COMBINATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF ADJECTIVES IN MUYANG

Théodore Bebey

Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences,
Department of African Languages, Literatures and Cultures,
The University of Maroua,
Cameroon

Abstract:
The present paper outlines the formation and the distribution of adjectives in Muyang. It shows that in general, the suffix –ani is added to some direct adjectives which, for the majority, come naturally in automatic pairs. It demonstrates that in some cases, this suffixation takes place after compounding and reduplication. The article indicates that there is a one-to-one selection of adjectives which constitute a large syntactic zone in the right-hand position of the NP in PF. Departed from this observation, it proposes a split up of the Adjectival Phrase (AdjP) in a number of distinct maximal projections ranged as follows: NP>Religion>Nationality>Material>Poss>Dem>Gender>Shape>Colour>Age>Quality>Size>Num>Rel. As far as their locality is concerned, this paper proposes in the sense of Hawkins (1983), Carstens (1991), Kayne (1994 and 1995), Nkemnji (1995), Tamanji (1999 and 2006), Brugè (2002), Koopman (2003), Aboh (2006), Letsholo (2006), Cinque (2005, 2010), Nchare (2011) and Bebey (2015) that the noun originates in the DP’s right-hand position; so, an upwards leftwards movement obtains the position of both direct and indirect adjectives. Within the DP, it demonstrates that adjectives can appear in adjacency with other materials in the following range: N>Poss>Dem>A>Num>Def>Rel. The present paper also reveals following Letsholo (2006) and as underlined in Bebey (2015) that when motivated by focalization, there are only six possible combinations of the DP contrary to the large range in other languages as proposed by Cinque (2005 and 2010) and Nchare (2011).

Keywords: combinational possibilities, adjectives, Muyang, noun phrase, determiner phrase

Résumé :
Le présent article décrit la formation et la distribution des adjectifs en Muyang. Il montre qu’en général, le suffixe –ani est ajouté à certains adjectifs qui, pour la majorité des cas,
Théodore Bebey  
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apparaissent naturellement en paires automatiques. Il démontre que dans certains cas, cette suffixation s’opère après les processus de composition et de réduplication. L’article indique qu’il y a une sélection individualisée des adjectifs qui forme une grande zone syntactique à droite du SN en FP. Partant de cette observation, il propose un éclatement du Syntagme de l’Adjectif (SAdj) en plusieurs projections maximales rangées ainsi qu’il suit :  

Mots clés : possibilités combinatoires, adjectifs, Muyang, syntagme nominal, syntagme du déterminant.

1. Introduction

This article scrutinizes the formation and the distribution of adjectives in Muyang, a central Chadic language. Section 1 is dedicated to the linguistic processes that obtain the form of the said sentence’s constituents. The second section deals with the combination of adjectives in order to determine the natural linear order and possible other ranges attested in the language. In section 3, one describes the cartography of DP in the light of Greenberg (1963), Hawkins (1983), Abney (1987), Brugè (2002) and Cinque (2005) and Cinque and Rizzi (2010).

1.1 Formation

This section scans the formation of adjectives in the language. It reveals that suffixation, compounding and reduplication are among linguistic operations which obtain direct modification adjectives.

1.2 Direct modification adjectives

The present section describes the formation of predicative and attributive adjectives. It reveals that majority of Muyang predicatives come in automatic pairs, one being the opposite of the other (See Smith 1999, Bebey 2010 and 2015).
(1a). Zebal (tall) - desl (short)
(1b). Gedak (big) - gu3uk (small)
(1c). Medlewel (old) - dagwa (young)
(1d). Newnew (sweet) - b6e6lek (bitter)

(2a). Lawan nó búku6ku6 Lawan 3sg be+Present smooth “Lawan is kind.”

(2b). Lawan ku6ku6 à wày mish Lawan smooth 3sg love people “The kind Lawan loves people.”

Apart from reduplication, we see that the bare adjectives above do not use morpheme boundaries in the sentence. In (2a), for instance, kudkud (smooth) appears as a predicate; it does not change its form. However, it can be noticed that it is separated from the noun it describes by the copula bú (be). Sentence (2b) is unacceptable; the bare adjective ku6kud (smooth) is directly attached to the noun. This remark indicates that when used within the sentence, predicative adjectives should be preceded by a copula in Muyang.

Contrary to bare adjectives, attributive adjectives directly attach to the noun they modify and, use morpheme boundaries. Bebey (2015) acknowledges that attributive adjective is derived from other parts of speech such as nouns, adverbs and predicative adjectives as illustrated in the following paradigm:

(3a). Tewar (talks) - tewaraní (talkative)
(3b). Mru (naivety) - merani (naïve)

From the above, one realises that the suffix -ani is added to nouns to form adjectives. The form of mru “naivety” which becomes merani “naïve” indicates that some roots are subject to morphophonological processes as observed in Bebey (2015)ii. Let us first notice that mru+N spells out “mru’ and mru+A also spells out “mru”.

(4). Mish gedakani gedak Man big much “A very big man”

Example (4) indicates that when used in syntactic constructions, attributive adjectives from nouns are affixed on –ani which is the attached word finally.

As it is the case with nouns, the suffix –ani is added to adverbs to form attributive adjectives. Given that adverbs can modify adjectives cross-linguistically, the derived adjectives from the latter can be modified by roots as follows: while the whole adjectival

ii It is demonstrated in Bebey (2015) that when two vocalic morphemes are adjacent, the first deletes. This accounts for the morphology of (3b) for instance where –u deletes when followed by the suffix –ani.
phrase modifies the noun mish “man” in (4), the adverb gedak “much” modifies gedakani “big” from which it derives. Let us consider examples that follow for further analyses:

(5a). Medewel (old) - medeweleni (old)
(5b). Dagwa (young) - dagwani (young)
(5c). Newnew (sweet) - newnewani (sweet)

A look at paradigm (5) shows that the suffix –ani is also added to predicative adjectives to form other direct modification adjectives. If the discussion above shows that the predicative adjective functions as a main predicate, how does the attributive adjective behave when used in the sentence? To answer this question, let us examine examples that follow:

(6). Ná wáy wal deslani
   1sg like woman short
   “I love a short woman.”

(7). Galu á dáy zal zebalani
    Galu 3sg take man tall
    “Galu gets married to a tall man.”

(8). Wal heni ó bú desl
    Woman this 3sg be short
    “This woman is short.”

(9). Zal ge Galu ni nó bú zebal
    Man of Galu NI 3sg be tall
    The Galu’s husband is tall.”

In (6) and (7), the derived forms of adjectives are attached to the NP which they modify whereas in (8) and (9), they are separated from the NPs by the copula mebani “to be”.

