A Basic Sketch Grammar of Gĩkũyũ

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With Wambũi Mũringo Wa-Ngatho, Language Consultant

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Orthography

All examples in this sketch grammar are presented in standard Gĩkũyũ orthography (first published in 1947 by the United Kikuyu Language Committee). The following two tables summarize the orthographic symbols for consonants and vowels. See Chapter 1 for more details of the phonology.

Vowel length is phonemic in Gĩkũyũ. It is often indicated orthographically by means of a sequence of two identical vowels. However, this is not consistent, especially across morpheme boundaries, and so the orthography cannot be taken as a reliable indicator of whether a vowel is long or short.

Tone in Gĩkũyũ is also phonemic. It is lexically contrastive, and plays a crucial role in the verb tense system. However, the orthography does not represent tone at all.

Consonants

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	mb		t nd			k ng	
nasal	m		n		ny	ng’	
tap			r				
fricative	b	th		c		g	h
affricate				nj			
approximant	w				y		

Vowels

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid high	ĩ		ũ
mid low	e		o
low		a	

Glossing Abbreviations

1SG/PL	1st person singular/plural
2SG/PL	2nd person singular/plural
$AC_{\#}$	Agreement class marker
ANA	Anaphoric
APP	Applicative
ASSOC	Associative
BRP	Bounded recent past tense
CAUS	Causative
COMP	Complementizer
COMPL	Completive aspect
COND	Conditional
COP	Copula
CR.FUT	Current future tense
CR.PRES	Current present tense
CR.PST	Current past tense
DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DEP	Dependent
DET	Determiner
DIST	Distal
FOC	Focus particle
FV	Final vowel
H	High tone
HAB	Habitual aspect
ID	Ideophone
IMPF	Imperfective aspect
INDEF	Indefinite
INTENS	Intensive aspect
$JC_{\#}$	Adjective class marker
L	Low tone
LOC	Locative
MID	Middle voice
$NC_{\#}$	Noun class marker
NEG	Negative
NMZ	Nominalizer
NR.FUT	Near future tense
NR.PST	Near past tense
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique
$OC_{\#}$	Object class marker
PV	Passive voice
PERF	Perfect aspect
PERSF	Personifier
POS	Possessive
POST	Posterior clause
PRO	Pronoun
PROC	Processual/continuative aspect
PROG	Progressive aspect
PROP	Proper noun
PROX	Proximal
PST	Past tense
Q	Interrogative
QUANT	Quantifier
RECIP	Reciprocal
REDUP	Reduplicated verb stem
REFL	Reflexive
REL	Relative pronoun stem
REVERS	Reversive
RM.FUT	Remote future tense
RM.PST	Remote past tense
$SC_{\#}$	Subject class marker
SEQ	Sequential tense
SIM	Simultaneous tense
SJV	Subjunctive
STAT	Stative aspect
SUBJ	Subject
TRNS	Transitivizer
TRUNC	Truncated word

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I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Rice Linguistics Department for finalizing this project: the funding to continue working with our consultant after class had ended to check last-minute details, and funding for an editorial assistant.

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Preface *Robert Englebretson*

We offer this sketch grammar as an accessible overview of the basics of Gĩkũyũ phonology and morphosyntax, grounded in typological-functional linguistics. The volume is intended for an audience of linguists who are not themselves speakers of Gĩkũyũ, but who wish to learn about its basic grammatical structures and characteristics. This grammar covers phonetic inventory, phonological processes, noun-class system and concord-marking, verb morphology, copular clauses, grammatical relations and argument structure, questions, negation, imperatives, focus constructions, and clause-combining, as well as other topics. The appendices contain 7 texts elicited from our consultant, subsequently transcribed and glossed by the students and the editor. MP3 files of these texts are available from the editor's web site at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik

Gĩkũyũ (KIK) is currently spoken by approximately 6,623,000 people, mostly living in Kenya (Lewis et al. 2015). It is in the Central branch of the Bantu subgroup of the Niger-Congo language family, classified by Guthrie (1971: 43) as E.51. There are five major varieties of Gĩkũyũ (Lewis et al. 2015): Gichugu (Northern Kirinyaga), Mathira (Karatina), Ndia (Southern Kirinyaga), Northern Gĩkũyũ (Northern Murang'a, Nyeri), and Southern Gĩkũyũ (Kiambu, Southern Murang'a). There is some degree of mutual intelligibility between Gĩkũyũ and nearby related Bantu languages of Kenya such as Kimeru, Ekegusii, and others. There is also extensive contact with Swahili and a high rate of multilingualism in both Swahili and English.

This volume emerged from the 2014-2015 field methods course at Rice University (LING 407-408). The primary goal of the course is to train students in best practices and techniques of documenting and describing a field language about which they have no prior knowledge, and to enable them to hone their analytic skills. (See Bowern, 2015, for a comprehensive overview of linguistic fieldwork.) Our field methods course consisted of five students (two undergraduates and three graduate students), plus the instructor. We met with our language consultant as a class for two 50-minute sessions per week, supplemented by an additional meeting every 1-2 weeks without the consultant present. Each student also met with the consultant individually for one hour per week. The main techniques we focused on were word- and sentence-level elicitation, plus the elicitation, transcription, and analysis of spontaneous texts (see the appendices). Early on in the course, students were not permitted to consult outside sources, but that restriction was lifted as the year progressed. The limitations of a field methods course are obvious: no exposure to the language in its natural, ecological habitat; basing the analysis on the speech of only one speaker; the artificial nature of a structured, classroom environment; etc. However, as the second semester progressed, it became clear that we were progressing faster than expected in our understanding of the basics of Gĩkũyũ

phonology and grammar, and rather than writing the usual end-of-semester term papers, we decided by consensus to focus our time and energy on jointly compiling a sketch grammar.

Our consultant, Wambũi Mũringo Wa-Ngatho, was born in the late 1950s in Nyeri, near Mt. Kenya, and speaks Gĩkũyũ from Mathĩra Karatina. She earned a Teaching Certificate for Primary Schools at Eregi Teacher Training College, Kakamega, Kenya, and later moved to the UK, where she earned a BA and MA in African Studies and also a Less Widely Taught Languages Teaching Certificate from SOAS & UCL University of London. She has previously taught Swahili at SOAS and Cambridge, and has developed comprehensive curriculum material for teaching Swahili. Wambũi happened to be a visiting complementary scholar in Rice's Anthropology department during the academic year of our field methods class, and, auspiciously for us, had both the time and interest to serve as our language consultant.

In a field methods course, as in any linguistic endeavor, decisions have to be made that affect future analyses. One of those decisions, which we discussed in some depth during the latter part of the first semester, is the question of what orthography to use in our work. Up until that point we had been using the IPA for our lexicon and in the analysis of phonetics and phonology. We made a conscious decision to switch to the standard Gĩkũyũ orthography, essentially for three reasons: (1) it would enable our work to be accessible to readers of Gĩkũyũ, some of whom might not know the IPA; (2) it would allow us to use previously published work on Gĩkũyũ with comparative ease; and (3) it would facilitate clearer interactions with our consultant. However, this decision came with some serious drawbacks, since the Gĩkũyũ orthography does not represent tone at all, which is phonemic and of crucial importance for verb tenses. The orthography also generally ignores phonemic vowel length. In other words, the orthography we are using in this sketch grammar actually obscures many of the contrastive and meaningful elements of the language. At the same time, I made a conscious decision to only spend three weeks on tone during the fall semester, so that we could move on to morphosyntax. Gĩkũyũ tone is complex enough that we could easily have spent the entire semester on it. Consequently, the discussion of tone in this sketch grammar is somewhat misleading, and superficial at best. Interested readers should consult more comprehensive analyses such as Clements (1984). I regret the lack of tone-marking and discussion of it in this sketch grammar, and I sincerely hope that linguists interested in this issue will revisit Gĩkũyũ tone at some point in the near future.

Because this sketch grammar is based on elicitation and the speech of only one consultant, it must, of course, be understood as representing Gĩkũyũ as spoken by a particular person—a person with a specific age, gender, social background, and regional affiliation. By its very nature then, this sketch grammar lacks any orientation to sociolinguistic variation, cannot explore the use of Gĩkũyũ in natural multi-party talk-in-interaction, and cannot discuss

the role of social interaction in motivating and shaping the observed systematicity in the language. All of these areas would be extremely interesting to explore in the multilingual, rich linguistic ecology of Kenya. And approaching Gĩkũyũ from the perspective of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics would provide a much-needed addition to both these fields as well as to Bantu linguistics more generally, which, as of yet, has seen very little work in the way of descriptive grammars based in corpora of everyday talk-in-interaction.

Finally, this sketch is not intended as a comprehensive reference grammar, and it does not include analyses of advanced theoretical issues in phonology or syntax. There are undoubtedly areas which would benefit from more thorough analysis, and there are undoubtedly things that we have gotten wrong in this sketch grammar, given our relatively narrow focus and short time period. However, shortcomings aside, we hope this sketch grammar will prove useful as an accessible introduction to Gĩkũyũ for those who are interested in learning about the basics of its phonology and morphosyntax. We further hope that it will spark interest among linguists in pursuing further work on Gĩkũyũ, and in promoting the study of this rich and fascinating language.

Chapter 1

Phonology

Anaí Navarro

Gĩkũyũ has 25 contrastive speech sounds, consisting of 18 consonants and 7 vowels, summarized in Figure 1 and Figure 2, below.

Figure 1: Gĩkũyũ consonant phoneme inventory

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	ᵐb		t ⁿd			k ᵑg	
nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
tap			ɾ				
fricative	β	ð		ʃ		ɣ	h
affricate				ⁿdʒ			
approximant	w				j		

Figure 2: Gĩkũyũ vowel phoneme inventory

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid high	e		o
mid low	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

Since we use the Gĩkũyũ orthography throughout this sketch grammar, Figure 3 and Figure 4 show the orthographic representations of each of the above segments.

Figure 3: Gĩkũyũ consonant orthography

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	mb		t nd			k ng	
nasal	m		n		ny	ng’	
tap			r				
fricative	b	th		c		g	h
affricate				nj			
approximant	w				y		

Figure 4: Gĩkũyũ vowel orthography

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid high	ĩ		ũ
mid low	e		o
low		a	

Vowel length and tone are also phonemic, however they are not represented in the orthography. Because of this, we will only mark vowel length and tone when highlighting them specifically.

As noted above, the standard orthography will be used from this point forward. All Gĩkũyũ words and examples are written orthographically unless otherwise indicated. Individual graphemes will be placed in parentheses, and IPA will be in square brackets when necessary, e.g. "the dental fricative written (th) is pronounced [ð]."

The following sections argue for the phonemic status of each of these segments, providing minimal pairs where available. Note that minimal pairs are matched in terms of vowel length but not tone, so some are near minimal pairs that differ in tone pattern.

1.1 Consonants

1.1.1 Stops and Affricate

Gĩkũyũ has two contrastive voiceless stops, alveolar (t) and velar (k). Both occur with varying degrees of aspiration; there is no apparent conditioning environment for the alternation in VOT since there is variation within the repetition of a single word. Minimal pairs are shown below.

(1)	**t**ua	'spit!'		mbũ**t**ũ	'army'	ma**t**a	'saliva'
	kua	'die!'		mbũ**k**ũ	'rabbit'	ma**k**a	'worry!'

There is also a voiceless bilabial stop [p], but this segment is not phonemic. It is rare, only occurring in some borrowed words and ideophones.

(2) piũ: ideophone indicating completeness
kinya igacamũka **piũ**
kinya i- ka- camũk -a piũ
until SC_8- CR.PRES- boil -FV ID
'until it is completely boiled.'

(3) pa: ideophone indicating completeness
nĩwomĩte na ũkoma **pa**
nĩ- ũ- a- ũm -ĩt -e na ũ- ka- ũm -a pa
FOC- SC_3- PST- dry -PERF -FV and SC_3- CR.PRES- dry -FV ID
'It had completely dried.'

Piũ has a variant pronunciation beginning with the bilabial fricative (b) [βio], while *pa* can only be [pa].

Gĩkũyũ has four prenasalized voiced consonants, including three prenasalized stops (mb, nd, ng) and one prenasalized affricate (nj), which all contrast with one another, seen in the four way contrast below.

(4) **mb**ũri 'goat'
ndũri 'piercer'
njũri 'always gets lost (noun-classes 9 and 10)'
ngũũri 'tweezer'

The degree of prenasalization in these segments varies and can be absent altogether, resulting in a plain voiced obstruent. This is the only instance in which voiced stops [b, d, g] and the voiced affricate [dʒ] occur.

There are a few factors that support analyzing prenasalized consonants as single segments rather than as sequences of two phonemes. First, the acoustic duration of the entire segment is constant regardless of how much prenasalization is produced. Second, there are no other consonant clusters in Gĩkũyũ. Finally, prenasalized consonants serve as syllable onsets.
The three prenasalized stops contrast with their homorganic nasal, voiceless stop, and fricative counterparts as shown in (5), (6), and (7), respectively.

(5)	**mb**ata	'duck'	**nd**a	'belly'	**ng**ima	'corn meal'
	mata	'saliva'	**n**a	'with'	**ng'**ima	'complete'

(6)	**ndo**ro	'mud'	mwa**ng**i	'one who moves around'
	toro	'sleep'	mwa**k**i	'fire'

(7)						
	mbata	‘duck’	**nd**imũ	‘lime’	**ng**athiĩ	‘that I should go’
	bata	‘need’	**th**imũ	‘phone’	**g**agĩthiĩ	‘then it (NC_{12}) went’

Examples in (8) give evidence for a phonemic distinction between the prenasalized affricate (nj) and the alveolar nasal (n), the voiced dental fricative (th), and the voiceless postalveolar fricative (c), respectively.

(8)						
	njogoo	‘rooster’	**nj**ũng’ũa	‘3-legged chair’	**nj**ina	‘burn me!’
	nũgũ	‘monkey’	**th**ũng’ũa	‘ankle’	**c**ina	‘burn!’

1.1.2 Nasals

Gĩkũyũ has four phonemic nasals: bilabial (m), alveolar (n), palatal (ny), and velar (ng’). As shown above in (5), nasals also contrast with the corresponding homorganic prenasalized stops. Minimal pairs among the four nasals are shown below.

(9)						
	ma	‘of’	**m**ama	‘uncle’	**m**o	‘those ones’
	na	‘with’	**ny**ama	‘meat’	**ng’**o	‘nothing’
	i**n**a	‘sing!’	**n**o	‘but’	**ny**eni	‘greens’
	i**ny**a	‘four’	**ng’**o	‘nothing’	**ng’**eni	‘new’

Alveolar nasal (n) and palatal nasal (ny) are sometimes neutralized before high front vowel (i). (10) shows two examples where both the alveolar nasal and palatal nasal are acceptable. The third example, however, does not allow this alternation, although the same immediate environment is present. This alternation seems to be lexically conditioned, but further investigation is needed to determine what environments do and don’t allow it.

(10)			
	ni:**n**i	**ny**i:**ny**i	‘small’
	i**n**iũrũ	i**ny**iũrũ	‘nose’
	mũhika**n**ia	***** mũhika**ny**ia	‘groom’

1.1.3 Tap

The alveolar tap (r) differs phonemically from the voiceless alveolar stop (t), and presumably from the alveolar fricative (th) and prenasalized stop (nd) due to similarity of environments.

(11)	nja**r**a	'hand'	**r**ũma	'bite!'	ma**r**ĩa	'that' (NC_6)
	nja**t**a	'star'	**nd**ũũma	'taro'	ma**th**ĩa	'nuns'

The tap can also be pronounced as voiceless [ɾ̥], trilled [r], bunched [ɹ], and lateral approximant [l], but there is no observed systematicity in these alternations, nor are they very frequent.

1.1.4 Fricatives

Gĩkũyũ has fricatives in five places of articulation: labial (b), dental (th), postalveolar (c), velar (g), and glottal (h). As seen in the examples in **(6)** above, each fricative contrasts phonemically with its corresponding prenasalized stop. There is also evidence that the velar and alveolar fricatives contrast with their voiceless stop counterparts:

(12)	mbo**g**o	'buffalo'	mai**th**o	'eyes'
	mbo**k**o	'whips'	mai**t**ũ	'mother'

The bilabial fricative, (b), can be pronounced in four ways: [ɸ], [β], [f], or [v] (voiced or voiceless, labiodental or bilabial). Variation can occur within a word, so that any of the following pronunciations of *baba* 'father' is acceptable:

(13)	fafa	fava	faɸa	faβa
	vafa	vava	vaɸa	vaβa
	ɸafa	ɸava	ɸaɸa	ɸaβa
	βafa	βava	βaɸa	βaβa

1.1.5 Approximants

Gĩkũyũ has two approximants: (w) and (y).

