

**A Minimalist Approach  
to the Analysis of the Structure  
of the Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase**

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*Okoa D. Simile*

ORCID: 0000-0003-2233-9390

**Abstract**

*While the postulation that a noun phrase is headed by a determiner is a widely accepted approach to the analysis of languages across the world, linguists struggle to ascertain the exact elements which stand as functional categories. This is because languages (especially those in the Bantu family) display individual idiosyncrasies in this area of enquiry. This paper, therefore, examines the Structure of the Determiner Phrase in Kibhwanji using the Minimalist Approach. Specifically, the paper sought to establish the functional categories that head the DP and to examine the order of modifiers in the Kibhwanji DP. Data were obtained from Makete District in Njombe Region, Tanzania. They were collected through acceptability judgement, document review and focus group discussion (FGD). The findings of the study show that the functional categories that head the DP in Kibhwanji are: augments, the prenominal possessive formative –nya, and prenominal demonstratives. An augment and the formative –nya occur pre-nominally with their nouns where they function as determiners. The prenominal demonstrative is raised from its original (base generated) position below D. It has also been found that modifiers may range from one to six. This yields the order (DEM)/(AUG)/(DISTR)/(POSS) > N > POSS > QUANT > DEM > NUM > ADJ > REL. The order of these modifiers is not rigid. For the purpose of encoding emphasis or focus, the order may change, thus making the order neutral.*

**Keywords:** *Structure, Minimalism, Bantu languages, determiner phrase, Kibhwanji*

**Introduction**

While the postulation that what was traditionally thought to be noun phrase is now headed by a determiner as its head is a widely accepted approach to the analysis of languages across the world, linguists struggle to ascertain the exactly elements which stand as functional

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**Corresponding author:**

Okoa D. Simile, P.O. Box 2329, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

E-mail: osimile@gmail.com

categories. This is because, languages (especially in Bantu family) display individual idiosyncrasies in this area of enquiry. This paper, therefore, presents the Structure of Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase (hence forth DP) as part of current trends in analysis of DPsin languages that do not have articles. Kibhwanji is spoken in the southern highlands part of Tanzania, particularly, in Maketedistrict in the Kipengere Mountain Range west of the Bena, north of the Kinga and south of the Sangu. The language is classified in zone G60 in the Bena-Kinga group where it is assigned as G66 (Nurse, 1988). Kibwanji is a homogeneous language used extensively by Bhwanji speakers of all ages. The central speech form seems to be the one spoken in the villages of Matamba, Ikuwo, Magoye (Simile, 2013; Simile, 2017). Hitherto, the language has not been subjected into major linguistic research. There are a few linguistic documentations such as a paper on the study on hortative and imperatives in Vwanji (Mahali, 2007), The Augment in Vwanji (Fitscher, 2011), Phonological Aspects of Kibhwanji Phonology (Simile, 2013) and Segmental Aspects of Kibhwanji Phonology: A Non Linear Representation (Simile, 2017). These few linguistic documents provided a pathway for conducting this study. The objectives of this study are twofold: the first is to examinethe functional elements that stand as determiner 'D' categories and the second is to delineate the order modifiers in the Kibhwanji DP.

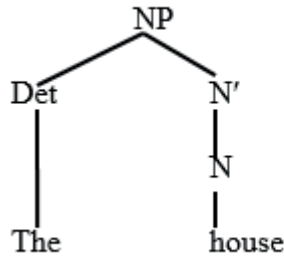
### **Theoretical Framework**

This study shoulders on a Minimalism Program (MP) and, Abneys' (1987) DP Hypothesis. The former emphasizes correspondence between the DP and IP (Chomsky, 1995). The theory pursues the replacement of the intricate apparatus and government and binding (GB) theory processes with minimal simple and general principles of sentence structure (Chomsky, 1995).In applying this theory, the study uses three structural building operations, namely; marge, move and agree. Mergeis the operation that takes pairs of syntactic objects and places them by a new combined syntactic object (Chomsky, 1995). This procedure ascends due to the requirement to group words into constituents or join two or more syntactic categories and purposes to build up larger structures from smaller ones in a bottom up fashion. This operation was useful in the analysis of Kibhwanji DP because elements which occur within the DP need to be combined (for instance phrasal category nP with the functional D-head) to build up larger structure in the derivation process. Move (also called 'attract' operation) is an operation that dislocates items from their merged positions to new structural positions forming a chain between the moved elements and its copy (Sulemana, 2012). According to Chomsky (1995), this operation is motivated by morphological considerations where some features must be checked. Chomsky, further, points out that movement is always an operation

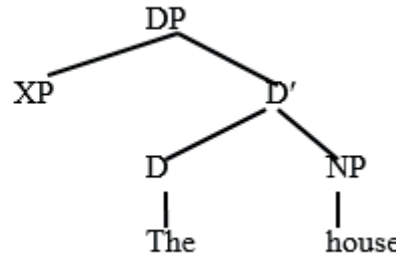
that takes place leftwards since heads and specifiers (which are the only positions to move to) are always to the left in the tree. Agree, is an operation that establishes the relationship between two or more elements in the structure. Chomsky (2000) argues that agree is taken to be a result of a process known as feature checking between the goal (also called controller) and a probe (target).

Apart from the minimalist program (MP), the study uses the DP Hypothesis which was propounded by Abney (1987) and later on advanced by Longobardi, (1991); and Bernstein (2001). According to this hypothesis, the determiner heads the noun phrase. As such, the DP represents the extended, and maximal, projection of the lexical head. The DP hypothesis contrasts the traditionally held view that the noun phrase is the projection of the noun. In such cases, determiners occupy the specifier position of N. Consider the structural derivation in the following diagrams:

(1) (a). The NP analysis



b. The DP analysis



The structure in (1a) above, indicates that the noun is the locus of the determiner category. In this case it is the noun (N) which heads the phrase thereby yielding the NP hypothesis. In (1b) the head D selects the complement NP to form the intermediate D' which in turn merges with the specifier (Spec) to form the maximal projection DP. This analysis considers the functional category DP as an extended projection of the lexical noun.