(10). *Ná wáy wal desl
    1sg like woman short
    “I love a short woman.”

(11). *Galu á dáy zal zebbal
      Galu 3sg take man tall
      “Galu gets married to a tall man

(12). *Wal heni ó bú deslani
     Woman this 3sg be short
     “This woman is short.”

(13). *Zal ge Galu ni nó bú zebbalani
      Man of Galu NI 3sg be tall
      “The Galu’s husband is tall.”

(10) and (11) are ungrammatical because adjectives directly attached to the NPs do not bear the suffix –ani. On the contrary, the derived form of the latter, when separated from nouns by the copula mebani “to be”, renders the sentence unacceptable in (12) and (13). The ungrammaticality of the above sentences supposes that the derived form of adjectives is used as a complement after the copula while the other follows directly the NP. This conclusion shows that within the sentence, the copula separates predicative adjectives from the nouns while attributive adjectives are directly attached to the latter. We also remark that there is no overt agreement between adjectives and the NPs they modify as it is the case in some Indo-European languages such as French and Spanish.

Unlike bare and attributive adjectives described above, where the suffix –ani is affixed on the root, a number of linguistic processes take place to form adjectives of colour as we can see in paradigm (14), (15) and (16):
It can be noted that three processes are operational to form adjectives of colour. First, they are bare (see 14a); second, they bear morpheme boundaries which is the suffix –ani and the last process is the compounding of the word (see 15) followed by reduplication and affixation as visible in (16). The position adjectives also include the reduced relative clauses. Below are examples:

(17). Wal [yati ná wáy ni] á heháy
Woman YATI 1sg love NI 3sg dance
“The woman who I love dances.”

(18). Wal goru heni delingdelingani ma ipelani [yati ná wáy ni] á heháy
Woman my this black beautiful YATI 1sg love NI 3sg dance
“This black beautiful wife of mine who I lovedances.”

In (17), the relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun yati “that” (Bebey 2010 and 2015) is directly attached to the NP wal “woman”, the meaning or characteristics of which it completes; whereas, other adjectives occur between the two elements in example (18). This argument allows us to conclude that the reduced relative clause which describes the NP is an attributive adjective as it is the case cross-linguistically (see Greenberg (1963), Koopman (2003) and Cinque (2005). It is demonstrated by literatures on the DP’s constituents that they include possessives, demonstratives and numerals as illustrated below:

(19). Goru______ my
Gayak______ your
Gayang______ his/ her/ its
Geli______ our
Gukuli______ your
Gatay______ their

The above table shows that there are six root forms of possessive adjectives in Muyang: three in the singular and three in the plural, whereas gender is not specified as it is the case in some languages such as Bantus and Endo-Europeans. When they are used in sentences, clauses or other syntactic constructions such as Noun Phrases, they behave as follows:

(20). Wal goru
Woman my
My wife.

(21). Beza gatay
Children their
Their children.

(22). *gukuli zum
your wine
Your wine.

iii In KiBembe for instance, possessives (adjectives and pronouns) mark gender (Iorio 2011).
A look at the preceding paradigm confirms the statements that possessives in Muyang-type languages do not determine nouns’ agreement properties. With regard to their morphology, we notice that they are subject to neither affixation nor reduplication. Unlike KiBembe (see Iorio 2011) where they are adnominal, example (22) reveals that possessives are restricted in post-nominal position in the phonetic form in Muyang like in Swahili and Ha (see Rugemalira 2007).

As far as demonstratives are concerned, two are attested in the language. Both are constrained by the number (singular and plural) and the position of the speaker with regard to the person or the object he talks about as summarised in Table 23:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position/number</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>Heni (this)</td>
<td>Nday heni/ndeni (these)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far</td>
<td>Teguni (that)</td>
<td>Nday teungi (those)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above, one realizes that the constituent *nday* “they” is not a demonstrative, it rather marks plurality. Let us consider the following data to see how demonstratives behave in the language:

Using *nday* heni kudkud’  “this kind”

(23). Wir heni kudkud’

Child this kind

“This kind child.”

(24). Beza nday heni kudkud’

Children pl this kind

“These kind children.”

As it is the case with possessives, it is evident that demonstratives are postnominal in the surface structure and don’t have an overt agreement.

In Muyang, numerals, both cardinals and ordinals vary between 1 and 99 999 and 1st and 99 999th respectively (Bebey 2015). Examples are given in (26) to show their formation and distribution:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beling</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kru-mahar-adiskla</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ding-anabeling</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dobu</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noticed that numbers from 1 to 9 are added to 10 using the word *mahar* which means “plus” in order to count from 21 to 29, from 31 to 39, from 41 to 49, etc. *Kru* “ten” occurs in reduplicate to make 20; the same reduplicate number is multiplied by 3, 4, 5, 6 up to 9 to make 30, 40, 50, 60 up to 90 respectively. We count from 101 to 199, from 201 to 299, from 301 to 399 etc by using coordination between hundreds and the following numbers. Also, *ding* “hundred” appears in reduplicate and multiplied by 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6

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*In Swahili, Ha and many other Bantu languages, possessives occur in postnominal position in PF (Rugemalira 2007: 144)*
up to 9 to make 200, 300, 400, 500 and 600 up to 900. As far as order is concerned, it is formed as follows:

(27). Underlying Form | Phonetic Form | Glossary
---|---|---
yati-beling | ya-beling | 1st
yati-kru-mahar-adiskla | ya-kru-mahar-adiskla | 17th
yati-ding | ya-ding | 100th

Here, *yati* is described by Bebey (2010) as a relative pronoun that marks order when it precedes numbers. Let us consider examples that follow for further illustration:

(28). *Beza zlam*  
Children five  
“Five children.”

(29). *Wir zalani ya-zlam*  
Child male fifth  
“The fifth boy.”

In Table (27), one realises that *yati* which becomes *ya* relates the NP to the Adjective. Given that relative clauses are headed by relative pronouns, the above reasoning suggests that the numeral ordinal adjective *ya-zlam* (fifth) should be analysed as a reduced Relative Phrase.

2. The DP’s materials

Adjectives co-occur in many natural languages and provide researchers with various templates when one moves from one language to another. This template comprises a number of syntactic categories which appear around the NP head. Here, we find some examples:

(30). The beautiful old Nigerian woman. (English)

(31). *Wal nigeriye medewelani məbelani ni.* (Muyang)  
Woman Nigerian old beautiful the  
“The beautiful old Nigerian woman.”

