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The Structure of the Naandi Determiner Phrase

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Abstract:
This study analyzed the structure of the Determiner phrase (henceforth DP) in Naandi. Many studies have been carried out that analyze the DP structure of world human languages. In these studies, researches have pointed out that the DP has a very complex structure and is a very important syntactic category in any natural human language thus a fertile area of any linguistic research. Also, it has been noted that many African languages have not been well studied and described and hence there is need for studying these languages. The analysis of the structure of the DP in Naandi thus is of necessity. The main focus of this article therefore, was to identify and describe the elements that occur within the DP in Naandi and outline their linear ordering patterns. The DPs were generated by the researcher based on her intuitive knowledge in Naandi. The findings of this study showed that there are up to eleven elements that can occur within the DP in Naandi. The noun occurs at the initial position whereas determiners and the other modifiers are post-nominal. The dominant attested order is N + [Art. Affix] + [Dem] + [Poss] + [Q] + [Numeral] + [AP] + [GenP] + [PP] + [Rel.C].

Keywords: Naandi, determiner phrase, linear order of elements

1. Introduction

This is a morpho-syntactic study that sought to analyze the structure of the DP in Naandi. Specifically, it was aimed at identifying and describing the elements that occur within the DP and at outlining their linear ordering patterns. Naandi is a Nilotic language of Kenya. According to the International Organization for Standardization, Naandi is language code number ISO 639-3 (http//:www.ethnologue.com/16).

Adger (2002:200, 209) notes that a DP stands for a phrase that is headed by a functional element of category D(eterminer) and has an NP as its complement. The idea of DP analysis was first proposed by Abney (1987). It arose out of a need to have a parallel analysis of both clausal and nominal domains. In traditional descriptive and early generative grammar, nouns were treated as the heads of NPs. However, the principles of the extended x-bar theory that took centre stage in generative grammar in 1980s led to a new approach to the analysis of various types of phrases. This saw the introduction of the functional categories as heads and clauses. Subordinate clauses began to be analyzed as CPs headed by a complementizer (C), finite verb phrases as I(nfl)Ps headed by an auxiliary or verbal affix (Infl) and NPs as DPs headed by the determiner (D). In DP analysis, as noted earlier, determiners are the lexical heads which take nominal projection as their complement and which yield a DP (Abney 1987, Adger 2002). In the analysis of the structure of the DP in Naandi, this study observed that the DP as used in current generative grammatical theories is the same as noun phrases (NPs) in traditional and modern grammatical theories.

Many studies have been carried out by many researchers with regard to the analysis of the structure of the nominal phrases of world languages (Rijkhoof 2002, Rugemalira 2007, Lusekelo 2009, Chang 2009, Mose 2012). In these studies, it has been observed that the DP has a very complex structure (Rijkhoof, 2002) and is an important syntactic category in any natural human language. Also, the fact that there is need to study and describe African languages have been noted by these researchers (Mose, 2012). Therefore, the distribution of elements within the DP in Naandi is an important area that calls for a study.

Crosslinguistically, the DPs are the basic arguments in a sentence structure (Jerono, 2012). In Naandi, the DP usually follows the verb since Naandi is a VSO language (Jeptoo, 2014). Consider:
1. Nyon-ei chepyosen-nyu
      V   DP
   ComeIMP SG wifeSG-mySG
   (My wife is coming)

This paper is organized as follows: Section (2) gives a description of the elements that occur within the DP in Naandi. Section (3) outlines the linear order of elements and finally, Section (4) provides the summary of the article.

2. Elements within the DP in Naandi

In Naandi, there are up to eleven elements that can occur within the DP. These include: Nouns, pronouns, article affixes, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, numerals, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, genitive phrases and relative clauses. Each of these elements is described below.

2.1. Nouns

Nouns are the most common and basic elements within the DP in Naandi. A noun is a word that is used to name a person, place, thing or idea. Nouns are classified as common, proper and compound nouns. Other classifications are concrete and abstract, count and mass nouns. Crosslinguistically, nouns are usually classified into two main categories. These are: Substantive and Derived nouns. Substantive nouns refer broadly to nouns in their normal forms, having a separate and independent existence and functioning syntactically as nouns. Derivative nouns on the other hand refer to those nouns that are formed through the nominalization processes such as affixation or morphological transformations and zero-derivation or conversion or affixation of a null morpheme which may occur through a change in tonal pattern.

2.2. Pronouns

Crystal (2003:210) defines pronouns in English as elements or words which stand for a noun, a whole noun phrase or several noun phrases. Pronouns in Naandi have person distinctions, but unlike English, they do not have gender distinctions. In Naandi, there are seven types of pronouns namely: personal, possessive, demonstrative, reflexive, relative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns.

2.2.1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are the main means by which languages, identify speakers, addressees and others. In Naandi, personal pronouns make a neat two-by-three system combining number; singular and plural with person; first, second and third person. Consider:

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
1st Person	Ane	Achek	(I, We)
2nd person	Inye	Akwek	(You, You)
3rd person	Ine/Inendet	Ichek/Icheket	(He/She/It, They)

The above personal pronouns are self-standing and therefore they can occur alone as a subject or an object of a sentence.