(14)	**w**a	'of' (NC_3)	**y**a	'of' (NC_9)
	nda**w**a	'medicine'	ruo**y**a	'feather'
	nĩ**w**omĩte	'it had dried'	tha**yũ**	'peace'

Both can be optionally inserted between some heterosyllabic vowels. *w* can insert when the first of the two vowels is *u* or *ũ,* and *y* can insert when the first vowel is *i.* The acoustic difference is minimal.

(15) ngu.o ~ ngu.**w**o ‘hippopotamus’
riũ.a ~ riũ.**w**a ‘sun’
ki.a ~ ki.**y**a ‘ferment!’

1.2 Vowels

1.2.1 Front Vowels

Gĩkũyũ has three contrastive front vowels: high front (i), mid high front (ĩ), and mid low front (e). Minimal pairs are provided below.

(16) in**i** ‘liver’ mi**:**njire ‘the one I spat’ mĩt**ĩ** ‘trees’
-in**ĩ** ‘in/by/at’ m**e:**njire ‘the people who dig’ mĩt**e** ‘throw them away’

1.2.2 Back Vowels

There are also three contrastive back vowels: high back (u), mid high back (ũ), and mid low back (o).

(17) mb**u**k**u** ‘book’
mb**ũ**k**ũ** ‘rabbit’
mb**o**k**o** ‘whips’

1.2.3 Low Central Vowel

Besides the three front vowels and the three back vowels, there is the low central vowel (a). It contrasts with all six other vowels:

(18) in**a** ‘sing!’ in**a** ‘sing!’ mb**a**t**a** ‘duck’
in**i** ‘liver’ -in**ĩ** ‘in, at, by’ mb**e**t**e** ‘ring’

k**a**ra ‘scratch!’ mbog**a** ‘vegetable’ ir**a** ‘yesterday’
k**ũ**ra ‘get old!’ mbog**o** ‘buffalo’ ir**u** ‘knee’

1.2.4 Diphthongs

Most VV combinations are possible diphthongs. Figure 5 is a matrix of all possible vowel combinations, with an example word for attested diphthongs. N/A is written in place of

combinations of the same vowel. Dashes represent unattested diphthongs, and it is unclear whether these are impossible or just not present in the data we've collected. From the gaps in the table, it appears that low and mid low vowels (*e, a, o*) are dispreferred in V_1 position.

Figure 5: Attested Gĩkũyũ diphthongs

	V + i	V + ĩ	V + e	V + a	V + o	V + ũ	V + u
i + V	N/A	**thiĩ** 'go'	**cie.ro** 'thighs'	**kĩũ.ria** 'question'	**cio.ngo** 'heads'	**hiũ** 'hot'	**kiu.mia** 'week'
ĩ + V	**kĩi.mba** 'corpse'	N/A	**kĩe.ro** 'thigh'	**rĩa** 'eat!'	**kĩo.ngo** 'head'	**kĩũ.ria** 'question'	**rĩu** 'now'
e + V	**ndei.thia** 'help me'	--	N/A	--	**i.heo** 'gifts'	--	--
a + V	**mai.ca** 'life'	--	--	N/A	--	--	**nyau** 'cat'
o + V	--	--	**mũ.ti.ng'oe** 'tail'	--	N/A	--	--
ũ + V	**wa.mbũi** 'zebra'	**mbũ.kũĩ.no** 'this rabbit'	**mbũe** 'fox'	**tũa.na** 'babies'	**kũo.na** 'to see'	N/A	**kũu** 'that place'
u + V	**ngui** 'dog'	**mbu.kuĩ.no** 'this book'	**i.thue.rĩ** 'both of us'	**nyua** 'drink!'	**ruo.ya** 'feather'	**gĩ.kuũ** 'death'	N/A

Although Gĩkũyũ orthography treats ũ in V_1 position as *w*, our analysis of diphthongs includes no glides, instead using vowel-vowel sequences. One reason for this is that orthographic *w* and *ũ* have the same pronunciation in this position (unless before *o,* in which case *w* equates with *u*). In addition, no other consonant clusters exist in Gĩkũyũ, and a VV analysis is consistent with this. A third reason is that all kinds of VV sequences are possible as diphthongs, many of which have no clear glide, so it's consistent to analyze them as VV throughout the language. We do, however, maintain the orthographic *w* in place of diphthong-initial *ũ* throughout our examples (excluding those in Figure 5).

1.2.5 Triphthongs

We have found evidence of one triphthong: ĩai. It is likely that others are possible.

(19)

n**ĩai**.na.ga	'he/she sings'
i.ri.ma.r**ĩai**.niũ.rũ	'nostril (hole of nose)'
g**ĩai**.ka.rĩi.re	'that was sitting'

1.2.6 Vowel Length

Any of the seven vowels can be long. We have found several examples of contrastive length, and one minimal pair for each vowel is shown in (20). However, in many of the contrastive pairs given there is also a tonal difference, so it's hard to say with certainty that vowel length by itself is in fact contrastive in those particular pairs.

(20)	rĩo	'then'	rĩ**:**o	'get drunk!'
	ic**e**re	'cuts' (n.)	ic**e:**re	'inhabited place that is visited a lot'
	th**a**	'sympathy'	th**a:**	'clock'
	nd**a**	'belly'	nd**a:**	'louse'
	k**ũ**ra	'get old!'	k**ũ:**ra	'to run away'
	k**o**ra	'bump into!'	k**o:**ra	'little frog'
	k**u**ra	'vote'	k**u:**ra	'to rain'

Some long vowels are lexical (21), while others are derived (22).

(21)	nd**a:**	'louse'
	k**o:**ra	'bump into!'

(22)	m**ĩ:**rĩ (m**ĩ-ĩ**rĩ)	'bodies'
	k**ũ:**ra (k**ũ-ũ**ra)	'to run away'

1.3 Syllable Structure

Gĩkũyũ allows only open syllables with no complex onsets, with seven syllable types. An example of each syllable type is shown in (23).

(23)	V	**i**.ge.go	'tooth'
	V:	**ĩ:**.tũ.rĩe.ga	'yes, we are good'
	VV	**ũi**.ru	'jealousy'
	CV	**mbu**.ra	'rain'
	CV:	i.**tu:**.nda	'fruit'
	CVV	**rĩa**	'eat!'
	CVVV	n**ĩai**.na.ga	'he/she sings'

1.4 Tone

Due to the time constraints imposed by a Field Methods course, it is unfortunately not possible to give tone the detailed treatment it deserves in a sketch grammar. Interested readers should consult Clements (1984) for details and a thorough analysis.

Gĩkũyũ has two tones (high and low, represented here as H and L respectively) and downstep. Although we do not treat tone in depth, we do have evidence that it is contrastive since we have found many minimal pairs of words differing only in tone pattern.

(24) mata (LH) 'saliva'
mata (HH) 'big stomachs'

thũra (LL) 'hate'
thũra (LH) 'hate me'

Tone is essential in verb tenses (see section 3.2.5 for a discussion of this). Certain tone patterns indicate certain tense and aspect combinations, as seen in **(25)**.

(25) nĩaro:kire (HHLH) 'he/she came early this morning'
nĩaro:kire (HHHL) 'he/she came yesterday'

1.5 Morphophonology

There are many phonological changes that are triggered by morpheme interaction. The following sections discuss several of these.

1.5.1 Dahl's Law: Velar Stop and Fricative Alternation

Although *k* and *g* have been shown to contrast (section 1.1.1), there are several morphological environments in which their difference is phonologically conditioned. This is due to Dahl's Law, a process of voicing dissimilation found in many Bantu languages. In Gĩkũyũ, voiceless stop *k* surfaces as voiced fricative *g* when the following consonant is *t*, *k*, *c*, or *th.* Examples **(26)**-**(28)** show how this affects noun class markers for classes 15 (*kũ-*), 7 (*kĩ-*), and 12 (*ka-*), although all other morphemes starting with *k* are affected by this as well.

(26)	guoko	gũtara	gũce:ha	gũĩthamba
	kũ-oko	kũ-tara	kũ-ce:ha	kũ-ĩthamba
	'arm'	'to count'	'to slash'	'to bathe'

(27)

gĩkere	gĩtĩ	gĩciko	gĩthĩrĩrĩka
kĩ-kere	kĩ-tĩ	kĩ-ciko	kĩ-thĩrĩrĩka
‘calf’	‘chair’	‘spoon’	‘big waterfall’

(28)

gacũcũ	gathugumĩra
ka-cũcũ	ka-athugumĩra
‘young grandchild’	‘gnat’

1.5.2 Combining Vowels Across Morpheme Boundaries

When a morpheme ending in a vowel combines with a morpheme that begins with a vowel, this can lead to one of four possibilities: vowel lengthening, the creation of a diphthong, the coalescence of the two vowels into one, or a change in the quality of the first vowel, depending on which two vowels come into contact.

When the same vowel ends one morpheme and starts the next, a long vowel is produced. This occurs both within words and across word boundaries.

(29)

nĩ-i-in-ag-a = nĩ.i:.naga	‘they (NC_{10}) sing’
mĩ-ĩrĩ = mĩ:.rĩ	‘bodies’
a-arĩ = a:.rĩ	‘daughters’
kũ-ũra = kũ:.ra	‘to run away’

Vowel combinations that are permissible diphthongs (see section 1.2.4) become tautosyllabic, resulting in a diphthong that crosses the morpheme boundary and a mismatch between syllable structure and morpheme structure. Some examples are:

(30)

ma-inabu = mai.nabu	‘pineapples’
rĩ-ithori = rĩi.thori	‘tear’
nĩ-a-mũ-end-ĩr-i-e = nĩa.mwe.ndei.rie	‘he/she sold him/her something’

Certain vowel combinations which are not allowable diphthongs undergo coalescence in all instances. These are shown below in (31). Note that coalesced vowels undergo compensatory lengthening.

(31)	a + ũ = o:	k**a-ũ**ra = k**o:**ra	'small frog'
		nd**a-ũ**k-aga = nd**o:**kaga	's/he doesn't usually come'
	a + ĩ = e:	m**a-ĩ**kũ = m**e:**kũ	'where are they (NC_2)?'
		andũ **a-ĩ**rĩ = andũ **e:**rĩ	'two people'
		m**a-ĩ**ciria = m**e:**ciria	'thoughts'
	a + e = e:	ũr**a-e**ndia = ũr**e:**ndia	'you are selling'
		mbuku njeg**a-e**ga = mbuku njeg**e:**ga	'better books'
	a + o = o:	m**a-o**ko = m**o:**ko	'arms'
		nĩ-**a-o**n-ag-a = nĩ**o:**naga	'he/she sees'
	e + ĩ = e:	theger**e ĩ**mwe = theger**e:**mwe	'one wildcat'

The combination *ũ + u* results in *u:* in most instances **(32)**, but this does not occur in the demonstrative determiners, as seen in **(33)**.

(32)	ũ + u = u:	k**ũ-u**ra = k**u:**ra	'to rain'
		k**ũ-u**na = k**u:**na	'to bend'
		t**ũ-u**ma a-arimũ = t**u:**ma a:rimũ	'we were teachers today'
(33)	ũ + u = ũu	kũ-gũrũ k**ũ-u** = kũgũrũ k**ũu**	'that leg'
		mũ-tĩ **ũ-u** = mũtĩ **ũu**	'that tree'

Other vowel combinations across morphemes result in a change in quality in the first vowel.

(34)	ũ + o = uo	k**ũ-o**ha = k**uo**.ha	'to tie'
		r**ũ-o**ya = r**uo**.ya	'feather'
	ĩ + u = iu	ga-k**ĩ-u**ma = gak**iu**.ma	'and then it (NC_9) came out (before yesterday)'
		k**ĩ-u**mia = k**iu**.mia	'week'
		nd**ĩ-u**m-aga = nd**iu**.maga	'it (NC_9) doesn't get out (habitually)'

Both of these changes have exceptions. **(35)** shows an example where both *ũo* and *uo* are acceptable pronunciations of a *ũ+o* sequence. **(36)** shows that the change in vowel quality from *ĩ+u* to *iu* is blocked in the demonstrative determiners, like in the preceding examples in **(32)**.

(35)	k**ũo**na ~ k**uo**na	'to see'
(36)	rĩ-itho r**ĩ-u** = rĩitho r**ĩu**	'that eye'
	kĩ-ongo k**ĩ-u** = kĩongo k**ĩu**	'that head'

That all of the vowel combinations in the examples in section 1.5.2 produce bimoraic syllables suggests that vowel sequences have a tendency to combine into a single syllable nucleus and also that syllable weight is important in Gĩkũyũ.

1.5.3 Syllable Initial Approximant Formation

The vowels *ũ* and *ĩ* and are different from the other five in that these two become approximants *w* and *y*, respectively, when in syllable initial position. Word-initial examples are given in **(37)**, and word-medial examples are addressed in section 1.5.4.2.

(37)	#ũ+V = wV	**ũ-a** = wa	'of' (NC_3)
		ũ-anyua = **wa**.nyua	'then you drank (before yesterday)'
		ũ-ega = **w**ega	'good' (NC_3)
	#ĩ+V = yV	**ĩ-a** = **ya**	'of' (NC_9)
		ĩ-akwa = **ya**kwa	'my' (NC_9)

Once again, the demonstrative determiner *ũu* seems to be an exception to this since it is not *wu* as we might expect.

It is unclear to what extent and under what conditions this approximant formation actually occurs in natural speech. It is reflected in the orthography, and there is an audible difference between *ĩa* and *ya*, for example. The word-medial process described in 1.5.4.2 supports that there is in fact a difference beyond orthography between *ĩ* and *y* between vowels.

1.5.4 Avoiding Sequences of Three Vowels

Although we have seen that Gĩkũyũ has at least one possible triphthong, (see section 1.2.5), there are a number of processes that work to avoid a series of three vowels. This means that VVV, VV:, and V:V are all avoided, even across syllable boundaries.

1.5.4.1 Blocking Lengthening

The vowel lengthening processes described throughout sections 1.5.2 are blocked when the otherwise long vowel becomes part of a syllable with another vowel. The vowels in the examples in **(38)**, for example, still coalesce but do not undergo the compensatory lengthening we would expect. Rather than allow the vowels to lengthen and therefore form CVV: or CV:V syllables in conjunction with another vowel, the lengthening is blocked and bimoraic syllables are maintained. Similarly, instances of identical consecutive vowels, as seen in the examples in **(39)**, collapse into only one instance of the vowel due to the presence of a third vowel in the same syllable.

(38)	nĩ**-a-ũ**k-aga = n**ĩo**.kaga	'he/she comes'
	nĩ**-a-ĩ-**thamb-ire = n**ĩe**.thambire	'he/she washed him/herself (today)'
	n**ĩa-e**ga = n**ĩe**.ga	'they (NC_2) are good'
	kahĩ: nĩk**a-o-ũ** = nĩk**oũ**	'who is the boy?'
(39)	ndi-r**a-a-i**na = ndir**ai**.na	'I am not currently singing'

1.5.4.2 Using the Palatal Approximant to Split Up Syllables

There are a couple of environments in which triple vowels are instead avoided by splitting instances of three consecutive vowels into two syllables. The first of these two makes use of the approximant formation described in section 1.5.3. When *ĩ* appears between two vowels, it becomes *y* so it is the onset of the syllable it forms with the following vowel. This occurs when the subject marker for noun class 9, *ĩ*, attaches to vowel-initial verb stems:

(40)	V+ĩ+V = V.yV	nĩ**-ĩ-ũ**k-aga = n**ĩ.yũ**kaga	'it (NC_9) comes'
		nĩ**-ĩ-e**th-aga = n**ĩ.ye**thaga	'it (NC_9) searches'
		nĩ**-ĩ-u**m-aga = n**ĩ.yu**maga	'it (NC_9) gets out'
		nĩ**-ĩ-o**y-aga = n**ĩ.yo**yaga	'it (NC_9) takes'

There are two exceptions to this. When the verb stem starts with *ĩ*, the three consecutive vowels collapse to two since they are all identical. When the verb stem starts with *i*, the subject marker stays as *ĩ* instead of surfacing as *y*. This is the only instance out of all of the examples in section 1.5.4 where all three vowels are maintained, though they are split into two different syllables.

