variety of phrases from the lexicon, the MP structure building process representations are strictly driven by necessity. Structures built must be licensed by morpho-syntactic and lexical

evidence from the lexicon of a language. Various positions are thus easily avoided by allowing partial trees with just a head and without a complement.

In a Minimalist theory, the crucial properties and relations of phrases and sentences are stated in terms of X-bar theory (Kaviti 2004: 53).

1.6.5 The DP Hypothesis

The further stratification of sentential categories has led to similar developments within the NP and other categories. Abney (1987) analysed several languages and found evidence that possessive NPs and determiners can co-occur within the same NP. Hence he proposed that those constituents standardly referred to as noun phrases be re-analysed as determiner phrases (DP). He argued that, determiners that take an NP complement and a specifier, which can be occupied by a possessive, head nominals. This is what allows for the co-occurrence of a possessor and a determiner within one NP since enough positions are made available.

Determiner elements bear the number/gender morphology, which determines the agreement relation with the agreement (AGR) element. The basic assumption is that it is the heads of constructions, which enter into agreement relations.

The D is the head of the NP since its morphology determines the grammaticality or ungrammaticality of a construction as seen in example:

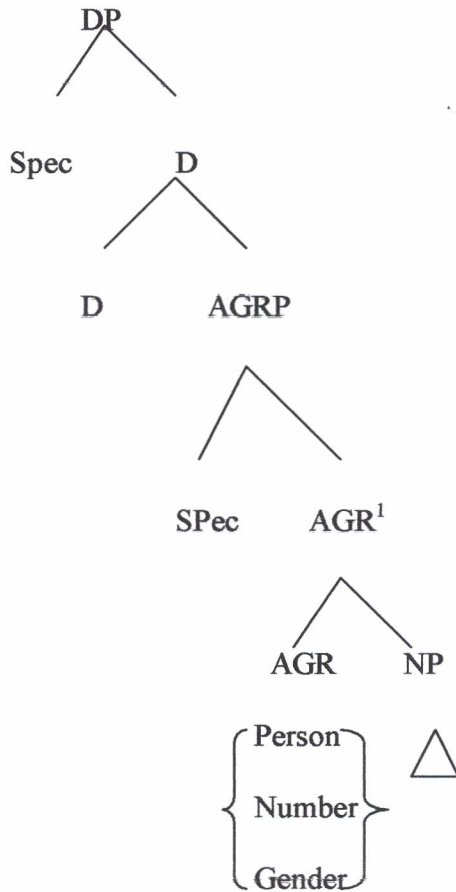
- 10) (a) mu-itu u-no
 C1-girl 1AGR-this
 ‘This girl’

- (b) *mu-itu a-no
 *C1-girl 2-these
 *‘These girl’

The Kikamba determiner phrase exhibits a lot of internal concord especially in terms of number, person and class between the NP complement according to the X-bar apparatus.

This study notes that the Kikamba DP will have the following structure:

11)



1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

In the current study there are other items such as prepositions and Adjectival Premodifiers which will not be dealt with because of the limitation of time though they

also modify the noun phrase. The following grammatical categories will be considered: the noun, the determiner and the adjective.

The study is also limited to the Kitui dialect of Kikamba hence dialectal variations are not included in the current study, since they do influence the syntax of Kikamba

The study also will not deal with the modification of the noun phrase in the verb phrase.

1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section puts the works reviewed in the study into three categories:

- Studies on Bantu grammar
- Works on the determiner elements and Adjectives
- Literature on the theory

1.8.1 Studies on Bantu grammar

Polome (1967) *Swahili Language Handbook* analyses the Kiswahili determiner. He tackles constituents within the NP. He attributes the change of the determiners with change of meaning and argues that close association of the determiner to the noun determines semantic interpretation. This is quite significant since it applies to the syntax of Kikamba.

Kaviti (2004) in her PhD dissertation carries out intensive analyses on the syntax of Kikamba. She analyses the gender marking in the language and offers an in depth insight on the lexical and functional categories in Kikamba. She also gives the syntactic and

morphological criteria to use in identifying the categories. She discusses elements within the determiner phrase but does not carry out a structural description of the apparent distinction between the apparent determiners and adjectives in Kikamba. This gap allows us to carry on with the research.

Kamango (1980) in the M.A dissertation brings out the idea of the morphological aspects of the NP. She discusses the concordial agreement in Ki-giriana and how it influences the NP constituents. This analysis is relevant to our study since both languages belong to the same language family.

Mohlig (1976) *Words and Morphemes in Swahili*: Some problems of segmentation and categorization, attempts to carry out a segmentation and categorization of words and morphemes in Swahili. He clearly outlines that all natural languages should be described using their **inherent properties** but not those imported from outside and especially the meta-language.

Welmers (1973) *Introduction to the Theory of Grammar* gives us the view of other linguists concerning the adjective. For example Green and Igwe (1963) include quantitatives and demonstratives in the class of adjectives in Igbo. He also acknowledges Ashtons (1944) view that Kiswahili has no adjectives but are derivations of the verb.

Corbett (1991) *Gender* acknowledges that Bantu languages occupy a special place in gender studies since many of them have extensive gender systems. He carries out an in

depth analyses on gender agreement within the Bantu languages and notably Kiswahili. He analyses agreement in gender, which occurs between the noun modifiers and the noun they are associated with. He cites Heine (1982) who estimates that 600 African languages (2/3 of all African languages) are gender languages.

1.8.2 Works on the Determiner and Adjectives

Radford (1988) *Transformational Grammar: A First Course*, argues that words belong to a restricted set of categories and goes further to show that individual words may belong to more than one category. He emphasizes on the position that we cannot assume that every sentence in every natural language has a specific syntactic category. He also suggests a variety of simple diagnostics (phonological, semantic, morphological and syntactic) designed to test the membership of words into their respective categories.

His work (1997) *Syntactic Theory and The Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach*, attempts to answer the question why we cannot say that the determiners have the categorical status of adjectives. He carries out a thorough analysis on the differences between the determiner and adjectives in English grammar.

There are several works that outline the membership of the determiner and adjective categories in English grammar. These include Stockwell (1977) *Foundations of Syntactic Theory* who offers us a structuralist perspective on grammatical categories, Leech and Svartvik (1975) *A Communicative Grammar of English* and Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) *A University Grammar of English*. Notably, is the latter's work who gives us the various lexical and grammatical categories in English. Using English data he illustrates

the various determiner elements and further analyses the syntactic and morphological evidence that one can use in classifying the various NP categories.

Crystal (1980) *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* and in his (1992) *An Encyclopedic Dictionary of Language and Languages* gives definitions to the various words used. These act as a guide to our work, as we attempt to find out if the definitions are applicable to Kikamba word categories.

Pei (1954) *A Dictionary of Linguistics* gives us the definition of the Determiner and also defines the various elements classified in this class such as numerals, possessive pronouns and demonstratives. This definition of the determiner is very important to our work since it is our working definition.

Bickford (1998) *Tools for Analyzing the World's Languages: Morphology and Syntax*, has done a related study in his analysis of classes and categories. He highlights on the important steps to carry out in examining data in order to set up categories based on characteristics of form that words and phrases have in common. He emphasizes that meaning should be used to name the categories once they are established through morphological and syntactic evidence. This work is very useful for the current study.

1.8.3 Literature on the theory

The Minimalist Program is a fairly recent formulation of Noam Chomsky (1993). A *Minimalist Program for Linguistic Theory* and Chomsky (1995) *The Minimalist*

Program. These works have proved useful as they outline the Minimalist Program. The theory has its roots in the Principles and Parameters Framework (PPF) developed by Chomsky (1980) *Lectures on Government and Binding*.

Haegemann (1991) *Introduction to Government and Binding Theory* has written on sub-theories of GB which are, to mention a few Case theory, Government theory, Binding theory and Theta theory. This work is useful since it provides notes on Abney's DP Hypothesis who proposes the creation of a functional category determiner, which is the head of the NP.

Radford (1997) *Syntactic Theory and The Structure of English: A Minimalist Approach* and (1997) *Syntax: A Minimalist introduction*, sheds light on the PPF within the Minimalist Theory. He analyses the principle behind the importance of grammatical categories. He discusses the position of categories within the Minimalist Framework.