### The Concept of Determiner (D)

In linguistic literature, the term ‘determiner’ is related to three senses. First, a determiner is regarded as an element which appears with a noun either to the noun or to add extra information about that noun. In this definition, a determiner is considered the same as other modifiers such as relative clauses, adjectives, genitive constructions, articles, demonstratives, possessives, numerals, quantifiers, and adjectives are all viewed as nominal modifiers, an overarching class (Visser, 2008). Second, a determiner entails a specific category incorporating items whose principal function is to restrict the reference of nouns with which they occur (cf. Alexiadou, et. al., 2007; Lyons, 1999). Looking at the

determiner in this sense, Lyons (1999) argues that, a noun can be restricted so that it is understood to be as either definite or indefinite, specific or non-specific, identifiable or non-identifiable. In this sense, articles and possessives qualify as members associated to these functions. In addition, possessives and articles, cannot co-occur in the same NP (e.g. \*my the house\*) as because they occupy the same syntactic position that is why they are included in the category of determiner. This holds truth with English language many other Germanic languages in which, according to Payne (2006), a class of determiners include items, which mutually exclusive. According to Nweze (2014), determiners display a sensitivity of structuring the real world entities that speakers and hearers use when making their references explicit to one another. This structuring sets the restrictions with which the logical uniqueness of definite description holds. The third sense considers a determiner as a functional head that occurs as a specifier, and/or the complement of the head noun (Borer, 2005; Giusti, 2015). This head noun can be phonetically realised (overt) or unrealised (null). A phonetically unrealised head is termed as pro (Radford, 2009). For the purpose of this study, I employ the third sense of the determiner, in which according to Zamparelli (2000), the determiner projection turns out to be the category that introduces the noun phrase. Using this perspective, this study, therefore, shows that Kibwanji language, despite being an articleless language, is amenable to projecting a D (determiner) functional category above nP.

### **DP Studies in Bantu Languages**

Regarding the order of modifiers in world languages' DPs, Cinque (2005) provides the structure which stands as a typological basis for DP structures across languages. He asserts that the underlying order is determiner+numeral+adjective+noun. However, there are other languages that exhibit a different order. Cinque notes that, if there are variation in order by other language this variation is accounted for by means of movement of modifiers or elements between the determiner category and noun. In Bantu languages, numerous studies have been conducted on the structure of DP (cf. Basweti, 2014; Carstens, 1991, 2008; Mose, 2012; Ndomba, 2017). Carstens (1991) studied the morphology and syntax of DP in Kiswahili language using the DP hypothesis. Carstens (1991) argues that the noun phrase in Kiswahili is embedded within two functional categories, namely number phrase (*numP*) and determiner phrase (DP). Carstens, further, proposes that in Bantu languages (Kiswahili inclusive), the noun rising to the empty determiner position yields the surface noun-initial order and that the genitive pronouns occupy the specifier position of the number phrase. Additionally, Carstens (ibid) proposed that, in Kiswahili, all arguments of N originate NP - internally. Carstens (2008) compared between Bantu

languages and the Romance languages in such aspects as noun class and grammatical gender, derivational properties, ordering among nouns and their modifiers, and agreement pattern (concord) in DPs. Carstens (2008) concluded that Bantu and Romance share a common class gender system with gender-specific Spell-Out of number features. A second note is that gender/class is an uninterpretable feature, without derivational functions, despite some surface evidence to the contrary. Lastly, DPs of the two languages share a common structural design and that agreement in the DP-internal in both language families is the result of the Agree relation.

Ndomba (2017) investigated the configuration of the Determiner Phrase (DP) of Swahili using cartographic approach of the minimalism program. According to Ndomba (2017), the Swahili DP structure is underlying the same as the English DP except that, in Swahili DP, *nP* raises to Spec DP (XP movement). Second, it was revealed that the underlying order of the elements in Swahili DPs have the same underlying structure relations as the English demonstrative, numeral, adjective, and noun – *those three beautiful children*. Nevertheless, Ndomba cautions that the head noun-initial surface structure of Swahili elements stems from *nP* movement to the initial position, Spec DP, which results in the opposite order – *children those three beautiful*. Ndomba (ibid), departs from Carstens' (1991), which posited that Swahili DP projects a null D to which the head noun raises (head-to-head movement). Instead, Swahili DPs are derived via the movement of XP functional category; NumP or nP to Spec DP via successive stages.

Basweti (2014) examines the Ekegusii DP in a view to ascertain the applicability of the M.P in analyzing the Ekegusii Determiner phrase. The study revealed that the functional category heads the DP in Ekegusii and the NP stands as a lexical complement of the DP. Baswet, further, notes that the principles of feature checking and full interpretation in the minimalist program are equally crucial in ensuring that Ekegusii constructions (DP and even the sentence) are grammatical (converge). This accentuates the fact that the MP is suitable in Ekegusii DP analysis. Regarding agreement and movement of elements, it has been revealed that the agreement system in Ekegusii is best captured by feature checking. Meanwhile, movement of the elements is aimed at checking agreement that is between the noun and its determiners.