(41)	ĩ+ĩ+ĩ = ĩ:	nĩ**-ĩ-ĩ**tĩkĩr-aga = n**ĩ:.**tĩkĩraga	'it (NC_9) agrees'

(42) ĩ+ĩ+i = ĩ:.i nĩ-ĩ-in-aga = nĩ:.inaga 'it (NC_9) sings'

It seems that this would be a productive rule across other morpheme boundaries as well, and even as *ũ* becoming *w* between vowels, but examples of morpheme combinations that concatenate three vowels with *ĩ/ũ* in the middle other than this one (focus particle *nĩ* + subject marker *ĩ* + vowel-initial verb) are hard to come by.

1.5.4.3 Postalveolar Fricative Epenthesis

The subject marker for nouns in noun class 10 undergoes a similar process in intervocalic position. Subject marker *i,* when appearing intervocalically, becomes *ci* and breaks up the series of three vowels it would otherwise be a part of.

(43) nĩ-i-ũk-aga = nĩ.ciũ.kaga 'they (NC_{10}) come'
nĩ-i-in-aga = nĩ.ci:.naga 'they (NC_{10}) sing'
nĩ-i-um-aga = nĩ.ciu.maga 'they (NC_{10}) get out'
nĩ-i-ag-aga = nĩ.cia.gaga 'they (NC_{10}) lose'
nĩ-i-eth-aga = nĩ.cie.thaga 'they (NC_{10}) search'

Postalveolar fricative epenthesis is mandatory in the above examples but optional when the following morpheme, whether the verb stem or a tense prefix, starts with a consonant. In the case of the examples in **(44)**, the epenthesis does not serve the same purpose of splitting up unallowable sequences of three vowels. It looks as though the optionality of inserting the fricative arose from association with the instances in which the *c* is mandatory, and since it creates equally acceptable syllables, both forms are accepted.

(44) nĩ-i-thi-aga = nĩi.thiaga *OR* nĩ.ci.thiaga 'they (NC10) go'
nĩ-i-ra-ũka = nĩi.ro:ka *OR* nĩ.ci.ro:ka 'they (NC10) are coming'
nĩ-i-ra-ina = nĩi.raina *OR* nĩ.ci.raina 'they (NC10) are singing'

That the sequence *ĩ+ĩ+i* is maintained, as seen in **(42)**, means that some sequences of three consecutive vowels are more acceptable than others, since all other sequences shown in the examples in this section undergo processes to eliminate one of the vowels and surface as only two. Further, that these three vowels (though all maintained) were split into two syllables suggests an avoidance of trimoraic syllables.

1.5.5 Attaching Nasal Prefix *N-*

Prefix *N-* is made up solely of what appears to be an unspecified nasal consonant, given the wide variation in how it surfaces. It has two unrelated uses, one being the first person singular concord marker on verbs (both subject and object) and the other the concord marker for noun classes 9 and 10 on nouns and adjectives. Since this prefix has the same form for both uses and patterns in the same way for both, it is treated as a general morphophonemic process and its description is organized based on its phonological environment rather than according to the two uses.

Since it is just a single consonant, the prefix *N-* is rarely a stand-alone syllable; in most cases it coalesces with the following segment. As a 1SG morpheme on verbs, it sometimes remains separate from the following morpheme, however, and appears as its own syllable *ndĩ*.

In each of the examples throughout the next several sections, the stem that the *N-* is attaching to is first made clear by presenting either the verb in the imperative form or the noun/adjective inflected for another noun class. When a verb is listed, the *N-* represents 1SG, and when a noun or adjective is listed, the *N-* represents NC_9 and NC_{10} concord.

1.5.5.1 *N* + Fricatives

The combination of prefix *N-* and a fricative results in the fricative's respective prenasalized stop or affricate counterpart if available. When combined with fricatives that do not have a prenasalized counterpart, the prefix is unrealized.

(45)	N + b = mb	ma-buku (n.)	**N-b**uku = **mb**uku	'book'
		rũ-baru (n.)	**N-b**aru = **mb**aru	'rib'
	N + g = ng	ma-gathĩti (n.)	**N-g**athĩti = **ng**athĩti	'newspaper'
		ka-gui (n.)	**N-g**ui = **ng**ui	'dog'
		kĩ-gũatu (adj.)	**N-g**ũatu = **ng**ũatu	'saturated'
	N + c = nj	ka-cata (n.)	**N-c**ata = **nj**ata	'star'
		cora (v.)	**N-c**ora = **nj**ora	'draw me'
	N + th = th	ma-thibitarĩ (n.)	**N-th**ibitarĩ = **th**ibitarĩ	'hospital'
		gĩ-thaka (adj.)	**N-th**aka = **th**aka	'beautiful'
		thoma (v.)	nĩ-**N-th**om-aga = nĩ**th**omaga	'I read'
	N + h = h	ma-hekaru (n.)	**N-h**ekaru = **h**ekaru	'temple'

1.5.5.2 *N* + Voiceless Stops

When the prefix *N-* combines with a voiceless stop, the resulting segment is the voiced prenasalized stop at the same place of articulation.

(46)	N + t = nd	ma-tuka (n.)	**N-t**uka = **nd**uka	‘store’
		kĩ-tungu (adj.)	**N-t**ungu = **nd**ungu	‘thick’
		tema (v.)	**N-t**ema = **nd**ema	‘cut me’
	N + k = ng	ma-kari (n.)	**N-k**ari = **ng**ari	‘car’
		ha-kuhĩ (adj.)	**N-k**uhĩ = **ng**uhĩ	‘short distance’
		ku:a (v.)	**N-k**u:a = **ng**u:a	‘carry me’

1.5.5.3 *N* + r

When *N-* combines with the alveolar tap *r*, it becomes *nd*. This coalescence of *N-* and *r* into *nd* does not occur, however, when preceding the tense/aspect prefix *ra-*. In this case the sequence of the two morphemes is realized as *N-*’s full syllable *ndĩ*, followed by *ra-*. The fact that the two morphemes do not coalesce suggests that speakers have some motivation to keep them separate. This makes sense given that *ra-* is a tense/aspect prefix and it might be more difficult to maintain the meaning if it is changed.

(47)	N + r = nd	rũ-rĩmĩ (n.)	**N-r**ĩmĩ = **nd**ĩmĩ	‘tongues’
		rĩa (v.)	nĩ-**N-r**ĩ-aga = nĩ**nd**ĩaga	‘I eat’
	N+ra- = ndĩ.ra		nĩ-**N-ra**-a-ina = nĩ**ndĩra**ina	‘I am singing’

1.5.5.4 *N* + Nasals

When *N-* attaches to a nasal, the two segments coalesce into the specified nasal.

(48)	N + n = n	ka-nũgũ (n.)	**N-n**ũgũ = **n**ũgũ	‘monkey’
		ka-nini (adj.)	**N-n**ini = **n**ini	‘small’
	N + ny = ny	ka-nyamũ (n.)	**N-ny**amũ = **ny**amũ	‘animal’
		nyua (v.)	**N-ny**u-ire = **ny**uire	‘I have already drunk (today)’
	N + m = m	ma-ma:bu (n.)	**N-m**a:bu = **m**a:bu	‘map’

1.5.5.5 *N* + Vowels

When prefix *N-* precedes a morpheme starting with a vowel, it almost always surfaces as *nj*. This is not the case, however, when the consonant following the vowel is a nasal or prenasalized segment, in which cases *N-* instead becomes *ny*.

(49)	N + V = njV	rũ-ũĩ (n.)	**N-ũ**ĩ = **nj**ũĩ	'river'
		kĩ-ega (adj.)	**N-e**ga = **nje**ga	'good'
		ũka (v.)	nĩ-**N-ũ**k-aga = nĩ**njũ**kaga	'I come'
		oya (v.)	nĩ-**N-o**y-aga = nĩ**njo**yaga	'I take'
(50)	N + VN = nyVN	rũ-ĩmbo (n.)	**N-ĩmb**o = **nyĩmb**o	'songs'
		mĩ-ingĩ (adj.)	**N-ing**ĩ = **nying**ĩ	'many'
		uma (v.)	nĩ-**N-um**-aga = nĩ**nyum**aga	'I get out'
		ona (v.)	nĩ-**N-on**-aga = nĩ**nyon**aga	'I see'
		ina (v.)	nĩ-**N-in**-aga = nĩ**nyin**aga	'I sing'

1.5.5.6 Exceptions in NC_9, NC_{10}

For some nouns in classes 9 and 10, attaching the noun class prefix *N-* does not result in the expected segment. Since these words are borrowed, it is not unusual that they don't conform to the paradigms described in this section, though many borrowed words do in fact conform. Some examples of nouns in classes 9 and 10 where the *N-* is not realized:

(51)	N + bunda = **bunda**	'donkey'	*mbunda
	N + benjũ = **benjũ**	'pencil'	*mbenjũ
	N + cukuru = **cukuru**	'school'	*njukuru
	N + karati = **karati**	'carrot'	*ngarati

Chapter 2

Nouns and Noun Phrases

Jessica Li

The noun phrase in Gĩkũyũ consists of a noun and any modifiers. Section 2.1 and its subsections deal with noun classes while section 2.2 and its subsections address the structure of the noun phrase and the modifiers that can occur within it.

2.1 Nominal Morphology

2.1.1 Noun Classes

Gĩkũyũ participates in a noun class system of 17 classes, where noun class membership is marked by a prefix on the noun (except for nouns in noun class 14 and some exceptional nouns in noun classes 1, 2, 9, and 10). Number is also indicated by noun class, as some noun classes are inherently plural, while others are inherently singular.

Table 1: Summary of noun classes

CLASS	PREFIX	EXAMPLE	EXAMPLE GLOSS
1	*mũ-*	*mũndũ*	'person'
2	*a-*	*andũ*	'people'
1a	--	*tata*	'aunt'
2a	--	*tata*	'aunts'
3	*mũ-*	*mũaki*	'fire'
4	*mĩ-*	*mĩaki*	'fires'
5	*rĩ-/i-*	*ihũa*	'flower'
6	*ma-*	*mahũa*	'flowers'
7	*kĩ-/gĩ-*	*kĩrĩma*	'mountain'
8	*ci-/i-*	*irĩma*	'mountains'
9	*N-*	*mbata*	'duck'
10	*N-*	*mbata*	'ducks'
9a	--	*batĩ*	'party'
10a	--	*batĩ*	'parties'
11	*rũ-*	*rũĩgĩ*	'eagle'
12	*ka-/ga-*	*kanua*	'mouth'
13	*tũ-*	*tũnua*	'mouths'
14	--	*cukari*	'sugar'
15	*kũ-/gũ-*	*gũtũ*	'ear'
16	*ha-*	*handũ*	'place (definite)'
17	*kũ-/gũ-*	*kũndũ*	'place (indefinite)'

The above table summarizes the 17 noun classes in Gĩkũyũ, and follows the numbering system set forth in Mugane's grammar (Mugane 1997: 26). Nouns tend to pattern into pairs of singular and plural noun classes, with some more common than others. The singular/plural pairings will be discussed in section 2.1.3.

Membership of nouns in noun classes is determined morphologically by the prefix occurring on the noun (if any) and the concord triggered by the noun as prefixes on other elements of the noun phrase and the verb.

The singular noun classes are noun classes 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, and 15. The plural noun classes are Noun Classes 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, and 13. Noun Classes 16 and 17 can be singular or plural depending on context.

2.1.1.1 Classes 1/2

Classes 1 and 2 comprise mostly human, animate nouns. However, some non-human nouns (e.g. *wakahare* 'squirrel') belong to these classes.

Classes 1 and 2 seem to consist of two different types of mostly person nouns that pattern differently in terms of class prefixes, already exhibited in Table 1. Besides the split in prefix patterning, all members of the class pattern the same way in terms of concord. Collapsing these two types into two Classes 1 and 2, where 1 is singular and 2 is plural, seems beneficial as it highlights the semantic similarity among class members as well as the concord marking on verbs.

Classes 1 and 2 are formed as follows:

Class 1: *mũ-* + stem
Class 2: *a-* + stem

Some examples are given below:

(52) mwarĩ, arĩ

mũ- arĩ	a- arĩ
NC_1- daughter	NC_2- daughter

'daughter, daughters'

(53) mũndũ, andũ

mũ- ndũ	a- ndũ
NC_1- person	NC_2- person

'person, people'

Classes 1a and 2a are composed mainly of kinship terms that do not take prefixes in either the singular or plural form. However, not all of the nouns that belong to these noun classes fall under this criterion. Since Classes 1a and 2a do not take prefixes, they are formed as follows:

Class 1a: Ø- + stem
Class 2a: Ø- + stem

Some examples are given below:

(54) wagui, wagui

Ø- wagui	Ø- wagui
NC_{1a}- grandfather	NC_{2a}- grandfather

'grandfather, grandfathers'

(55) baba, baba

Ø- baba	Ø- baba
NC_{1a}- father	NC_{2a}- father

'father, fathers'

2.1.1.2 Classes 3/4

The semantics of Classes 3 and 4—which are singular and plural, respectively—are less concrete than those of Classes 1 and 2. A good number of words in Classes 3 and 4 are nature or landscape terms, but by no means all.

Classes 3 and 4 are formed as follows:

Class 3: *mũ-* + stem
Class 4: *mĩ-* + stem

Some examples are given below:

(56) mũri, mĩri

mũ- ri	mĩ- ri
NC_3- root	NC_4- root

'root, roots'

(57) mũaki, mĩaki

mũ- aki	mĩ- aki
NC_3- fire	NC_4- fire

'fire, fires'

2.1.1.3 Classes 5/6

The semantics of Classes 5 and 6—singular and plural, respectively—are again less concrete than those of Classes 1 and 2. A general semantic trend of words in Classes 5 and 6 are plant and landscape terms, but again a good number of words in these noun classes also do not fall under these semantic categories.

Classes 5 and 6 are formed as follows:

Class 5: *rĩ-/i-* + stem
Class 6: *ma-* + stem

The variation of *rĩ-/i-* depends on if the stem is vowel-initial. If the noun stem is vowel-initial, it is prefixed by *rĩ-*, and if it is consonant-initial, it is prefixed by *i-*. Some examples are given below:

(58) rĩinabu, mainabu

rĩ- inabu	ma- inabu
NC_5- pineapple	NC_6- pineapple

'pineapple, pineapples'

(59) rĩciria, meciria

rĩ- ĩciria	ma- ĩciria
NC_5- thought	NC_6- thought

'thought, thoughts'

However, there are also other words in the class that do not follow this pattern exactly. The form of the Class 5 noun appears to match. However, the Class 6 prefix attaches to the Class 5 form of the noun, and not to the noun stem itself. What could be happening here is that the Class 5 prefix has gotten reanalyzed to the stem. Some examples are given below:

(60) rĩtũa, marĩtũa

rĩ- tũa	ma- rĩ- tũa
NC_5- name	NC_6- NC_5- name

'name, names'

(61) riũa, mariũa

rĩ- ũa	ma- rĩ- ũa
NC_5- sun	NC_6- NC_5- sun

'sun, suns'

Noun Class 6 seems to be a very productive way of making plurals, as it serves as a possible plural for various other noun classes, such as Noun Classes 1, 9, 11, 12, 14, and 15.

2.1.1.4 Classes 7/8

Classes 7 and 8 are the classes for augmentatives, used to denote objects that are big in some way. The use of this class as an augmentative will be explored in further detail in section 2.1.4.2. There are also many nouns that inherently belong to Classes 7 and 8. However, there doesn't seem to be any discernable semantic motivation behind these nouns.

Classes 7 and 8 are formed as follows:

Class 7: *kĩ-/gĩ-* + stem
Class 8: *ci-/i-* + stem

The variation of *kĩ-/gĩ-* depends on the identity of the following consonant, as described in 1.5.1. The variation of *ci-/i-* depends on whether the stem is vowel-initial. If the noun stem is vowel-initial, it is prefixed by *ci-*, and if it is consonant-initial, it is prefixed by *i-*. Some examples are given below:

(62) kĩimba, cimba

kĩ- imba	ci- imba
NC_7- corpse	NC_8- corpse

'corpse, corpses'

(63) kĩboko, iboko

kĩ- boko	i- boko
NC_7- whip	NC_8- whip

'whip, whips'

2.1.1.5 Classes 9/10

Classes 9 and 10 do not seem to have a clear semantic motivation. However, most animals and a few body parts belong to this class. This class also seems to be the default class for words borrowed into Gĩkũyũ. Because of the borrowed words, there are inconsistencies in this class.