Cook and Newson (1996) *Chomsky's Universal Grammar. An Introduction*, gives a simplified description of the Minimalist Program. He carries out a comparison of the PPF within GB and the Minimalist Theory. He also discusses at length the lexical and functional categories.

Simplified forms of the Minimalist theory are written in Kaviti (2004) PhD dissertation and Schroeder (2001) PhD dissertation. Both works are useful in this study since they highlight on the morphology, which is the drive behind the theory. They give a thorough

analysis of the computational process from the lexicon to the interface level. The various principles within Minimalism such as the Economy principle, Principle of Full Interpretation among others are discussed at length in the two works. This is very useful for our study since the work is based on this theory.

Webelhuth (1995) *Government and Binding Theory and The Minimalist Program* provides an overview of the GB theory. He traces the development of the Minimalist Program. He looks at the position of morphology in Minimalism and refers to the theory as the end of syntax. By this he means that we can no longer analyse the syntax of languages without looking at the morphological component..

Watters (2000) His paper 'Syntax' contained in *African Languages: An Introduction* is most significant for this investigation. He analyses the core areas in linguistics and of our interest is the material he offers on African languages. He advocates that word classes used, especially in African languages need to be defined rather than assumed from their use in English or other European languages.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section attempts to give account of how data will be obtained, processed and analysed.

1.9.1 Data Collection

A number of techniques were employed in the collection of data.

- The research area was Kalawa village in Mulundi location, Kitui district
- Four adult informants (2 male, 2 female) were purposefully sampled. This is because the ideal informants were to:

- a) Be authentic local native speakers of Kikamba
- b) be limited formal education
- c) be 60 years of age and above
- d) have lived in the research area for most of their lives (to ensure that they have limited contact with speakers of other languages).

Purposeful sampling is more practical since large samples are redundant and unnecessary.

Linguistic behaviour unlike other human behaviour is uniform. Sankoff (1980:82) warns us that, even for quite complex (linguistic) communities; big samples tend to be redundant bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytic returns.

- The theoretical study involved intensive library research.

1.9.2 Data Processing

The researcher relied substantially on the personal intuition as a native speaker of Kikamba. This was done alongside constant consultation with other native speakers to check on subjectivity and also confirm those cases that were not obviously grammatical.

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1.9.3 Data Analysis

To ensure that all generalizations made were not based only on personal intuitions the data collected from the other native speakers of Kikamba was used in analysis of the language structure.

A qualitative scale on the judgments of grammatically and ungrammatically was used. A rank of, 'most appropriate', 'appropriate', and 'not appropriate' to test on the grammaticality of the structured words was used.

CHAPTER 2

NOUN MODIFICATION IN KIKAMBA

2.0 OVERVIEW

In the previous chapter we looked at the general background information on the language of study. We looked at the historical origins of the Akamba and the basic language features. We also highlighted at the Research problem, Objectives and Hypotheses of the Study. Of great significance too was the discussion on the Theoretical Approach adopted for the purposes of this investigation.

In this chapter we examine the elements that cluster around the Kikamba noun. Our discussion at this point will focus on the Noun category as the head of the noun phrase. This is of significance, since we initially must carry out a description of the different modifying elements, using the traditional terms that modify the Kikamba noun before we can possibly analyze the Kikamba Determiner category. These elements include demonstratives, possessives, numerals, quantifiers and adjectives.

2.1 ARTICLES

The lexicon of Kikamba does not contain categories that in English would be defined as definite and indefinite articles. In English these are marked as follows:

1) Indefinite articles: 'a', 'an' (e.g. 'a book', 'an apple'.)

Definite article: 'the' (e.g. 'the pen', 'the books'.)

The various functions of articles are to mark definiteness and indefiniteness. Languages like Kikamba that do not have definite and indefinite articles often use deictics or ‘pointing words’ such as ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’, ‘those’ for definiteness. The definite articles common in some African languages originate in demonstratives. Creissels (2000: 54) argues that there has been an evolution of languages, which has led to demonstratives to change to articles. He refers to Greenberg (1978) proposal of what he calls ‘Stage II of the definite articles’.

2.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

Demonstratives indicate which objects a sentence is referring to. Radford (1999:151) argues that demonstratives are more specific than articles. Illustrated below are the three sets of demonstratives in Kikamba depending on the position of the speaker or hearer. They have been classified as either proximal (near to the speaker) or distant (distant from speaker) Leech and Svartik (2000: 269).

Table 1 Kikamba demonstratives

Singular	Plural	Gloss	Meaning
u-no	a-no	‘This’/‘these’	Near to the speaker and hearer
u-ya	a-ya	‘That’/‘those’	Distant from the speaker and hearer
u-su	a-su	‘That’/‘those’	Aforementioned

The demonstrative root will take the concordial prefix of the head noun it is associated with. This is illustrated in the examples below.

2) a) va-ndu va-no

C16 – specific place 16 AGR - this

‘This place’

b) ki-vila ki-no

C7-chair 7 AGR - this

‘This chair’

c) i-vila i-ya

C8 – chairs 8AGR - those

‘Those chairs there’

d) tu-mu-ndu tu-no

C13 – little people 13 AGR - those

‘Those little people’

e) ma-vula a-su

C6 – blankets 6AGR - those

‘Those blankets’ – aforementioned

f) i-laa i-su

C5 – flower 5AGR – that

‘That flower’ – aforementioned’

From the data above it can be noted that the demonstrative shares agreement features with the head noun.

2.3 POSSESSIVES

There are various ways of indicating possession in the Kikamba NP.

2.3.1 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns indicate ownership of something. Kikamba has 7 possessive pronouns. All the possessive roots take the pronominal/ nominal concordial prefix of the head noun. They take the pronominal class concord, the connective particle {- a} and the relevant possessive stem.

The 7 possessive stems are listed in the table below:-

Table 2 POSSESSIVE STEMS

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
-akwa	my	-itu	our
-aku	your	-enyu	your
-ake	your	-oo	their
-yo	its'		

Consider the following examples of possessions with class 5 word 'l-laa' C5 – flower and a Class 6 word 'ma-laa' C6 -flowers.

- 3)a) i-laa ya-kwa
 C5-flower 5AGR-mine
 'My flower'
- b) i-laa y-aku
 C5- flower 5AGR-your(sg)
 'Your flower'
- c) i-laa y-ake
 C5-flower 5AGR-his/her
 'His/he goat'
- d) i-laa ya-yo
 C5-flower 5AGR-its'
 'Its flower'
- e) ma-laa ma-itu
 C6-flowers 6AGR-our
 'Our flowers'
- f) ma-laa m-enyu
 C6-flowers 6AGR-your(pl)
 'Your flowers'

- g) ma-laa m-oo
 C6-flowers 6AGR-their
 ‘Their flowers’

As evident in the examples given the Pronominal and nominal class concordial prefix is responsible for the prefix attached to the possessive pronoun.

2.3.2 Possession in the Genitive NP

Possession in Kikamba can also be shown by the use of a preposition used to mean ‘something belonging to something or someone’. The possessive stem [a-] has the basic meaning close to the word ‘of’. Its function is to link two nouns in a construction, one noun representing what is owned and what owns it. The class where the head noun belongs determines the concordial prefix of the possessive stem. Consider the examples below:

- 4)a) ku-u kw-a Mwende
 C15 –leg leg 15AGR-of Mwende
 ‘Mwende’s leg.../the leg of Mwende’

- b) ma-vuku m-a Muema
 C6-books 6AGR-of Muema
 ‘Muema’s books.../ the books of Muema’

Notice how the prefix taken by the –A link is determined by the noun prefix.

2.4 NUMERALS

The Kikamba numerals are grouped into either cardinal numbers or ordinal numbers.

2.4.1 Cardinal numbers

All Bantu languages have a cardinal numerical system.

Crystal (1992: 274) says that cardinal numbers are those numbers used in ordinary counting, and answering of the question; “how many”?

The following cardinal numbers are the basis of the numerical system in Kikamba. The numerals *-mwe* (one) to *-tano* (five) have an overt prefix. The rest of the numerals from *nthanzatu* (six) have a zero concordial prefix.