1. *Ane* ne a-nyonei
    I   whoSG am come (I am the one coming)

Personal pronouns in Naandi are combined with the verb to act as the subject or the object in a sentence. When they are used in this way, these personal pronouns are usually indicated by special prefixes and infixes. These prefixes includes *a-*, which represents the first person singular. Consider:

2. ***A-**wend-i
    I SG goPRT IMP (I am going)

Ki- represents first person plural. Consider:

3. Ka-***ki**-bwa
    PST 1perPL come PL PER (We have come)

I- represents second person singular. Consider:

4. Ka-***i**-nyo
    PST 2perSG comeSG PER (You have come)

O- represents second person plural. Consider:

5. ***O-**bend-i
    You PL go PRT IMP (You are going)

However, third person, both singular and plural, are represented by a null prefix. Consider:

6. --wend-i
    He/she/itSG go PRT IMP (He/She/It is going)

7. Ka--bwa
    PST 3perPL come PERF (They have come)

2.2.2. Reflexive Pronouns

According to Crystal (2003:210) reflexive pronouns in English reflect the meaning of a noun or a pronoun in the clause. In Naandi they are formed by suffixing –*kei* or –*ei* (self) to the personal pronoun or by prefixing *ak-*. Consider:

Personal Pronoun	Gloss	Reflexive pronoun	Gloss
Ane	(I)	Ane-kei / Ak-ane	Myself
Achek	(we)	Ache-kei/ Ak-achek	Ourselves
Inye	(You)	Inye-kei/ Ak-inye	Yourself
Akwek	(You)	Akwek-ei /Ak-akwek	Yourselves
Ine	(Him, Her, It)	Ine-kei /Ak-ine	Himself, Herself, Itself
Ichek	(They)	Ichek-ei /Ak-ichek	Themselves

For example:

8. Laakwet ine-kei / Laakwet ak-ine (The child himself/herself)

The reflexive affix –*kei* is usually suffixed to the verbs. Consider:

9. Ki-samis-i-*kei*
   1perPL dirty IMP self (We are dirtifying ourselves)

2.2.3. Indefinite Pronouns

Finegan (2004:38) notes that indefinite is a name that is used to refer to pronouns whose referents are identifiable but they are not specified. In Naandi, there are two indefinite pronouns. These are: *Ake* (singular) /*Alak* (Plural) which is equivalent to other, another or the one in English and *Tugul* which is equivalent to each, every, all, whosoever and whatsoever. Indefinite pronouns express the notion of quantity and in most cases *tugul* in Naandi is used as a quantifier equivalent to universal quantifier *all* in English. When indefinite pronouns occur within the DP in Naandi, they usually follow the substantive noun. Consider:

10. Laakwet **ake**
    ChildSGDef another (Another child)
11. Laagok **alak**
    ChildPLDef other (Other children)
12. Chi **tugul**
    PersonSGIndef every (Every person)

Indefinite pronouns can stand on their own to substitute nouns, especially when the noun they are substituting had been mentioned earlier. Consider:

13. Kararan matundiat **ake** ko-ya **ake**
    GoodSG fruitSGDef other beSGPRT badSG oth   (Another fruit is good while the other is bad)

In the above example, (14), the noun can be eliminated to remain with the indefinite pronouns standing alone so that it becomes:

14. Kararan **ake** ko-ya **ake**
    Good SG other beSGPRT bad other   (Another one is good while the other is bad)

2.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask questions about personal as well as non-personal nouns. In Naandi, there are four interrogative pronouns. These are:

Interrogative pronoun	Gloss
Ng'o?	Who?
Ngiro?	Which?
Ne?	What?
Ne u ne?	What sort of / What kind?

Whenever the interrogative pronouns *Ngiro?* (which?) and *Ne u ne?* (what kind/ sort of?) occur within the DP in Naandi, the substantive noun with which they co-occur with, assumes its indefinite form. They are used with both human and non-human subjects. *Ngiro?* (which?) immediately follows the substantive noun whereas *ne u ne?* (What kind/sort of?) can either follow or precede the substantive noun within the DP. Consider:

15. Laakwa **ngiro** ne kanyo gaa
    Child SGIndef which who PST come home (Which child came home?)
16. *Ne u ne* ngor ne ke-al
    What sort of clothSGIndef whichSG PSTbuy
    (What kind of a cloth did you buy?)
17. Ngor *ne u ne* ne ke-al
    Cloth SGIndef whichSG PSTbuy
    (What kind of a cloth did you buy?)

Ng'o? (who) is used with human subjects hence contains the feature [+human] whereas Ne? (what) is used with non-human subjects hence [–Human]. They usually precede the noun within the DP and are used with both singular and plural nouns. Consider:

18. Ng'o Chepyosa-niin?
    Who womanSG thatSG (over that) (Who is that woman over there?)
19. Ng'o chepyoso-chuun?
    Who womanPL thatPL(over there) (who are those women over there?)
20. Ne ki-i?
    What thingSG thisSG (what is this thing?)
21. Ne tugu-chu?
    What thingPL thisPL (What are these things?)