The prefixes proposed for Classes 9 and 10 are nasalization, indicated with *N-*. This is proposed for three main reasons:

1) Most words in these noun classes begin either with a) a nasalized consonant (mb, nd, ng, nj, m, n, ny, ng'), or b) a consonant in a place of articulation for which a nasalized alternative does not exist (th, w, h). The words that do not begin with these consonants are mostly, if not all, borrowed words such as *batĩ* 'party', *karati* 'carrot', and *cukuru* 'school'.
2) When a different class prefix, such as the diminutive class, is attached to these noun stems, the prenasalized consonants (mb, nd, ng) seem to "lose" their nasality to become b, t, and g, for example:
    a) *mbata* 'duck' > *kabata* 'small duck'
    b) *ndaa* 'louse' > *gataa* 'small louse'
    c) *ngui* 'dog' > *kagui* 'small dog'
3) The concord form for this noun class of an adjective beginning with a vowel, such as *ingĩ* 'many' is *nyingĩ.*

Thus, Classes 9 and 10 are formed as follows:

Class 9: *N-* + stem
Class 10: *N-* + stem

If there is no nasalized alternative at the specific place of articulation, the nasalization does not change the stem. Some examples are given below:

(64) mbakũri, mbakũri

N- bakũri	N- bakũri
NC_9- bowl	NC_{10}- bowl

'bowl, bowls'

(65) ndahi, ndahi

N- dahi	N- dahi
NC_9 -grasshopper	NC_{10}- grasshopper

'grasshopper, grasshoppers'

(66) nyamũ, nyamũ

N- nyamũ	N- nyamũ
NC_9- animal	NC_{10}- animal

'animal, animals'

(67) thia, thia

N- thia	N- thia
NC_9- antelope	NC_{10}- antelope

'antelope, antelopes'

Most borrowed words fall under Noun Classes 9 and 10, and some of these borrowed words begin with a non-nasalized consonant that may violate the above rules because of their status as borrowings. However, other than the lack of nasalization prefix, they pattern exactly the same as the other words in the class. It is clear that these borrowed words, while being borrowed into this noun class, are still unique in the fact that they do not take the nasalization prefix. These can be seen as Classes 9a and 10a, and as they do not take prefixes, they are formed as follows:

Class 9a: Ø- + stem
Class 10a: Ø- + stem

Some examples are given below:

(68) batĩ, batĩ

Ø- batĩ	Ø- batĩ
NC_{9a}- party	NC_{10a}- party

'party, parties'

(69) cerobu, cerobu

Ø- cerobu	Ø- cerobu
NC_{9a}- shelf	NC_{10a}- shelf

'shelf, shelves'

2.1.1.6 Class 11

Class 11 consists mainly of nouns that are long and thin, or string-like. However, like most other Gĩkũyũ noun classes, it also contains many semantically-non-related nouns. The plural form of Class 11 nouns can belong to either Noun Class 10 or Noun Class 6. As most nouns whose plurals can occur in Noun Class 6 can also occur in Noun Class 10, it seems that Noun Class 10 is the default plural class for nouns in Noun Class 11.

Noun Class 11 is formed as follows:

Class 11: *rũ*- + stem

A hypothesis in the case of a stem beginning with *rũ* is that if the prefix *rũ-* is added to a stem that already begins with *rũ*, the prefix is deleted.

Some examples with plurals in Noun Class 10 are as follows:

(70) ruoya, njoya

rũ- oya	N- oya
NC_{11}- feather	NC_{10}- feather

'feather, feathers'

(71) rũĩgĩ, ndũĩgĩ

rũ- rũĩgĩ	N- rũĩgĩ
NC_{11}- eagle	NC_{10}- eagle

'eagle, eagles'

An example with a plural form in Noun Class 6 is as follows:

(72) rũguoya, maguoya

rũ- guoya	ma- guoya
NC_{11}- fur	NC_{6}- fur

'fur, furs'

The Class 6 plural form of Class 11 nouns follows the same variation as Class 5/6 plurals (2.1.1.3), the reason for which is hard to pinpoint. Sometimes the Class 6 prefix, *ma-*, attaches to the noun stem itself, and sometimes it attaches to the whole class 11 form of the noun. A similar analysis can be applied here, assuming that the prefix has gotten reanalyzed into the stem. An example in which the Class 6 prefix attaches to the whole Class 11 form of the noun is as follows:

(73) ruoya, maruoya

rũ- oya	ma- rũ- oya
NC_{11}- feather	NC_{6}- NC_{11}- feather

'feather, feathers'

2.1.1.7 Classes 12/13

Classes 12 and 13 are the classes for diminutives, used to denote objects that are small in some way. The use of this class as a diminutive will be explored in further detail in section 2.1.4.1. There are also many nouns that inherently belong to Classes 12 and 13. However, there does not seem to be any discernable semantic motivation behind these nouns.

Classes 12 and 13 are formed as follows:

Class 12: *ka-/ga-* + stem
Class 13: *tũ-* + stem

The variation of *ka-/ga-* depends on the identity of the following consonant, as described in the phonology chapter. Some examples are given below:

(74) kahiu, tũhiu

ka- hiu	tũ- hiu
NC_{12}- knife	NC_{13}- knife

'knife, knives'

(75) kahĩĩ, tũhĩĩ

ka- hĩĩ	tũ- hĩĩ
NC_{12}- boy	NC_{13}- boy

'little boy, little boys'

2.1.1.8 Class 14

Class 14 contains nouns for abstract concepts. However, other than abstract concepts, Noun Class 14 also contains many other nouns, so this, like most other noun classes, is only somewhat semantically motivated. Class 14 generally pairs up with Class 6 for the plural form of nouns.

Class 14 is formed as follows:

Class 14: Ø- + stem

Abstract ideas fall into this noun class. Abstract ideas tend to begin with the letter ũ, as will be seen in the following examples. *Thiriti* 'friendship' is a special case, as according to our consultant it used to be spelled and pronounced *ũthiriti* in the singular, but over time the ũ was dropped. However, its remnants can still be seen in the plural, which is *mothiriti (ma- + ũthiriti)* as opposed to *mathiriti*, which would be expected if *thiriti* were the stem instead of *ũthiriti*.

Some examples of nouns in this class are as follows:

(76) thiriti, mothiriti

Ø- thiriti	ma- ũthiriti
NC_{14}- friendship	NC_{6}- friendship

'friendship, friendships'

(77) wendi, mawendi

Ø- wendi	ma- wendi
NC_{14}- wish	NC_6- wish

'wish, wishes'

(78) cukari, macukari

Ø- cukari	ma- cukari
NC_{14}- sugar	NC_6- sugar

'sugar, sugars'

2.1.1.9 Class 15

Class 15 seems to contain only body parts and verbal infinitives. This class is more semantically and syntactically motivated than other noun classes in Gĩkũyũ. If the plural form of a Class 15 noun is possible, it is in Class 6.

Class 15 is formed as follows:

Class 15: *kũ-/gũ-* + stem

The variation of *kũ-/gũ-* depends on the identity of the following consonant, as described in 1.5.1. The three body part examples belonging to this noun class are as follows:

(79) gũtũ, matũ

gũ- tũ	ma- tũ
NC_{15}- ear	NC_6- ear

'ear, ears'

(80) guoko, moko

gũ- oko	ma- oko
NC_{15}- arm	NC_6- arm

'arm, arms'

(81) kũgũrũ, magũrũ

kũ- gũrũ	ma- gũrũ
NC_{15}- leg	NC_6- leg

'leg, legs'

Some examples of verbal infinitives are as follows:

(82) kũgũa
kũ- gũa
NC_{15}- fall
'to fall'

(83) gũtheka
gũ- theka
NC_{15}- laugh
'to laugh'

2.1.1.10 Classes 16/17

Classes 16 and 17 are locative classes. Only one noun was available to be elicited for each: *handũ* 'place (definite)' and *kũndũ* 'place (indefinite)'.

Class 16 is the definite location class. Definite in this case means the speaker knows where the location is and is referring to a definite, specific place. Definite location is used when a specific place is known, within the given universe of discourse.

Class 17 is the indefinite location class. Indefinite in this case means that the speaker is referring more to thereabouts than a specific place. We will return to a discussion of this distinction in our discussion of locative clauses in 4.4.

Classes 16 and 17 are formed as follows:

Class 16: *ha-* + stem
Class 17: *kũ-/gũ-* + stem

Classes 16 and 17 can be singular or plural based on context.

The class 16 example is as follows:

(84) handũ
ha- ndũ
NC_{16}- thing
'place' (definite)

The class 17 example is as follows:

(85) kũndũ
kũ- ndũ
NC_{17}- thing
'place' (indefinite)

2.1.2 Semantics Of Gĩkũyũ Noun Classes

Each of the above sections on the noun classes in Gĩkũyũ mentions some of the semantic characteristics of the nouns belonging to the noun classes. Most noun classes do not seem to be semantically motivated. Some noun classes follow general semantic tendencies, though there are always nouns in these noun classes that do not match the general tendency. Following is a table summarizing semantic tendencies of Gĩkũyũ noun classes.

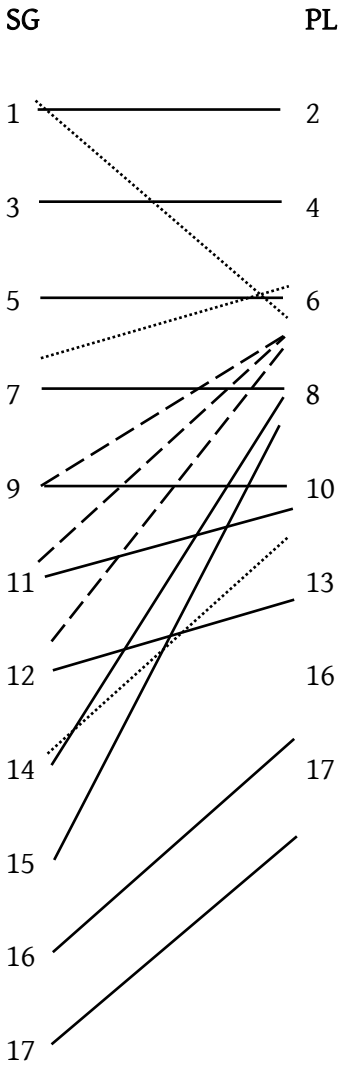
Table 2: Semantics of Gĩkũyũ noun classes

CLASS	SEMANTIC TENDENCIES
1/2	Humans
3/4	Landscape terms, nature terms, other
5/6	Plants, landscape terms, other
7/8	Augmentatives, other
9/10	Animals, body parts, borrowed words, other
11	String- or stick-shaped objects, other
12/13	Diminutives, other
14	Abstract concepts, other
15	Body parts, verbal infinitives
16	Location (definite)
17	Location (indefinite)

2.1.3 Singular/Plural Pairings

There are 17 noun classes which pair into 15 singular-plural pairings. Common pairings are 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11/10, 12/13, 14/6, and 15/6. Less common pairings are 9/6, 11/6, and 12/6. Extremely rare pairings are 7/6, 1/8, and 14/10. These pairings are summarized in the following table, where dashed lines indicate less common pairings and dotted lines indicate rare pairings.

Table 3: Singular/plural noun class pairings



The class 6 plural seems to be very productive, especially with borrowed words, and can form plurals from multiple singular noun classes, as seen in sections 2.1.1.3, 2.1.1.6, 2.1.1.8, and 2.1.1.9. In addition to these, it can also form the plural in some instances from nouns in noun classes 7, 9 and 12. Class 6 plurals of class 7 nouns usually only occur with augmented nouns, and not nouns that are inherently in class 7. Class 6 plurals of class 9 and class 12 nouns seem to be mainly borrowed words. To explain the variation in 12/6 plural forms, possibly along the lines of the hypothesis offered in section 2.1.1.7, the following could be said: Sometimes when plural noun class prefixes, especially from class 6, are attached to borrowed words, they are attached to the whole singular noun class form, rather than what is perceived to be the noun stem.

Following are examples of 7/6, 9/6, and 12/6 noun pairs, respectively:

(86) kĩbakũri, mabakũri

kĩ- bakũri	ma- bakũri
NC_7- bowl	NC_6- bowl

'big bowl, big bowls'

(87) mbata, mabata

N- bata	ma- bata
NC_9- duck	NC_6- duck

'duck, ducks'

(88) karatathi, maratathi, makaratathi

ka- ratathi	ma- ratathi	ma- ka- ratathi
NC_{12}- paper	NC_6- paper	NC_{12}- NC_6- paper

'paper, papers, papers'

2.1.4 Noun-Noun Derivation

2.1.4.1 Diminution

To form diminutive forms of nouns—nouns that are seen as a smaller variant of the non-modified noun—from nouns not already in Noun Classes 12/13, the prefixes for Noun Classes 12/13 are used. That is to say, the diminutive form is formed as follows:

Singular: *ka-/ga-* + stem
Plural: *tũ-* + stem

Following are some examples:

(89) gĩkwa, ikwa, gakwa, tũkwa

gĩ- kwa	i- kwa	ga- kwa	tũ- kwa
NC_7- yam	NC_8- yam	NC_{12}- yam	NC_{13}- yam

'yam, yams, small yam, small yams'

(90) njata, njata, gacata, tũcata

N- cata	N- cata	ga- cata	tũ- cata
NC_9- star	NC_{10}- star	NC_{12}- star	NC_{13}- star

'star, stars, small star, small stars'

2.1.4.2 Augmentation

To form augmented forms of nouns—nouns that are seen as a larger type of the non-modified noun—from nouns not already in Noun Classes 7/8, the prefixes for Noun Classes 7/8 are used. In some cases, the prefixes for Noun Class 6 can be used for the plural as well. The variation between these two forms is not clear from our data. The augmented form is formed as follows:

Singular: *kĩ-/gĩ-* + stem
Plural: *ci-/i-* + stem
Plural: *ma-* + stem

Following is an example:

(91) mbakũri, mabakũri, kĩbakũri, ibakũri

N- bakũri	ma- bakũri	kĩ- bakũri	i- bakũri
NC_9- bowl	NC_6- bowl	NC_7- bowl	NC_8- bowl

'bowl, bowls, big bowl, big bowls'

2.2 Components Of The Noun Phrase

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to other components of the noun phrase, and the structure of the noun phrase. Gĩkũyũ is a head-initial language, which means that within a noun phrase, the head noun occurs first and is followed by any modifiers. When a head noun is followed by multiple modifiers, the order of the modifiers is generally relatively flexible.

These modifiers are bound stems that require concord prefixes. There are two sets of concord prefixes—noun class prefixes and agreement class prefixes—which will be discussed later in this section.

Demonstrative pronouns generally occur right after the head noun, and numerals generally occur at the end of a noun phrase, but adjectives, possessive pronouns, and quantifiers can occur in any order, as shown in the following diagram:

Noun	Poss. pronoun	Adjective
	Dem. pronoun	Quantifier
		Numeral

Though a noun can be followed by all of the modifiers listed in the diagram on the previous page, it is more common for nouns to be modified by one or two noun phrase constituents. In Gĩkũyũ, a noun phrase can include both a demonstrative pronoun and a possessive pronoun.

Gĩkũyũ's noun class system governs a system of concord, in which other components of the noun phrase agree with the head noun. Each noun class has two concord markers which mark concord on different types of modifiers.

The following table shows both types of concord markers for all 17 noun classes.