5) -mwe	‘one’
-li	‘two’
-tatu	‘three’
-nya	‘four’
-tano	‘five’
nthanzatu	‘six’
mwanza	‘seven’
nyanya	‘eight’
kenda	‘nine’
ikumi	‘ten’

The cardinal number i-mwe ‘one’ occurs only with count nouns. It behaves exactly like the definite article since it can only occur with singular nouns.

6)a) mu-ndu u-mwe

C1-person 1AGR-one

‘One person’

b) *i-vila i-mwe

C8-chairs 8AGR-one

‘*One chairs’

The cardinal numbers 1-5 take the nominal class prefix of the post-modified head noun they are associated with.

7) a) mu-ndu u-mwe

C1-person 1AGR-one

‘One person’

b) ki-vila ki-mwe

C-7-chair 8AGR-two

‘One chair’

c) a-ndu e-li

C2-people 2AGR-one

‘Two people’

d) i-**vila** i-**li**
C8-**chairs** 8AGR-**two**
'Two chairs'

e) a-**ndu** a-**tatu**
C2-**people** 3AGR-**three**
'Three people'

f) i-**vila** i-**tatu**
C8-**chairs** 8AGR-**two**
'Three chairs'

g) a-**ndu** a-**na**
C2-**people** 2AGR-**four**
'Four people'

h) i-**vila** i-**nya**
C8-**chairs** 8AGR-**four**
'Four chairs'

i) a-**ndu** a-**tano**
C2-**people** 2AGR-**five**
'Five people'

- j) i-vila i-tano
 C8-chairs 8AGR-four
 ‘Five chairs’

The agreement prefixes on the numeral roots is copied from the head noun.

6.2.1 Complex numbers

Complex numbers in Kikamba include tens, hundred(s), thousand(s). They require an obligatory conjunction [na] to mean ‘and’.

8) These include

- miongo – tens
 maana – hundreds
 ngili – thousands

The noun class of the head noun does not affect complex numbers. Consider the following examples below:

- 9)a) a-ndu i-kumi na e-li
 C2-people 2AGR-ten and 2AGR-two
 ‘Twelve people’
- b) a-ndu miongo i-tatu na i-tano
 C2-people 2AGR-tens 2AGR-three and 2AGR-five
 ‘Thirty five people’

c) a-ndu ma-ana e-li na miongo i-tano
 C2-people 2AGR-hundreds 2AGR-two and 2AGR-tens five
 ‘Two fifty people’

d) a-ndu ngili i-mwe na ma-ana e-li
 C2-people 2AGR-thousands 2AGR-one and 2AGR-hundreds 2AGR-two
 ‘One thousand and two hundred people’

6.2.2 Ordinal numbers

These are numbers that indicate order in a sequence, for instance:

- 10) mbee – ‘first’
 keli – ‘second’
 katatu - ‘third’
 kana – ‘fourth’
 katano – ‘fifth’
 nthanzatu – ‘sixth’
 mwonza – ‘seventh’
 nyanya – ‘eighth’
 kenda – ‘ninth’
 ikumi – ‘tenth’

The ordinal numbers 6-10 are not different from the cardinal numbers. All the ordinal numbers require an obligatory conjunction [-a], which means ‘of’ but stands for the

morpheme [-th] added to the English ordinal numbers. The prefix taken by the conjunction morpheme [-a] depends on the head noun. They post modify, for example:

8)a) mu-ndu w-a mbee

C1-person conj. 1AGR-first

'First person'

b) mu-ndu w-a keli

C1-person conj. 1AGR-second

'Second person'

c) mu-ndu w-a mwanza

C1-person conj. 1AGR-seventh

'Seventh person'

d) mu-ndu w-a kenda

C1-person conj. 1AGR-ninth

'Ninth person'

e) mu-ndu w-a ikumi

C1-person conj. 1AGR-ten

'Tenth person'

12.)a) ki-vila ky-a mbee
C7-chair conj. 1AGR-first
'First chair'

b) ki-vila ky-a katatu
C7-chair conj. 1AGR-third
'Third chair'

c) ki-vila ky-a kana
C7-chair conj. 1AGR-fourth
'Fourth chair'

d) ki-vila ky-a katano
C7-chair conj. 1AGR-fifth
'Fifth chair'

2.5 QUANTIFIERS

Crystal (1992: 323) observes that quantifiers are items which express a notion of quantity. In many languages they are grouped together with possessives and demonstratives as post modifiers of a noun (Stockwell 1977). Quantifiers give indefinite numbers of figures. These are used to show groups of people or objects that have been quantified. The quantifiers in Kikamba include:

- 13) - mwe some
 - ingi many/much/more
 - onthe all
 - nini few/small
 wonthe every

The following examples illustrate their use. Notice the concordial prefix marker attached to the quantifier.

14.)(a) n-zou sy-onthe
 C10-elephants 10AGR-all
 ‘All elephants’

a-ndu o-onthe
 C2-people 2AGR-all
 ‘All people’

(b) a-ndu a-ingi
 C2-people 2AGR-many
 ‘Many people’

ma-vuku ma-ingi
 C2-books 2AGR-many
 ‘Many books’

- c) mu-ndu wo-onthe
C1-person 1AGR-every
'Every person'

2.6 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Kikamba function to modify nouns expressing a characteristic quality or attribute. They typically occur after the noun just like the demonstratives, possessives, numerals and quantifiers. These include adjectives that denote colour, height, size and character. Note the concordial agreement inflection in the following examples:

- **Colours**

-une -'red'

-iu -'black'

-au -'white'

This is illustrated in the following examples:

- 15)a) ng-ombe nd-une
C9-cow 9AGR-red
'Red cow'

- b) ng-ombe nz-iu
C9-cow 9AGR-black
'Black cow'

17 c) ng-ombe nz-au
C9-cow 9AGR-white
'White cow'

16a) ki-vila ki-tune
C7-chair 7AGR-red
'Red chair'

b) ki-vila ki-iu
C7-chair 7AGR-balck
'Black chair'

c) ki-vila ky-eu
C7-chair 7AGR-white
'White chair'

• **Height and size**

- asa 'tall'
- kuve 'short'
- theke 'thin'
- nou 'fat'
- nene 'big'
- nini 'small'

The following examples illustrate this.

17)a) mu-itu mu-asa

C1-girl 1AGR-tall

'Tall girl'

b) ka-ana ka-nene

C12-little child C12AGR-big

'Big child'

c) a-ndu a-seo

C2-people 2AGR-good

'Good people'

• **Character**

- seo - 'good'

- thuku - 'bad'

- wi - 'obedient'

18)a) mu-ana mu-seo

C1-child C1AGR-good

'A good child'

b) mu-see mu-thuku
C1-old man C1AGR-bad
'A bad (old) man'

c) ka-ana ke-wi
C12-little child C12AGR-obedient
'An obedient child'

Note the influence of the class concordial prefix in a case where more than one adjective co -occurs with the head noun.

19)a) mu-itu mu-asa mu-seo
C1-girl 1AGR-tall 1AGR-good
'A tall, good girl'

b) mu-itu mu-asa mu-iyu mu-seo
C1-girl 1AGR-tall 1AGR-black 1AGR-good
'A tall, black, good girl'

C) ki-vila ki-tune ki-theu
C7-chair 7AGR-red 7AGR-clean
'A clean, red chair,

Examples 15-19 show that adjectives in Kikamba have alliterative agreement. This means that the same concord morpheme is copied for the noun to the adjectives.

2.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter we attempted a structural description of the elements that cluster around the noun. It is clear from the data given that Kikamba has various noun modifying elements and they all occur after the head noun. All the modifiers take the concord prefix of the head noun they are associated with. This analysis stamps the dominance of the noun class as determining the concordial agreement inflection of the post modifying elements of the noun.

The next chapter will attempt to define the Kikamba determiners. We shall put forward a variety of morpho-syntactic arguments so as to show which elements are best classified as determiners and which would be described as adjectives.

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING THE KIKAMBA DETERMINER

3.0 OVERVIEW

In the previous chapter we carried out a structural description of those elements that cluster around the noun nucleus. Our objective in this chapter is to define what constitutes the Kikamba determiner. We seek to determine which of the elements out of the ones we identified in Chapter 2 are best classified as determiners and the justification of this classification.

3.1 WORD CLASSES AND CATEGORIES

All words in a language belong to a restricted set of grammatical categories. A grammatical category can be defined as:

... a class of expressions which shares a common set of grammatical properties (Radford 1999).