### **Research Materials and Methods**

This study involved both primary data and secondary data collected in Njombe region (Southern Highlands of Tanzania). Specifically, the data were collected from three villages namely Matamba, Ikuwo and Magoye in Maketedistrict which is the native land of Kibhwanji. The data were

collected through three methods, namely; acceptability judgement, documentary review and focused group discussion (FGD). Participants of the study were five native speakers of Kibhwanji. As for primary data, a list of sentences containing various DPs were presented to the participants. In the first instance, each participant was asked to judge whether the sentences are correct and acceptable. Second, all five participants were brought together in a discussion (FGD) to level the idiosyncrasies that could be displayed from an individual respondent. Such questions like the following were asked: *What do you call X in Kibhwanji? How do you say Y? How do you describe a person who is tall, small and angry in Kibhwanji?* Such questions provided information on the different realizations of the DP, co-occurrence possibilities of element(s) that form the DP. With regards to secondary data, a Bible written in Kibhwanji, three Bible story books written in Kibhwanji and one traditional tale book called “*ikitabukyaFipangofyaKibhwanji* (The Book of Kibhwanji Tales)”, published in 2009 with thirty-nine (39) short traditional tales were obtained. From these sources, various sentences with DPs containing coordinated nouns were extracted to complement the data obtained through acceptability judgement and focus group discussion. Data were then analysed using descriptive framework.

### **The Structure of Kibhwanji Noun and the DP**

The structure of Kibhwanji noun consists of an augment (AUG), a class prefix (CL) and the noun stem(NS). Based on the distribution the following noun template can be established: AUG-CL-NS. Like many other languages in the Bantu language family, Kibhwanji has an articulated noun class system with nineteen (19) noun classes. Most nouns are assigned to two classes, one in singular and the other in plural, as shown in Table 1.

**Table 1: Kibhwanji Noun Classes**

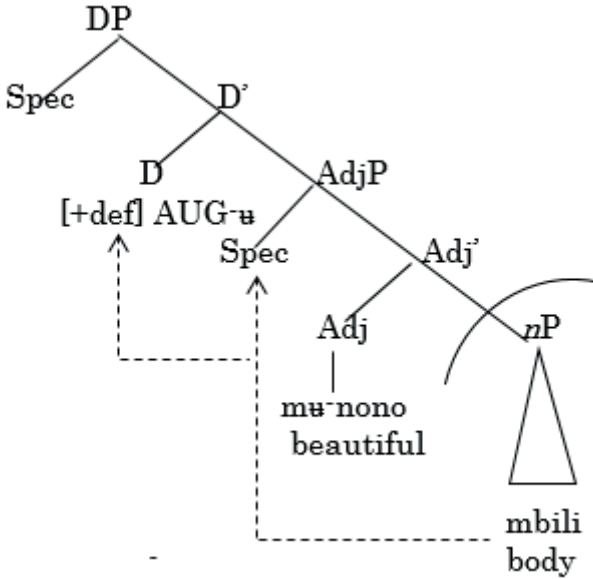
NC	AUG	CL-PREFIX	STEM	EXAMPLES	GLOSS
1	u	(a- /mu-)	-hinja	umuhinja unnofu	'a beautiful lady'
2	a	bha-	-ana	abhana abhakome	'fat children'
3	u	mu-	-enda	umwenda umbiibhi	'bad cloth'
4	i	mi-	-enda	imyenda imibhiibhi	'bad clothes'
5	i	li-	-bhue	ilimbhue ilimbhiibhi	'a bad stone'
6	a	ma-	-bhue	amabhue amakomi	'big stones'
7	i	ki	-tengo	ikitengo ikinofu	'a nice chair'
8	i	fi-	-tengo	ifitengo ifinofu	'nice chairs'
9	i	ji-	-bunda	imbunda nnaali	'a tall club'
10	i	si-	-bunda	imbunda nnaali	'tall clubs'
11	u	lu-	-mili	ulumili ulubhiibhi	'a bad tongue'
12	a	ka-	-pene	akapene akatiitu	'a small white goat'
13	u	tu-	-pene	utapene utatiitu	'small white goats'
14	u	bhu-	-ghale	ubhughale ubhudebe	'little maize meal'
15	∅	ku-	-ghenda	kughenda kunono	'a good walking'
16	∅	pa-	-kaja	pakaja pabhiibhi	'a bad home'
17	∅	ku-	-nyumba	kanyumba kubaha	'big house'
18	∅	mu-	-kate	mankate mabalafu	'nice inside'
20	∅	-ji-	-temo	ughutemo ghubhalafu	'white big axe'

Source: Researcher 2022

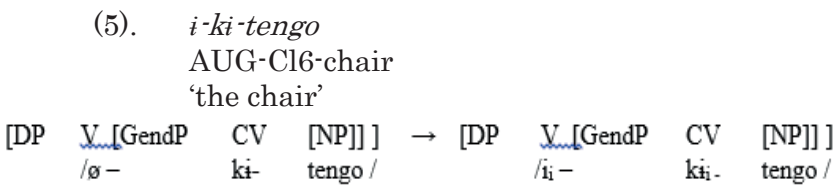




The Phrase Structure of the DPs above would be as follows”  
 (4).



Example (4) above the Agree head merged (AgreeP) which is between the D and N hosts agreement features ( $\phi$ -features) gender and number linked to the nouns. At the level of phonology, the augment (D) is an empty vowel syllable linked to extended projection principle (EPP) uninterpretable ( $_{u}V$ ) feature. This (phonetically) empty position, depending on the parametric specifications selected by the language, may remain empty or be partially or fully realized as an epenthetic or copied vowel. As such, a case in (2a-c) may be represented as [DP  $_{u}V$  [GendP CV [NP]]]. As it can be seen in (2), the noun class prefix, (also Gender morpheme (Ndayiragije, *et. al.*, 2012)), consists of a consonant and a vowel (CV). In this case, the CV template, is fully specified (interpretable) and the augment which is the determiner, is unspecified, hence, uninterpretable at PF. This suggests that the derivation of a noun such as *ikitungo* ‘chair’ will be represented as follows.