Table 4: Concord markers for noun classes

CLASS	ADJECTIVE CLASS PREFIX	AGREEMENT CLASS PREFIX
1	*mũ-*	*ũ-*
2	*a-*	*a-*
3	*mũ-*	*ũ-*
4	*mĩ-*	*ĩ-*
5	*rĩ-/i-*	*rĩ-/i-*
6	*ma-*	*ma-*
7	*kĩ-/gĩ-*	*kĩ-/gĩ-*
8	*N-*	*ci-/i-*
9	*N-*	*ĩ-*
10	*N-*	*ci-/i-*
11	*rũ-*	*rũ-*
12	*ka-/ga-*	*ka-/ga-*
13	*tũ-*	*tũ-*
14	*mũ-*	*ũ-*
15	*kũ-/gũ-*	*kũ-/gũ-*
16	*ha-*	*ha-*
17	*kũ-/gũ-*	*kũ-/gũ-*

The first type of concord marker is the adjective class prefix. For all classes except 8 and 14, the adjective class prefix is identical to the prefix that prefixes nouns of that particular class. The adjective class prefix marks adjectives and some quantifiers that seem to be considered adjectives: *nini* 'a few', *ingĩ* 'many'.

The second type of concord marker is the agreement class prefix. The agreement class prefix marks cardinal numerals, demonstratives, possessives, the associative, and some quantifiers that do not seem to be considered adjectives: *othe* 'all', *ĩngĩ* 'other', *mwe* 'some', *mwe na mwe* 'a few'.

Following are some noun phrases that illustrate the order of modifiers and the concord marking on modifiers.

The following example must have the demonstrative pronoun and possessive pronoun in the order given, which shows that demonstrative pronouns can come before possessive pronouns in the noun phrase:

(92) mahũa maya makwa
ma- hũa maya ma- akwa
NC_6- flower $PROX.DEM_6$ AC_6- 1SG.POS
'these flowers of mine'

The following example must have the adjective and numeral in the order given, which shows that numerals can come after adjectives in the noun phrase:

(93) mahũa manene matano
ma- hũa ma- nene ma- tano
NC_6- flower JC_6- big AC_6- five
'five big flowers'

The following two examples show that again, the demonstrative pronoun can occur immediately after the head noun. These examples also show that the possessive pronoun and the adjective are interchangeable in a noun phrase in terms of sequence:

(94) mahũa maya manene makwa
ma- hũa maya ma- nene ma- akwa
NC_6- flower $PROX.DEM_6$ JC_6- big AC_6- 1SG.POS
'these big flowers of mine'

(95) mahũa maya makwa manene
ma- hũa maya ma- akwa ma- nene
NC_6- flower $PROX.DEM_6$ AC_6- 1SG.POS JC_6- big
'these big flowers of mine'

The following two examples show that, in a noun phrase, quantifiers and adjectives are interchangeable in terms of sequence:

(96) mahũa makwa mothe manene
ma- hũa ma- akwa ma- othe ma- nene
NC_6- flower AC_6- 1SG.POS AC_6- all JC_6- big
'all my big flowers'

(97) mahũa makwa manene mothe

ma- hũa ma- akwa ma- nene ma- othe

NC_6- flower AC_6- 1SG.POS JC_6- big AC_6- all

'all my big flowers'

The next example below shows that order of constituents in Gĩkũyũ does not seem to be completely fixed. The order of constituents in a noun phrase is fairly flexible.

(98) mahũa maya makwa mothe matano manene

ma- hũa maya ma- akwa ma- othe ma- tano ma- nene

NC_6- flower $PROX.DEM_6$ AC_6- 1SG.POS AC_6- all AC_6- five AC_6- big

'all five of these big flowers of mine'

2.2.1 Pronouns

2.2.1.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns for person forms and classes 1/2 are shown in the following table.

Table 5: Personal pronouns for person forms

PERSON	PRONOUN
1SG	*niĩ / niũ*
2SG	*wee / weũ*
NC1	*we*
1PL	*ithuĩ*
2PL	*inyuĩ / inyuũ*
NC2	*o / mo*

Personal pronouns may take the place of a noun or a noun phrase. Personal pronouns are not obligatory, especially since person and noun class are marked on verbs. They are usually only used emphatically. Personal pronoun use is shown in the following example:

(99) nĩ niĩ ndĩ mwarimũ

nĩ niĩ N- rĩ mũ- arimũ

FOC 1SG.PRO 1SG- COP NC_1- teacher

'It is I who am a teacher.'

Personal pronouns for noun classes other than 1 and 2 are used only in the response to a question. The personal pronouns for these noun classes are generally formed by prefixing the stem of the personal pronoun *o* with the corresponding agreement class prefix. Exceptions to

this rule are noun classes 3 and 14, which seem to take *gũ-* or *gu-* as a prefix instead, for an unknown reason. The following table shows the personal pronoun forms for classes 3-17.

Table 6: Personal pronouns for noun classes 3-17

CLASS	PRONOUN
3	*guo*
4	*yo*
5	*rĩo*
6	*mo*
7	*kĩo*
8	*cio*
9	*yo*
10	*cio*
11	*ruo*
12	*ko*
13	*tuo*
14	*guo*
15	*kuo*
16	*ho*
17	*kuo*

Following is an example of how one might answer the question, "Is the flower beautiful?":

(100) rĩo nĩ rĩthaka
rĩ- o nĩ rĩ- thaka
NC_5- PRO FOC AC_5- beautiful
'It (the flower) is beautiful.'

2.2.1.2 Dependent Pronouns

The dependent pronoun has the meaning 'and/with X' and is formed by fusing the *comitative* preposition *na* 'and/with' with the appropriate personal pronouns described above in section 2.2.1.1. Only the dependent pronoun for noun class 1 does not follow this pattern. This pronoun can be used as an oblique NP, and is a necessary component of relative clauses that relativize oblique NPs. The following table shows the forms of the dependent pronouns for person and noun classes.

Table 7: Dependent pronouns

CLASS	DEP. PRON.	CLASS	DEP. PRON.
1SG	*naniĩ*	8	*nacio*
2SG	*nawe*	9	*nayo*
1PL	*naithuĩ*	10	*nacio*
2PL	*nainyuĩ*	11	*naruo*
1	*nake*	12	*nako*
2	*nao*	13	*natuo*
3	*naguo*	14	*naguo*
4	*nayo*	15	*nakuo*
5	*narĩo*	16	*naho*
6	*namo*	17	*nakuo*
7	*nakĩo*		

Following are some examples of dependent pronouns:

(101) njokire narĩo

N- cok -ir -e na- rĩ- o

1SG- return -COMPL -FV and- AC5- PRO

'I returned with it (the flower) (today).'

(102) nĩnjokire nao

nĩ- N- cok -ir -e na- a- o

FOC- 1SG- return -COMPL -FV and- AC_2- PRO

'I returned with them (the women) (today).'

2.2.1.3 Possessive Pronouns

There are multiple methods of marking possession in Gĩkũyũ. One method uses a possessive pronoun, and another uses the associative construction. The method that will be discussed in this section is the first, the use of the possessive pronoun.

The possessive pronoun is formed by prefixing the appropriate possessive stem with the agreement class prefix of the possessed noun. There are six possessive stems in Gĩkũyũ, corresponding with 1SG, 2SG, NC_1, 1PL, 2PL, and NC_2. Though the possessive stems for NC_1 and NC_2 can be used with the other noun classes corresponding to singular and plural respectively, this usage is very rare. The possessive stems are as follows.

Table 8: Possessive stems

PERSON	STEM	GLOSS
1SG	*akwa*	'my'
2SG	*aku*	'your (sg.)'
NC1	*ake*	'his/her/its'
1PL	*itũ*	'our'
2PL	*anyu*	'your (pl.)'
NC2	*ao*	'their'

Following is a table showing the paradigm of forms of possessive pronouns for all noun classes.

Table 9: Possessive pronoun paradigm

CLASS	1SG	2SG	NC1	1PL	2PL	NC2
1	*wakwa*	*waku*	*wake*	*witũ*	*wanyu*	*wao*
2	*akwa*	*aku*	*ake*	*aitũ*	*anyu*	*ao*
3	*wakwa*	*waku*	*wake*	*witũ*	*wanyu*	*wao*
4	*yakwa*	*yaku*	*yake*	*iitũ*	*yanyu*	*yao*
5	*rĩakwa*	*rĩaku*	*rĩake*	*riitũ*	*rĩanyu*	*rĩao*
6	*makwa*	*maku*	*make*	*maitũ*	*manyu*	*mao*
7	*gĩakwa*	*gĩaku*	*gĩake*	*gitũ*	*kĩanyu*	*kĩao*
8	*ciakwa*	*ciaku*	*ciake*	*ciitũ*	*cianyu*	*ciao*
9	*yakwa*	*yaku*	*yake*	*iitũ*	*yanyu*	*yao*
10	*ciakwa*	*ciaku*	*ciake*	*ciitũ*	*cianyu*	*ciao*
11	*rũakwa*	*rũaku*	*rũake*	*ruitũ*	*rũanyu*	*rũao*
12	*gakwa*	*gaku*	*gake*	*gaitũ*	*kanyu*	*kao*
13	*tũakwa*	*tũaku*	*tũake*	*tuitũ*	*tũanyu*	*tũao*
14	*wakwa*	*waku*	*wake*	*witũ*	*wanyu*	*wao*
15	*gũakwa*	*gũaku*	*gũake*	*guitũ*	*kũanyu*	*kũao*
16	*hakwa*	*haku*	*hake*	*haitũ*	*hanyu*	*hao*
17	*gũakwa*	*gũaku*	*gũake*	*guitũ*	*kũanyu*	*kũao*

Some examples of possessives are as follows:

(103) mwaki wakwa
mũ- aki ũ- akwa
NC_3- fire AC_3- 1SG.POS
'my fire'

(104) huhu ciao
N- huhu ci- ao
NC_{10}- bat NC_{10}- 3PL.POS
'their bats'

(105) mahũa maitũ
ma- hũa ma- itũ
NC_6- flower AC_6- 1PL.POS
'our flowers'

2.2.1.4 Relative Pronouns

Another type of pronoun is the relative pronoun. Relative pronouns are used to relativize nouns. Relative pronouns are formed by adding the relevant agreement class prefix to the relative stem *rĩa*. For classes 8 and 10, vowel harmony occurs and the *ĩ* in the stem is raised to *i*. The following table shows the forms of the relative pronoun for person and number combinations, and all noun classes.

Table 10: Relative pronouns

CLASS	REL. PRONOUN	CLASS	REL. PRONOUN
1	*ũrĩa*	10	*iria*
2	*arĩa*	11	*rũrĩa*
3	*ũrĩa*	12	*karĩa*
4	*ĩrĩa*	13	*tũrĩa*
5	*rĩrĩa*	14	*ũrĩa*
6	*marĩa*	15	*kũrĩa*
7	*kĩrĩa*	16	*harĩa*
8	*iria*	17	*kũrĩa*
9	*ĩrĩa*		

As can be seen from section 2.2.3, the relative pronouns have the same orthography as the distal demonstratives. However, the two are distinguished in spoken Gĩkũyũ by vowel length, as the first syllable of the relative pronouns is a short vowel, while the first syllable of the distal demonstratives is a long vowel.

Examples of relative pronouns can be found in section 7.1.2.

2.2.1.5 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns can stand alone as pronouns. Demonstratives themselves are discussed more in detail in section 2.2.3. The following examples show demonstratives used as pronouns.

(106) ũrĩa nĩ mwathĩki
ũ- rĩa nĩ mũ- athĩki
NC_1- DIST.DEM COP JC_1- obedient
'That one (the child) is obedient.'

(107) ũyũ nĩ mwathĩki
ũyũ nĩ mũ- athĩki
$PROX.DEM_1$ COP JC_1- obedient
'This one (the child) is obedient.'

(108) rĩrĩa nĩ rĩthaka
rĩ- rĩa nĩ rĩ- thaka
NC_5- DIST.DEM COP JC_5- beautiful
'That one (the flower) is beautiful.'

2.2.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in Gĩkũyũ, much like in other Bantu languages, seem to be a smaller, closed class. The adjectives gathered so far include attributes of size, age, value, color, and human propensity. Adjectives in Gĩkũyũ are bound stems that must be prefixed with the appropriate noun class prefix.

Since adjectives are such a small class, Gĩkũyũ employs other methods of showing attribution. One method that serves the same purpose is predicate attributive clauses, which will be described in further detail in section 4.3. Another method that serves the same purpose as adjectives used in noun phrases is the associative construction, which will be described in further detail in section 2.2.6.3.

Following is a table of the adjectives gathered thus far, grouped into their semantic categories.

Table 11: Adjectives in Gĩkũyũ

DIMENSION	AGE	VALUE	COLOR	HUMAN PROPENSITY
nene	*kũrũ*	*ega*	*tune*	*rũaru*
'big'	'old'	'good'	'red'	'sick'
nini	*erũ*	*ũru*	*erũ*	*athĩki*
'small/young'	'new'	'bad'	'white'	'obedient'
kuhĩ	*kenge*	*thaka*	*irũ*	
'short'	'baby'	'beautiful'	'black'	
raihu				
'tall'				

Following are some examples of adjectival noun phrases, which show noun class concord:

(109) gĩtĩ kĩũru
gĩ- tĩ kĩ- ũru
NC_7- chair JC_7- bad
'a bad chair'

(110) mũtimia mũkuhĩ
mũ- timia mũ- kuhĩ
NC_1- woman JC_1- short
'a short woman'

In the adjective class, Gĩkũyũ has three colors: *tune* 'red', *erũ* 'white', and *irũ* 'black'. See 8.2 for a discussion of these and other expressions for color in Gĩkũyũ.

2.2.3 Demonstratives

There are three types of demonstratives in Gĩkũyũ. Demonstratives can be used to indicate proximity, and contrast between proximal (closer to the speaker) and distal (farther from the speaker). There is also a demonstrative that can be used anaphorically to refer to something not physically present but understood to be the topic of reference to both interlocutors.

Thus, there are three demonstratives: a) a proximal demonstrative, b) a distal demonstrative, and c) an anaphoric demonstrative. The anaphoric demonstrative can have full and shortened versions in some noun classes. In other noun classes, only a shortened version exists.

The proximal demonstrative seems to be formed from reduplication of the agreement class prefix of each noun class, where if the agreement class prefix begins with a vowel, a *y* is inserted between each repetition. However, this explains only the behavior of noun classes 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17. It is unclear what principle is behind the patterning of noun classes 4, 6, and 9.

The distal demonstrative is formed by prefixing the stem *rĩa* with the appropriate agreement class prefix. As can be seen from section 2.2.1.4, the distal demonstratives have the same orthography as the relative pronouns. However, the two are distinguished in spoken Gĩkũyũ by vowel length, as the first syllable of the relative pronouns is a short vowel, while the first syllable of the distal demonstratives is a long vowel.

The anaphoric demonstrative common to all noun classes is formed by prefixing the stem *u* with the appropriate agreement class prefix. Noun classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 14 can also form a full version of the demonstrative by prefixing the stems *yo* (if agreement class prefix vowel is *ĩ*) or *cio* (in all other cases) with the appropriate agreement class prefix. It is unclear why some noun classes have a full version and others do not.

Following is a table with the proximal, distal, and anaphoric demonstratives for all noun classes:

Table 12: Demonstratives

CLASS	PROXIMAL	DISTAL	ANAPHORIC
1	*ũyũ*	*ũrĩa*	*ũcio / ũu*
2	*aya*	*arĩa*	*acio / au*
3	*ũyũ*	*ũrĩa*	*ũcio / ũu*
4	*ĩno*	*ĩrĩa*	*ĩyo / ĩu*
5	*rĩrĩ*	*rĩrĩa*	*rĩu*
6	*maya*	*marĩa*	*macio / mau*
7	*gĩkĩ*	*kĩrĩa*	*kĩu*
8	*ici*	*iria*	*icio / iu*
9	*ĩno*	*ĩrĩa*	*ĩyo / ĩu*
10	*ici*	*iria*	*icio / iu*
11	*rũrũ*	*rũrĩa*	*rũu*
12	*gaka*	*karĩa*	*kau*
13	*tũtũ*	*tũrĩa*	*tũu*
14	*ũyũ*	*ũrĩa*	*ũcio / ũu*
15	*gũkũ*	*kũrĩa*	*kũu*
16	*haha*	*harĩa*	*hau*
17	*gũkũ*	*kũrĩa*	*kũu*

Some examples of noun phrases using the demonstrative are as follows:

(111) mĩaki ĩno
mĩ- aki ĩno
NC_4- fire PROX.DEM_4
'these fires'

(112) twana tũu
tũ- ana tũ- u
NC_{13}- child NC_{13}- ANA.DEM
'those children (referential)'

2.2.4 Numerals

Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 consist of a stem prefixed with the agreement class prefix of the head noun. Other numbers do not inflect for class. Ordinal numerals are formed using the associative construction followed by a numeral marked with the agreement class prefix for noun class 12, if it does not already have a noun class marker. These are discussed in the following sections.