Radford (1998) argues that certain categories such as the NP and VP are assumed to occur in all languages. Other categories such as adjectives, adverbs, determiners differ from one language to another. Even if they exist in different languages, they differ in both function and behaviour. Evidence that words belong to various categories is actually morpho-syntactic in nature.

Words may have different syntactical functions. They may also follow different rules of distribution within the sentence and may further differ in their morphological structure.

This is because of inherent differences in word category. The factors used in word categorization can be derived from syntactical, morphological or semantic features.

In our study we are mainly concerned with the type of evidence we can use in categorizing both determiners and adjectives, if at all they exist, in Kikamba.

3.2 DEFINITION OF THE DETERMINER

Quirk et al (1985) defines a determiner as the category that is used to denote specific and generic reference. Consider the following examples:

- 1) 'The boy was here'.

The article 'the', a category contained in English grammar, is a determiner and is used for unique reference to refer to the particular boy who is unique to the listener and hearer.

This is an example of specific reference (by specific reference we refer to one particular thing whose identity is assumed to be known to the hearer).

- 2) The possessive forms (in italics) in '*My* pen' and '*Johns*' pen' and the demonstratives (in italics) in '*That* pen' and '*These* pens' denote unique reference.

Example (3) below contains an adjective (in italics) in which reference is specific.

- 3) '*Red* pen'

We note that the above examples can be used to denote specific reference and therefore we are tempted to group them together as determiners using the above definition.

Similar structures used to denote specific reference are identifiable in Kikamba. Consider the following examples.

4)a) ka-lamu ka-kwa

C7-pen 7AGR-my

'My pen'

b) ka-lamu k-a John

C7-pen 7AGR-(poss.)-of John

'Johns' pen'

c) ka-lamu ka-tune

C7-pen 7AGR- red

'Red pen'

According to the above definition, determiners too denote generic reference (generic reference refers to the whole group or class of things). For instance

5) All boys are rude.

6) The elephant is a mammal.

The quantifier 'all' in (5) refers to the whole group of boys and the article 'the' in (6) is used for generic reference to refer to the whole species of elephants.

7) The Black man is strong.

Note that the word 'black' is an adjective and it is used to refer to the whole group of people of African origin. Hence in this case too we can group the adjective in the category of determiners.

Semantically, according to Radford (1988:57), adjectives denote states of nouns while determiners serve to specify them. He further argues that a word like 'illness' which denotes a state is categorized as a noun. This distinction has its limitations. Likewise a word in Kikamba like *u-seo* 'goodness' is a state, but classified as a noun and not an adjective. The adjective *mu-asa* 'tall' specifies the noun in the following example but it is treated as an adjective and not a determiner as we shall see later.

- 8) *mu-itu* *mu-asa*
 C1-girl 1 AGR-tall
 'Tall girl'.

The distinction between 'denoting states of nouns' and specifying them is semantically unclear. This clearly indicates that semantically based criteria cannot be used to separate the two word classes. A more reliable criterion is needed to identify word categories. This perspective is examined in the next section.

3.3. MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC EVIDENCE.

3.3.1 Morphological evidence

Sameness of internal structure is an important characteristic to look at in the categorization of classes. According to Radford (1997) this gives us a rough guide to a

word categorial status. When we group words into categories we put together words that have the same morphological properties. The relevant morphological evidence comes from inflectional and derivational properties of words. For example in English all words that take -er, -est suffixes are grouped as adjectives. The comparative and superlative forms of the word 'tall' are illustrated below.

9)

a) Between the two girls, the *taller* one is my daughter.

b) Give this book to the *tallest* girl in the class.

In Kikamba some words which we choose to refer to at this point as adjectives, take comparative forms. Through derivation of the forms in Class A we get the derivatives in Class B. Let us examine the table below and example 10

Table 3- comparative forms of adjectives in Kikamba.

Class A	Class B	Gloss
mu-seo	mu-sea-ngo	good/better
mu-asa	mu-asa-nga	tall/taller
ki-theu	ki-thea-ngu	clean/cleaner

10) a) ka-no ni-ka-nena-nge

12AGR-this (diminitive) one is 12AGR-bigger.

'This (diminitive) one is bigger.

b) a-no ni-a-sea-ngo

2AGR-this are 2AGR-better

'These are better'

Let us assume that the same is possible with all the modifiers we looked at in chapter two. We realize that they cannot undergo the same derivational process of forming comparative forms since the constructions become ill formed.

11)a) *mu-itu u-no-a-nga

C1-girl 1AGR-this

'This girl'

b) *ki-vila kya-kwa-nga

C7-chair 7AGR-my

'My chair'

c) *ngombe i-mwe-nge

C9-cow 7AGR-one

'One cow'

d) *a-ndu o-nthe-a-nga

C2-people 7AGR-all

'All people'

This derivational process is a good test for separating adjectives from the other noun modifiers.

In English grammar the negative prefix is usually attached to the adjective as in the example *unhappy girl, unlucky child*. If we look at the other modifiers we find that they cannot be negated directly, as in **un-that, *un-one, *un-mine* but require a different form of negation which is done by using the negative words such as *not*.

In Kikamba we realize the modifiers can be negated the same way using the bound morpheme [ti-]. Consider the following examples.

- 12) a) ti-mu-asa ‘not tall’(adj)
- b) ti-ki-mwe ‘not one’ (numeral)
- c) ti-u-su ‘not that one’ (demonstrative)
- d) ti-o-nthe ‘not all’ (quantifier)
- e) ti- sya-kwa ‘not mine’ (poss)

As can be seen from the data above we realize that the modifiers can be stack together in one category.

A common feature of Bantu languages is the fact that the adjectives inflect for plurality depending on number of the noun they modify. Look at the following forms.

- 13)
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| a) | mui-tu | mu-asa | e-itu | a-sa |
| | C1-girl | 1AGR-tall | C1-girls | 1AGR-tall |
| | ‘Tall girl’ | | ‘Tall girls’ | |

b)	ki- <i>vila</i> ki- <i>theu</i>	i- <i>vila</i> n- <i>theu</i>
	C7-chair 7AGR-clean	C8-chairs 8AGR- clean
	‘A clean chair’	‘Clean chairs’

c)	i- <i>laa</i> ya- <i>nake</i>	ma- <i>laa</i> ma- <i>nake</i>
	C8-flower 8AGR-beautiful	C8-flowers 8AGR-beautiful
	‘Beautiful flower’	‘Beautiful flowers’

However in English we have *this* (sg) which becomes *these(pl)*, and *that(sg)* which becomes *those(pl)*, Nevertheless, as an overall category, Radford (1988) recognizes the fact that determiners have no single defining morphological characteristic that they share.

However, in Kikamba the assumed determiner does inflect for plurality For example:

14)

a)	mu- <i>ndu</i> u- <i>ya</i>	a- <i>ndu</i> a- <i>ya</i>
	C1-person 1AGR-that	C2-people 2AGR-those
	‘That person’	‘Those people’

b)	ka- <i>ana</i> ka- <i>kwa</i>	twa- <i>ana</i> twa- <i>kwa</i>
	C12-little child 12AGR- mine	C13-little children 13AGR-mine
	‘My little child’	‘My little children’

c)	ku- <i>tu</i> ku- <i>nene</i>	ma- <i>tu</i> ma- <i>nene</i>
	C15-ear 15AGR-one	C6- ears 12AGR-two
	‘Big ear’	‘Big ears’

Hence in terms of inflecting for plurality we can say that the determiners and adjectives exhibit similar characteristics.

In addition, Kikamba adjectives do have antonyms. The examples below illustrate this.

15)

mu-asa – ‘tall’

mu-kuve – ‘short’

mu-seo – ‘girl’

mu-thuku – ‘bad’

mu-nou – ‘fat’

mu-theke – ‘thin’

mu-eu – ‘light in complexion’

mu-iyu – ‘dark in complexion’

As can be seen in the data provided in this section, we realize that in quite a number of instances the adjectives exhibit similar characteristics to those of the apparent determiners. The issue at hand now is whether we can categorize the adjective as a determiner morphologically. One cannot rely solely on morphological evidence to determine their categorial status. Thus, it is important to check this evidence using syntactic criteria (evidence) examined in the next section.