2.3. The Article Affixes

In Naandi, nouns can be classified as either definite or indefinite based on whether it is joined to a definite or indefinite article affix. The indefinite singular form of the noun is usually its root form. To mark definiteness therefore, definite article affixes are attached to the noun. According to Hurford (1994), the definite article affixes are "lightweight" elements. They are "lightweight" in the sense that

they comprise of one or two sounds that are suffixed to the noun. These affixes are morphologically inflected for number. This means that their form changes depending on whether the noun it is joined to is singular or plural. In Naandi, the singular definite article affix is generally –t with –et, -it, -ut, –iet, -det, -ta, -to, -da and –do as its allomorphs. Consider:

Singular Indefinite	Singular Definite	Gloss
Sese	Sese-**t**	Dog
Ter	Ter-**et**	Pot
Iit	Iit-**it**	Ear
Bet	Bet-**ut**	Day
Ngor	Ngor-**iet**	Cloth
Choor-in	Choor-in-**det**	Thief
Ng'elyp	Ng'elyep-**ta**	Tongue
Ei	Ei-**to**	Ox
Kong'	Kon-**da**	Eye
Tum	Tum-**do**	Ceremony

The plural definite article affix, on the other hand, is generally –k with –ek, and -ik as its allomorphs. Consider:

Plural Indefinite	Plural Definite	Gloss
Kinai	Kinai-**k**	Breasts
Serun	Serun-**ek**	Noses
Sesen	Sesen-**ik**	Dogs

In Naandi, within the DP, the definite article affix usually follows the noun. It marks definiteness. According to Lambrecht (1994), definiteness is a formal property of nominal expressions which signals whether or not the referent of a phrase is assumed by the speaker to be identifiable to the addressee.

2.4. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are very common elements that occur within the DP in Naandi. They are deictic expressions that perform the function of 'pointing at'. They are used to indicate the position of something in relation to the speaker (Hurford, 1994:59). The Naandi demonstratives make a neat two-by-three system, combining number (singular/ plural) with relative nearness to or relative distance from the speaker. They include:

A. *Ni* and *Chu*: These are demonstratives that point to objects that are near the speaker. They are equivalent to *this* and *these* in English.
B. *Noo* and *Choo*: These demonstratives are used to point at the objects that are not far from the speaker; those that are near the hearer. They are equivalent to *that* and *those* in English.
C. *Niin* and *Chuun*: These are used to indicate the objects and things that are far from both the speaker and the hearer. They are equivalent to *that over there* and *those over there* in English.

Apart from the above demonstratives in Naandi, there are also locative demonstratives that point to a specific place. These demonstratives are used with the word *olto* (the place). They too are categorized based on the above dimension of nearness to and distance from the speaker. They include:

A. *Yu* and *Oli:* They refer to a place(s) near the speaker or the spot of the one speaking equivalent to *here* or *where I am*,
B. *Yo* and *Olo*: They point to a place(s) near the hearer or the spot of the one being spoken to equivalent to *there* or *where you are*, and
C.   *Yuun* and *Oliin*: They indicate a place(s) far from both the speaker and the hearer or the spot of the one being spoken about equivalent to *over there* or simply *there*.

Further, in Naandi, all these demonstratives can take the emphatic suffix –*tok*. This suffix is attached to the demonstrative in order to lay emphasis on the demonstrative. When a lot of emphasis is desired, the demonstrative is repeated after the suffix –*tok* has been attached to the first demonstrative. These emphatic forms are used especially when the speaker wants to emphasize the exact referent (person or object) or the exact position or location of something. Consider:

22. Noo-tok
     SGEmp (That very object)
23. Yuun-tok yuuun
     SG3Emp (That very place over there and not any other)

Within the DP in Naandi, the demonstratives usually follow the noun and they are inflected for number. They mark definiteness. This means that they are always definite identifying things that are presupposed to be known to the hearer. For example, by using the expression, *emo-no-tok* (that very land), the hearer must know the particular land, the speaker is talking about.

2.5. Possessives

Possessive determiners are the other elements that occur within the DP in Naandi. Possessives show possession and they contain the feature (+Poss). This is because whenever they are suffixed to the nominal expressions, they cause them to be possessed.

Possessive determiners in Naandi are inflected for number and person grammatical features. These features makes the possessive determiners in Naandi to have different forms based on whether the possessum/possessor is one (singular, 1st ,2nd or 3rd person) or more than one (plural, 1st , 2nd and 3rd person).

Therefore: *-nyu (my), -ng'uung (your)* and *-nyi (his/hers/its)* are used when the possessum as well as the possessor is one; *-nyoo (our), ng'woong (your)* and *nywaa (their)* are used when the possessum is one (singular) but the possessors are more than one (plural); *-chuuk (my), -kuuk (your)* and *–chiik (his/hers/its)* are used when the possessum is more than one (plural) but the possessor is one (singular) and *-chook (our), -kwook (your),* and *–chwaak (their)* are used when both the possessum and the possessors are more than one.

