

The Internal Structure of the Olusuba Determiner Phrase (DP)

Lilian Ochieng, Mary Lonyangapuo, Justine Sikuku

Department of English and Foreign Languages, Moi University, Kenya

Abstract

This paper investigates the syntax of the Determiner Phrase (DP) as it pertains to Universal Grammar as well as to characterization of Olusuba, a Bantu language spoken by the Suba people living on the Eastern shores and islands of Lake Victoria in Kenya and Tanzania. The study sought to examine the internal structure of the Olusuba DP by looking into the larger syntax of the noun and its dependents. It proposed an account of the different elements within the DP by arguing that Olusuba exhibits a head first structure and the surface order of the elements therein is a mirror image of their merged order (derivation). The study was done within the framework of the Principles and Parameters approach that postulates that although languages are certainly not identical, they seem to choose their syntactic structures from a limited set of options that are universally available.

Keywords: Bantu languages, determiner phrase, functional categories, language variation.

Introduction

Much of the treatment of the noun and its dependents in Bantu languages have laid emphasis on the concord system of the respective languages (Nurse & Philippson, 2003) and very little attention has been paid to the syntax of the noun and its dependents. This paper therefore, aims at exploring the syntax of the Olusuba Determiner Phrase by identifying the elements that can modify the Olusuba noun, determining the placement of the head in the phrase, analysing the derivation of the elements and finally discussing their morpho syntactic occurrence.

The Suba people are a Bantu language group living on the Eastern shores and islands of Lake Victoria in Migori and Homa Bay counties in Western Kenya; they can also be traced in the southern shores of Lake Victoria in Tanzania. Their language is generally known as Olusuba or Ekisuba while the people are Abasuba. Guthrie (1967) and Mabururu (1994) classify the language as closely related to Kuria, Ekegusii, Zahanaki, and Ngurimi. The people are mainly fishermen; an occupation which has earned them the reputation as the best canoe builders. Due to their cultural and economic interactions with the Kuria, Gusii and Luo communities, they also got into livestock keeping and subsistence farming.

The Suba migrated from their original homeland at the same time the Nilotic Luo were also moving from the north, settling around the prominent hills in Western and Nyanza province thus effectively establishing a settlement barrier, separating the Suba from the earlier Bantu settlers. This geographical demarcation brought the Suba closer to the Luo. The latter, gradually absorbed some Abasuba and fostered cultural and language assimilation among many. UNESCO (2007) classifies Olusuba among the endangered language species of Kenya, having been progressively assimilated by Dholuo.

Like most Bantu languages, Olusuba is a head first language in constituent order classification and exhibits high agglutinative characteristic, with a number of morphemes attached to a stem to form a word with complex grammatical implications. Within the Niger-Congo group, this Eastern Sub-group has received minimal linguistic attention. The little studies which have been done so far major on the sociolinguistic aspect; that is the status of the language as an endangered species. There is therefore a big gap in the field of description and documentation of this language.

Methods of Data Collection

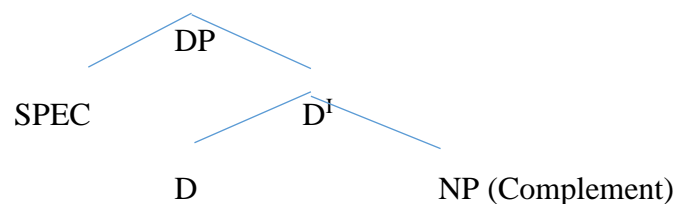
The study was done in Mfangano Island. The island happens to be the home of the largest population of Olusuba speakers in Kenya. The study used a sample of three language consultants for purposes of data elicitation. These were selected from among the elderly natives of Mfangano Island. The choice for elders was based on the premise that Suba has significantly lost young speakers, they have succumbed to the loss of their language (UNESCO, 2007).

Data for the study was mainly collected through elicitation and translated texts. The three language consultants were provided with a list of sentences (formulated by the researcher) in Kiswahili which they translated into Olusuba, each person worked individually then a comparison was done and consensus reached on which version was the best translation. During the sessions, the sentence translations were also recorded; this made it possible for a replay for purposes of verification and phonological understanding as well.