3.2.1 Syntactic Evidence

Syntactic evidence is distributional in nature. It refers to the set of modifier position a word can occur in. Pei (1966) defines a determiner as any element that occupies the position of the definite article.

In a case where there is no multiple modification, each of the modifiers occupies the position after the noun. For instance:

16)

a) mu-itu u-ya

C1-girl 1AGR-that

'that girl'

b) mu-eni wa-ku

C1-visitor 1AGR-your

'your visitor'

c) mu-itu u-mwe

C1-girl 1AGR-one

'one girl'

d) mu-itu mu-seo

C1-girl 1AGR-good

'A good girl'

In the examples given above, all the elements after the nouns occupy the position normally occupied by the article and hence play a determiner role. In other words, we can say that they are mutually substitutable. This is a very important criterion that we use to

group words and phrases. At this point in our discussion we are tempted to say that all the above elements belong to the same category.

Nevertheless, in the case of multiple modifications, the various modifiers occupy different positions as illustrated by the examples below:

16)

a) Noun, demonstrative, possessive

(i) mu-eni u-ya wa-ku ni-wa-thi
C1-visitor 1AGR-that 1AGR-mine gone
'That visitor of mine has gone.'

(ii) *mu-eni wa-ku u-ya ni-wa-thi
C1-visitor 1AGR-mine 1AGR- that gone.'
'That visitor of mine is gone'

b) Noun, demonstrative, numeral

(i) A-eni a-ya a-tatu ni-ma-ya
C2-visitors 2AGR-those 2AGR-three have eaten
'Those three visitors have eaten'

(ii) * A-eni a-tatu a-ya ni-ma-ya
C2-visitors 2AGR-three 2AGR-those have eaten
'Those three visitors have eaten'

c) Noun, demonstrative, adjective

(i) mu-eni u-ya mu-asa ni-wa-thi
C1-visitor 1AGR-that 1AGR-tall gone
'That tall visitor has gone'

(ii) * mu-eni mu-asa u-ya ni-wa-thi
C1-visitor 1AGR-tall 1AGR-that gone

In examples (a), (b) and (c) it is clear that the demonstrative precedes all the other modifiers. It relates directly to the nominal class of the subject nominal.

d) Noun, numeral, possessive

(i) mu-eni wa-kwa u-mwe ni-wathi
C1-visitor 1AGR-mine 1AGR-one gone
'One visitor of mine has gone'

(ii)?? mu-eni u-mwe wa-ku ni-wathi
C1-visitor 1AGR-one 1AGR-yours gone
'That one visitor of yours has gone'

In the example above it is evident that the numeral and the possessive pronoun are interchangeable but the most appropriate form is where the possessive precedes the numeral.

e) Noun, numeral, adjective

(i) mu-itu u-mwe mua-nake ni-woka
C1-girl 1AGR-one 1AGR-beautiful come
'One beautiful girl has come'

(ii) * mu-itu mua-nake u-mwe ni-woka
C1-girl 1AGR-beautiful 1AGR-one come

f) Noun, possessive, adjective

(i) mu-itu wa-kwa mua-nake ni-wathi
C1-girl 1AGR-mine 1AGR-beautiful gone
'My beautiful girl has gone'

(ii) * mu-itu mua-nake wa-kwa ni-wathi
C1-girl 1AGR-beautiful 1AGR-mine gone

In examples (e) and (f) it is evident that the adjective cannot precede the numeral and the possessive.

g) Noun, demonstrative, numeral, possessive and adjective

(i) e-itu a-ya ma-kwa a-tatu a-seo ni-mathi
C2-girls 2AGR-those 2AGR-mine 2AGR-three 2AGR-good gone
'Those three good girls of mine have gone'

- (ii) *e-itu a-ya a-tatu ma-kwa a-seo ni-mathi
 C2-girls 2AGR-those 2AGR-three 2AGR-mine 2AGR good gone
 ‘Those three good girls of mine have gone’.
- (iii) *e-itu a-tatu a-ya ma-kwa a-seo ni-mathi
 C2-girls 2AGR-three 1AGR-those 2AGR-mine 2AGR good gone
 ‘Those three good girls of mine have gone.’
- (iv) *e-itu a-ya a-seo a-tatu ma-kwa ni-mathi
 C2-girls 2AGR-those 2AGR-good 2AGR-three 2AGR gone mine
 ‘Those three good girls of mine have gone’.

In example (g) it is clear that the noun modifiers occur in a restricted order. The noun is followed by the demonstrative, the possessive, the numeral and lastly the adjective. This order is the unmarked form. In the marked forms, Polome (1967:143) observes that the relative order of attributive determinatives in Bantu NP depends on the closeness of their semantic association with the noun to which they apply. Contrary to this, Greenberg (1961:87) formalized a universal based on post-modifier versus pre-modifier ordering in different languages.

3.4 SUMMARY

Let us now consider the implications of our discussion so far. The above analysis has clearly shown that we cannot rely on our semantic intuitions to separate Kikamba adjectives from determiners. We have therefore attempted to use morphological criteria to determine the differences, if any, between the two word categories. It is important to note that the apparent determiners and adjectives in Kikamba exhibit similar morphological characteristics. For example, they all inflect for plurality and can be negated. Likewise they have differences in that the adjectives undergo a derivation process of forming comparatives and superlatives while the other noun modifiers identified for investigation do not. The adjectives also have antonyms, a characteristic, which the others do not exhibit.

The inference we make based on the data provided in this chapter is that we cannot conclusively rely solely on morphological evidence to distinguish Kikamba adjectives from determiners. We went further to carry out syntactic tests and came to the conclusion that the adjective sometimes behaves just like the apparent determiners. In cases where there is no multiple modifications they are all mutually substitutable. This is of significance since it means that in the Kikamba DP the modifiers can occupy same positions and also co-occur in the case of multiple modifications. Up to this point, we agree with Nyombe (2004) argument that

because adjectives have the same structural characteristics as demonstratives pronouns, adjectival phrases should be amenable to the same treatment as demonstratives and possessive pronouns.

As observed in the data analysed, it is evident that the only characteristic that clearly distinguishes adjectives from the other noun modifiers is their recursive nature.

On the basis of this piece of evidence, we conclude that it would be misleading to suggest that the demonstrative, the quantifier, the numeral, the possessive and the adjective, all belong to the same category. On the other hand it would be unreasonable not to take into consideration the significant implications of the similarities between the apparent determiners.

In conclusion we would say that the adjectives belong to a different word category from the determiner one. However as evident from the data provided the distinction is **neutralised** in some ‘**morpho-syntactic environments**’ and especially in the phrasal structure analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DETERMINER PHRASE STRUCTURE IN KIKAMBA

4.0 Overview

In the previous chapter, we carried out a morpho-syntactic investigation of what noun modifiers could be categorized as determiners. We found out that there is enough morpho-syntactic evidence for us to group the demonstratives, possessives, numerals, quantifiers and adjectives into one group which at this moment we shall refer to as the determiner category, ignoring the factors that seem to separate adjectives from other members of the group (category).

In this chapter we intend to find out if the behaviour of the Kikamba determiner conforms to the DP Hypothesis.