Example (5) above accounts for the fact that the augment copies the features of the vowel in the noun class prefix as the result of agreement between the vowels in the noun class prefix and the determiner. An argument can be made that the augment in Kibhwanji language is the syntactic head of the determiner phrase structure.

### A Prenominal Possessive –*nya* as a Determiner

Kibhwanji language presents two types of possessives. The post nominal possessives and the pre nominal possessives. In this section, I present the pre nominal possessive marked by the formative –*nya*. The possessive as a modifier of a noun in Kibhwanji language is canonically at the post nominal position. However, there is a case where the possessive marker –*nya* inhabits the position before the noun yielding a second type of possessive we have labeled a ‘pre-nominal possessive’. Semantically, the formative –*nya* expresses the idea of ‘the owner of,’ or ‘containing’.

This form consists of the augment of the noun class of the possessor plus the possessum. Consider the following examples:

- (6). (a) *un-nyam#-ghundajulaakansuung'hakange#-nkami#-junge.*  
AUG-cl1-owner cl18-field DEM 3SG-send-PAST  
againAUG-cl1-servant  
“That owner of the field sent again another servant.”
- (b) *i-supai-nyamafuta a-ma-n-ofu a-gh-a ndalamany-inga*  
UG-cl9-bottle AUG-owner cl6-oil AUG-cl6-good AUG-cl6-  
ASS cl9-money cl9-many ‘the bottle full of good, expensive  
oil.’

Examples (6a-b) above show that, as is the case with genitive constructions, the first constituent of the possessum does not have the augment. Instead, the augment is realized in the –*nya* formative. In this case, the following will be the morphological structure of the noun containing the formative –*nya* which marks possession in different noun classes as shown in the following table:

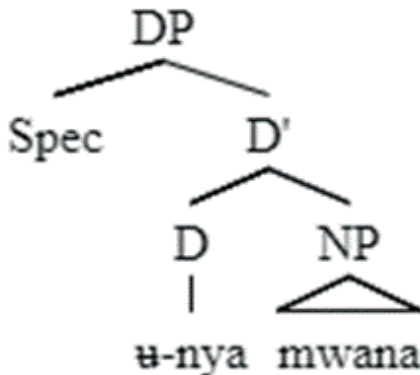
**Table 2: Morphological Structure of Kibhwanji Nouns Preceded by – NYA**

NCL	AUG	CLASS PREFIX	STRUCTURE	GLOSS
1	u	(a- /mũ-)	u-n-nya mwana	‘the owner of the child’
2	a	bha-	a-bha-nya mwana	‘the owners of the child’
3	u	mũ-	u-bhulangali	‘consisting of redish’
4	i	mi-	i-ghi-nya mipembe	‘consisting of horns’
5	i	li-	i-li-nya ng’aki	‘owner of thirst’
6	a	ma-	a-gha-nya bhana	‘owners of children’
7	i	ki	i-ki-nya kyaka	‘consisting of handle’
8	i	fi-	i- fi-nya kyaka	‘consisting of handle’
9	i	ji-	i- ji nya mbunda	‘containing club’
10	i	si-	i-si-nya mbunda	‘containing clubs’
11	u	lu-	u-lu-nya luhala	‘with brains’
12	a	ka-	a-ka-nya mbeda	‘with disrespect’
13	u	tu-	u-tu-nya mbeda	‘with disrespect’
14	u	bhu-	u-bhu-nya mabuje	‘with bolls’
15	∅	ku-	∅-ku-nya bhaanhu	‘containing people’
16	∅	pa-	∅-pa-nya bhaanhu	‘with people’
17	∅	ku-	∅-ku-nya bhaanhu	‘containing people’
18	∅	mũ-	∅-mũ- nya malenga	‘containing water’
19	∅	-ji-	∅-ji-nya lukwale	‘with craziness ‘

Table 2 above shows that the root of the prenominal possessive determiner *-nya* occurs consistently with all noun classes including locative classes 16, 17, and 18. It does not change its form nor its position relative to the noun. As such the phrase structure of the noun containing the pre nominal possessive determiner will be as follows:

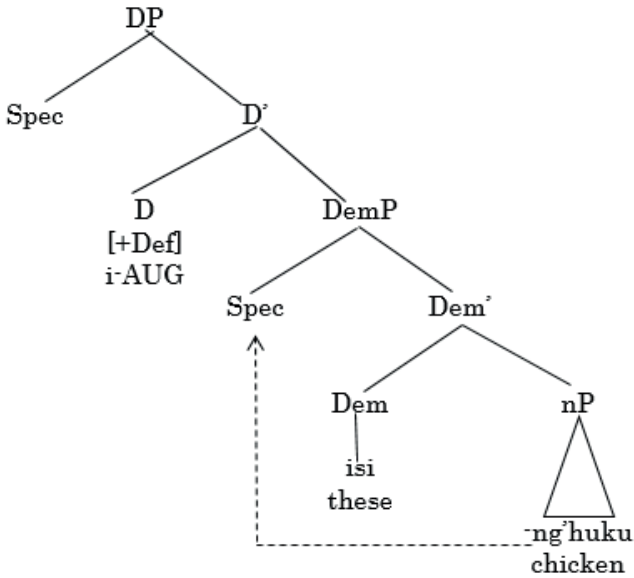
- (7). *u-nyamwana*  
 AUG-owner of cl1-child  
 ‘owner of a child’

(8).





(10).



The structure in (10) above shows that the augment *i-* occupies the D slot which is specified for definite article. On the other hand, the demonstrative *isi* ‘these’ is below the D and functions as a deictic marker.