	One possessee		
	Singular	**Plural**	**Gloss**
1st	-nyu	-nyo	my, our
2nd	-nguung	-ngwoong	your, your
3rd	-nyi	-nywa	his/her/its, their
	More than one possessee		
1st	-chuuk	-chook	my, our
2nd	-kuuk	-kwook	your, your
3rd	-chiik	-chwaak	his/her/its, their

When these possessive determiners are used predicatively or absolutely, they take the prefix *Na-* or *Ne-* in singular, and *Che-* or *Cha-* in plural. The forms of these possessive determiners undergo some slight changes in plural form. Consider:

Singular	**Plural**	**Gloss**
Na-nyu /**Ne**-nyu	**Cha**-chu-get or **Che**-chuuk	Mine
Ne-ng'uung	**Che**-kuu-get	Yours

Further, when there is need to lay emphasis on the possessor; these possessive determiners may add personal pronouns after them. Consider:

24. Laakwe-nyu *ane*
     Child1Poss per 1SG (My child and not any other person's)

Possessives usually follow substantives within the DP in Naandi. Possessives in Naandi mark definiteness. They indicate that the referent is specific. They are also inflected for number and person.

2.6. Quantifiers
Another element that occurs within the DP in Naandi is the quantifier. In Naandi, there are only two quantifiers. These are: *Chang/Ng'iisyat* (many/ much) and *Ng'ering / tutikin* (little/few). Both these quantifiers are used with count and mass nouns. Consider:

25. Beek *tutikin*
     Water little (Little water)
26. Kalamok *tutikin*
      Pen PLDef few (Few pens)

Apart from the above two, in Naandi, as mentioned earlier, the indefinite pronoun *tugul* is used as a quantifier equivalent to universal quantifier *all* in English. Consider:

27. Boisiek *tugul*
      Men PLDef all (All the men)

Quantifiers in Naandi are inherently indefinite identifying things or objects that are not specific. This means that whenever they occur within the DP in Naandi, they usually co-occur with the definite article affixes to indicate definiteness.
Quantifiers in Naandi, may be introduced by a plural relative pronoun *Che* which acts as a definite marker since quantifiers are inherently indefinite. Consider:

28. Kenyisiek che-*chang*
     YearPLDef (which are) manyPL (Many years)
29. Beek che-*tutikin*
     Water (which is) little PL (Little water)

2.7. Numerals
Numerals are the other elements that can occur within the DP in Naandi. Crosslinguistically, numerals are categorized into two distinct types namely: Cardinals and Ordinals.

2.7.1. Cardinal Numerals
 Hurford (1994:23-24, 146-147) notes that cardinal numerals are words or longer expressions we count by, and express how many items there are in some collection of things. In Naandi, they answer the question *ata?* (How many?).
Cardinal numerals are inflected for case. The accusative case is the root form of these cardinal numerals whereas in the nominative case, these cardinal numerals take the suffix *–u* to indicate this. In the situation where the cardinal numerals are in tenths or hundreds, the nominative suffix *–u* is suffixed to the first cardinal. Consider:

Accusative	**Gloss**	**Nominative**
Aeng	Two	Aeng-**u**
Somok	Three	Somok-**u**

Mut	Five	Mut-**u**
Taman	Ten	Taman-**u**
Taman ak lo	Sixteen	Taman-**u** ak lo
Bokol ak agenge	One hundred and one	Bokol-**u** ak agenge

Consider the following examples as used in a sentence to illustrate on this distinction.

30. Ki-keer-e laagok *ang'wan*
    IPL seePRT IMP childPLDef fourACC (We see four children)
31. Keer-o laagok *ang'wan-**u***
    SeePRT IMP childPLDef fourNOM (Four children see me)

2.7.2. Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals on the other hand, are words or longer expressions used to express the order in which an item stands in a given sequence. Ordinals in Naandi answer the question *nebo ata?* (which in order of number?). For instance, *Netai* (first), *Nebo somok* (third) and *Nebo mut* (fifth).

Generally, numerals in Naandi mark indefiniteness. They denote that the objects, things, ideas, or people that are referred to are not known by the addressee. However, the use of cardinal *agenge* (one) shows definiteness. This means that these numerals are always used with a definite article affix in order to mark definiteness. The cardinal *agenge* (one) can either take the definite article affix or not. Consider:

32. Tipi-ik *aeng*
    GirlPLDef two (Two girls)
33. Tie *agenge*
    GirlSGIndef one (One girl)
34. Chep-to *agenge*
    Girl SGDef one (The one girl)

2.8. Adjectival Phrases

Hurford (1994: 8) defines an adjective as a word that is typically serving as a modifier of a noun to denote a quality and describe some property of the thing referred to by the noun, such as its shape, colour, age, value. Size, orinnnngin or the impression it gives.