Numbers 7 and 9 do not inflect for class because of historical reasons that result in their already having a class marker.

Number 7, mũgwanja, means 'person who falls outside the door', and can be parsed as follows[1]:

(113) mũgwanja
mũ- gũa -nja
NC_1- fall -outside
'person who falls outside the door'

Number 9, *kenda*, means 'child inside stomach' and corresponds with nine months of pregnancy. This word can be parsed as follows:

(114) kenda
ka- ĩ- nda
NC_{12}- in- stomach
'child inside stomach (pres.)'

[1] This could also simply be analyzed as a class 3 noun with the expected *mũ-* prefix for that class.

2.2.4.1 Cardinal Numerals

Gĩkũyũ numerals have a base-ten system. Numerals 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 8 are bound stems that are prefixed with the appropriate agreement class prefix, while all others are uninflected nouns. Numeral stems are summarized in the following table.

Table 13: Numeral stems

NUM.	STEM	NUM.	STEM
1	*mwe*	9	*kenda*
2	*ĩrĩ*	10	*ikũmi*
3	*tatũ*	10s	*mĩrongo*
4	*na*	100	*igana*
5	*tano*	100s	*magana*
6	*tandatũ*	1000	*ngiri*
7	*mũgwanja*	1000s	*ngiri*
8	*nana*		

Note that the word for '10s', even being plural, is not the plural of the word for '10'. This may have arisen historically. The singular form *mũrongo* can be roughly translated as 'set of ten', so *mĩrongo* would mean 'sets of ten'.

Other than '10' and '10s', the words for '100' and '100s', and '1000' and '1000s' correspond to the singular and plural. '100' and '100s' belong to Noun Classes 5/6. '1000' and '1000s' belong to Noun Classes 9/10.

Following is a table showing the forms of 'one' for each singular noun class. All of the forms follow the addition of the agreement class prefix to *mwe* without exception.

Table 14: *Mwe* 'one' with singular noun classes

CLASS	ONE
1	*ũmwe*
3	*ũmwe*
5	*rĩmwe*
7	*kĩmwe*
9	*ĩmwe*
11	*rũmwe*
12	*kamwe*
14	*ũmwe*
15	*kũmwe*
16	*hamwe*
17	*kũmwe*

Following is a table showing the forms of 'two', 'three', 'four', 'five', 'six', and 'eight' for each plural noun class. Noun Classes 8 and 10 are exceptions, as simply adding the agreement class prefix for these two classes will not result in the correct forms. Interestingly, when speakers are asked to count from one to ten, the forms of the numerals for Classes 8 and 10 seem to be the preferred form.

Table 15: 'Two', 'six', and 'eight' with plural noun classes

CLASS	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	EIGHT
2	*erĩ*	*atatũ*	*ana*	*atano*	*atandatũ*	*anana*
4	*ĩrĩ*	*ĩtatũ*	*ĩna*	*ĩtano*	*ĩtandatũ*	*ĩnana*
6	*merĩ*	*matatũ*	*mana*	*matano*	*matandatũ*	*manana*
8	*igĩrĩ*	*ithatũ*	*inya*	*ithano*	*ithathatũ*	*inyanya*
10	*igĩrĩ*	*ithatũ*	*inya*	*ithano*	*ithathatũ*	*inyanya*
13	*tũĩrĩ*	*tũtatũ*	*tũna*	*tũtano*	*tũtandatũ*	*tũnana*
16	*herĩ*	*hatatũ*	*hana*	*hatano*	*hatandatũ*	*hanana*
17	*kũĩrĩ*	*gũtatũ*	*kũna*	*gũtano*	*gũtandatũ*	*kũnana*

To indicate multiple '10s,' '100s', and '1000s', a numeral between 1 and 9 is used to modify it. This numeral takes the agreement class prefix for the appropriate class: Class 4 for '10s', Class 6 for '100s' and Class 10 for '1000s'. This can be seen in the following examples:

(115) mĩrongo ĩrĩ
mĩ- rongo ĩ- ĩrĩ
NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two
'twenty'

(116) magana matano
ma- gana ma- tano
NC_6- hundred AC_6- five
'five hundred'

(117) ngiri inya
N- giri inya
NC_{10}- thousand $four_{10}$
'four thousand'

When numerals are used to count specific objects, if they are inflected numerals, they will inflect to take the agreement class prefix of the particular object being counted. If they are uninflected numerals, they are nouns that already belong to a noun class, and do not inflect to

take the agreement class prefix of the object they are counting. This is shown in the following examples:

(118) mwana ũmwe
mũ- ana ũ- mwe
NC_1- child AC_1- one
'one child'

(119) matũ matatũ
ma- tũ ma- tatũ
NC_6- ear AC_6- three
'three ears'

(120) mĩaka igana
mĩ- aka i- gana
NC_4- year NC_5- hundred
'a hundred years'

Numerals 11-19 are formed with the construction 'ten and X'. Agreement on the final numeral, if it inflects, agrees with the noun being counted. However, if the final numeral is 'one', it agrees with the singular class of the noun being counted, because the numeral 'one' is singular, even if the noun being counted is plural. This can be seen in the following examples:

(121) arĩ ikũmi na erĩ
a- arĩ i- kũmi na a- ĩrĩ
NC_2- daughter NC_3- ten and AC_2- two
'twelve daughters'

(122) irĩma ikũmi na kĩmwe
i- rĩma i- kũmi na kĩ- mwe
NC_8- mountain NC_3- ten and NC_7- one
'eleven mountains'

Numbers above 19 are formed in a similar fashion. Following are some examples:

(123) tũgui igana rĩa mĩrongo ĩrĩ
tũ- gui i- gana rĩ- a mĩ- rongo ĩ- ĩrĩ
NC_{13}- dog NC_5- hundred AC_5- ASSOC NC_4- set.of.ten AC4- two
'a hundred twenty puppies'

(124) tũgui igana na mĩrongo ĩrĩ

tũ- gui i- gana na mĩ- rongo ĩ- ĩrĩ

NC_{13}- dog NC_5- hundred and NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two

'a hundred twenty puppies'

(125) matũ mĩrongo ĩtatũ na matandatũ

ma- tũ mĩ- rongo ĩ- tatũ na ma- tandatũ

NC_6- ear NC_4- set.of.ten NC_4- three and AC_6- six

'thirty-six ears'

2.2.4.2 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed using the associative construction, discussed in section 2.2.6. The ordinal numeral is formed with the associative followed by the numeral. Class 12 prefixes are used with inflecting numerals in ordinal numerals. Non-inflecting numerals still do not change. Numerals 2-10 in ordinal numbers are as the following table shows:

Table 16: Ordinal numerals 2-10

NUM.	NC12
2	*kerĩ*
3	*gatatũ*
4	*kana*
5	*gatano*
6	*gatandatũ*
7	*mũgwanja*
8	*kanana*
9	*kenda*
10	*ikũmi*

Instead of using the numeral *kĩmwe* 'NC_{12}-one' in an ordinal numeral construction to indicate 'first', there are two other words. Both of these words still occur after the associative in an associative construction. The words in question are *mbere* and *kĩambĩrĩria*. The latter means 'beginning'.

Examples of these two constructions are as follows:

(126) nyamũ ya mbere

N- nyamũ ĩ- a mbere

NC_9- animal AC_9- ASSOC first

'the first animal'

(127) nyamũ ya kĩambĩrĩria
N- nyamũ ĩ- a kĩ- ambĩrĩria
NC_9- animal AC_9- ASSOC NC_7- start
'the first animal'

Another construction is used to denote 'last'. The word that occurs after the associative to give this meaning is *mũthia*, which is formed as in the following example:

(128) nyamũ ya mũthia
N- nyamũ ĩ- a mũthia
NC_9- animal AC_9- ASSOC last
'the last animal'

Some examples of other ordinal numbers are as follows:

(129) kagui ga kerĩ
ka- gui ka- a ka- ĩrĩ
NC_{12}- dog AC_{12}- ASSOC AC_{12}- two
'the second puppy'

(130) ũtukũ wa mĩrongo ĩrĩ
ũtukũ ũ- a mĩ- rongo ĩ- ĩrĩ
NC_{14}.night AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two
'the twentieth night'

2.2.5 Quantifiers

Some quantifiers take the agreement class prefix of the appropriate noun, while some take the adjective class prefix. The quantifiers that take the agreement class prefix are: *othe* 'all', *ngĩ* 'other', and *mwe* 'some'. When *ngĩ* 'other' is used with a singular noun class, it means 'another'. Another more complex quantifier that takes the agreement class prefix is: *mwe na mwe* 'a few'. The quantifiers that take the adjective class prefix—and thus may function more as adjectives—are *nini* 'few' and *ingĩ* 'many'.

Following are examples of each of these:

(131) mĩaki yothe
mĩ- aki ĩ- othe
NC_4- fire AC_4- all
'all fires'

(132) mwana ũngĩ
mũ- ana ũ- ngĩ
NC_1- child AC_1- other
'another child'

(133) irĩma imwe
i- rĩma i- mwe
NC_8- mountain AC_8- some
'some mountains'

(134) handũ hamwe na hamwe
ha- ndũ ha- mwe na ha- mwe
NC_{16}- thing AC_{16}- one and AC_{16}- one
'a few places (definite)'

(135) mĩaki mĩnini
mĩ- aki mĩ- nini
NC_4- fire JC_4- few
'a few fires'

(136) mahũa maingĩ
ma- hũa ma- ingĩ
NC_6- flower JC_6- many
'many flowers'

2.2.6 Associative Construction

The associative construction in Gĩkũyũ is used to connect two nouns or noun phrases where the first noun, which is the head noun, is modified in some way by the second noun. The associative is formed by prefixing the stem *a* with the agreement class prefix of the head noun.

The associative construction can be used in Gĩkũyũ to 1) indicate possession, 2) indicate location, 3) form non-adjectival expressions of attribution, and 4) form ordinal numerals. The first three types will be discussed in the following sections. Ordinal numerals were discussed in 2.2.4.2.

The following table shows the forms of the associative construction.

Table 17: Associatives

CLASS	ASSOC.	CLASS	ASSOC.
1	*wa*	10	*cia*
2	*a*	11	*rũa*
3	*wa*	12	*ka*
4	*ya*	13	*tũa*
5	*rĩa*	14	*wa*
6	*ma*	15	*kũa*
7	*kĩa*	16	*ha*
8	*cia*	17	*kũa*
9	*ya*		

2.2.6.1 Possession

A way to denote possession besides using the possessive pronoun is to use the associative construction. The head noun is possessed by the second noun.

(137) mwarĩ wa maitũ

mũ- arĩ ũ- a maitũ

NC_1- daughter AC_1- ASSOC NC_{1a}.mother

'my sister' (Lit. 'daughter of my mother')

2.2.6.2 Location

The associative is also used with certain expressions of location. In expressions of location, the associative agrees with the noun class of the location word (which is also the head noun), and not the noun class of the noun whose location is being described.

(138) rungu rũa metha

rũ- ungu rũ- a N- metha

NC_{11}- under AC_{11}- ASSOC NC_9- table

'under the table'

(139) gatagatĩ ka rũgiri

ga- tagatĩ ka- a rũ- giri

NC_{12}- middle AC_{12}- ASSOC NC_{11}- fence

'in the middle of the fence'

(140) thutha wa gĩtĩ

Ø- thutha ũ- a gĩ- tĩ

NC_{14}.behind AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_7- chair

'behind the chair'

(141) nyunjurĩ wa gĩtĩ

Ø- nyunjurĩ ũ- a gĩ- tĩ

NC_{14}.behind AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_7- chair

'behind the chair'

(142) igũrũ rĩa metha

i- gũrũ rĩ- a N- metha

NC_5- above AC_5- ASSOC NC_9- table

'on top of the table'

(143) mwena-inĩ wa metha

mũ- ena -inĩ ũ- a N- metha

NC_3- side -LOC AC_3- ASSOC NC_9- table

'next to the table'

2.2.6.3 Attributive

The associative construction can also be used to form attributive phrases. Because of the small number of adjectives in Gĩkũyũ, this is a common way of modifying nouns. Some examples are as follows:

(144) irigũ rĩa cukari

i- rigũ rĩ- a cukari

NC_5- banana AC_5- ASSOC NC14.sugar

'a sweet banana' (Lit. 'banana of sugar')

(145) ndimũ ya goro

N- timũ ĩ- a Ø- goro

NC_9- lime AC_9- ASSOC NC14.expense

'an expensive lime' (Lit. 'lime of expense')

Colors that are not included in the adjective class can be expressed using the associative construction. See 8.2 for examples and more details.

Chapter 3

Verbs

Jonas Wittke

3.1 Introduction

Gĩkũyũ verbs are highly agglutinating, with many position classes for various grammatical functions including tense, aspect, subject and object concord marking, and so on. This chapter discusses each of the position classes in the order they appear in the verb.

The central unit of meaning in a given verb is its **stem**. The stem cannot stand on its own, however; it must take at least one suffix: the 'final vowel' described in many grammars of Bantu languages (see Morrison, 2011; Mugane, 1997; and others). The verb stem and final vowel together comprise the Gĩkũyũ imperative, which is the most basic verb form in the language. This form is the verbal **root**. An example of a Gĩkũyũ imperative (the verb root) can be seen in **(146)**:

(146) ina
in -a
sing -FV
'Sing!'

Here, verb stem *in* takes final vowel (FV) *-a* to form the verbal root, which functions as an imperative. Several affixes can also appear before and after the stem. See example **(147)**, which is followed by a template for the position classes:

(147) nĩmaragonyagonyanithirie
nĩ- ma- ra- gonya- gony -an -ith -ĩ -ir -i -e
FOC- SC_2- NR.PST- REDUP- bend -RECIP -CAUS -APP -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'They made each other zigzag (yesterday).'

Table 18: Position classes in Gĩkũyũ verbs

FOC	SP	NEG	T	OP/ REFL	REDUP	**stem**	RECIP	INTENS	MID/ REVERS	CAUS	APP	ASP	TRNS	PV/ FV

Not all position classes can appear in the same verb. Furthermore, although some position classes are in fixed position relative to others (i.e., certain suffixes must appear before, and not after, other suffixes), some others are flexible in terms of relative location in the verb. The present chapter summarizes position classes and morphology, and describes the grammatical

suffixes, which include voice and valence operators. Unless otherwise noted, all data were elicited from our consultant; Mugane (1997) and Clements (1984) helped shape my analyses.

3.2 Prefixes

The following sections discuss the focus particle, the subject prefix, the negative formative, tense prefixes, the object prefix, and the reflexive prefix.

3.2.1 Focus Particle

The focus particle *nĩ-* appears in first position in finite verbs. It serves to pragmatically mark (Payne, 1997: 268) or raise the pragmatic status of a verb or clause. Other sentence constituents can be focused as well; in such cases there is no focus particle on the verb (see section 6.5.1). The following examples show functions of the (verbal) focus particle in describing the events of an elicited "Pear Story" (see Appendix B).

(148) nĩhokire kahĩĩ

nĩ- ha- ũk -ir -e ka- hĩĩ

FOC- SC_{16}- come -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- boy

'There came a little boy (before yesterday).'

(149) nĩguo tũhĩĩ twacokire

nĩ- guo tũ- hĩĩ tũ- a- cok -ir -e

FOC- thus NC_{13}- boy SC_{13}- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV

'That is when the boys returned (before yesterday).'

In **(148)**, *nĩ-* focuses indefinite place as a presentative; in **(149)**, *nĩ* focuses the moment of return. In a narrative such as a pear story, where the consultant is describing sequences of events, the focus particle is often used in conjunction with the introduction of new referents:

(150) gagĩcemania

ka- kĩ- cem -an -i -a

SC_{12}- SEQ- cross.paths -RECIP -TRNS -FV

'He crossed paths'

na tũhĩĩ tũngĩ tũtatũ

na tũ- hĩĩ tũ- ngĩ tũ- tatũ

with NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- other AC_{13}- three

'with three other little boys.'

tũhĩĩ tũu nĩgwa—nĩtwahĩ--
tũ- hĩĩ tũ- u **nĩ-** gwa-- **nĩ-** twahĩ--
NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- ANA.DEM **FOC-** TRUNC **FOC-** TRUNC
'Those little boys, they- they p-'

nĩtũahĩtũkire kahĩĩ kau
nĩ- tũ- a- hĩt -ũr -ĩk -ir -e ka- hĩĩ ka- u
FOC- SC_{13}- RM.PST- hunt -REVERS -MID -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- boy AC_{12}- ANA.DEM
'they passed that little boy (before yesterday).'