Pre nominal demonstratives pose certain affects pertaining to the meaning of the DP. In this study, I argue that, prenominal demonstratives, in Kibhwanjilanguage function as the definite article. This observation is in line with de Velde (2005) who clearly points out that the prenominal demonstrative is used as the definite article in some Bantu languages like Swahili. When it occurs pre nominally position, it expresses the emphatic interpretation. Consider the following conversation between speaker A and B.:

- (11). A    *i-ki-nu ki-kiki-no wi-koola?*  
 AUG-cl7-thing cl7-what cl7-REL SM-crying  
 ‘what are you crying for?’
- B        *I-ḵḵ ng’ukun-debe. Ji-fuile.*  
 DEM cl9-hen cl9-small cl9-die-PAST  
 “This [SPECIFIC] small hen has died.”

In example (11) above, between conversation A and B, the demonstratives *I-ḵḵ* ‘this’ in B occurs at the pre-nominal position. The discourse reading of this utterance is that, both A and B have a pre conceived knowledge that there is more than one hen. Therefore, the use of demonstrative *i-ḵḵ* ‘this’ in *I-ḵḵ ng’uku n-debe. Ji-fuile.* “This [SPECIFIC]

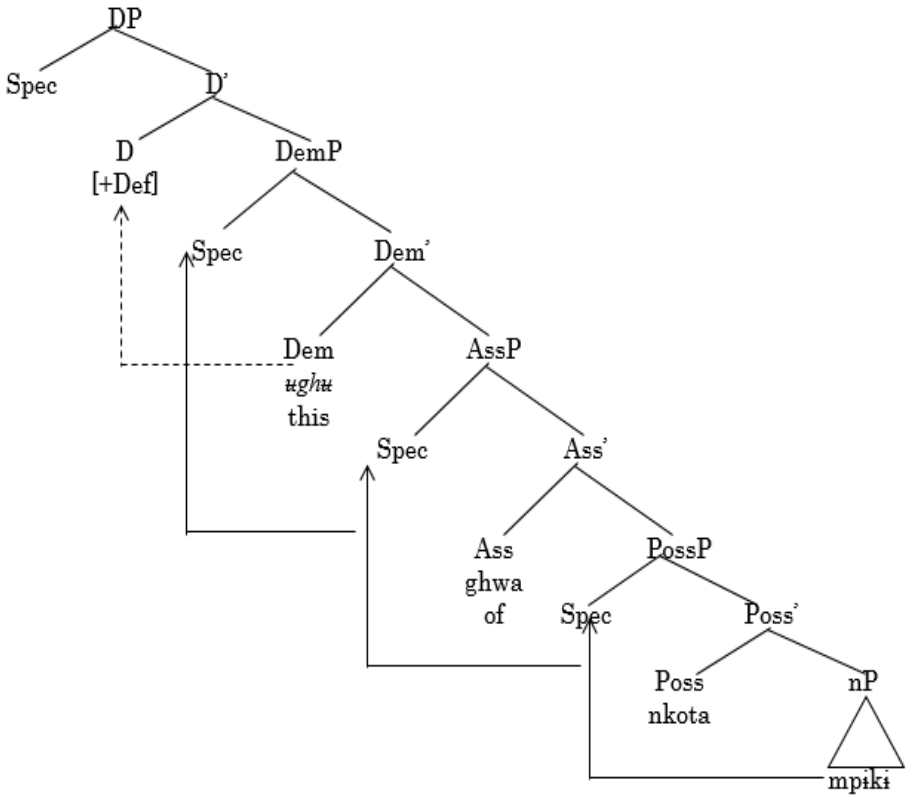
small hen has died.” expresses the particularization of the specific hen which has died among many other hens which are implicitly known to be existing in the conversational discourse. Furthermore, the use of the pre-nominal demonstrative *i-ji* ‘this’ in this context entails an anaphoric reading in that the referent is now familiar to the discourse participants, hence expressing specificity and definiteness interpretation.

In terms of syntactic position, the prenominal demonstrative and augment are in complementary distribution. The presence of a prenominal demonstrative deletes the augment. Consider the following examples:

- (12). (a) *ughu*                      *m-piki*                      *ghwa*                      *nkota*  
 DEM-this                      cl3-tree                      ass- of                      cl3medicine  
 ‘this tree of medicine’
- (b) *\*ughu*                      *u-m-piki*                      *ghwa*                      *nkota*  
 DEM-this                      AUG-cl3-tree                      ass-of                      cl3-medicine  
 ‘this the tree of medicine’

In example 12(a), it can be observed that the pre nominal demonstrative *ughu* ‘this’ deletes the augment in the noun *mpiki* ‘tree’. In this case, the prenominal demonstrative *ughu* ‘this’ occupies the D position that was supposed to be occupied by the augment. By occupying the D slot, the prenominal demonstrative functions as a definite article and not as a deictic marker as in (8) above. Therefore, the prenominal demonstrative appears to have been raised from its original (base generated) position below D. Based on this view, the following would be the phrase structure of the DP containing prenominal demonstrative for the phrase *ughampiki ghwankota* ‘this tree of medicine’.

(13)



In example (13) above, due to definiteness feature, the prenominal demonstrative *ughu* 'this' is raised obligatorily to the determiner position. As such, the rising of the nP to Spec DP is constrained and consequently the nP resides in Spec DemP. Moreover, the rising of the demonstrative to the D position marking definiteness preempts the application of an augment on the noun. This means that the definiteness function performed by the augment is now assumed by the demonstrative.