Adjectives are classified as either attributive; occurring before the nouns they modify or predicative occurring in the predicate position following a copular verb "be" in the English sense. In Naandi, all the words that are used in adjectival sense are actually active third person single-word constructions. Consider:

35. Tui
    Black 3rd per (S/he/it is black)
36. Koi
    Tall 3rd per (He/she/it is tall)

These third person single-word sentences in most cases are joined to the relative *Ne* in singular and *Che* in plural and therefore they are in relative construction form. Consider:

37. Chii-to **ne** *koi*
    Person SG DEF who (be) SG tall SG (The tall person)
38. Bii-k **che** *ko-en*
    Person PL DEF who (be) PL tall PL (The tall people)

These relative pronouns **ne** and **che** as used in adjectival relative constructions act as definite markers which specify the referent and they fall into the class of determiners. This is because, whenever an adjective co-occurs with a demonstrative (a determiner) in a DP, this relative pronoun is dropped and the adjective occurs alone. Consider:

39. Chii-chi koi
    Person SG Indef thisSG tall SG (This tall person)
40. Bii-chu ko-en
    Person PL Indef this PL tall PL (These tall people)

Therefore, these relative pronouns *ne* and *che* occupy the same position with a demonstrative within the DP in Naandi and hence can be analyzed as belonging to the same class. Thus they cannot co-occur with one another within a single DP. However, they can co-occur with a definite article affixes as shown in example (33) and (34) above and a possessive.

In Naandi, attributive adjectives occur post-nominally. Consider:

41. Laakwet *ne-kararan*
    ChildSGDef whoSG beautiful (The beautiful child)

Predicative adjectives on the other hand occur pre-nominally. Consider:

42. *Kararan* laakwet
    Beautiful childSGDef (The child is beautiful)

In Naandi, adjectives are inflected for number. Generally, they form their plural form by adding the suffix *-en* to the singular form. Consider:

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
43.	Birir / Ne-birir	Birir-**en** / Che-birir-**en**	Red

The adjectives in Naandi may be modified by the intensifier; *missing or kot* (very). Unlike in English, the intensifier in Naandi immediately follows the adjective it modifies. Consider:

44. Laago-chu aeng kororon *mising*
   ChildPLINDEF DemPL twoPL goodPL veryIN (These two very good children)

45. Laago-chu aeng kororon *kot*
   ChildPLINDEF DemPL twoPL goodPL veryINT (These two very good children)

2.9. Prepositional Phrases

A preposition is typically a small word in English that occurs before a noun phrase making another phrase; a preposition phrase with it (Hurford, 1994:190). The term 'preposition' reflects the grammatical place of prepositions, 'positioned before' noun phrases. A preposition expresses the relationship between one word and the other. It must always have an object to complete them; typically a noun or a pronoun.

Prepositional phrases therefore are phrases which in English begin with a preposition and end either in a noun, a pronoun, a gerund or a clause, which is the object of the preposition. They may occur as simple phrases comprising of a preposition and its object or as a longer phrase comprising of a preposition, one or more modifiers and the object of the preposition.

In Naandi, there is only one main simple preposition *eng* which is equivalent to *at, by, for, from, in, off, on, out, to* and *with* English prepositions. This preposition indicates the relation of a noun, an adjective or a pronoun to the other words in a sentence. This preposition marker expresses place, for instance:

46. Mi oriit **eng** kabati-it
   BePST inside in cupboard (It is in/inside the cupboard)

In addition, it expresses instrument, for example:

47. A-sir-ei baru-et **eng** kalamit
   1persSG write IMP letterDefSG with penDefSG
   (I am writing a letter with a pen)

Further, this preposition may be used to express comparison. For instance:

48. Ng'om laakwa-ni **eng** niin
   CleverSG childDefSG thisDEFSG than that (over there (This child is clever than that one over there)

Moreover, it is used to qualify the meaning of a verb. Consider:

49. Ru-e pusi-it **eng** meeseet ng'wony
   LiePSTSG catDefSG under tableDefSG down (The cat is lying under the table)

Further, prepositional functions can be expressed through the use of the applicative marker *–chi* which is incorporated in the verb. This suffix means for, to, against, on behalf, in, into, on, onto among others and they make the verb to acquire applicative forms. Consider:

50. Ke-yat-chi
   To open on behalf of (to open on behalf of/ To open for someone)

Others forms which make the verb acquire applicative functions and correspond to person distinctions include, -*woo* (1 per SG), -*weech* (1per PL), -*uun* (2perSG*),-wook* (2perPL) and *chi/chi-ni* (3perSG/PL). Consider:

51. Yat-weech
   Open for us (Open for us)

52. A-Yat-uun
   1perSG Open for you (I am opening for you)

2.10. Genitive Phrases

In Naandi, possession is realized in two ways. First, it is expressed through the use of possessive determiners as discussed in sub-section 2.1.5 and secondly, through the use of lexical possessives or possessive constructions. Trask (1996) defines a genitive as a term used in the grammars of certain languages to denote a construction in which a noun is possessed or modified by another noun or noun phrase, particularly when an overt marking of the relation occurs on the noun which is possessed or modified.