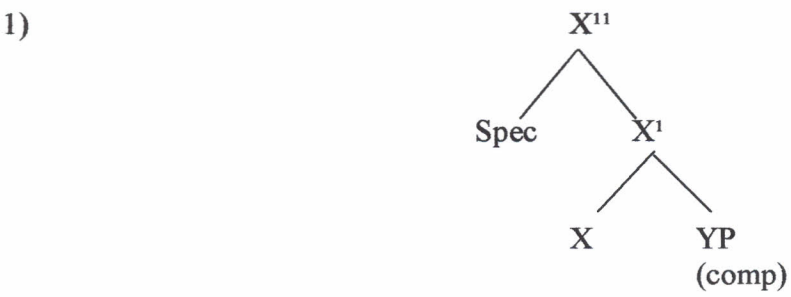
4.1 THE KIKAMBA NOUN PHRASE

The X-bar theory captures properties of all phrases. It is distinctive in claiming that every phrase conforms to certain requirements. It emphasizes on the fact that phrases must be 'endocentric', meaning that a phrase must always contain a head as well as other possible constituents (Stockwell 1981). Thus a noun phrase such as *the bird* contains a head *bird*. Its important to mention the principle that any phrase must have a head of the same type i.e. that is, of the same category as the phrase itself. A head of a phrase is not related

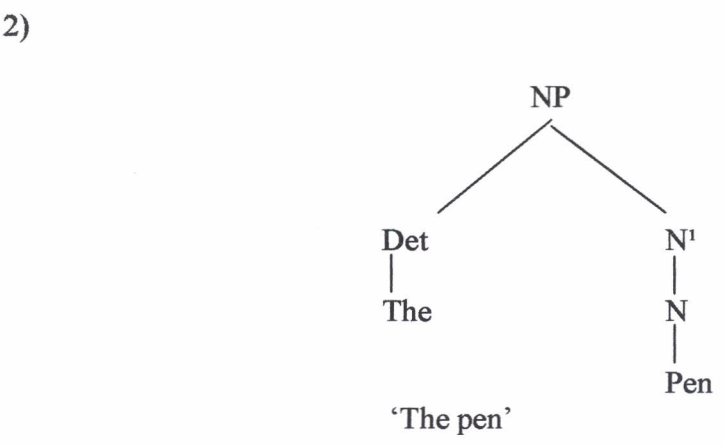
arbitrarily to the phrase type. In addition to heads and complements, phrases contain a third main element in their structure, the specifier. This can be summarized as:

- $X^1 \rightarrow \text{Spec } X$
- $X \rightarrow X, YP.$

The general Schema of the Phrase structure above is as follows:-



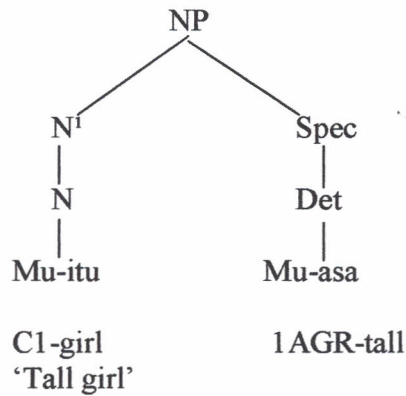
The determiner *the* for example is a specifier in the NP *the pen*. The structure of *the pen* is therefore as follows:-



The general schema assumed to be the universal order of constituents with respect to the head of the projection is not universally fixed, as we prove using Kikamba data.

According to the ‘headness’ parameter wherever a head selects a complement, it may either precede or follow the head. In the case of Kikamba, it precedes the head.

3)



Abney (1987) proposes that functional elements such as the determiner in example (3) are the heads of the NP since they control the agreement features within the phrases.

4.1.2 The DP analysis

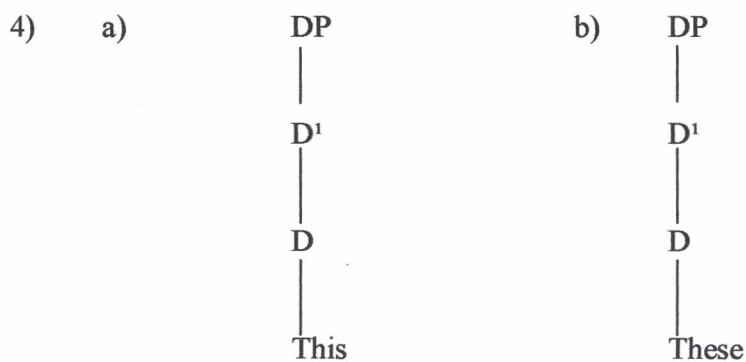
The striking similarity between the clause and the nominal arguments has been intriguing to many scholars leading to great interest in the topic. This is evident in the works by Abney (1987), Chomsky (1986), Speas (1995) and many other linguists.

Abney (1987) as cited in Haegemann (1991:585) proposes that those constituents that are conventionally referred to as NPs are in fact projections of functional heads spelt out in English by the determiner. This proposal came to be known as DP Hypothesis. Abney

noted that there were structural similarities between the sentence and the internal structure of the NP. She argued that just as the clause is headed by a functional element INFL, the NP has the DP from which the D is a nominal functional head. She established that the verb has an extended projection into IP and nouns have an extended projection into the DP.

Abney (1987) also analysed several languages and provided evidence that possessive NPs and determiners can co-occur within the same NP. Abney (1987) cited in Webelhuth (1995) argued that nominals (a term used to refer to both nouns and pronouns but in our case we adopt it to refer to a noun.) are headed by determiners which take an NP complement and a specifier which can be occupied by a possessor and hence the NP should be reanalysed as a determiner phrase (DP). The availability of enough positions allows the co-occurrence of a possessor and a determiner within one NP.

Abney (987) provided more evidence for the DP as a projection of the NP. The fact that a determiner can stand alone makes them behave like determiner phrases, as in the example below:



(e.g. **This is my friend**)

(e.g. **These must be the children**)

Additional evidence is suggested by the fact that determiners control agreement relations in terms of person, number and gender, which may or may not be lexically realised.

Consider the following examples:

- 5) a) ka-no ni-ka-nene
12AGR-little (entity) is 12AGR big
'This little 'one' is big.'
- b) a-no ni- a-seo
2AGR-these are 2AGR-good
'These (oranges) are good'

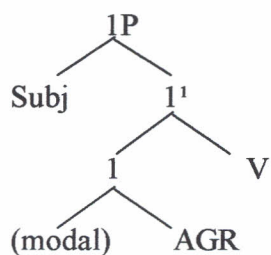
Determiners impose restrictions on the type of expressions that can modify them. They bear number/gender morphology. Kaviti (2004:54) argues that the noun phrase is used broadly to refer to constructions that may be Determiner phrases or Agreement phrases. The functional category AGR bears gender, number and person features. The agreement element is present in the clause and also in the NP. The specifier position of the agreement phrase is then the site for possessives and other nominal modifiers in the phrasal structure.

4.2 THE DP STRUCTURE

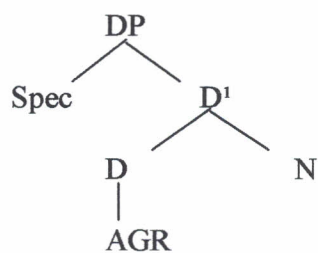
The DP is a phrasal category headed by a determiner. A lot of research has been carried out to capture the similarities between the Clause and the NP. Abney (1987) proposed a parallel between Clauses headed by a functional category INFL and NP headed by a functional category D. This led to the claim that the NP is in fact a DP.

Pollock (1989) also argues that the Clause in English is headed by a functional category INFL. He assumed that AGR occupies an inflectional position outside the maximal syntactic projection of V in the clause. He also drew a parallel between the Clause and the NP. This can be observed in the following diagrams:-

6 a) Clause structure



b) Noun phrase structure

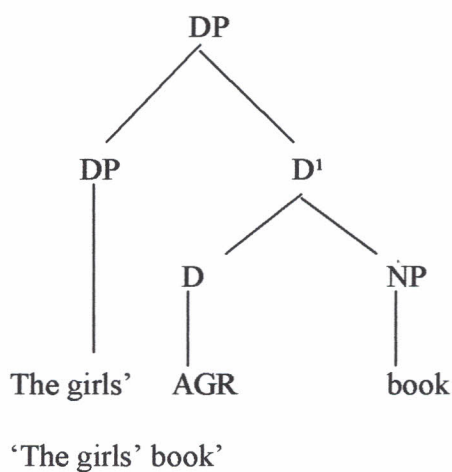


The Clause is then an IP and the NP is a DP.

Abney (1987), Nyombe (2004) and Haegeman (1991:609) propose that determiners are base generated under the nominal AGR, i.e. under the NP interpreted as DP whose head

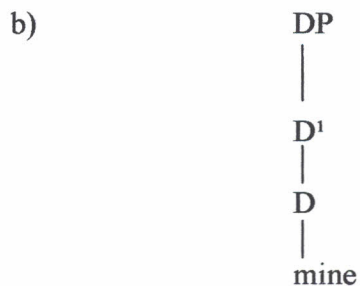
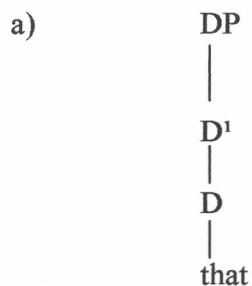
is D. In English the D is realised by an abstract nominal element termed AGR which assigns genitive case to the possessive as in:

7)



While demonstratives (e.g. *this, that, those*) and possessive pronouns (e.g. *mine*) do not require an obligatory NP complement, articles (like *a* and *the*) do require.