**Order of Modifiers in the Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase**

Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase structure may range from a minimum of one modifier, to a series of several modifiers. The modifiers include demonstratives, Possessives, quantifiers, adjectives, numerals, and relative clauses. Consider the data in the following table:

**Table 3:Kibhwanji DP Template**

Determiners/Distributives				Head	Modifiers							
				Noun	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	
							Dem	Num				Rel
Dem	Aug											
				Poss					Adj			
										Ass		
					Quant							
		Distr										
			Poss									

Source: Researcher, 2022

**A DP with a Noun and a Pronominal Demonstrative**

In the structure of a DP made of a noun and demonstrative, normally, the demonstrative precedes the noun. This yields the Noun>Demonstrative (N>Dem) order. As demonstrated in the following examples:

- (14). (a) *A-bha-anhu*                      *bha-la*  
 AUG-cl2-people                      cl2-Dem  
 ‘those people’
  
- (b) *i-fi-ghono*                      *i-fi-o*  
 AUG-cl8-timeAUG-cl8-Dem  
 ‘those times’

Example 9 above shows that when the DP is made up of a demonstrative and noun, the noun precedes the demonstrative. This typical order of noun>demonstrative modification agrees with with majority Bantu languages such as Kagulu (Petzell, 2008), (Nyakyusa (Lusekelo, 2009), Swahili (Ndomba, 2017), to mention but a few. However, there are possibilities, though not typical, for a demonstrative to precede the noun. Consider the following examples:

- (15). (a) *u ju*                      *mu-ghoosi*                      *kyang’aani*  
 AUG-Dem                      cl1-man                      For sure  
 ‘for sure this is a man’
  
- (b) *ju-la*                      *mu-kijubha*                      *iji le*  
 cl1-Dem                      cl1-lady                      has come  
 ‘that lady has come’

Example 15 demonstrates the case where a demonstrative precedes the noun. As already established elsewhere, when the demonstrative precedes the noun it encodes emphasis. In this case, the demonstratives don not serve the deictic function but behaves as the determiner. This





‘those many many people of him/her’

- (c) *A-bha-na*                      *bha-ake*                      *bha-debe*                      *bha-la*  
 AUG-cl2-children              cl2-Poss                      cl2-fewcl2-Dem  
 ‘those few children of him/her’

In example (17), the quantifiers appear post-nominally. According to the respondents, any attempt to prepose the quantifiers would lead to ungrammatical constructions. In 17 (b) the quantifier *inga* ‘many’ is used without the augment. The augmented form is only used when a comparison is implied as in the following cases:

- (18). (a) *A-ma-aka*                      *m-ingagha-kilil-e*.  
 AUG-cl6-year                      cl6-many                      cl6:go.by.:PF  
 “Many years went by.”
- (b). *A-ma-aka*                      *a-m-inga*                      *gha-kilil-e*, *gha-sighiil-e ma-debe*.  
 AUG-Cl6-year                      AUG-cl6-manycl6-go.by-PAST                      cl6-be. left-PRS cl6-few  
 “Many years went by, a few are left.”

Examples in 18 (a-b) above show that the use of an augment marks specificity. While it is not possible to constitute a [±SPEC] contrast in the noun by the means of (not) using the augment in DPs that begin with a noun, it is possible for this quantifier. When using ‘many’ with the augment, it refers to an identified, i.e. specific group of entities. This does not hold true for contexts in which the quantifier is used without the augment.

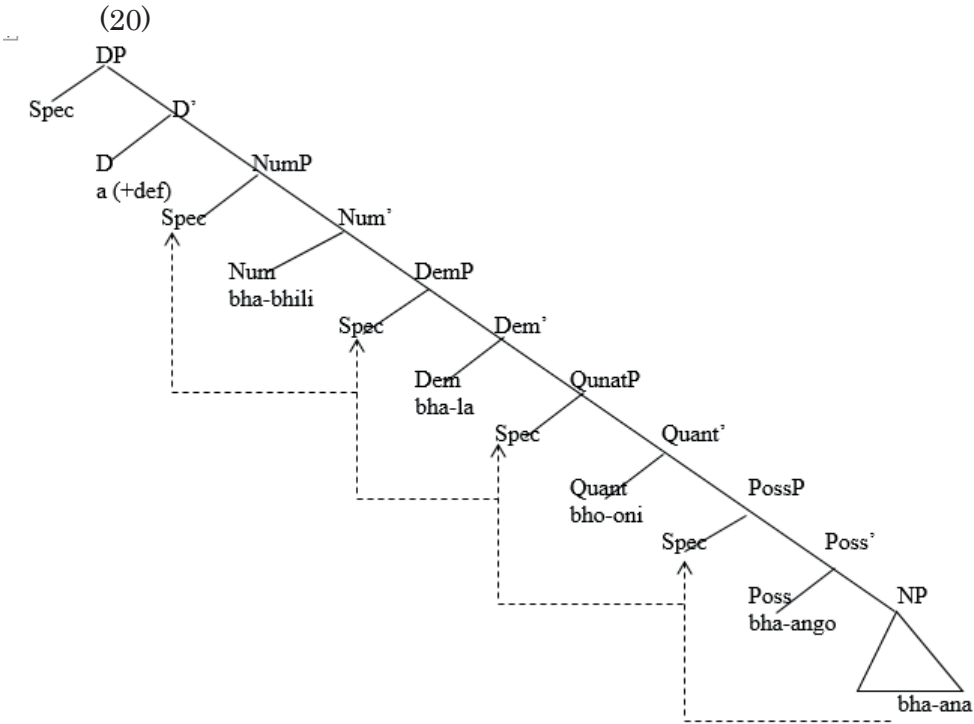
### **A DP with a Noun, Possessive, Quantifier, Demonstrative and Numeral**

When numerals are added to a DP containing demonstrative, they follow the demonstrative. In this section, I treat numerals as separate modifiers (not belonging to the group of quantifiers) because they occupy a different slot in the syntax of the DP and can co-occur with the quantifiers in a single DP as exemplified in the following:

- (19). *a-bha-ana*                      *bha-ango*                      *bho-oni*                      *bha-la bha-bhili*  
 AUG-cl2-child cl2-Poss                      cl2-all                      cl2-Dem                      cl2-two  
 ‘all those two children of mine’

Example 14 above shows that the quantifier *bhooni* ‘all’ can occur with the numeral *bhabhili* ‘two’ in a single DP. When the demonstrative is introduced in the DP, it splits the general quantifier *bhnooni* ‘all’ and the numeral *bhili* ‘two’. Thus, they occupy different slots in the DP

structure with the numeral occupying the position after demonstrative, hence the resultant structure is N>Poss>Quant>Dem>Num. The structural derivation of this DP would be as follows:



The structure in (20) above illustrates how the nP**bhaana** ‘children’ undergoes a cyclic movement from its underlying position, through Spec Poss, SpecQuant, SpecDem and rests at the SpecNum where it occupies its position for the DP order to be correct.