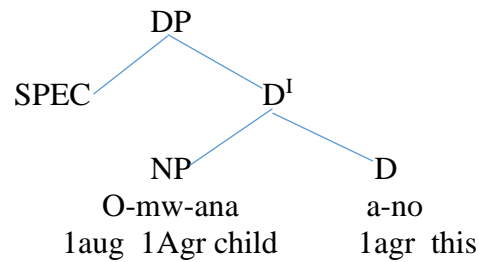
The Determiner Phrase

The first recognition of a complexity in the structure of nominal phrases was the recognition of the existence of separate layers within the Nominal Phrase (NP). Abney (1987) and Cinque (1994) discuss the realization of separate determiner, number and agreement projections that enter a specific ordering within the Noun Phrase. It is this background and initiative that realized the birth of the Determiner Phrase (DP) with the D as its functional element which has sectional properties that enable it to select the NP complement, in other words, the NP projects a functional DP with a determiner as its head and the NP turning out to be a complement in the structure as in illustration example 1.

Example 1



In analysing the Olusuba Nominal Phrase, this study adopts the aforesaid approach which is famously known as Abney's (1987) DP hypothesis. It proposed the existence of an agreement functional head in the Noun Phrase (NP), the Determiner (D), which forms the functional category DP. Cinque (1994) says that the Determiner projector becomes the category that introduces the NP, much like the Inflectional Phrase (IP) introduces the sentence. Other studies that adopted the same threshold include Basweti, Schroeder and Omwenga (2014), Rugemalira (2007) and Lusekelo (2009) among many others. A simple Olusuba DP would therefore be schematized as example 2.

Example 2

The DP in Olusuba as is typical in all Bantu languages is head initial and modifiers follow the head noun by taking Noun Class Prefix of that noun's class as in example 3.

Example 3

- (a) E ki donda ki no
Aug 7Agr Wound 7Agr root
'This wound'
- (b) O mu saaza wa nge
Aug 1Agr Husband Agr root
'My husband'

In illustration (3) above, the noun modifiers *kino* 'this' in 3a and *wange* 'my' in 3 b are both positioned after the nouns they modify *ekidonda* 'wound' and *omusaaza* 'husband' respectively, thus qualifying Olusuba as a head first language.

Katamba (2003: 11) states that, one of the most prominent features of all Bantu languages is their extensive system of concords, the nouns are the basis of the morphological complexity which characterizes the language: Verbs, adjectives, determiners all use special morphemes to show agreement relationships with the nouns. It is therefore imperative that as an introduction to this paper, the study briefly looks at the structural description of the nouns in Olusuba. Each noun belongs to one of the 18 noun classes.

Structural Description of Noun Classes

The Olusuba noun classification system just like any other Bantu language is based on semantic criterion, in the sense that the criteria for establishing categorization is driven by what the items refer to in the real world. Nouns with closely related meanings belong to the same noun class.

Following that there is very little documented literature on Olusuba and no known literature on its grammar, this study had to rely on previous studies on noun classification of other Bantu languages. Derek and Philippon (2003), Rugemalira (2007) and Basweti (2014), thereafter make an analogy of the same. This is because Bantu languages have almost similar characteristics in their morphology. The class of the noun is signaled by a prefix shared with other nouns of the same class. The set of such prefixes is referred to in this research as the Nominal Class Prefix (hence forth NCP).

Class 1 and 2

Katamba (2003: 114) explains that class 1 and 2 in Bantu languages commonly consist of human terms; almost all terms referring to human beings are assigned this noun class pair. In Olusuba, they are often represented by the prefixes *o-m(u)* for class 1 (singular class) and *wa* for class 2 (the plural counterpart) as shown in the example 4.

Example 4

O	mu	gerezi	a	wa	gerezi
Pr	sing	root	pr	plr	root
		'teacher'			'teachers'

As indicated above, the prefix o-mu can sometimes be realized as 'o-mw' as in example 5.

Example 5

O	mw	ana	a	wa	ana
Pr	sing	root	pr	plr	root
		'child'			'children'

Data collected has however shown that some kinship terms have lost the obligatory occurring prefix 'o-mu/o-mw' yet still use the agreement prefixes for the class 1 and 2 as in example 6.