In Naandi, genitive constructions are formed in three ways. To begin with, they are formed through the use of a linker genitive particle *–ab* which joins the possessor or the governed word to the possessee/possessum or the governing substantive. This linker genitive particle *–ab* is equivalent to *of* in English. Consider:

53. Ngo'olyot-ab Jehovah
    (Possessee N) (Possessor phrase)
    WordSGDef of God (The word of God)

In the above example, the noun *Jehovah* is the possessor phrase (governed word) which immediately follows the possessee noun or the governing substantive, *ng'olyot*. It is important to note here that this linker genitive particle does not vary in number. Consider:

54. Ng'alek-ab Jehovah
    Word PL Def of God (The words of God)

When expressing kinship or family relationship, this linker particle -*ab* undergoes some changes. For instance, when it is used with *Kwanda* (father) to express father-child relationship, either *Kwanda-b* or *Kwombo* is used. Consider:

55. Kwand-**ab**/ **kwombo** Chepkemboi
     (Father of Chepkemboi/Chepkemboi's father)

When it is used with *Kamet* (mother) to express mother-child relationship, *Kamet-ab* or *Kobot* is used. Consider:

56. Kamet-**ab**/ **kobot** Chepkemboi
      (Mother of Chepkemboi/ Chepkemboi's mother)

When it is used with *chepto* (daughter) to express daughter-parent relationship, *chept-ab* or *chepo* is used. Consider:

57. Chept-**ab** John/ **che-po** John
     (Daughter of John/ John's daughter)

When it used with *werit* (son) to express son-parent relationship, *werit-ab* or *arap*, is used. It is important to note that, *arap* is only applicable in expressing son-father relationship whereas *werit-ab* is applicable in expressing the relationship between son and both the father and mother. Consider:

58. Werit-**ab** John/ **Arap** John
     (Son of John/John's son)

In addition, genitive phrases in Naandi can be formed through the use of the relative particle *nebo* in singular and *chebo* in plural which means "belonging to". Just like the linker genitive particle –*ab*, *nebo/chebo*, join the possessee noun or the governing substantive to the possessor phrase or the governed word. It is important to point out here that the relative particle agrees with the possessee noun in number. Consider:

59. Chii-to **ne-bo** emo-no-tok
     Person DEFSG who SG(be) ofSG landSG thatEMPS (The person of that land/ The person belonging to that land)
60. Bii-k **che-bo** emo-no-tok
      PersonDEFPL who PL (be) ofPL landSGthatSGEmp (The people of that land/ The people belonging to that land)

Finally, genitive phrases in Naandi, can be formed through the use of a particle *bo* which is placed before the possessor phrase. The possessee noun follows the governed word. It is important to note that this particle *bo* is used predicatively when it occurs at the initial position and it does not vary in number regardless of whether the possessee noun is singular or plural.
 Consider:

61. Bo Mary laakwet
     Be of MarySG childDEF SG (The child belongs to Mary)
62. Bo Mary laagok
     Be of MarySG childDEF SG (The children belong to Mary)

In Naandi, the order of the genitive or the possessor phrase with respect to the possessee noun or the governing substantive is NGen. This means that the possessor usually follows the substantive or the possessee noun. Consider:

63. Laakwet-ab Mary
     Child Def SG of Mary
     N   Gen
     (The child of Mary/Mary's child)

Other languages however, have the order GenN, where the genitive precedes the noun, for instance, Finnish, Consider:

64. Tyto-n kissa
     Girl-gen cat
     Gen   N
      (The girl's cat)   (Sulkala and Karjalainen 1992:227 in Dryer, S.M. and
                Haspelmath, M.(eds) *WALS Online*)

In the above example, the *tyton* is a genitive noun phrase or the possessor phrase whereas *Kissa* is the possessee noun.
Further, other languages for instance English exhibit both orders, that is, NGen where the possessee noun precedes the possessor phrase as well as GenN where the possessor phrase precedes the possessee noun. Consider:

65. Mary's child
     Gen   N
66. The child of Mary
      N   Gen

The data above show that there is a parametric variation with regard to the ordering of the noun and the genitive within the DP across languages.
It is important to note here that these genitive phrases are vital elements in that they assign the DP a possessive or a genitive case. Also, genitive phrases express some semantic relations between a genitive noun phrase and a noun; in Naandi this relationship ranges from possession (alienable and inalienable), part-whole, product-material, functional association, and kinship relations among other relations; which are determined by inference from the semantics of the words involved or from the context. Therefore, there are various thematic types of these genitive phrases which include: Possessor, Agent, rheme among others.

2.11. Relative Clauses

Jacobs (1993) defines relative clauses as specialized constructions that are used to provide identifying information. They are subordinate clauses, whose arguments shares a referent with a main clause element on which these subordinate clauses are grammatically dependent. They modify a noun or a noun phrase and in some languages they are introduced by relative pronouns that indicate that these clauses have the same referent as the noun that they modify.

Relative clauses are categorized as bound or free; restrictive or non-restrictive; and finite or non-finite. In Naandi, bound relative clauses are very common. These are those relative clauses that are used to qualify an explicit noun or element occurring in the matrix clause and have the same referent as this noun or element in the main clause. In Naandi, this is indicated through the use of a relative pronoun; *ne* in singular and *che* in plural which joins the relative clauses to the noun that they modify. Consider:

67. Ko-wo sukul laakw-et **ne ko-a-keer amut**
     PSTgo to school ChildDefSG whoSG PST 1perSG see yesterday (The child whom I saw yesterday went to school)

In the above example, the embedded relative clause; *ne ko-a-keer amut*, modifies the noun *laakwet*, the relative pronoun; *ne*, refers back to the referent or the antecedent of the noun *laakwet*.