(32). Bi-nibi-yidá bi-luNgE bi má-dugmá mì-má-mimí-Nín mì mì-ntómbá mì-tifigí  
Dem. heavy harmless link round link old link female link sheeps small

mì-nlám mì-nkoybágá mì-nsámal mw-ɛmmi-mpɛ
nice red six poss other (Basaa, Bassong and al. 2014: 5) Lit.  
“These harmless round old female sheep small nice red six my”

(33). *Kete pendre wali bodò Baya*  
Small beautiful woman black Baya  
“A black small beautiful Baya woman” (Sango)

(34). *Walplá tái mandakwangábaglungáarbañenë.*  
Woman Fulani old big beautiful this  
“This old beautiful Fulani woman.” (mada)
In the above paradigm, we remark that if Indo-European languages such as English range adjectives quality>age>nationality>NP in (30), it is not the case of African languages such as Muyang in (31) where they are ranged (NP)>nationality>age>quality. It is Dem>Weight>Quality(moral)>Shape>Age>Gender>(NP)>Size>Quality(physical)>Colour>Numeral>Poss in Basaa, a Bantu language Spoken in the centre and littoral regions of Cameroon; Size>Quality>(NP)>Colour>Nationality/Origin in Sango a language spoken in Central African Republic, where the NP raises above colour and nationality or origin; and Nationality/Origin>Age>Size>Quality>(NP) in Mada, a Chadic language spoken in Northern Cameroon.

The changing order of adjectives, when one goes from one language to another, in the preceding data indicates that the combinational possibilities of adjectives are a challenge in the development of universal theories, more particularly in the development of a universal mapping of the DP. Let us look at the following data:

(35a). Azana niŋeriye cekweletcekweleteni medeweleni bābārani ni Cloth Nigerian blue old solid the "The old solid blue Nigerian cloth"

(35b). Zal vergi maɗa delingdelingani medeweleni tsuɗayani ni Man islam mada black old wicked the "The old black wicked muslim mada man"

In (35a) and (35b), it is observed that Muyang regularly ranges adjectives as follows: Religion>Nationality/Origin>Colour>Age>Quality/Subjective. This position can be enlarged as illustrated in the following example:

(36). Wir vergi maɗa walani gedakani ndiŋeni medeweleni maɓeleni zeɓalani ni Child islam mada female big red old beautiful tall the "The old female clear beautiful tall big muslim mada child"

Example (36) indicates that the position AdjP comprises a number of adjectives mapped as follows: (NP)>Religion>Nationality/Origin>Gender>Shape>Colour>Age>Quality>Size. Let us consider the data that follow for further analyses:

(37a). *Azana nigeriye bābārani cekweletcekweleteni medeweleni ni Cloth Nigerian solid blue old the "The old solid blue Nigerian cloth"

(37b). *Zal maɗa vergi delingdelingani tsuɗayani medeweleni ni Man mada islam black wicked old the "The old black wicked muslim mada man"

(37c). *Wir maɗa vergi walani zeɓalani gedakani ndiŋani medeweleni maɓeleni ni Child mada islam female tall big red old beautiful the
"The old female clear beautiful tall big muslim mada child"

When the range of adjectives is inversed in (37a-c), the syntactic constructions are ungrammatical. This supposes that there may be a one-to-one selection of adjectives which allows their natural combinational ordering. Adjectives of nationality or origin in example (37a) for instance cannot precede the ones of religion in Muyang.

Let us ignore for the moment their position with regards to the noun and come back to the position Adjectival Phrase. A look at (36) shows that the latter (AdjP) in this language as it is the case of other languages (see examples of English, Basaa, Sango and Mada in the preceding paradigms) is a syntactic zone which comprises a number of constituents. Let us consider the following data for more illustration:

(38). Wir vergi maɗa walani gedakani gedak ndịṣeni asafay medeweleni maɓelani zebalani
Child islam mada female big much red very old beautiful tall
The old female so clear beautiful tall very big muslim mada child.

In (38), there is an exclusive modification of the meaning of the adjective of weight gedakani “big” and one of color ndịṣeni “red” respectively. It means that each adjective has a distinct semantic content. The exclusive modification of these syntactic particles and the fact that adjectives in languages such as Basaa (32) and Sango (33), appear on either side of the NP and between the other DP’s elements do not make it possible to describe the position Adjective as one single maximal projection. This means that according to its word order, each language has a particular combination of adjectives.

In fact, after the success of the Split-Inflexional Phrase hypotheses by Jean Yves Pollock (1989), the Split-CP hypotheses by Rizzi (1997), the dislocation of DP (see Greenberg 1963, Hawkins 1983, Nkemnji 1995, Tamanji 1999, Brugè 2002, Koopman 2003 and Cinque (2005, 2010), the split-Adverbial Phrase (see Cinque 2005 and Biloa 2011 and 2013), the cartography of the position adjective as described above indicates that it is an array of distinct syntactic constituents, each of which can be projected as a maximal projection. Let us consider the following example for further illustration:

(39). Wir vergi maɗa goru heni walani gedakani ndịjani medeweleni maɓelani belingani
Child islam mada Poss. Dem. female big much red old beautiful Num
zebbalani [yati ná wáy ni] á sleká
Tall that 1sg like NI 3sg go
“This single old female clear beautiful tall very big muslim mada child of mine who I love goes home”

Example in (39) shows that, adjectives (direct, indirect, possessives, numerals, demonstratives, etc.) can occur in adjacency in Muyang. We can also remark that as is the case in Bas’a’a (see example 32), attributive adjectives including the reduced relative clause, are separated by others such as demonstratives and possessives as visible in the following range: (NP) > Religion > Nationality/Origin > Poss > Dem > Gender > Shape > Colour > Quality > Age > Num > Size > Rel. Knowing that the underlying order is universal (see Cinque 2005, 2010 and Nchare 2011), how does the surface order derives from it?
2.1 Combination of DP’s materials
In his discussion of Greenberg’s (1963) Universal 20, Cinque (2005) proposes that there are 24 conceivable combinations of the DP’s elements out of which 14 are attested in natural languages. He assumed that the fixed merged order of nominal modifiers is Dem>Num>AP>NP and, the NP may move partially or totally with or without pied-piping through the extended nominal projection. Revising these proposals, Nchare (2011) reported that 18 combinations are attested in Shupamem instead of 14. These statements suppose that according to the semantic interpretation, the surface structure varies from one language to another. While the NP is fronted in Muyang for example (see 39), it just raises above some DP’s materials (colour and nationality) in Sango. From the above, it is plausible to suggest that word combination obtains the acceptable DP’s orders. This reasoning raises the following questions: how many conceivable combinations are there in Muyang? What is the surface structure of DP in the language? Which syntactic process motivates the different inversions of elements within the DP?