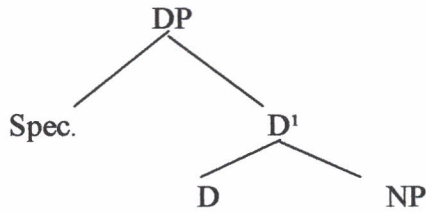
8)



4.2.1 The Kikamba DP structure

Abney (1987) proposed the following NP structure.

9)



Chomsky (1995) proposes that in the case of unmodified core noun there should be no projection of the DP in adherence to the Economy Principle. Hence the diagram would be as follows:

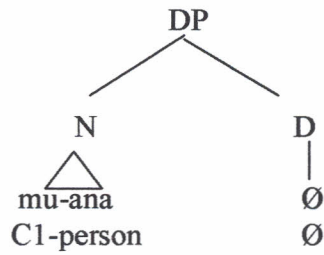
10)



However, Abney argued that all nominal structures are projections of an overt or covert determiner. According to Abney (1987) 'bare' nominals (noun expressions without any modifying elements) are actually DPs headed by 'Null determiners' symbolized as \emptyset .

The following example illustrates this:

11)



Within the tenets of minimalism the null-determiner analysis breaks the (Chomsky 1989:69,1993:44,1998:150.) Economy Principle, which bans the use of superfluous Constituents. (Radford 1997:259) puts the Economy Principle as follows.

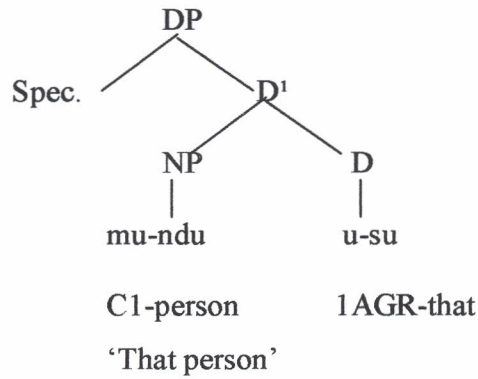
“A Principle which requires that (all other things being equal) syntactic representations should contain as few constituents and syntactic derivations and involve as few grammatical operations as possible.

Speas (1995) as cited in Kaviti (2004:57) also proposed a principle known as the No-content-less-projections-Constraint that constrains the licensing of content less projections whose Head and Specifier have no independence of their own.

Kaviti (2004) argues that the Null determiner though lacking phonetic content has clear semantic and grammatical properties.

Accrediting Abney (1987) assumptions the Kikamba DP structure is illustrated in the following diagram:

12)



Note that Kikamba takes noun initial order.

The discovery that the possessive NP and determiners can occur within the same NP led to the necessity of having more than one Spec position within the NP as analysed in the next section.

4.2.2 Agreement within the Kikamba DP

In agglutinative languages such as Kikamba, there is more overt agreement morphology. Agreement features of the head noun are not confined only to D but are also generated in Spec DP and Spec AGRP. This leads to Specifier –Head agreement. Demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers are generated in Spec DP and Spec AGRP. This accounts for the reason why modifying determiners agree in number and gender with the head noun they modify. Examine the data below:

- 13) a) i-vula y-akwa
 C5-blanket(sg) 5AGR-mine
 'My blanket'
- b) ma-vula m-akwa
 C6-blanket(pl) 6AGR-mine
 'My blankets'
- c) mu-ndu u-no
 C1-person 1AGR-mine
 'This person'
- d) a-ndu a-no
 C2-people 2AGR-these
 'These people'

Adjectives too show agreement in number and gender with the noun they modify hence behave just like the apparent determiners. They show agreement in all syntactic configurations. Consider the following example:-

14

- a) mu-ndu mu-theu
 C1-person 1AGR-clean
 'A clean person'

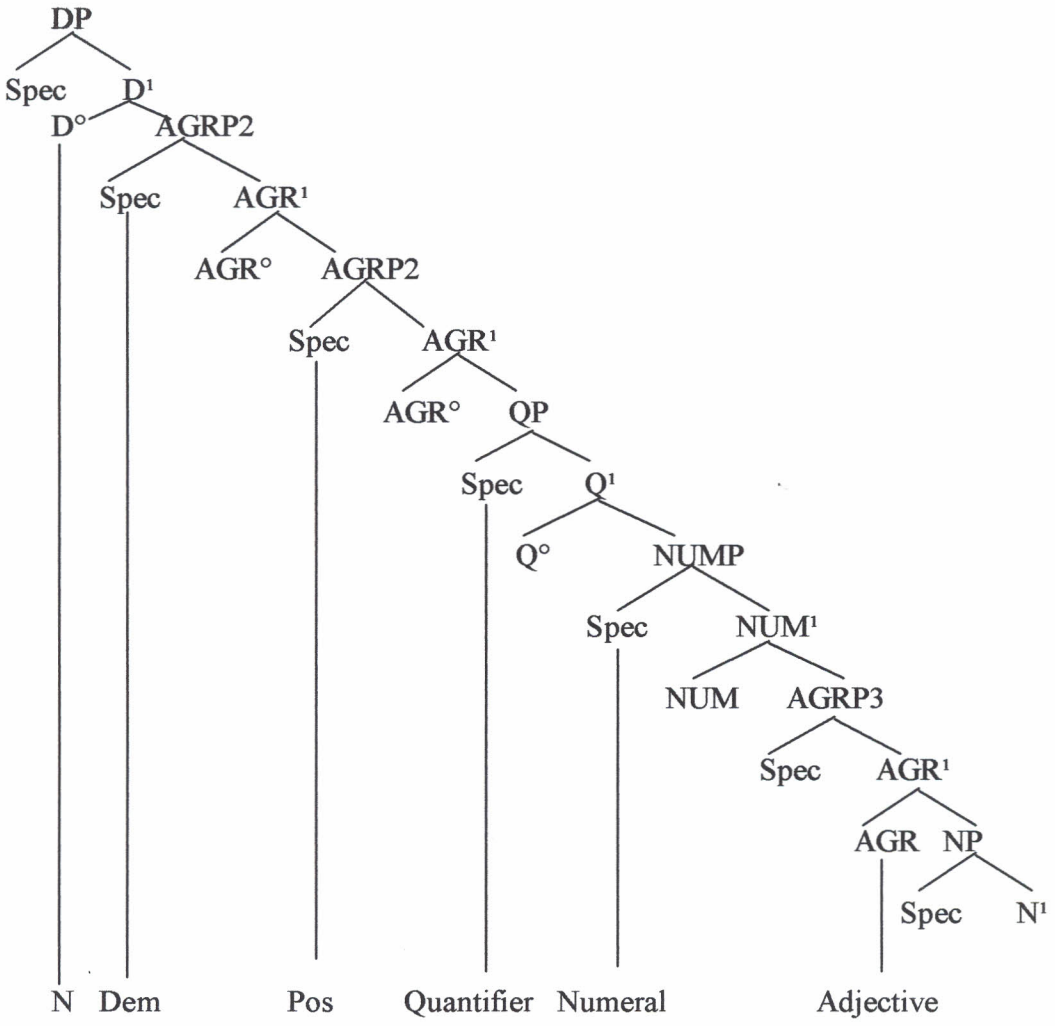
The standard analysis does not provide enough distinct positions to accommodate the range of elements, which in our case appear after noun. Abney (1987) proposed the creation of another Spec within the NP. The more the modifications the greater the head to head movement. Under minimalism, movement is generated for Feature checking purposes and for the purpose of full interpretation before spell out.

The Principle of Full Interpretation specifies that the representation of an expression must contain all and only those features, which are relevant to determining its interpretation at the relevant level. (Radford 1997:261).

The Principles of Feature Checking and Full Interpretation in the Minimalist Program are very important in ensuring that Kikamba constructions are grammatical.