These bound relative clauses can either be restrictive or defining limiting the possible referent of the noun or non-restrictive or non-defining merely providing supplementary information about the referent. In example (63) above, the relative clause; *ne ko-a-keer amut* is restrictive because it modifies the meaning of the noun *laakwet* and it is essential to the sentence since it limits the range of reference of the noun *laakwet* to only that child whom I saw yesterday. Consider:

68. Ko-wo sukul kiruokindet ne ko-a-keer amut
     PSTgo school chiefDEFSG whoSG PST see yesterday   (The chief whom I saw yesterday went to school)

In the above example, the relative clause; *ne ko-a-keer amut* is non-restrictive in the sense that it does not limit the range of reference of the noun *Chief* since the referent is already known*,* but merely gives additional information.

As noted earlier, the embedded relative clauses are joined to the matrix clauses by the use of a relative pronoun; *Ne* in singular and *Che* in plural. It is important to point out here that, unlike in English where the relative pronoun agrees with the subject in case and animacy, in Naandi, this relative pronoun agrees with the subject in number only. Therefore, it is universal and can be used with both animate/ inanimate and human/non-human subjects. Its form also does not vary regardless of whether the noun it modifies is a subject or a direct object. Consider:

69. Chii-to *ne*-kanyo gaa
      PersonSGDef whoSG comePSTSG home (The person who came home)
70. Ket-it *ne* ka-ki-til
     TreeDefSG that PSTcut (The tree that was cut)

It is important to note here that when a relative clause co-occurs with the word *olto* (the place), the form of the relative pronoun changes to *Ye*. For instance:

71. Olto *ye*-ya
     PlaceSGDef bePRT bad (The place which is bad)

When the relative pronoun is used in negative constructions, the suffix *–ma* is used after the relative. Therefore, *ne-ma* and *che-ma* are used in the singular and plural forms respectively. *Ye-ma* is used with the word olto (The place). Consider:

72. Pi-ik *che-ma* bwa gaa
      PersonPLDef whoPL NEG comePSTPL home (The people who did not come home)
73. Olto *ye-ma* ya
     PlaceSGDef whichSG NEG bad (The place which is not bad)

In Naandi, the embedded relative clause immediately follows the noun that it modifies. This is the case in other languages like English, French and Arabic. However, in other languages like Turkish, Japanese and Chinese, the relative clause precedes the noun that they modify. This means that there is a parametric variation with regard to the ordering of relative clauses and nouns across languages. Within the DP in Naandi, relative clauses typically occur at the final position. Consider:

74. Tipiik taman chebwonei gaa
      GirlPLDEF tenPL whoPLcomeIMPERF home (Ten children who are coming home)

3. The Linear Ordering of Elements within the DP in Naandi

As mentioned in Section 2, there are eleven elements that can occur within the DP in Naandi. These elements comprise of the noun; substantive as well as derivative, the article affix; indefinite and definite, the demonstrative, the possessive, the quantifier, the numeral; both cardinal and ordinal, the adjectival phrase, the genitive phrase, the prepositional phrase and the relative clause.

In the unmarked surface DP order in Naandi, the noun usually occurs at the initial position of the DP. The determiners (article affixes, demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers) and the other modifiers (numerals, adjectival phrases, prepositional phrases, genitive phrases and relative clauses) immediately follow the noun. The dominant attested order is N + [Article affix] + [Dem] + [Poss] + [Q] + [NumeP] + [AP] + [GenP] + [PP] + [Rel.C].

In Naandi, simple DPs are very common. This is where the noun occurs with either one or two other elements. Consider:

Sequence	Example	English Gloss
N Art affix	Laakw-*et* ChildSG DefSG	"The Child"
N Dem	Betusie-chu DayPL thisPL	"These days"
N Poss	Borta-nyi BodySG mySG	"His/Her body"
N Q	Kenyisiek che-chang YearPL bePL manyPL	"Many years"
N Card Numeral	Werik tisap SonPL sevenPL	"Seven sons"
N Ord Numeral	Ng'etet ne-tai BoySG whoSG fisrtSG	"The fisrt boy"
N A	Logoiywek che-miach NewsPL whichPL goodPL	"Good news"
N PP	Tiong'ik eng ng'ony AnimalPL on earth	"Animals on earth"
N GenP	Ng'olyo-t-ab Jehovah WordSG of God	"The word of God"
N Rel.C	Chi ne igiileg-ei PersonIndefSG whoSGwork hardPRS	"A person who works hard"
N InterrPron	Chepyoso ng'iro? WomanIndefSG which	"Which woman?"
Pron	Ane 1st perSG	"I"

The data in Naandi shows that there are four main positions or slots that are readily available for elements to occupy. The first position is the nominal position which is the initial position of the DP in Naandi. This slot is generally reserved for the noun which is the complement of the head determiner. This position can also be occupied by the pronoun since pronouns like personal pronouns in Naandi can stand alone and hence can occur in place of a noun.

The second slot is the head determiner position. This position is reserved for the functional elements containing the D-feature traditionally referred to as central determiners in English. These functional elements comprise of the definite and indefinite article affixes, demonstratives, possessives and the quantifiers. These elements immediately follow the noun complement within the DP in Naandi. From the data in Naandi, when a noun co-occurs with these functional elements, the combinations of NP + DemP and NP + PossD are very frequent.