Example 6

Koza	a	ria	gukwa	a	ria
Noun	pr	root	noun	pr	root
		'uncle is eating,			'grandfather is eating'

The two nouns, *koza* 'uncle' and *gukwa* 'grandfather' both do not have the *o-mu* characteristic of nouns in class one but as can be seen from the example, they belong to class one because they take the noun class prefixes of class one 'a-'.

Class 3 and 4

In most Bantu languages, class 3 and 4 mostly consists of representative names of plants and trees, some parts of the body and objects made from trees. It is characterized by the prefixes o-mu for class 3 (singular) which is substituted for e-me/a-mi plural class. The class 3 NCP is only attested in a few nouns as in the example 7 (a). In other nouns, the prefix vowel is deleted as can be seen in example 7 (c). A few loan words have also been integrated here because of their initial sounds (example 7d).

Example 7

a) O	mu	ti	e	mi	ti
aug	sing	root	aug	plr	root
		'tree'			'trees'
(b) o	mu	no	a	mi	no
Aug	4sng	root	aug	4plr	root
		'tooth'			'teeth'
(c) M	pela		mi	pela	
Pr	rt		pr	rt	
		'Guava tree'			'guava trees'
(d) O	mu	toka	mi	toka	
Pr	3sng	rt	4plr	rt	
		'Vehicle'			'vehicles'

Class 5 and 6

Katamba, (2003) says that this class constitutes a variety of nouns ranging from body parts, some plant parts, natural phenomena and fruits. Petzell (2008) however adds nouns indicating bigness to the class which according to the former should be in class 7 and 8. Having studied

Olusuba morphology, the study concurs with the former and therefore does not include the nouns showing bigness here. The class is realized by using the prefixes e-ri for class 5 (singular) and a-ma for class 6 (plural). Examples of nouns in this group are shown in example 8.

Example 8

(a) E	ri	so	e	ma	iso
Pr	5sing	root	pr	6plr	root
		'eye'			'eyes'
(b) A	ri	gulu	a	ma	gulu
Pr	5sng	root	pr	6plr	root
		'leg'			'legs'

Class 7 and 8

Several nouns are assigned to this class purposely to express bigness. *Ogubwa* for example implies a very big dog (not of normal size) compared to *embwa* normal standard dog. Maho (1999: 51) says that augmentation is common in Bantu languages, a standard noun often does not belong to the same noun class as the augment. Nouns of this class take the NCP o-gu for class 7 (singular) and are substituted by the NCP e-bi for class 8 (plural) as shown in example 9. Rugemalira (2007) says this class also expresses most inanimate objects; used for the impersonal 'it'.

Example 9

o-	gu-	bwa	gw-	ifu	gu-	fwi-	re
Aug	7Agr	dog	7Agr	our	7agr	died	Asp
		'Our big/giant dog is dead'					

Class 9 and 10

Class 9 and 10 according to Maho (1999) contains some animals, liquids and large things. It is the class that constitutes a homorganic nasal -n in the NCP which is assimilated depending on the following consonant; the class takes the NCP e-(n) for singular and e-zi for plural. See example 10.

Example 10

<i>e-nyonyi</i>	<i>e-</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>o-mu-ti</i>
Aug 9sng	9sng	is	on	Aug 3sng root
		'the bird is on the tree'		

Class 11 and 12

Nouns in this class take the NCP lu- for singular or its allomorph lw- when followed by a vowel initial stem as in 11a below. Their counterpart plurals have a zero morph (see example 11b):

Example 11

o- lu-sala	(b) lu- sala
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Class 13

These contain many different things including: some abstract nouns, uncountable nouns, some liquids among others. They normally do not have their plural forms and take the same NCP for both. Examples of sentences with subjects in this class are illustrated in example 12.

Example 12

- a) a- ma- lwa ga- no
 Aug9Agr alcohol 9Agr bitter
 'This alcohol is bitter'
- b)
 a- ma- loota ga- esa
 Aug 10Agr dreams 10Agr can

Class 14

This class contains mass nouns or uncountable nouns. Except for a few marked cases, most nouns here do not have plural forms. For the few which have they take the NCP of class 10 a-ma (illustration 13a & b), the class also contains abstract nouns (example 13c & d).