Consider example 16:

16)

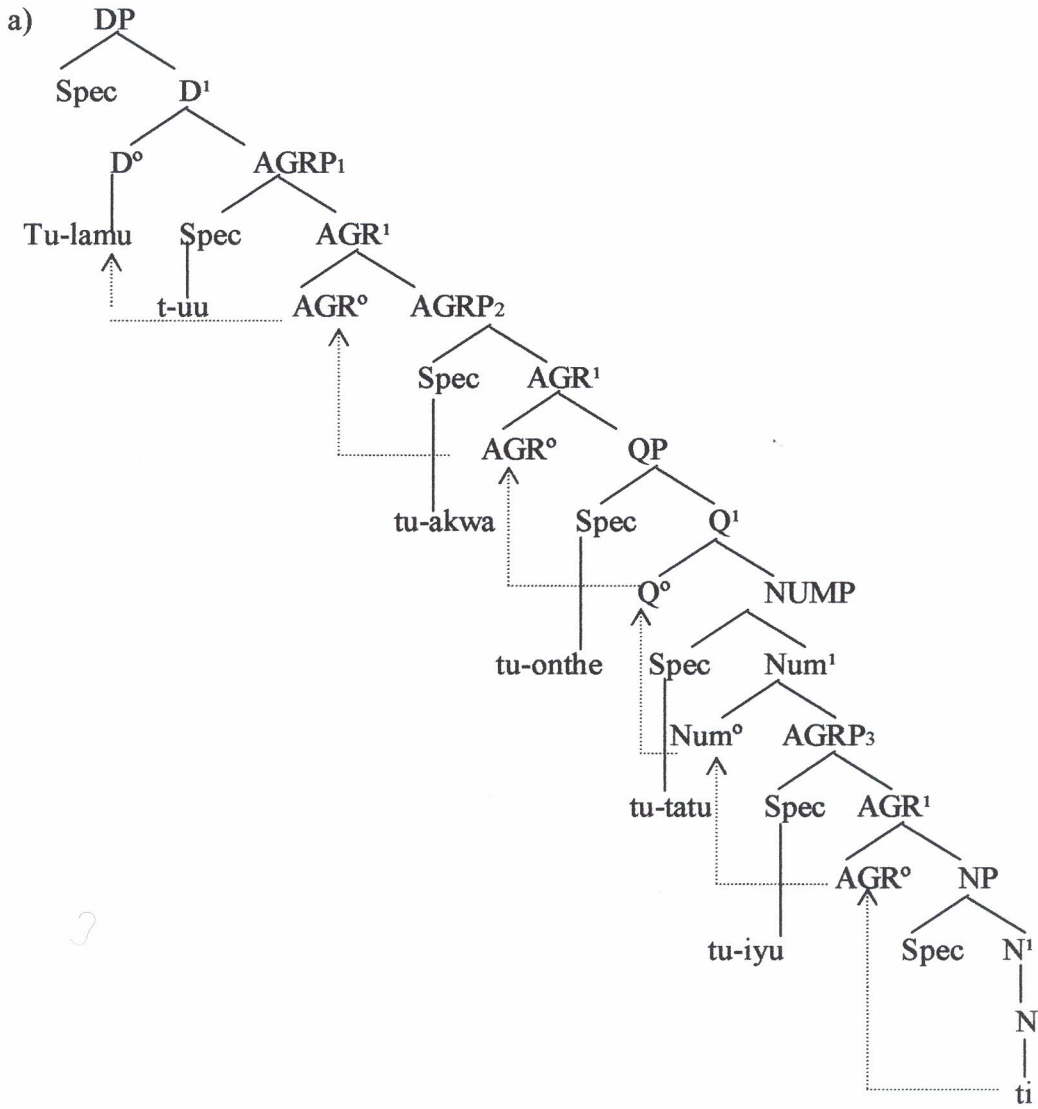


We deduce that demonstratives are generated in the highest AGRP position followed by the possessive then the quantifiers and the numeral that precedes the adjective. The head noun moves and adjoins itself to the functional heads AGR and DET to have its noun features checked by these functional heads. The modified noun moves from its position and targets the empty heads, which are targets for head movement. As in diagram 18 below the N moves from Spec NP to the head of AGRP then the head of NUMP and

continues moving head to head to the highest head projection which is D-head in DP checking Spec-Head AGR in every case.

Consider example 17 (a) next page:

17)



b) Tu-lamu t-uu tu-akwa tu-onthe tu-tatu tu-iyu
 C13-pens 13AGR-these 13AGR-mine 13AGR-all 13AGR-three 13AGR-black

'All these three black pens of mine'

In the above phrasal structure, the head noun moves overtly to check off its agreement features in Spec AGR. Its worth mentioning that the Minimalist Program recognizes a mechanism referred to as ‘Agreement Chain’. The nominal modifiers form an agreement chain with the head noun.

As noted above in example (16) and (17) there is a mention of NUMP. (Carstens 1993) analysed the number as a syntactic category. The proposal is that number is always a functional head, which selects NP complements. (We shall not venture into since it is not within our scope).

4.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, our primary objective was to analyse the Kikamba Determiner Phrase with an aim of finding out if it conforms to the assumptions of the DP Hypothesis as proposed by Abney (1987). Abney’s proposal that the determiner is the head of the noun phrase and the NP is actually a projection of the functional category determiner phrase, is true of Kikamba syntax. The proposal is quite significant in Kikamba since it is a language with rich morphology hence the agreement features need to be copied in the various modifying elements.

We further looked at agreement of Kikamba noun modifiers and we found that they fully agree with the noun they modify.

Lastly, we found that Kikamba syntax allows co-occurrence of determiners. Abney proposed the creation of another Spec position within the DP. This availability of enough positions within the phrasal diagram allows the representation of multiple modifications in Kikamba.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The primary concern of this work has been to find out whether there is an apparent distinction between the determiner and adjective, word categories in the syntax of Kikamba.

In Chapter one, we examined the language background and its basic features, we established the statement of problem, the objectives, hypotheses, the rationale, the scope and limitation of our study. We analysed the theoretical framework adopted in this study and found out that the Minimalism Program recognizes the need for words and phrases to be categorized. MP stipulates a Structure Dependence Principle, which specifies that grammatical operations are sensitive to certain grammatical structures and not others. We also discussed relevant works applicable to our study and lastly demonstrated the methodology applied in our study.

In Chapter two, we carried out a structural description of the Noun modifiers. We looked at the demonstratives, possessive pronouns, numerals, quantifiers and the adjective. We found that all the modifiers have concordial agreement with the noun they modify copied from the noun class prefix.

In Chapter three, using data from Kikamba language we provided evidence that there is a reasonable distinction both morphologically and syntactically between the determiners and the adjectives in Kikamba. The recursive nature of the adjectives is the main difference between the two categories and their characteristic in showing contrast in degree (comparative forms). However we found that in the **'opposition is neutralised'** in some 'morpho-syntactic environments' and more so in their distributional behaviour in the phrasal structure. For example the words in the two categories can be inflected for plurality, can be negated, are mutually substitutable and they agree in terms of number and person with the noun they are associated with.

In Chapter four, we examined the Kikamba Determiner Phrase. We focused on Abney (1987) proposal of DP which is the 'backbone' of the determiner phrase (DP) analysis. We also looked at the behaviour of the determiners and adjectives within the phrasal structure. We found that they behave more or less the same and especially in a case where there is no multiple modification. Kikamba allows multiple modifications and has benefited greatly from the DP Hypothesis since the modifiers are granted enough Spec positions within the DP structure hence allowing their core occurrence.

5.2 CONCLUSION

From the study the following conclusions are established.

- There is a clear-cut distinction between determiners and adjectives.
- The Minimalist theory offers a more suitable framework for this study since it has a Structure Dependence Principle which leaves room for the need to morphologically and syntactically, using various diagnostics, categorise words.
- The DP Hypothesis is quite applicable to Kikamba noun modification analysis since it caters for the agreement relations and noun multiple modifications.
- The Agreement element is the dominant Category in the clause and the NP re-analysed as the Determiner Phrase.

5.3 RECOMMEDATIONS

We see a definite need for further research in regard to:

- The position of the concord prefix in terms of being the ‘article’ that heads the NP.
- The possibility of what Greenberg (1978) refers to as ‘Stage II of the definite article’, being present in Kikamba morpho-syntax.
- The Agreement element being the head of the Phrasal Structure.

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