It is important to point out that in as much as these elements belong to the same category, unlike in English, in Naandi these elements are not in complementary distribution. This means that it is possible for all these elements to occur within a single DP in Naandi. When this happens, the article affix immediately follows the noun since it is prefixed to it. Demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers follow in that order. Their unmarked order is NP + DemP + PossD + QP. Consider:

75. Laago-chu –chuuk tugul
     ChildPLIndef thisPL myPL allPL   (All these my children)

The third and the fourth slots are the post-modification position. These positions are occupied by the modifiers category 1 and modifiers category 2 respectively. Modifiers category 1 comprise of the numerals both the cardinals and the ordinals and the adjectival phrase. In Naandi, it is possible to have the cardinal as well as ordinal numeral occuring within a single DP. Whenever this happens, the ordinals generally precede the cardinals. Consider:

76. Laago-k che-tai aeng
     ChildDefPL whoPLfirst twoPL (The first two children)

However, their ordering is not water-tight. This means that a cardinal can precede an ordinal. Consider:

77. Laago-k aeng che-tai
     ChildDefPL twoPL whoPLfirst (The first two children)

Within the DP in Naandi, numerals generally precede adjectives. Consider:

78. Laakw-et ne-tai agenge ne-ng'om
     Child Def SG whoSG first oneSG whoSG cleverSG (The first one clever child)

However, their linear order is not strict. This means that it is possible to have an adjective occurring before the numeral. Consider:

79. Laago-k che-ng'om-en che-tai aeng
     Child DefPL whoPL cleverPL whoPL first twoPL
      (The first two clever children)

Therefore, the dominant attested order of the noun and the modifiers category 1 is N + NumeP + AP.

Modifiers category 2 consists of the GenPs, PPs and Rel.Cs. These elements are adjuncts that are adjoined to the DP. When there is adjunction of these elements, the DP realizes a null determiner unless it co-occurs with the other elements of category D. When they all occur within a single DP, the dominant attested order is N + GenPs + PPs + Rel. Cs. Consider:

80. Ng'olyot –ab Jehovah eng ichek che isuubi inendet
WordSG of GodSG to them WhoSG follow Him
(The word of God to those who follow Him)

Finally, it is important to point out that in Naandi, it is possible for all these elements; the noun complement, the functional elements containing the D-feature, modifiers category 1 and modifiers category 2; to occur within a single DP. When this happens, the dominant attested order is; NP + DemP + PossD + QP + NumeP + APs + GenPs + PPs + Rel.Cs. Consider:

81. Ng'ale-chu tugul tai mut kororon bo Jehovah eng okwek che igiilegei eng imanda
NewsDefPL thisPL allPL first fivePL goodPL of God for youPL whoPL work hardPRS in Truth
(All these first five good news of God for those who work hard in truth)

Within the DP in Naandi therefore, there are four positions that are readily available for the different elements to occupy. These positions are numbered as follows: 0, 1, 2, and 3. Position 0 is the nominal position and it can only be occupied by the noun or a pronoun. Position 1 is the position immediately after the noun. It can be occupied by the determiners: Article affixes, demonstratives, possessives and the quantifiers. Position 2 can be occupied by modifiers category 1 which comprise of the numerals and adjectives. Position 3 can be occupied by modifiers category 2 comprising of prepositional phrases, genitive phrases and relative clauses.

A Summary of the order of Elements within the DP in Naandi

1(Nominal)	2(Head-Det position)				3(a) (Modification)		3(b) (Modification)		
Nom	Det				Mod Cat1		Mod Cat 2		
Noun	A	B	C	D	A	B	A	B	C
Pron	(Def art)	(Dem)	(Poss)	(Q)	(Nume)	(AP)	(GenP)	(PP)	(Rel.C)

4. Conclusion

This study has analyzed the morpho-syntax of the Naandi DP. Specifically, it has identified and described the elements that can occur within the DP in Naandi. The study observed that there are up to eleven elements that can occur within the DP in Naandi. These include: nouns; substantive and derivatives, article affixes; definite and indefinite, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, numerals comprising of the cardinals and the ordinals, adjectival phrases, genitive phrases, prepositional phrases and relative clauses.

With regard to the linear ordering of elements within the DP in Naandi, the study made the following general observations:

1. The noun in Naandi generally occurs at the initial position whereas all the other elements; the head determiner and the modifiers all occupy the post nominal position.
2. The DP in Naandi has article affixes, demonstratives, Possessives and quantifiers as functional elements of D category occupying the head position.
3. The functional elements of D category are not in complementary distribution within the DP in Naandi.
4. The DP in Naandi can have adjoined APs, GenPs, PPs and Rel.Cs
5. Simple DPs comprising of N + Dem; N + Poss; N + Q; N + Nume; N + A are very frequent.
6. It is possible for all the functional elements of D category and modifiers to occur within a single DP. When this happens, the dominant attested order is: N + [art affix] + [DemP] + [PossP] + [QP] + [NumeP] + [AP] + [GenP] + [PP] + [RelC].

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