Example 13

- a) a maemba sorgum
 b) a masendi money
 b) o -wuti fear
 c) o-lugonzi love

Class 15

Class 15 functions as the infinitive/gerundial class in Bantu languages. It triggers agreement in Olusuba by taking the prefix o-ku as in example 14.

Example 14

- (a) O ku joja
 Pr rt
 'To write'
- (a) O ku gia
 Pr SM rt
 'to go'

Class 16, 17 and 18

Petzell (2008: 56) while analyzing the noun classes in Kagulu identifies these classes as locative. The nouns in this class are derived with the prefixes ha-, ku- and mu- respectively added to the NCP of other nouns classes as evidenced in example 15.

Example 15

- (a) Eri ku olusala
 Conj on the roof
 'On the tree'
- (b) o- mu ti gu ri mu ichupa
 pr SM rt SM rt in rt
 'the medicine is in the bot tle'
- (c) Ondetere amaweere mu iduuka
 Bring milk from the shop

In Olusuba, these locatives appear to have different meanings depending on context. The ‘mu’ in illustration 15 b appears to mean ‘in’; that is, in the bottle. On the other hand, the ‘mu’ in 14c appears to mean ‘from’ as in from the shop.

Olusuba realizes the following NCPs with regards to their various classes: each noun class has a prefix appearing on other words modifies the nouns. Meeussen (1967: 96-7) says that these words can be grouped in concord patterns. Olusuba on its part displays two sets of concord patterns:

- i) The Noun Class Prefix (NCP) on nouns, locatives and adjectives and the agreement
- ii) Class Prefix (ACP) on associative marker, possessives, demonstratives, quantifiers and other determiners. Nurse and Philippson (2003: 9) say that it is common among Bantu languages to find that the NCP and ACP are identical within some noun classes in Bantu languages while in other noun classes, they differ.

Table 1: Noun Class Prefixes in Olusuba

Noun Class	NCP	Example of noun	Gloss
1	-m-	Omwana	Baby
2	-wa-	awana	babies
3	- m-	Omukono	Hand
4	-ma	amakono	Hands
5	-ri	eriso	eye
6	-ma	amaiso	eyes
7	-ki	Ekitanda	Bed
8	-bi	ebitanda	beds
9	-n-	Engoko	Chicken
10	-n-	engoko	Chickens
11	-lu	Olusala	
12	----	sala	
15	-ku	okujoja	To write
16	Ha-		place
17	Ko-		
18	Mo-		

The Augment

In Olusuba as is characteristic in most Bantu languages, nouns usually start with an initial vowel also known as augment or pre-prefix. This is a vowel that precedes both the noun prefix and the noun stem. The word *omwana* for example has three morphemes ‘o-mw-ana’; the ‘o’ is the pre-prefix, ‘-mw-’ the noun class prefix and the ‘-ana’ the noun stem.

In a few marked cases in Olusuba, the augment is omitted and a noun is used without the augment. Petzell (2008) argue that the augment functions as a determiner and that it occurs whenever bare NPs are not allowed and there is nothing else in the ‘D’ position. Table 2 below shows the augments in all noun classes.

Table 2: Olusuba Noun Class Augments

Noun class	Augment	Noun prefix	class	Noun stem	gloss
1	o-	-mu-		-kazi	wife
2	a-	-wa-		-kazi	Wives
3	o-	-mu-		-muti	Tree
4	e-	-me-		-mete	Trees
5	i-	-ri-		-so	Eye
6	a-	-ma-		-iso	Eyes
7	e-	-ki-		-taabu	Book
8	e-	-bi-		-taabu	Books
9	e-	-n-		-mbwa	Dog
10	e-	-n-		-mbwa	Dogs
11	o-	-lu-		-wago	Fence
12	u-			-wago	Fences
15	o-	-ku-		-joja	To write

The Structure of Elements within the DP in Olusuba

Following the current trends in the syntax of various languages across the world as Lusekelo (2009) puts it, there is evidence that there are a number of word categories within the DP that modify the noun. These include demonstratives, possessives, numerals, ordinals, adjectives and quantifiers. The NP as had been mentioned in the introduction exists as a complement of the D in the DP. In Olusuba, demonstratives, adjectives, possessives and quantifiers are all modifiers of the N inside the DP and originate from the NP as will be discussed.