2.1.1 Combination of direct modification adjectives
Adjectives concerned in this section are predicative and attributive. Departed from proposals by Koopman and al; (2014), for whom adjectives in English are ranged: subjective-size-age-shape-colour-gender-nationality-material, a two-by-two combination will be done in order to find out the combination of the latter in Muyang. It is important to take a look at the structures that follow:

2.1.1.1 Order of adjectives with subjective in initial position

(40a). Wal mæbelani gérakani (Subjective-Size)
Woman beautiful big

(40b). Wal mæbelani medeweleni (Subjective-Age)
Woman beautiful old

(40c). Wal mæbelani bedbedani (Subjective-Colour)
Woman beautiful white

(40d). *Ahay mæbelani hendegilgileni (Subjective-Shape)
House beautiful round

(40e). *Wir mæbelani takalakani (Subjective-Gender)
Child beautiful female

(40f). *Wir mæbelani nigerie (Subjective-Nationality)
Child beautiful Nigeria

(40g). *Ahay mæbelani ge simo (Subjective-Material)
House beautiful of cement
Given that Muyang fronts the NP in PF in general, only the distribution of its modifiers is analysed. When the subjective or comment is following the NP, we realise that it is only tolerated between size and age in (40a) and (40b).

### 2.1.1.2 Order of adjectives with size in initial position

(41a). *Wal zebalani maɓelani*
Woman tall beautiful

(41b). *Wal zebalani medeweleni*
Woman tall old

(41c). *Wal zebalani bedbedani*
Woman tall white

(41d). *Ahay zebalani hendegilgileni*
House tall round

(41e). *Wir zebalani zalani*
Child tall male

(41f). *Wir zebalani niʒerie*
Child tall Nigeria

(41g). *Ahay zebalani ge simo*
House tall of cement

Data in the above paradigm are ill-formed. This ungrammaticality shows that, contrary to subjective, size is not allowed at all in the phrase beginning position in Muyang.

### 2.1.1.3 Order of adjectives with age in initial position

(42a). *Wal medewel maɓelani*
Woman old beautiful

(42b). *Wal medewel zebalani*
Woman old tall

(42c). *Wal medewel dedelingeni*
Woman old black

(42d). *Wal medewel hendegilgileni*
Woman old round

(42e). *Mish medeweleni zalani*
People old male
Age contrary to size appears before subjective, size, colour and shape. It does not precede gender, nationality and material.

2.1.1.4 Order of adjectives with shape in initial position

(43a). Ahay hendegilgileni solumani
House round good

(43b). Ahay hendegilgileni zebalani
House round tall

(43c). Ahay hendegilgileni medeweleni
House round old

(43d). Ahay hendegilgileni ndiʒeni
House round red

(43e). Wir hendegilgileni takalakani
Child round female

(43f). Wir hendegilgileni niʒerie
Child round Nigeria

(43g). Ahay hendegilgileni ge simo
House old of cement

Only nationality, material and age occur before shape. The other adjectives are ranged in the right periphery. This combination supposes that shape may be fifth in the surface ordering of adjectives in this Chadic language.

2.1.1.5 Order of adjectives with colour in initial position

(44a). Azana ndiʒeni solumani
Cloth red good

(44b). Azana ndiʒeni gedàkanì
Cloth red large

(44c). Azana ndiʒeni medeweleni
Cloth red old

(44d). *Azana ndiʒeni hendegilgileni
Cloth red round

(42f). Wal medewel mada
Woman old mada

(42g). *Ahay medeweleni ge simo
House old of cement

(Age-Nationalit/Origin)

(Age-Material)
As one sees in the constructions above, colour strands subjective, size and age. It may be ranged after shape.

2.1.1.6 Order of adjectives with gender in initial position

(45a). Wir dahalay mabelani
Child young beautiful

(45b). Wir dahalay zebalani
Child young size

(45c). Wir dahalay hendegilgileni
Child young red

(45d). Wir dahalay ndįįneni
Child young red

(45e). *Wir dahalay niʒerie
Child young Nigeria

(45f). *Ahay medeweleni ge simo
Child old of cement

(45g). Mish medeweleni walani
People old woman

A look at the above data shows that gender, material and nationality appear before age.

2.1.1.7 Order of adjectives with nationality or origin in initial position

(46a). Wir mada mabelani
Child mada beautiful

(46b). Wir mada zebalani
Child mada tall

(46c). Wir mada gedakani
Child mada big
All the constructions above are acceptable. This indicates that nationality is the first adjective in the surface order of adjectives in Muyang.

2.1.1.8 Order of adjectives with material in initial position

(47a). Mota ge ɓiyem mabelani
Car of wood beautiful

(47b). Mota ge ɓiyem gedakani
Car of wood big

(47c). Mota ge ɓiyem hendegilgileni
Car of wood round

(47d). Mota ge ɓiyem medeweleni
Car of wood old

(47e). Mota ge ɓiyem walani
Car of wood female

(47f). Mota ge ɓiyem niʒerie
Car of wood Nigeria

(47g). Mota ge ɓiyem ndiʒeni
Car of wood red

In paradigm (47), it is noted that only nationality appears before material which is supposed to be second. This remark lends support to the proposals that nationality occupies the initial position on the adjectives’ mapping. This makes it possible to write after the preceding conclusions that the one-to-one selection of adjectives in Muyang gives the following order: nationality-material-gender-age-shape-colour-subjective-size.

The above remark evidences proposals by a number of literatures on the structure of DP that the position AdjP should split up into distinct maximal projections in Muyang’s type languages. If these proposals are on the right track, the cartography of this syntactic zone comprises the following heads: the Religion Phrase (ReliP), the Nationality Phrase (NatP), the Gender Phrase (GenP), the Size Phrase (SiP), the Shape...
Phrase (ShaP), the Colour Phrase (ColP), the Subjective or Quality Phrase (QualP) and the Age Phrase (AgeP).

2.1.2 The position A in the DP
This section describes the possible combinations of numerals, demonstratives and adjectives in Muyang and proposes the surface order of position A(Adjective). In contrast to some Bantu languages such as Sukuma (Rugemalira 2007: 146) where demonstratives, possessives and relative clauses may vary positions freely, their order is restricted in Muyang.