**A DP with a Noun, Possessive, Quantifier, Demonstrative, Numeral and Adjective**

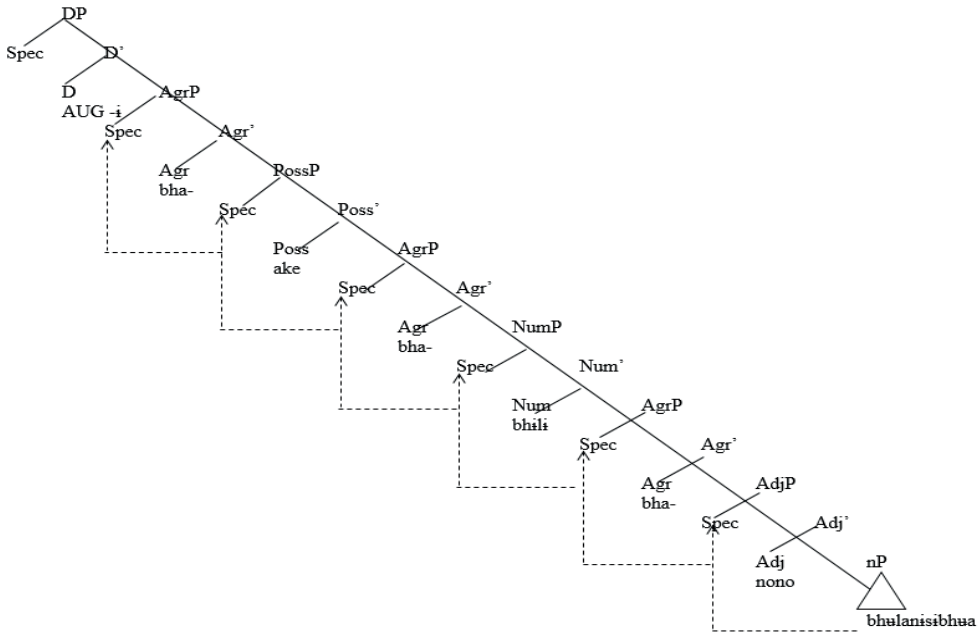
When an adjective is piled up to the DP containing Possessive, Quantifier, Demonstrative, and Numeral, it is preceded by numerals. As such, the resulting order of the modifier will be N>Poss>Quant>Dem>Num>Adj. However, it is worth noting that adjectives can be handled in two ways. First, as elements which are hosted by various functional categories (Cinque1993; Crism, 1993). Second, as adjuncts of the NP (Alexiadou 2001; Radford, 2004). Consider the following examples. In this paper, I use the second approach and consider the adjective as an adjunct of the NP. This option follows the argument that when they are handled as adjuncts they do not interrupt the movement within the DP during nP rising (Rizzi, 1990; Alexiadou, 2001).

(21).(a) *i-fi-maghe fy-angofyoni fil-a fi-bhli fi-nono*

AUG-cl8-knives cl8-Poss cl8-Quant cl8-Dem cl8-two cl8-  
good ‘all those two beautiful knives of mine’

- (b) *a-bhabhulanisibhuabha-ake bha-bhili bha-nono*  
AUG-cl2-teacher cl2-Poss cl2-two cl2-good  
‘the two good teachers of him/her’

The phrase structure for the DPs above would be as follows:  
(22).



The structure in (22) above presents the fact that an adjective *nono* ‘good’ is generated as an adjunct of the nP*bhabhulanisibhua* ‘teachers. The noun (nP) moves cyclically to various specifier positions while checking its agreement features and lands to the SpecAgr.

### A DP with a Noun, Possessive, Quantifier, Demonstrative, Numeral and Relative Clause

In Kibhwanji language, a possible DP may contain up to seven modifiers. The relative clause is the right most element in structure. Kibhwanji marks relative clause overtly by using a relative pronoun root *-no* ‘who, which, with which’. This can be presented in the following table:

Table 4: Relative Clauses Markers in Kibhwanji

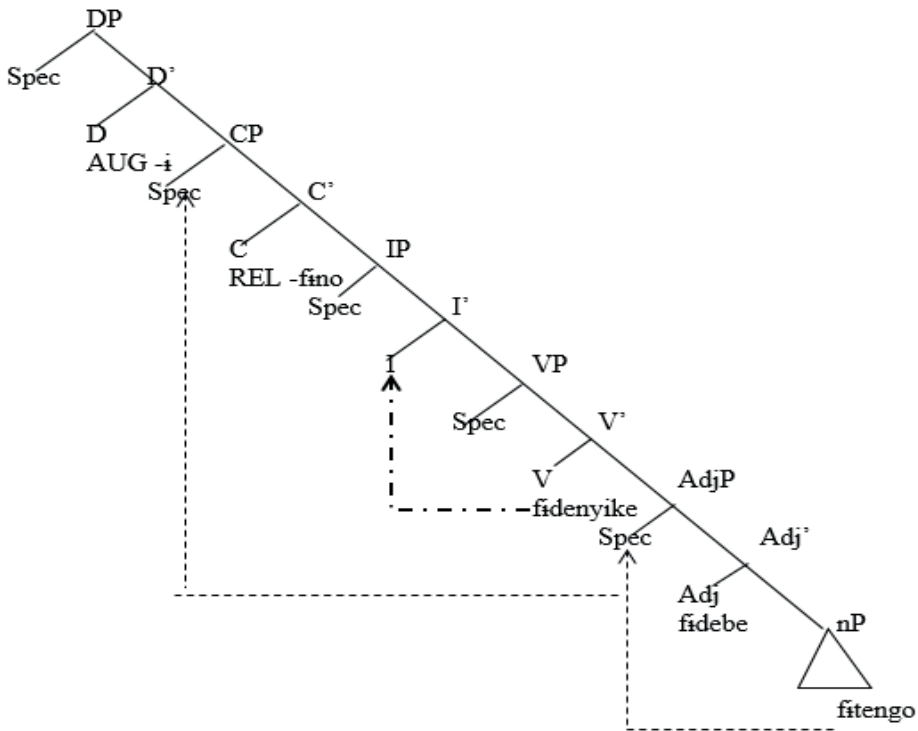
NCL	AUG	CL-PREFIX	STEM	EXAMPLES	GLOSS	REL
1	u	(a- /mu-)	-hinja	umuhinja	'lady'	juno
2	a	bha-	-ana	abhana	'children'	bhano
3	u	mu-	-enda	umwenda	'cloth'	ghuno
4	i	mi-	-enda	imyenda	'clothes'	ghino
5	i	li-	-bhue	ilbhue	'stone'	lino
6	a	ma-	-bhue	amabhue	'stones'	ghano
7	i	ki-	-tengo	ikitengo	'chair'	kino
8	i	fi-	-tengo	ifitengo	'chairs'	fino
9	i	ni-	-bunda	imbunda	'club'	jino
10	i	ni-	-bunda	imbunda	'clubs'	sino
11	u	lu-	-mili	ulamili	'tongue'	luno
12	a	ka-	-pene	akapene	'goat'	kano
13	u	tu-	-pene	utapene	'goats'	tano
14	u	bhu-	-ghale	ubhughale	'meal'	bhuno
15	∅	ku-	-ghenda	kughenda	'walking'	kuno
16	∅	pa-	-kaja	pakaja	'home'	pano
17	∅	ku-	-nyumba	kunyumba	'house'	kuno
18	∅	mu-	-kate	mankate	'inside'	muno
20	∅	-gha-	-temo	ughutemo	'axe'	ghuno

Source: Researcher, 2022

In table (23 above, the relative pronoun root **-no** takes the shape of the noun class prefix of the head noun the relative clause is modifying. The following examples illustrate this.

- (24). (a) *A – ma - lengagha - no ghi-ghendagha - li hatali*  
 AUG-C16-water C16-RELSC-run SC-be dangerous  
 'The water which can be dangerous'
- (b) *I-fi-tengo fi-debefinofi denyikefitaghi-ilwe*  
 AUG-cl8-chairscl8-fewC18-REL SM-bkokenSC-throw-PF  
 'few chairs which are broken have been thrown'

In examples (24) above, the relative markers *ghano* 'which' and *fino* 'which' are marked outside the verbal structure. This contrasts languages like Runyambo (Neckemia, 2019), Runyankore-Rukinga (Asiimwe, (2019), and Swahili (Ndomba, 2017) in which the relative markers may be part of the verb complex. Moreover, syntactically, relativized DPs are derived through the movement of head nouns (nP) from their base generated position to Spec DP. The case in point can be presented in the following structure-using example (25b). (26)



In (27), the relative word *fino* ‘which’ is generated under the complementiser ‘C’ which hosts abstract relative feature (+REL). Meanwhile, the relativized DP *fitengofidebefinofidenyike* ‘the small chairs which are broken’ is derived from the movement of the nP *fitengo* ‘chairs’ from its default position to SpecCP though SpecAdj is generated under C hosting [+REL] abstract features. The nP does not rise further to SpecDP because the D is already occupied by an augment which stands as a functional category heading the DP. In the same structure, there is the movement of the verb *fidenyike* ‘have broken’ to I in order to bestow to its tense features. When other modifiers are added to the DP containing relative clauses, the movement takes place in the same usual fashion in order to achieve a correct word order.

### Summary and Conclusions

The study has pursued the Structure of Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase. The focus has been on establishing the functional categories which head the DP and to examine the order of modifiers within the Kibhwanji DP. It has been established that Kibhwanji language uses augments, the pronominal possessive formative *-nya*, and pronominal demonstratives as functional categories which realize the D. The augment and the formative *-nya* are not subjected to any movement because they are restricted to occur pre-nominally with their head noun where they function determiners specifying the range of reference of the noun. On

the other hand, demonstratives which are, canonically, post nominal may appear post nominally where they function as English definite article *the*. Therefore, syntactically prenominal demonstrative appears to have been raised from its original (base generated) position below D. This paper has also pursued the order of modifier in Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase and how it is derived from the underlying structure through principles of movement. It has been noted that, modifiers in Kibhwanji Determiner Phrase may range from a minimum of one to six. This yields the order (DEM)/(AUG)/(DISTR)/(POSS)>N>POSS>QUANT>DEM>NUM>ADJ>REL. However, the order of these modifiers is not rigid. For encoding emphasis or focus to some modifiers the order may change, thus making the order.

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### **Author Biography**

Okoa D. Simile is Assistant Lecturer in Linguistics at the Department of Language and Literature, Dar es Salaam University College of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. His research focuses on syntax, phonetics and phonology, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. He is currently pursuing a PhD in linguistics at the University of Dar es Salaam.