Demonstratives

The demonstratives in Olusuba can be grouped into two categories (i) *-no* ‘this’ (being near/proximal/ (ii)-*aria* ‘that’ (being far/distal and in an anaphor, referring to something mentioned earlier, for example, *omwana aria* ‘that girl, the one I had earlier mentioned’. This classification exists in many Bantu languages (Nurse & Philippson, 2003: 9). The two sets of demonstrative expressing ‘that’ can express further distance by lengthening of the last syllable and raising of the voice as illustrated in (16).

Example 16

Omwana ariáááá....that child, very far away from the speaker

Petzell (2008) identifies the same system of lengthening of the final syllable as being used to increase distance or time in Keguli a Bantu language. The demonstrative in Olusuba takes the NCP of the head noun’s class as can be seen in table three.

Table 3: Demonstratives in the various Noun Classes in Olusuba

Noun class	NCP	this	these	that	those
1 &	o-mu	Ono	-----	Aria	-----
2	a-wa	-----	wano	-----	waria
3 &	o-mu	Guno	-----	Garia	-----
4	e-me	-----	bano	-----	Baria
5 &	a-ri	Rino	-----	Riria	-----
6	a-ma	-----	mano	-----	maria
7 &	e-ki	Kino	-----	Kiria	-----
8	e-bi	-----	Bano	-----	baria
9 &	e-no	Eno	-----	Eria	-----
10	-----	-----	Bano	-----	baria
13 &	a-ka	Kano	-----	Karia	-----
14	e-bi	-----	bino	-----	biria
15	o-ku	-----	-----	-----	-----
16					
17	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
18					

Demonstratives are marked with the noun class prefix of their nominal head. Both forms occur immediately after the noun.

Example 17

Ekidonda ki no
 Wound SM root
 This wound'

Of all the Olusuba determiners, the demonstratives are marked because up to three can be used to modify a noun to the right as in examples below:

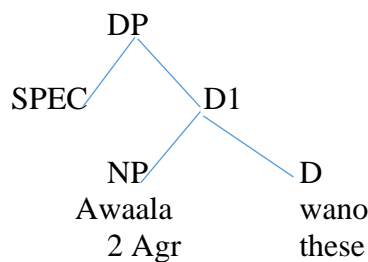
Example 18

o- mu- zia o-no o-no o-no
 Aug 1Agr root that
 'That specific woman'

Derivation of a Demonstrative Phrase

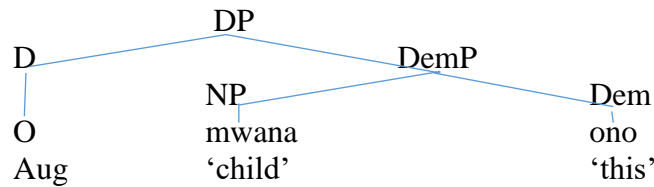
As discussed earlier, a basic Olusuba determiner phrase (DP) would have the structure in example 19.

Example 19



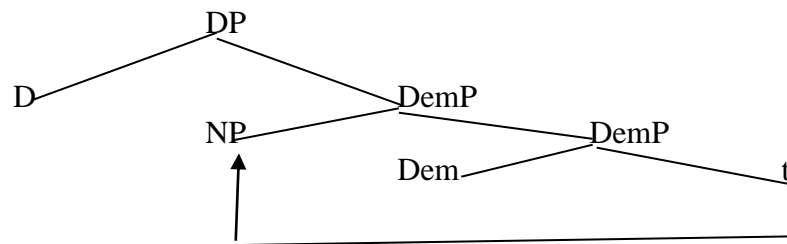
Example 19 is representative of a noun phrase with one modifier; in this case, a demonstrative pronoun *wano* ‘these’ which is positioned after the noun, thus being a post nominal. Post-nominal demonstratives must always come after the noun, retain their augment and also c-command the demonstrative noun. This can be schematically represented as in example 20.