2.1.2.1 Order of DP with Demonstrative in the initial position

(48a). Ndéné cu gedákani awák
These two big goats
(Dem-Num-A-N)

(48b). Ndéné cu(ani) awák gedákani
These two goats big
(Dem-Num-N-A)

(48c). Ndéné awák cu gedákani
These goats two big
(Dem-N-Num-A)

(48d). Ndéné awák gedákani cu
These goats big two
(Dem-N-A-Num)

(48e). Ndéné gedákani awák cu
These big goats two
(Dem-A-N-Num)

(48f). Ndéné gedákani cu awák
These big two goats
(Dem-A-Num-N)

When the demonstrative occurs in the initial position, two possible combinations are conceivable: Dem-Num-N-A and Dem-N-A-Num. In (48b), both the demonstrative and the numeral are focused. The speakers in (48d) means that out of the goats around him, only the ones he indicates are big. In addition to focusing, we can note that demonstratives, numerals and possessives occur on either side of the NP head with no possibility for A, a DP’s constituent, to occur in adposition, so asymmetrically c-commanding the NP (Kayne 1994, Tang 2006).

2.1.2.2 Order of DP with Noun in initial position

(49a). *Awák gedákani cu ndéné
Goats big two these
(N-A-Dem-Num)

(49b). *Awák gedákani ndéné cu
Goats big these two
(N-A-Num-Dem)
Unlike Aghem (Hyman 1979 and Heine 1981) and Noni (Hawkins 1983) which attach numerals and adjectives to the initial N respectively, hence, demonstratives must follow the latter in Muyang. In (49c), A rises above Num when the speaker emphasizes on the shape of goats to obtain the N-Dem-A-Num combination. This once more evidences that the movement is motivated by focusing. Contrary to other constructions, no syntactic process obtains the N-Dem-Num-A order in (49d) which seems to be the natural DP’s order in Muyang. In fact, the language naturally proposes the NP head in PF. This range would pose an annoyance to Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetry conditions if N were supposed to be analyzed as a node C-commanding D’s elements. In other words, Muyang places demonstratives, numerals and adjectives in postnominal position, an order which corroborates Greenberg’s (1963) proposals according to whom “When any or all of the items- demonstrative, numeral and descriptive adjective- precede the nouns, they are always found in that order. If they follow, the order is either the same or its exact oppositev.” As commented by Nchare (2011), Greenberg’s (1963) states that to the left of the N, only one ordering is possible, while to its right, both the same ordering, or its mirror-image are possible. The following are his possible DP ordering:

a) Dem-Num-A-N
b) *A-Num-Dem-N
c) N-Dem-Num-A
d) N-A-Num-Dem

In Muyang example (49), one notices that demonstratives, numerals and adjectives follow the NP head as Greenberg’s (1963) proposal (c) in the paradigm above whereas the order N-A-Num-Dem in (d) is unacceptable in example (49b).

2.1.2.3 Order of DP with Adjective in the initial position

Given the analysis that the DP occurs in the phrase-final position in PF and the inverse order of the N-Dem-Num-A is ungrammatical as demonstrated in the preceding section, the assumption can be that any acceptable fronting of adjectives results from syntactic derivations such as focusing. Consider the examples below:
The grammatical A-N-Dem-Num in (50a) is conceivable if and only if the fronted A is focused. On this basis, the contrary range A-Num-Dem-N of the acceptable N-Dem-Num-A in (50e) is ungrammatical as indicated by Greenberg (1963) in (d). This description is once more illustrative that the Muyang-type data accommodate Greenberg’s (1963) Universal 20.

2.1.2.4 Order of DP with Numeral in initial position.
In the revision of the Greenberg’s (1963) proposals, Hawkins (1983) showed that the order Num>N>A>Dem with numerals in the phrase-initial position is attested in some languages. Consider the Muyang data that follow.

(51a). Cu gedakani awák ndeni cu
     Two big goats these
     (Num-A-N-Dem)

(51b). Cu gedakani ndeni awák
     Two big these goats
     (Num-A-Dem-N)

(51c). Cu ndeni gedakani awák
     Two these big goats
     (Num-Dem-A-N)

(51d). Cu ndeni awák gedakani
     Two these goats big
     (Num-Dem-N-A)

(51e). Cu awák ndeni gedakani
     Two goats these big
     (Num-N-A-Dem)

(51f). Cu awák ndeni gedakani
     Two goats these big
     (Num-N-Dem-A)

Only sentence (51a) is grammatical in the above paradigm. In effect, the speaker in the said sentence means that out of the numerous goats around him, only two are big.
This supposes once more that focusing is the syntactic process that motivates the movement of the numeral to the initial position of the phrase. In short, there is one surface structure of DP, the N-Dem-Num-A and, syntactic processes such as focusing obtains only five other combinations which are the N-Dem-A-Num, Num-A-N-Dem, A-N-Dem-Num, Dem-Num-N-A and Dem-N-A-Num out of the 14 derivable orders proposed by Cinque (2010)\(^{vi}\) and the 18 proposed by Schare (2011) in Shupamem.

2.1.3 The position reduced-Relative Phrase
Some current researches in Generative Syntax such as Koopman (2003) and Letsholo (2006)\(^{vii}\) have analysed the DP as D CP rather than D NP. This indicates that the relative clauses as described so far should be analysed as noun modifiers. The present section deals with the combination of the different DP’s elements notably the reduced Relative Phrase, numeral, demonstrative and noun in order to indicate its position within the phrase in Muyang.

2.1.3.1 Order of DP with the reduced-Relative Clause in the initial

(52a). ⃰[yati tá wáy nu ni] wál ndeni cu. (Rel-N-Dem-Num)
That 3pl love+present me Ni women these two

(52b). ⃰[yati tá wáy nu ni] wál cu ndeni. (Rel-N-Num-Dem)
That 3pl love+present me Ni women two these

\(^{vi}\) a. X Dem Num A N (very many languages)
b. X Dem Num N A (many languages)
c. X Dem N Num A (very few languages)
d. X N Dem Num A (few languages)
h. * N Num Dem A (Ø – Greenberg 1963; Lu 1998,162)
i. * A Dem Num N (Ø – Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983)
j. * A Dem N Num (Ø – Greenberg 1963; Hawkins 1983)
k. X A N Dem Num (very few languages)
l. X N A Dem Num (few languages)
n. X Dem A N Num (very few languages)
o. X Dem N A Num (many languages)
p. X N Dem A Num (very few languages – possibly spurious)
r. X Num A N Dem (very few languages)
s. X Num N A Dem (few languages – but see fn.32)
t. X N Num A Dem (few languages)
w. X A N Num Dem (very few languages)
x. X N A Num Dem (very few languages)

\(^{vii}\) In Maasai and Ikanga, two Bantu languages, described by Koopman (2003) and Letsholo (2006), NPs and relative clauses seem to exhibit the same morphology.
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(52c). \[yati \, tá \, wáy \, nu \, ni\] cu \, wál \, ndeni. (Rel-Num-N-Dem)
That 3pl love+present me Ni two women these

(52d). \[yati \, tá \, wáy \, nu \, ni\] cu ndeni wál. (Rel-Num-Dem-N)
That 3pl love+present me Ni two these women

(52e). \[yati \, tá \, wáy \, un \, ni\] ndeni cu wál. (Rel-Num-Dem-N)
That 3pl love+present me Ni these two women

(52f). \[yati \, tá \, wáy \, nu \, ni\] ndeni wálcu. (Rel-Num-N-Num)
That 3pl love+present me Ni these women two

The sentences above are all ungrammatical. This indicates that the reduced relative clause is not allowed in the phrase's initial position.