The events leading up to the section of the Pear Story shown in **(150)** discuss the actions of a little boy (the boy who crossed paths with three other little boys). The last line of example **(150)** shifts focus from the actions of the little boy to the actions of the three other little boys. The focus marker serves the function of highlighting the three little boys as subject referents.

Our consultant commonly refers to focus particle *nĩ-* as "the affirmative [marker]," such as in situations when it affirms the occurrence of an event, as in example **(151)**:

(151) gũcoka kuona nĩkagwa
kũ- cok -a kũ- on -a **nĩ-** ka- gũ -a
NC_{15}- return -FV NC_{15}- see -FV **FOC-** SC_{12}- fall -FV
'returned, and saw that the boy fell (before yesterday).'

'the boy fell' is the focal point of **(151)**; the focus particle affirms the event.

3.2.2 Subject Concord Marker

In finite verb forms, the subject concord marker follows the focus particle as in the following example:

(152) nĩainaga
nĩ- a- in -ag -a
FOC- SC_1- sing -HAB -FV
'He/she sings (habitually).'

The subject concord prefix appears verb-initially in verb forms with no focus marker. However, in some instances, a negative marker precedes the subject prefix. The subject prefix also takes second position in verbs with the negative formative prefix (see section 3.2.3 on negative formative prefixes). Section 3.2.2.1 below touches on person subject concord prefixes; section 3.2.2.2 discusses the noun-class subject concord markers.

3.2.2.1 Person

Table 19, below, shows the underlying morpheme for the person subject prefixes.

Table 19: Person subject concord (SC) prefixes

Gloss	*Form*
1SG	N-
1PL	tũ-
2SG	ũ-
2PL	mũ-
NC_1	a-
NC_2	ma-

Only discourse participants (1st and 2nd person) have unique affixes that represent person marking. All 3rd-person referents, on the other hand, are indexed on the verb by means of the subject concord marker that corresponds with their noun-class. This is true whether the 3rd-person referent is human (*a-* for noun-class 1 and *ma-* for noun-class 2) or nonhuman (the remaining classes). While it is tempting from the perspective of speakers of European languages to gloss *a-* and *ma-* as 3SG and 3PL respectively, there is actually no justification for doing so. There is nothing to warrant treating these two noun-classes any different from the others, and so we are glossing them as we would any subject concord marker, using SC_1 and SC_2.

The underlying 1SG subject morpheme is *N-*, a nasal that takes various forms depending on the conditioning environment. For example, underlying *N-* takes the form *ndĩ-* in **(153)**, below:

(153) nĩndĩrora

nĩ- N- **ra-** ũr **Ø** -a

FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- **CR.PRES-** run.away -**PROG** -FV

'I am running away.'

The form *ndĩ-* occurs in environments immediately preceding certain prefixes, such as tense prefix *ra-* and noun class 1 object prefix *mũ-*. See 1.5.5 for a complete discussion of *N-* and its conditioning environments.

3.2.2.2 Noun Class

As discussed in 2.1.1, there are at least 17 noun classes in Gĩkũyũ. The respective subject concord prefixes ('SC') are shown in Table 20:

Table 20: Noun class subject concord (SC) prefixes

#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
NC	mũ-	a-	mũ-	mĩ-	i-	ma-	kĩ-	i- / ci-	N-	N-	rũ-	ka-	tũ-	ũ-	kũ- / ku-	ha-	kũ-
SC	a-	ma-	ũ-	ĩ-	rĩ-	ma-	kĩ-	i- / ci-	ĩ-	ci-	rũ-	ka-	tũ-	ũ-	kũ-	ha-	kũ-

As already discussed in 2.2, Gĩkũyũ demonstrates noun-class concord across many word classes, as seen in **(154)** below:

(154) tũhĩĩ tũu tũngĩ twĩri twatigĩtwo

tũ- hĩĩ **tũ-** u **tũ-** ngĩ **tũ-** ĩri **tũ-** a- tig -ĩt -wo

NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- ANA.DEM AC_{13}- other AC_{13}- two SC_{13}- RM.PST- abandon -PERF -PV

'Those other two boys that had been left behind (before yesterday)'

This chapter focuses on only the concord markers that appear on verbs; this section looks specifically at noun-class subject markers. In example **(154)**, noun class marker *tũ-* appears first on the noun ('boy') and then four more times as a concord prefix. The verb *twatigĩtwo* begins with subject concord prefix *tũ-*.

NC_1 includes nouns for human names and professions. Example **(155)** shows the corresponding subject concord prefix *a-* on the verb:

(155) arĩmaga matunda ma *pears*

a- rĩm -ag -a ma- tunda ma- a pears

SC_1- cultivate -HAB -FV NC_6- fruit AC_6- ASSOC NC_9.pears

'**He** grew pears (before yesterday).'

Following is an elicited example to illustrate noun-class 2 (plural human) subject concord with the prefix *ma-*:

(156) arimũ nĩmagũthoma mbuku

a- arimũ nĩ- **ma-** kũ- thom -a N- buku

NC_2- teacher FOC- SC_2- CR.FUT- read -FV NC_{10}- book

'The teachers will read the books (today).'

Subject markers for noun classes 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10 are less common in my data, and not at all found in the elicited Gĩkũyũ Pear Story, perhaps because these classes refer to inanimates rather than humans. Still, they can be found in sentence elicitation, as in the following:

(157) mbembe nĩciakũrire

N- bembe nĩ- **ci-** a- kũr -ir -e
NC_{10}- corn FOC- SC_{10}- RM.PST- grow -COMPL -FV
'The corn grew (before yesterday).'

3.2.3 Negative

In discussing negative formations, Clements (1984) refers to a "negative formative," the prefix *ti-*. This prefix does appear following the subject in some negative formations, but not all. Below I discuss person-subject negative formatives, followed by noun-class subject negative formatives. See also section 6.3.

In verbs with **single-vowel** subject forms, such as those seen in **(158)** and **(159)** below, the negative formative appears word-initially as *nd-*, preceding the (single-vowel) subject prefix. Verbs with other subject forms are marked with negative formative *ti-*, which follows the subject prefix. Examples **(160)**-**(162)** show this very clearly. Example **(163)** also shows negative formative *ti-* in second position, although this is less obvious on the surface.

(158) **ndũ**thiaga

nd- ũ- thi -ag -a
NEG- 2SG.SUBJ- go -HAB -FV
'You(sg) don't go (habitually).'

(159) **nda**roka

nd- a- ra- ũk -a
NEG- SC_1- CR.PRES- come -FV
'He/she is not coming (now).'

(160) **tũti**ũkaga

tũ- ti- ũk -ag -a
1PL.SUBJ- NEG- come -HAB -FV
'We don't come (habitually).'

(161) **mũti**ũkaga
mũ- **ti-** ũk -ag -a
2PL.SUBJ- NEG- come -HAB -FV
'You(pl) don't come (habitually).'

(162) **mati**ũkaga
ma- ti- ũk -ag -a
SC_2- NEG- come -HAB -FV
'They don't come (habitually).'

(163) **ndi**gũthiĩ
N- **ti-** kũ- thi -ĩ
1SG.SUBJ- NEG- CR.FUT- go -FV
'I won't go (today).'

Above I have shown examples of both of the person-subject negative formatives. Negative formatives pattern the same way among the 17 noun classes: When the subject marker is a single vowel, the negative formative will appear in first position as *nd-*; when the subject marker has a CV structure, the negative formative appears in second position as *ti-*.

(164) mũithikiri ndũagũire
mũ- ithikiri **nd- ũ-** a- gũ -ir e
NC_3- bicycle NEG- SC_3- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV
'The bicycle did not fall (before yesterday).'

(165) mĩithikiri ndĩagũire
mĩ- ithikiri **nd- ĩ-** a- gũ -ir e
NC_4- bicycle NEG- SC_4- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV
'The bicycles did not fall (before yesterday).'

(166) itunda rĩtiagũire
i- tunda **rĩ- ti-** a- gũ -ir e
NC_5- fruit SC_5- NEG- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV
'The fruit (SG) did not fall (before yesterday).'

(167) matunda matiagũire
ma- tunda **ma- ti-** a- gũ -ir -e
NC_6- fruit SC_6- NEG- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV
'The fruit (PL) did not fall (before yesterday).'

3.2.4 Tense

Tense and aspect appear in separate position slots in Gĩkũyũ verbs; tense morphemes appear before the stem, while aspect suffixes appear near the final vowel. Independent of aspect, there are seven tenses in Gĩkũyũ, but tense prefixes change depending on tense/aspect combinations. Table 21 shows tenses and their respective prefixes. Not listed in Table 21 is narrative tense prefix *kĩ-*, which I discuss below:

Table 21: Tense prefixes

Tense	Remote past	Near past	Current past	Current Present	Current future	Near future	Remote future
Prefix	a-	ra-	kũ- a- Ø	ka- raa- Ø	kũ-	rĩĩ-	kaa- Ø

As shown in Table 21, the tense prefix cannot always be predicted by knowledge of tense; similarly, tense cannot always be predicted from the tense prefix alone. Consider the following:

(168) nĩnjũkaga

nĩ- N- **Ø-** ũk **-ag** -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- **CR.PRES-** come -**HAB** -FV
'I come (habitually).'

(169) nĩndĩroka

nĩ- N- **ra-** ũk **Ø** -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- **CR.PRES-** come -**PROG** -FV
'I am coming.'

For reasons illustrated above, tense must be considered alongside aspect. I chose the above examples to show how the meanings of the individual tense markings can vary. Typically tone (discussed in 1.4 and briefly in the following section) conveys additional information required to determine tense. In **(168)** "current present" tense is not marked. However, in **(169)**, Current present tense is instead indicated by the prefix *ra-*. This serves to show that tense cannot (by a speaker or a researcher) be considered independently of tone.

Clements (1984: 312) lays out a chart of [almost] all the possible combinations of tense prefixes, aspect suffixes, and final vowels; it is included as Table 22 below, in Gĩkũyũ orthography.

Table 22: "Kikuyu main clause affirmative tenses" (Clements 1984: 312)

"Tense sign"	*"Name"*
Ø ... a	Stative present
Ø ... aga	Current habitual
Ø ... ĩte	Current perfect
Ø ... ire	Current past completive
ĩ + kũ ... a	Current future
ĩ + kũ ... aga	Current past imperfect
ĩ + kũ ... ĩte	Current past perfect
ra + a ... a	Current progressive
ra + a ... aga	Near past imperfect
ra + a ... ĩte	Near past perfect
ra + a ... ire	Near past completive
a ... a	Immediate perfect
a ... aga	Remote past imperfect
a ... ĩte	Remote past perfect
a ... ire	Remote past completive
rĩ + ĩ ... a	Near future
rĩ + ĩ ... aga	Near future imperfect
ka + a ... a	Remote future
ka + a ... aga	Remote future imperfect
ka ... a	Current consecutive
a ... a	Current past consecutive
ra + a ... a	Near past consecutive
kĩ ... a	Remote past consecutive
Ø ... e	Future consecutive / subjunctive
Ø ... age	Future imperfect consecutive / imperfect subjunctive

The tense referred to by Clements as "remote past consecutive," *kĩ-* was glossed "narrative" tense by our consultant and other class participants. It appears frequently in story elicitation (e.g., the Pear Story, the Frog Story) and in other descriptions of past events. Our consultant considers the *kĩ-* prefix to mean "and then"; for this reason I refer to it as "sequential" (SEQ) (see also section 3.4.7.6). The same marker is used to indicate that two events happened simultaneously (rather than sequentially). In such constructions, tone patterns distinguish the simultaneous and sequential functions of *kĩ-*. Compare **(170)** and **(171)**:

(170) akĩhaica ngathĩ

a- **kĩ-** haic -a ngathĩ
L **L** H H H H
SC_1- **SEQ-** mount -FV NC_9.ladder
'And then he climbed up a ladder.'

(171) akĩhaica ngathĩ

a- **kĩ-** haic -a ngathĩ
L **L** L L L L
SC_1- **SIM-** mount -FV NC_9.ladder
'As he climbs up a ladder,'

In **(170)**, where kĩ- indicates sequentiality, all syllables following *kĩ-* take high tone; while all syllables following *kĩ-* in **(171)**, which indicates simultaneity, take low tone. A brief discussion of tone follows in section 3.2.5.

3.2.5 Tone

Due to Dahl's Law, and to other phonemic processes discussed in section 1.5 such as the avoidance of three-vowel sequences, the morphology of Gĩkũyũ verbs is not always transparent on the surface. What's more, Gĩkũyũ orthography, which lacks a representation for tone, obscures the underlying tense structure of verbs even further. For a thorough discussion of tone, see Clements 1984. Following are a couple of the relevant issues regarding tone and its role in Gĩkũyũ verbs. Generally speaking, verbs with no negative prefix begin with high tone and end with low tone, while negative-marked verbs begin with low tone and end with high tone. See examples **(172)** and **(173)**:

(172) nĩmũũkaga

nĩ- mũ- Ø- ũk -ag -a
H H H H L
FOC- 2PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- come -HAB -FV
'You all come (habitually).'

(173) mũtiũkaga

mũ- **ti-** Ø- ũk -ag -a
L **L** L H H
2PL.SUBJ- **NEG-** CR.PRES- come -HAB -FV
'You all don't come (habitually).'

As the phenomenon of downstep in Gĩkũyũ (see Clements 1984) is beyond the scope of this sketch grammar, I have used only high and low tone in my analysis (represented by 'H' and 'L', respectively). The following pairs show alternation in tone patterns for some tense/aspect combinations. Crucially, the tense distinctions within each pair is due to tone; tone serves to differentiate the otherwise (segmentally) identical pairs. Syllable boundaries—which do not necessarily correlate with morpheme boundaries—are indicated with a period; as would be expected, the number of tones matches the number of syllables in each example.

(174) nĩa.ro.ki.re

nĩ- a- ra- ũk -ir -e
H L H H
FOC- SC_1- CR.PRES- come -COMPL -FV
'He/she came (early this morning).'

(175) nĩa.ro.ki.re

nĩ- a- ra- ũk -ir -e
H H H L
FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- come -COMPL -FV
'He/she came (yesterday).'

The above examples differ only in terms of the tone on tense prefix *ra-*, with low tone in example **(174)** and high tone in example **(175)**. The same type of difference is seen between examples **(176)** and **(177)**, which are segmentally identical but tonally different:

(176) nĩai.ni.re

nĩ- a- a- in -ir -e
H L L
FOC- SC_1- RM.PST- sing -COMPL -FV
'He/she sang (longer ago than yesterday).'

(177) nĩai.ni.re

nĩ- a- a- in -ir -e
H H L
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- sing -COMPL -FV
'He/she sang (an hour ago).'

Examples **(176)** and **(177)** illustrate well the mismatch between syllable boundaries and morpheme boundaries. Tones are represented in the examples as (underlyingly) associated with morphemes, but in actuality tones instead associate directly with the syllable. Clements

(1984) provides a thorough analysis of Gĩkũyũ tonology, which was not possible for this sketch grammar given the constraints of our field methods class.

3.2.6 Object Concord Marker

The object concord prefix follows any tense prefixes. Many object prefixes match the form of their respective subject concord prefix, but some do not. Table 23 and Table 24 show all class markers, subject prefixes, and object concord prefixes ('OC') for person classes and other noun classes, respectively. Following these tables is an example from the Pear Story of a verb with an object prefix.