Example 20



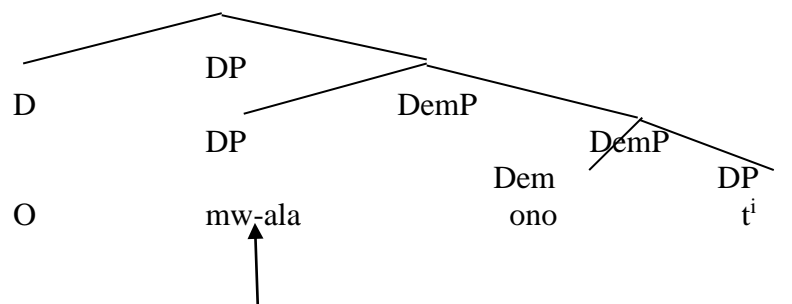
The projection of the determiner is labelled DemP for ease of identification. The DemP (20) above is a Functional Category and functional categories usually have a projection of a lexical category in their complement either directly as their complement, as in illustration (21) below, or indirectly by being the complement of the DemP which is thereafter moved to the specifier of the DemP realizing a second structure as shown in example 21.

Example 21



Petzell (2008) discusses an alternative approach where the specifier of the demonstrative is a DP instead of an NP as in example 22.

Example 22



The structure in example 22 predicts derivations whereby, in case of further modifications, the modifiers (adjective, numerals, quantifiers, relative clause) would follow the demonstrative to the right as realized in Swahili sentence.

The empirical difference between the DP in (21) and the DP in (22) is that the DP in 21 predicts a situation where if a noun is modified by other modifiers like relative clause, adjective, numeral or quantifiers, they would precede the demonstrative; that is, the added modifiers (relative clause, numeral, adjective or quantifiers) exist as part of the DP and are expected to move with the noun and the augment, only leaving the demonstrative which then remains in the last position. If the demonstrative does not have the DP as a complement, but

rather has the NP, the modifiers will remain in situ while only the NP moves to the specifier. In brief, illustration (21) shows derivations where other modifiers follow the demonstrative in a DP as in Swahili, while illustration (22) on the other hand shows derivation of demonstratives in phrases where other modifiers precede the demonstrative as in Olusuba.

Example 23

Omwala owange omuliire omwakanya omulala
 o- mw- ala o- wa- nge o- mu- lire o- mw- akanya
 aug 1Agr girls aug 1aug my aug 1agr tall aug 1agr brown
 o- mu- lala o- yo
 aug 1agr one aug that
 ‘That tall brown only daughter of mine’

Possessives

Possessives pronouns are used to indicate ownership. In expressing possession in Olusuba, the possessor follows the possessee. The possessor noun is usually preceded by a prefix that is called possessive agreement which shows agreement with the possessee. The possessive pronoun in Olusuba as in most Bantu languages is made up of two elements; pronominal class concord and the possessive root as seen in illustration 24.

Example 24

Omusaza	wa	nge	(d)	Iyoyo	ri	ange	
Husband	SM	root		duck	SM	root	
‘my husband’				‘my duck’			
(e) Ekikapo		ki	ange	(f)	enyumba	ya	nge
Basket		SM	root		house	SM	root
‘My basket’					‘my house’		

The nominal class prefix determines the prefix to be attached to the possessive pronoun. In possessives still, the noun shows predominance in determining the agreement pattern in the Olusuba DP as will be seen in the next examples.

Relativized Possessives

The relativized possessive is often used to express shared knowledge between the interlocutors; both understand the subject under reference in the talk. In such a case, the possessee is omitted in the possessive construction as in example 25.

Example 25

(a) E	ki	ange	(b)	o	gw	ange
		Pr 7SM rt				pr 3SM rt
		(This maize is) mine				(This bag is) mine

In 25a the ‘e’ in ‘e-kiange’ serves as a possessive marker of subjects in class 7, it substitutes for the possessee. The same applies for the ‘o’ in 25b which substitutes the possessed items of class 3. or ‘o’. Kayne (2005) calls this kind of possession relativized possession.

Possession in the Genitive DP

Olusuba also marks possession by use of prepositions. This is realized in the use of the preposition –ria ‘for’ to show ownership and links the noun with whatever is owned after being attached to the concordial class prefix. This can be illustrated in example 26g & h.

Example 26

(g) Ini e-ria embuzi (h) igi eria engoko
 Liver of goat egg of hen

Depending on the class where the noun belongs, the concordial prefix of the possessive preposition is bound to change as realized in table 4.