2.1.3.2 Order of DP with the noun in the initial

(53a). Wál ndeni [yati tá wáy nu ni] cu (N-Dem-Rel-Num)
Women these that 3pl love+present me Ni two

(53b). Wál ndeni cu(wani) [yati tá wáy nu ni] (N-Dem-Num-Rel)
Women these two that 3pl love+present me Ni

(53c). Wál [yati tá wáy nu ni] ndeni cu (N-Rel-Dem-Num)
Women that 3pl love+present me Ni these two

(53d). Wál [yati tá wáy nu ni] cu ndeni (N-Rel-Num-Dem)
Women that 3pl love+present me Ni two these

(53e). Wál cu [yati tá wáy nu ni] ndeni (N-Num-Rel-Dem)
Women two that 3pl love+present me Ni these

(53f). Wál cu ndeni [yati tá wáy nu ni] (N-Num-Dem-Rel)
Women two these that 3pl love+present me Ni

Given that the reduced relative clause functions as a descriptive adjective cross-linguistically and the surface order of DP as described in the preceding section is N-Dem-Num-A, the grammaticality of (53b) with N-Dem-Num-Rel is obvious. In (53a), the speaker emphasizes on the numeral. He means that they are these two women who love him. This indicates that it is this unmarked emphasis which obtains the Num raising above the RelP giving the order N-Dem-Rel-Num.

2.1.3.3 Order of DP with the demonstrative in the initial

Given the analysis that the demonstrative must attached to the NP in the right-hand boundary in PF, its occurrence in initial position may be ungrammatical.

viii According to Bebey (2010 and 2015) Muyang marks focus by yati which occurs after the target constituent and ni which is placed clause-finally.
(54a). Ndeni wál cu(wani) [yati tá wáy nu ni] (Dem-N-Num-Rel)  
These women two that 3pl love+present me Ni  

(54b). Ndeni wál [yati tá wáy nu ni] cu(wani) (Dem-N-Rel-Num)  
These women that 3pl love+present me Ni two  

(54c). Ndeni [yati tá wáy nu ni] wál cu (Dem-Rel-N-Num)  
These that 3pl love+present me Ni women two  

(54d). Ndeni [yati tá wáy nu ni] cu wál (Dem-Rel-Num-N)  
These that 3pl love+present me Ni two women  

(54e). Ndeni cu [yati tá wáy nu ni] wál (Dem-Num-Rel-N)  
These two that 3pl love+present me Ni women  

(54f). Ndeni cu(wani) [yati tá wáy nu ni] wál (Dem-Num-N-Rel)  
These two that 3pl love+present me Ni women  

In example (54b), the speaker presents the women who love him out of many women around him. To succeed, he emphasizes on the demonstrative which leaves to the sentence initial position. It is evident that the final Numeral in (54f) moved to the left periphery of the sentence. In fact, the speaker emphasizes on both the Demonstrative and the Numeral not to only show the women who love him, but also to know their number. Focus on these constituents obtains the following order: Dem-Num-N-Rel and Dem-N-Rel-Num.

2.1.3.4 Order of DP with the numeral in the initial  
Consider the following data:

(55a). Cu ndeni [yati tá wáy nu ni] wál (Num-Dem-Rel-N)  
Two these that 3pl love+present me Ni women  

(55b). Cu ndeni wál [yati tá wáy nu ni] (Num-Dem-N-Rel)  
Two these women that 3pl love+present me Ni  

(55c). Cu wál ndeni [yati tá wáy nu ni] (Num-N-Dem-Rel)  
Two women these that 3pl love+present me Ni  

(55d). Cu wál [yati tá wáy nu ni] ndeni (Num-N-Rel-Dem)  
Two women that 3pl love+present me Ni these  

(55e). Cu [yati tá wáy nu ni] wál ndeni (Num-Rel-N-Dem)  
Two that 3pl love+present me Ni women these  

(55f). Cu(wani) [yati tá wáy nu ni] wál ndeni (Num-Rel-Dem-N)  
Two that 3pl love+present me Ni women these  

Here, the speaker talks about people who love him in particular. To do so, he shifts the Numeral in sentence (55f) above the other constituent to the left periphery of the
phrase. This once more indicates that focusing is a motivation of the various combinations of DP’s elements in Muyang. Remarks from the above lines lead to conclude that the following constructions are conceivable with the reduced-RelP within the DP:

a) Num-Rel-Dem-N,
b) N-Dem-Num-Rel,
c) N-Dem-Rel-Num,
d) Dem-Num-N-Rel
e) Dem-N-Rel-Num.

From the above conceivable combinations, it is clear that the surface order of the DP with the reduced-RelP is N-Dem-Num-Rel; a range which confirms the assumptions that the merged order of NP in Muyang is N-Dem-Num-A(Rel) in PF. For further analyses, let us have a view on the following structures:

(56a). Wal goru heni yati ná wáy ni
Woman my this YATI 1sg love NI
“This wife of mine who I love.”

(56b). Wal goru heni ma mêlani yati ná wáy ni
Woman my this beautiful YATI 1sg love NI
“This beautiful wife of mine who I love.”

(57a). Awák goru ndeni gedàkanì yati nó sokumórô ni
Goats my these big YATI 1sg sell NI
“These big goats of mine that I sell.”

(57b). Awák goru ndeni gedàkanì zlama ni yati nó sokumórô ni
Goats my these big five NI YATI 1sg sell NI
“These five big goats of mine that I sell.”

(58). Awák yati nó sokumórô ni
Goats YATI 1sg sell NI
“These goats that I sell.”

(59). Wal yati ná wáy ni
Woman YATI 1sg love NI
“The wife who I love.”

Considering the analysis that yati is a relative pronoun that introduces relative clauses in Muyang (Bebey 2010 and 2015), this naturally occurs in the postnominal area, so restricted to the head noun. In (56a) and (56b), the relative clause appears after the demonstrative and the adjective respectively. In (57b), it follows ni, while in (58) and (59) it is found immediately after the head noun. Given this distribution, it is plausible to analyze relative clauses as DP’s materials.

Also, it seems to be the case that when one considers the general pattern of determiners in Muyang, it appears that focus-like determiners (demonstratives,
numerals, adjectives, relative clauses, etc.,) are allowed in N-final construction, whereas modifier-like determiners occur in N-initial constructions.

However, in some examples such as (57b), (58) and (59), there is a final *ni* which appears with DP’s constituents. The question which arises is what this lexical element is and what its distribution within the clause is.

### 2.2 *Ni* is a DP’s material

Bebey (2015) acknowledged that there is a variation in the use of *ni* in Muyang. He proposed that when used in the final position of moved constituents, *ni* should be analysed, in the lines of Biloa (2014) as the Force marker and, when it appears in the DP, it marks definiteness as pointed by Smith (2003). Consider the following data:

(60a). *Awák goru ndeni zlama ni té shí yam*  
Goats my these five NI 3pl drink water  
“These five goats of mine drink water.”

(60b). *Awák goru ndeni kayani ni té shí yam*  
Goats my these many NI 3pl drink water  
“These many goats of mine drink water.”

(60c). *Awák goru ndeni zlam kayani ni té shí yam*  
Goats my these five many NI 3pl drink water  
“These five many goats of mine drink water.”

(60d). *Awák goru ndeni geɗakani zlama ni yati té shí yam ni] tă ză tsakala*  
Goats my these big five NI YATI 3pl drink water NI 3pl give price  
“These five big goats of mine which drink water are expensive.”

While the quantifier and the numeral compete in (60c), each of them occurs within the same structure with *ni* in (60a) and (60b). This distribution indicates that *ni* is neither a numeral nor a quantifier in the sense of Aboh (2006). In (60d), *ni* occurs after the numeral and before the relative clause. This position supposes that *ni* is not a Force marker as analysed by Biloa (2014) and Bebey (2010 and 2015). Furthermore, contrary to determiners in English, French, Spanish, etc., it is obvious that *ni* does not determine genre, person and number raising the question to know the category of DP’s element *ni* belongs to.

(61a). *Agwa té shí yam*  
Goats 3pl drink water  
“Goats drink water.”

(61b). *Awák ni té shí yam*  
Goats NI 3pl drink water  
“The goats drink water.”

To solve this issue, a sight at preceding sentences shows that the head noun in (61b) is definite. Here, *ni* determines the definiteness interpretation of DP’s elements. This
remark in addition to its restrictive distribution within the position-DP is suggesting along the lines of Smith (2003, 2006) and Bebey (2010 and 2015) that the Muyang ni in postnominal position should be analysed as a definiteness marker. Given the analysis that the DP position should split up in a number of functional heads, there should be a Definiteness Phrase (DefP) that hosts ni.

3. The cartography of DP

Departed from Greenberg (1963), Abney (1987), following Hawkins (1983) who claims that anything goes postnominally, makes a hypothesis of NP which should be analysed as DP. In effect, in order to accommodate the X-bar theory, he suggests that the NP merges with D’ to form the DP. Reasoning along the same lines, Kayne (1994) writes that in order to account for the postnominal position (Dem>Num>A or A>Num>Dem), the noun should move from spec to Spec,Agr found above each projection that hosts the demonstrative, Number and Adjective ix. Consider the following data to see the restrictive hierarchy of determiners within the position DP in Muyang:

(62a). Awak
Goat
“A goat”

(62b). Awak takalakani
Goat female
“The female goat”

(62c). awák
goats
“The goats”

(62d). awak ni
goat NI
“The goat”

(62e). awak goru
Goat my
“My goat”

(62f). awák goru
Goats my
“My goats”

(62g). awak heni
goat this
“This goat”

(62h). awák ndeni
Goat these
“These goats”

(62i). awák zlam
goat five
“Five goats”

At first glance, we observe that determiners (definite article, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, numerals, definiteness, etc.,) in the data above are postnominal. In (62a), one sees, as argued so far, that the indefinite article is not phonetically realised. Examples (62b-c) show that articles, for instance, do not bear an overt marker of number and gender. The latter is indicated by a pitch accent on the word’s ultimate syllable and a qualifying adjective that indicates female in the language respectively. When the noun changes in number in (62f), the possessive does not. This remark supposes that, as it is the case with the definiteness marker ni analysed in the section above, determiners do not have descriptive content in Muyang.

Now, let emphasis on their position. According to Brugè (2002), reasoning along the lines of Carstens (1991) and Kayne (1994), the postnominal demonstratives in Spanish are obtained by movement of the Noun Phrase above the Determiner Phrase. It means that determiners are prenominally base-generated. Consider the following examples to see if these proposals account for the Muyang DP constructions as assumed so far:

ix See Kouankem (2012).
As raised in the preceding section, the Kayne’s (1994) antisymmetry theory where DP’s elements head the projection of DP and NPs including reduced-relative clauses project as its complements, would not account for the Muyang materials where N c-commands D. To tackle this problem, it is better to move away from the assumptions that demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, possessives, definiteness markers, reduced-relative clauses, etc., constitute the position-DP and N is base-generated in the phrase right boundary as proposed by Abney (1989). Given the proposals that determiners are weak*, we can maintain that it cannot prevent a strong head such as the NP to be preposed in (63d). Thus, the higher distribution of the head noun suggests following Carstens (1991) and Kayne’s (1994) that a movement of the NP’s head to the left periphery accounts for the language word order as sketched in the following structural projection:

(64)

Considering examples (63a-b), it is noted that the DP position includes many lexical categories: possessives, adjectives, numerals and demonstratives. Given the X-bar principles that lexical constituents are heads of maximal projections (Chomsky 1970), it means that possessives, adjectives, numerals and demonstratives which occur in DP position, are heads of distinct structural projections. Thus, as argued in the sense of Kayne (1994) in the preceding paragraphs, the noun originates in the right periphery, then

* It is argued in the preceding paragraphs that determiners (articles, possessives, demonstratives, numerals, etc.) do not have descriptive content in Muyang.
moves from Spec to Spec, AgrP\[^{a}\] found above each projection that hosts the possessive, the demonstrative, the adjective and the numeral as illustrated in the familiar fashion:

![Diagram](image)

In connection with the preceding data, a determiner co-occurs with adjectives and other determiners in the position after the NP. In this respect, it occurs in DP position in the sense of Abney (1987), Kayne (1994) and Brugè (2002). For further analyses, consider the examples below:

(66a). \textit{awak solumani}

Goat       good

“A good goat”

(66b). \textit{Awak solumani beling}

Goat       good       one

“One good goat”

(66c). \textit{awák goru ndeni solumani cu}

Goats  my     these       good       two

“These two good goats of mine”