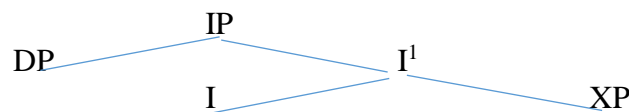
Table 4: The Concordial prefixes of the possessive -ria

Noun class	Preposition	Name of this column?
	Singular	plural
1 /2	Aria	waria
3 /4	guria	ziria
5 /6	riria	maria
7 /8	Kiria	Baria
9/10	eria	ziria

Derivation of the Possessive Structure according to Kayne (2005)

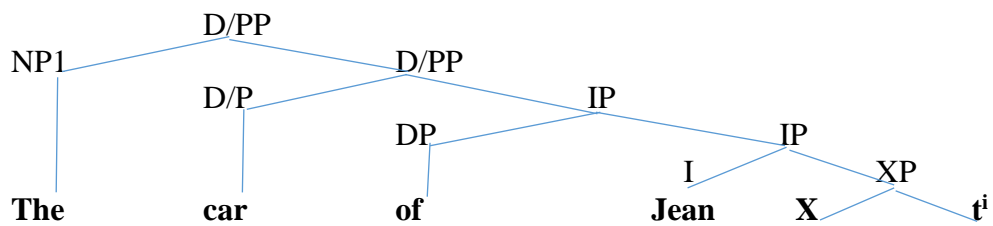
Kayne (2005) discusses possessives in English and French. According to him, possessive constructions start as an IP with the possessor occupying the specifier position and the possessive occupying a position inside the complement of the ‘I’ as in example 27.

Example 27

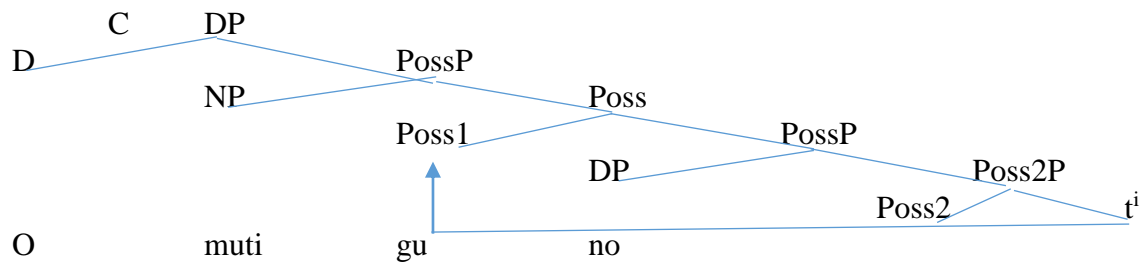


The ‘of’ is merged. According to Kayne, the category of ‘of’ is D/P, the possessive moves to the specifier position of that D/PP.

Example 28



This research study also adopted the same in analyzing the Olusuba post nominal possessive. A few changes were however made; the D/PP and IP were replaced by more neutral labels, PossP1 and PossP2, thus realizing the structure in example 29.

Example 29**Quantifiers**

Chomsky (1991) groups quantifiers with possessives and demonstratives as modifier determiners. He says that quantifiers are nominal determiners used to denote quantity. They can be grouped as definite (numerals) and indefinite.

Indefinite Quantifiers

Indefinite quantifiers are used to indicate groups of people, objects or things that have been quantified. These include the following examples.

Example 30

‘-ngi’ for many, ‘-ona’ for all, among others.

The sentences in example 31 exhibit the use of some of the quantifiers.

Example 31

- (a) Awantu a wa ngi ino
 People Aug SM root very
 ‘Very many people’
- (b) Awantu wo ona
 People SM root
 ‘All people’
- (c) Entiangi e nyi ngi
 Animals Aug SM root
 ‘Many animals,’
- (d) Entiangi zi ona
 Animals pr rt
 ‘All animals’

The above data is proof that quantifiers also participate in the agreement pattern in Olusuba DP. Note the use of the NCP ‘a wa-’ in example 31a to agree with the subject ‘awantu’ and the use of ‘e nyi-’ in 31c to agree with the subject ‘entiangi’. This study adopts the argument that the nominal concord for quantifiers is determined by the noun class prefix. Agreement phrase is generated as a functional category in handling quantifiers. The SPEC of the Agr. becomes a target of movement of the quantifier.

Definite Quantifiers (Numerals)

Numerals in Olusuba are not in any unified word category. They are divided into two types:
 i) numerals 1-5 and numerals 6-10.

(i) Numerals 1-5**Example 32**

E-ndala	1
I-wiri	2
I-satu	3
I-ne	4
I-taanu	5

The above category is characterized by use of overt agreement prefixes as seen in example 33.

Example 33

Ekinyungu	e	ki	lala						
Chick	Aug	SM	root						
	'One chick'								
A	wa	ntu	wa	wiri					
Pr	2plr	rt	2plr	rt					
	'Two people'								
E	n	tikiri	e	satu					
Pr	9plr	rt	pr	rt					
	'Three donkeys'								
A-	wa-	ntu	a-	wa-	nge	wa-	wiri	wa-	no
Aug	2Agr	person	Aug	2Agr	my	2Agr	two		
	'These two people of mine'								

(ii) Numerals 6-10**Example 34**

Mukaaga	6
Musamvu	7
Munaane	8
Kienda	9
Ikumi	10

These numerals, starting from *mukaaga* (six) onwards, are in a separate category because they are independent nouns and take the Agreement prefix of the respective classes they belong to. The number agreement morpheme depends on the nominal class prefix of the post-modified noun.

Adjectives

Data collected showed that the adjective category in Olusuba is not very rich when compared to other European languages. The adjective in Olusuba takes the NCP as agreement. Table 5 gives a list of some adjective stems in Olusuba that occurred in the collected data.

Table 5: Sample Adjective Stems in Olusuba

Stem	gloss
-wipi	Short
-taaluku	delicious
-genga	clever/bright
-kalu	strong
-bire	tall
-lootu	beautiful

Adjectives post modify nouns, and thus share agreement features with the modified noun, the influencing element is the noun class prefix that is taken up by the modifier adjective(s). Example 35 confirms the said proposition.

Example 35

- (a) Emzigo e m zito
Luggage Aug SM root
'Heavy luggage'
- (b) Okuria o ku taaluku
Food Aug SM root
'Sweet food'
- (c) Omutu o m wipi
Person Aug SM root
'Short person'

In Olusuba, a series of adjectives can be used to modify a noun. Whenever more than two adjectives co-occur in the same DP, a conjunction is introduced between the last two adjectives, as seen in example 36.

Example 36

- A wa ala a wa lootu, a wa liire, wa-mu a wa mu wa no
Pr plr root pr plr root pr plr root pr plr root plr root
'These beautiful tall black girls'

A number of elements within the DP were however just mentioned but not adequately described. These will form topics of research for the next paper.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This study has analysed the structure of the Olusuba DP, identifying the elements within the DP, their positions and derivations. The results are based on data collected during a two month field trip in Mfangano Island, a community where Olusuba is spoken as a second language, Dholuo being the language of the wider communication. The study looked at the structure of the DP in Olusuba and observed the existence of several different elements within the DP whose morphology are driven by the head nouns. Demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, adjectives and other determiners take either the NCP or the ACPs of their respective noun heads.

Structurally, the NP has been analysed as a lexical complement of the Determiner (D) and the DP as a functional projection of the NP. This study further verified that all the

modifiers of the noun are generated within the NP and during the derivation process, each moves to a target position in the structure building. Whereas the projections move head to head up to the D head that is empty, the determiners target the different specifier positions of the various intermediate functional projections between the determiner phrase and the noun phrase.

The focus of this study was the Olusuba Determiner Phrase. It sought to syntactically analyse the DP within the precincts of Principles and Parameters theory. In the course of analysis, it became clear that there are several phenomena, even within the DP itself that need to be studied in more detail; for example, the study did not exhaust a description of all the possible elements within the DP. Among those left out included locatives and relative clauses since they are wide topics of research and constraints of time and space could not cater for them in this study. Other areas within the DP that need to be researched on include; semantically motivated agreements and co-occurrence of elements within the DP. It was also noted that very little has been done towards both documenting and describing Olusuba thus leaving out other aspects of Olusuba language structure unexplored such as phonetics and phonology, morpho-syntactic analysis of the IP and CP, among other grammatical aspects. Such research on description and documentation of Olusuba as a minority language would go a long way in empowering it further.

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