Sentences (66b) and (66c) show that the adjective \textit{solumani} “good” does not change even if it respectively qualifies a singular noun in the first sentence and a plural noun in the second. This behaviour supposes that agreement is rather achieved in semantic level. Consider the ungrammatical data that follow:

\[^{a}\text{It is argued in Nchare (2011: 158) that since there is number agreement within the DP in Shupamem, the projection of AgrP is crucial.}\]
The sentences above are ill-formed because the adjective has moved. It means that like determiners, the descriptive adjective is not strong enough to move across other sentence constituents (see also 67b). From the above, when UG principles are not violated, a number of noun modifiers including the adjective, appear in the DP position, above the NP. Consider the following data for further illustrations:

$$\text{(68a).} \quad \text{Awák goru ndeni solumani kay}$$

Goats my these good many

“These many good goats of mine”

$$\text{(68b).} \quad \text{Awák goru ndeni solumani zlam}$$

Goats my these good five

“My five these good goats” (lit)

$$\text{(68c).} \quad \text{*Awák goru ndeni solumani kay zlam}$$

Goats my these good many five

“These five many good goats of mine”

The co-occurrence of the numeral zlam “five” and the quantifier kay “many” in (68c) renders the structure unacceptable. This phenomenon indicates the two linguistic categories may occupy the same projection. Consider the following example:

$$\text{(69a).} \quad \text{Awák goru ndeni kay solumani té shí yam}$$

Goats my these many good 3pl drink water

“My many these good goats drink water.” (lit)

$$\text{(69b).} \quad \text{*Awák goru ndeni zlam kay solumani té shí yam}$$

Goats my these five many good 3pl drink water

“My five many these good goats drink water.” (lit)

(69b) is ungrammatical because zlam “five” and kay “many” compete. This observation leads us to the proposal following Li (1999) that numerals may be analysed as quantifier phrase (QP) and need to be projected as numeral phrase (NumP) as illustrated in the structural projection that follow:
From the investigations above, and following Chung (1998) and Tang (2006), we can say that at PF, the DP is a complex and large structure that follows the NP in Muyang. In LF, as illustrated in (70), the NP is obtained by pied-piping showing in the sense of Cinque (2005 and 2010) that the merged order of DP is Dem>Num>A>N. Thus, constructions such as the one in (60d) show that the architecture of the DP at spell out is the following: N>Poss>Dem>Adj>Num>Def>Rel. Now, consider the following data that contain a variety of DP’s categories:

70). Sla moko ge ɓiyem goru heni takalakani dedelingani medeweleni ma défini
Cow Zulgo of wood my this female black old beautiful
belingeni zebalani ni yati è shi yam
one tall Def Rel 3sg drink water
“This one tall old black female Zulgo woody cow of mine.”

71). Wir vergi Mada gayak heni takalakani ndigeni medeweleni ma défini
Child muslim Mada your this female red old beautiful
belingeni zebalani ni yati è shi yam
one tall Def Rel 3sg drink water
“This one tall old red female muslim Mada child of yours.”

A view of examples (70) and (71) indicates that when one the entire position-DP is considered, it can lead to a large and complex relative mapping: NP>Religion>Nationality>Material>Poss>Dem>Gender>Shape>Colour>Age>Num>Quality/Subjective>Size>Def>Rel. Following the X-bar theory which advocates a maximal
projection for each lexical category, an observation of the above structure shows that the position-DP is an array of distinct functional projections.

After an examination of such an architecture, we remark that A(Adjective)’s elements such as Religion, Nationality and Material occur in a position higher than Possessives and Demonstratives; while Gender, Shape, Colour, Quality and Age which are also A(Adjective)’s elements precede Numerals. In effect, mapping of DP in examples (70) and (71) seems to indicate that the only A(djective) constituent’s distribution which corresponds to the position-Adjective in the order N>Dem>Num>A in PF as described in the preceding section is the Subjective. In (71) for instance, one realizes that the reduced-Relative Clause which is another A’s constituent is separated from the others by the Definiteness Marker giving a scattered A’s order. If we are to consider the assumption that in Muyang, Demonstratives are always restricted to NPs and Adjectives should appear in the phrase-final position as shown in the order N>Dem>Num>A, the large cartography of DP will raise questions that follow in this language: does the position-A dislocate once it is split up in distinct constituents within the DP? Are Religion, Nationality, Material, Gender, Shape, Colour, Quality, Age and the reduce-Relative clause A(djective)’s constituent? Is there any difference between predicative and attributive adjectives?

The above questions lead to the following results: (i) examples (70) and (71) point out that A(djective)’s elements (Religion, Nationality, Material, Gender, Shape, Colour, Quality, Age and the reduce-Relative clause) do not constitute the position-A but, should be analyzed as distinct DP’s categories whose distribution depends on the syntactic cartography of each natural language; (ii) if (i) is correct, then the rules which account for the distribution of N>Dem>Num>A account for the entire complex DP. It means that the Noun which originates in the right periphery moves from Spec to Spec of each category that comprises the complex DP including Religion, Nationality, Material, Gender, Shape, Colour, Quality, Age and the reduce-Relative clause to land in the phrase left periphery. Unlike Nchare (2011), I propose following Tamanji (1999 and 2006) a projection of each functional category instead of a projection of Agreement Phrase since the latter is not overt as far as DP’s constituents are concerned.

4. Conclusion

The present paper dealt with the formation and the combinational possibilities of adjectives in Muyang. It demonstrated that the suffix –ani is added to some direct adjectives while in some cases, this suffixation takes place after compounding and reduplication. It indicated that there is a one-to-one selection of adjectives which constitute a large syntactic zone in the right-hand position of the NP in PF. Departed from this observation; the present article proposed a split up of the Adjectival Phrase (AdjP) in a number of distinct maximal projections. It also revealed that Muyang exhibits a marked definiteness which occupies the maximal projection of the Definiteness Phrase (DefP) within the position-DP. It has been indicated following Abney (1987), Carstein (1991) and Kayne (1994) that the N is base-generated in D’s right-hand position in LF and to account for the language word order, it would have moved to the phrase left periphery. Also, it
has been shown that focusing motivates movement of D’s elements, a movement which obtains 6 possible combinations of DP’s materials. Here, it was noticed that the focus-like determiners occur in N-final constructions while modifier-like determiners occur in N-initial constructions.

Conflict of Interest Statement
The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

About the Author(s)
Théodore Bebey is a former student of Higher Teachers’ Training College Yaounde. He is holder of Master’s degree and PhD in general and applied linguistics. His research interests concern theoretical linguistics, language planning and language didactics. He is teacher of African languages and general and applied linguistics in the Department of African Languages, Literatures and Cultures of the University of Maroua, Cameroon. Théodore Bebey is author of two books and a dozen of scientific articles.

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