Table 23: Person object concord (OC) prefixes

	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	NC_1	NC_2
SC	N-	tũ-	ũ-	mũ-	a-	ma-
OC	N-	tũ-	kũ-	mu-	mũ-	ma-

Table 24: Noun class object concord (OC) prefixes

#	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
NC	mũ-	a-	mũ-	mĩ-	i-	ma-	kĩ-	i-/ ci-	N-	N-	rũ-	ka-	tũ-	ũ-	kũ-/ ku-	ha-	kũ-
SC	a-	ma-	ũ-	ĩ-	rĩ-	ma-	kĩ-	i-/ ci-	ĩ-	ci-	rũ-	ka-	tũ-	ũ-	kũ-	ha-	kũ-
OC	mũ-	ma-	mũ-	mĩ-	rĩ-	ma-	kĩ-	ci-	mĩ-	ci-	rũ-	ka-	tũ-	ũ-	kũ-/ ku-	ha-	kũ-

(178) gakĩmageithia

ga- kĩ- **ma-** ge -ith -i -a

SC_{12}- SEQ- OC_6- have -CAUS -TRNS -FV

'Then the boy greeted them (before yesterday).'

(179) twagateithia

tũ- a- **ka-** te -ith -i -a

SC_{13}- RM.PST- OC_{12}- help -CAUS -TRNS -FV

'After they helped him... (before yesterday),'

As with other prefixes, vowels in object prefixes can coalesce across morpheme boundaries, as discussed in 1.5.2. In **(180)**, *a* and *o* coalesce across the boundary of the prefix *ka-* and stem *on* to become *o*:

(180) nĩara**ko**na
nĩ- a- ra- **ka- on** -a
FOC- SC_1- CR.PRES- OC_{12}- see -FV
'He/she is seeing him (the boy).'

Object prefixes are used only in the absence of a full object noun phrase. In such cases it is up to the hearer to figure out which noun is the intended referent based on the class of the object prefix and previous discourse.

A small subset of verbs allows two object prefixes; see section 5.2.2 for further discussion.

3.2.7 Reflexive

Gĩkũyũ has an affixal (i.e., morphological) reflexive, which can be seen by comparing **(181)** and **(182)**. This reflexive prefix *ĩ-* is an invariant prefix: it does not index person, number, or noun class. Reflexive prefix *ĩ-* also shows a frequent pattern of coalescence: subject marker *a-* and reflexive prefix *ĩ-* combining to become *e-*, as in example **(182)**:

(181) mũtimia **nĩathambirie** kana
nĩ- a- Ø- thamb -ir -i -e ka- ana
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- wash -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_{12}- child
'The woman washed the child (today).'

(182) mũtimia nĩethambirie
nĩ- a- Ø- **ĩ-** thamb -ir -i -e
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- **REFL-** wash -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'The woman washed herself (today).'

Because the woman is washing herself in **(182)**, the reflexive prefix is required. Noun class 1 subject prefix *a-* coalesces with reflexive prefix *ĩ-*, becoming *e-* in form.

3.3 Stem

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the verb stem is one of two obligatory members of the Gĩkũyũ verb schema, the other being the final vowel. Section 1.5 discusses morphophonemic processes, many of which apply to the verb stem. **(183)** shows one example, in which the initial *c* of the verb becomes *j*:

(183) nĩn**jor**aga
nĩ- N- **cor** -ag -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- draw -HAB -FV
'I draw (habitually).'

Reduplication is another common morphological process. The following subsection provides examples of reduplication and discusses how these reduplicated forms affect meaning.

3.3.1 Reduplication

As illustrated in the examples throughout this section, reduplicated verb stems generally indicate either a decrease in intensity of action, the continuance of an action, or a combination of both. Formally, the reduplicant typically consists of the first two syllables of the stem, ends in *a*, and is then followed by the stem itself. Example **(185)** shows the reduplicant *thoma-* appearing before the verb stem *thom* 'read', followed by the final vowel *-e*. This form indicates the continuance of an action ('reading') to a lesser degree of intensity.

(184) gũthoma
kũ- **thom** -a
NC_{15}- read -FV
'to read'

(185) thomathome
N- Ø- **thoma-** thom -e
1SG.SUBJ- RM.FUT- **REDUP-** read -FV
'so that I will read a little more (today)'

Example **(186)**, below, is similar in form and function:

(186) ambaambata
amba- *ambat* -a
REDUP- *ascend* -FV
'ascend a little'

Here the reduplicant is *amba-,* consisting of the first two syllables of the stem *ambat* 'ascend', losing the final *t* so that it ends in *a*. This form indicates a decrease in intensity of an action, 'ascend a little' as contrasted with 'ascend'.

Even when the final vowel of the original root is not *a*, the reduplicant must always end in *a,* as in the following example. Compare **(187)** and **(188)**, and note that the final vowel of the root is *ĩ,* but the reduplicant nonetheless ends in *a*:

(187) thiĩ
thi -ĩ
go -FV
'Go!'

(188) thiathia
thia- thi -a
REDUP- go -FV
'Go a little!' / 'Move a little!' (as when asking someone to scoot over to make room on a seat.)

As in the above example where the final vowel of the root changed from *ĩ* to *a*, some reduplicated verbs also involve modifications to the final vowel of the root as well as to the reduplicant. Other morphophonemic processes are often at work as well, as observed in the following pair of examples:

(189) irima nĩrĩrenjirwo
i- rima nĩ- rĩ- ra- **enj** -ir -wo
NC_5- hole FOC- SC_5- NR.PST- **dig** -COMPL -PV
'The hole was dug (yesterday).'

(190) irima nĩrĩrenjenjirwo
i- rima nĩ- rĩ- ra- **enja- enj** -ir -wo
NC_5- hole FOC- SC_5- NR.PST- **REDUP- dig** -COMPL -PV
'The hole was deepened (yesterday).' (Lit. 'the hole was dug a little more.')

In **(190)**, the final *a* of reduplicated morpheme *enja* coalesces with the initial *e* of the stem *enj* 'dig', resulting in the form *enjenj,* as seen in *nĩrĩrenjenjirwo.*

In cases where the initial consonant of the reduplicated stem assimilates with the 1SG subject prefix *N-*, the assimilated consonant does not carry over to the main verb stem. That is, ultimately, the reduplicated form does not always exactly match the stem. The below examples illustrate this:

(191) cora
cor -a
draw -FV
'Draw!'

(192) coracora
cora- cor -a
REDUP- draw -FV
'Draw a little!'

(193) nĩ**nj**oraga
nĩ- N- cor -ag -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- draw -IMPF -FV
'I draw (habitually).'

(194) nĩnjoracoraga
nĩ- N- cora- cor -ag -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- REDUP- draw -IMPF -FV
'I draw a little (habitually).'

Reduplication is prefixal in Gĩkũyũ. That is, the reduplicated form appears to the left of the verb stem. It follows that any additional prefixes (e.g. 1SG subject prefix *N-*, as in **(194)** above) affix to the reduplicated form; any morphophonemic processes resulting from affixation will affect only the reduplicated form. Therefore, in **(194)**, we see *nĩnjoracoraga* rather than **nĩnjorajoraga*; the original stem remains intact. Only the reduplicated form (which appears first) takes the form *jora*.

3.4 Suffixes

The following sections discuss the reciprocal marker, an "intensive" marker (Mugane, 1997), a middle voice marker, the applicative, a reversive suffix, a causative marker, a transitivizer, suffixes of the tense/aspect system, and the passive marker.

3.4.1 Reciprocal

Gĩkũyũ expresses the reciprocal with suffix *-an*. Compare **(195)** and **(196)**:

(195) nĩtwĩthambirie
nĩ- tũ- Ø- ĩ- thamb -ir -i -e
FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- CR.PST- REFL- wash -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'We washed ourselves (today).'

(196) nĩtwĩthambanirie
nĩ- tũ- Ø- ĩ- thamb **-an** -ir -i -e
FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- CR.PST- REFL- wash -**RECIP** -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'We washed each other (today).'

The two structures are identical except for the presence of the reciprocal marker in **(196)**. Given the reflexive marker, both **(195)** and **(196)** involve 'washing ourselves' (an action reflected back on the same participants); Given the reciprocal marker, **(196)** also includes the washing of each other—an action reciprocated or distributed among participants.

Reciprocal suffix *-an* is also somewhat flexible in terms of its relative location among suffixes. It can come either before or after causative marker *-ith*, as seen in examples **(197)** and **(198)**:

(197) thingo ciĩgonyagonyithanĩtie
thingo nĩ- ci- ĩ- gonya- gony **-ith** **-an** -ĩt -i -e
NC_{10}.wall FOC- SC_{10}- REFL- REDUP- bend -**CAUS** -**RECIP** -PERF -TRNS -FV
'The walls zigzag around each other.'

(198) thingo ciĩgonyagonyanithĩtie
thingo nĩ- ci- ĩ- gonya- gony **-an** **-ith** -ĩt -i -e
NC_{10}.wall FOC- SC_{10}- REFL- REDUP- bend -**RECIP** -**CAUS** -PERF -TRNS -FV
'The walls zigzag around each other.'

Example **(197)** shows reciprocal *-an* following causative *-ith*; **(198)** shows reciprocal *-an* preceding causative *-ith.* There is a slight difference in meaning, however: **(197)** involves the walls *together* (fictively) zigzagging around each other, while in **(198)** the walls are *separately* (fictively) zigzagging around each other. Admittedly this difference in meaning may be difficult to grasp.

Examples **(199)** and **(200)** again show the flexibility of the position of reciprocal *-an*, but with no change in meaning (according to our consultant) between the two forms. Intensive marker *-ĩrĩr* is discussed in the section that follows.

(199) tũkĩambĩrĩrania
tũ- kĩ- amb -ĩrĩr -an -i -a
SC_{13}- SEQ- start -INTENS -RECIP -TRNS -FV
'Then they started (to do something) together (before yesterday).'

(200) tũkĩambanĩrĩria
tũ- kĩ- amb **-an** **-ĩrĩr** -i -a
SC_{13}- SEQ- start **-RECIP -INTENS** -TRNS -FV
'Then they started (to do something) together (before yesterday).'

The *-an* suffix may have additional functions beyond (just) reciprocal. See **(201)**:

(201) nĩaramĩonanirie
nĩ- a- ra- mĩ- on -an -ir -i -e
FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- OC_9- see -RECIP -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'She showed it off.' ('it' = a ring)

It would be difficult to classify **(201)** as a reciprocal construction, given the singular subject. Further analysis is needed to determine the function of the *-an* suffix in contexts such as the one above.

3.4.2 Intensive

The intensive morpheme takes one of two forms: *-ĩrĩr* or *-ũrũr*. Compare **(202)** and **(203)**:

(202) nĩkambire
nĩ- ka- **amb** -ir -e
FOC- SC_{12}- **start** -COMPL -FV
'He started with (before yesterday)' (giving them three fruits)

(203) tũkĩambĩrĩria
tũ- kĩ- **amb** **-ĩrĩr** -i -a
SC_{13}- SEQ- **start** **-INTENS** -TRNS -FV
'Then they started (before yesterday).' (to go)

Both examples contain verb stem *amb* 'start'; the intensive suffix in the second example changes the meaning of 'start' to mean something like "starting or beginning a particular process." In the first example, 'start' means "doing something first in a sequence of events". (Examples of *-ũrũr* can be seen in section 3.4.4 on the reversive suffix.)

3.4.3 Middle Voice

Payne (1997: 216) defines a middle construction as "one that expresses a semantically transitive situation in terms of a process undergone by the [semantic] patient, rather than an action carried out by an agent". Therefore such constructions are "neither passive nor active". The term 'middle' in this sense means 'somewhere between passive and active'.

Compare the following:

(204) gĩtĩ nĩkĩraunwo
gĩ- tĩ nĩ- kĩ- ra- un -wo
NC_7- chair FOC- SC_7- CR.PRES- break -PV
'The chair is being broken.'

(205) gĩtĩ nĩkĩraunĩka
gĩ- ti nĩ- kĩ- ra- un **-ĩk** -a
NC_7- chair FOC- SC_7- CR.PRES- break -**MID** -FV
'The chair is breaking.'

In **(204)**, the chair (the subject and semantic patient) is undergoing a process carried out by an agent—in this case an unmentioned agent. Someone or something is (agentively) breaking the chair. **(205)**, on the other hand, does not describe an action carried out by an agent. The chair (again the subject and semantic patient) is, by itself, undergoing a process. The *-ĩk* morpheme in **(205)** is referred to as "stative potential" in Mugane (1997); our consultant independently defined *-ĩka* as 'state'. However, 'middle' is a better term for this morpheme, as the meaning matches the definition of the middle voice. Another example (compare (71) and (72)):

(206) nĩnjitire iria
nĩ- N- it -ir -e i- ria
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- spill -COMPL -FV NC_5- milk
'I spilled the milk (today).'

(207) iria nĩrĩitĩkire
i- ria nĩ- rĩ- it **-ĩk** -ir -e
NC_5- milk FOC- SC_5- spill -**MID** -COMPL -FV
'The milk spilled (today).'

According to Payne (1997), "Instead of starting with a non-causative verb and adding a morpheme to make it causative, a middle construction starts with a causative verb and results

in a non-causative verb." It follows that 'break' and 'spill' are lexical-causative verbs in Gĩkũyũ; their meanings imply causation. (Causatives are discussed further in section 3.4.5.)

3.4.4 Reversive

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics (2014) defines the function of a 'reversive' as "indicating the reversal of an action. Thus the prefix *un-* in English has a reversive meaning in *untie.*" Muriungi (2009) discusses the reversive suffix in Kĩtharaka, another Bantu language of Kenya. The same reversive suffix is found in Gĩkũyũ. Gĩkũyũ and Kĩtharaka are both classified by Ethnologue as "Kikuyu-Kamba" languages, of which there are eight in total; when comparing data from Muriungi (2009) with data elicited from our consultant, it appears the two languages may be closely related.

Compare the following Gĩkũyũ verbs:

(208) hinga
hing -a
close -FV
'close!'

(209) hingũra
hing -ũr -a
close -REVERS -FV
'Open!' (Lit. 'Unclose!')

(210) hingũka
hing -ũr -ĩk -a
close -REVERS -MID -FV
'come open' (Lit. 'become unclosed')

In **(209)**, the reversive suffix reverses the action of the stem: 'close' becomes 'open'. Example **(210)** also contains the reversive suffix. However, the meaning 'become unclosed' involves a "process undergone by the [semantic] patient, rather than an action carried out by an agent" (Payne, 1997: 216). As we see, there is also an underlying middle voice morpheme; the reversive and middle voice morphemes together become one imbricated form: *-ũk.* See example **(211)**:

(211) nĩtũahĩtũkire kahĩĩ kau

nĩ- tũ- a- **hĩt -ũk** -ir -e ka- hĩĩ ka- u

FOC- SC_{13}- RM.PST- **hunt** -**REVERS.MID** -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- boy NC_{12}- ANA.DEM

'They **passed** that little boy (before yesterday).' (Lit. 'They became no longer hunting the boy.')

In the Gĩkũyũ Pear Story, from which **(211)** is excerpted, a group of boys had been walking toward a little boy. The verb *nĩtũahĩtũkire* contains verb stem *hĩt*, meaning 'hunt'. The group of boys had not been literally *hunting* the little boy, but they were walking toward and approaching him, or perhaps pursuing the physical space in front of them that was occupied by the boy. According to our consultant, the meaning of 'hunt' can be metaphorically extended in this way. Imbricated reversive/middle-voice suffix *-ũk* indicates the reversal of this action: When the group of boys *passed* the little boy, they were no longer approaching ('hunting') him. The boys *became un-hunting* the boy. Also from the Pear Story:

(212) makĩinũka

ma- kĩ- **in -ũk** -a

SC_2- SEQ- sing -REVERS.MID -FV

'Then they went home (before yesterday).' (Lit. 'They became no longer singing.')

Although *inũka* means 'go home', the stem of this construction is *in*, meaning 'sing'. Our consultant has suggested that this verb may have derived from the verb 'sing', and that *inũka* means something like 'go home from singing'. In English, children having fun away from home can be said to be 'out playing'; in Gĩkũyũ, children are said to be 'out singing'. Therefore, in the above construction, the action of singing is undone by the reversive suffix: The children have become no longer singing (and have gone home).

In elicitation of fictive motion, our consultant also produced the following construction:

(213) rũgiri rũthiũrũrũkĩirie nyũmba

rũ- giri rũ- **thi -ũrũr -ũk** -ĩ -ir -i -e N- yũmba

NC_{11}- fence SC_{11}- **go** **-INTENS** -**REVERS.MID** -APP -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- house

'The fence surrounds the house.'

The stem of the verb *rũthiũrũrũkĩirie* is *thi* 'go'. Noun class prefix *rũ-* refers to the fence, which is the subject and actor in this construction. As we can see from the applicative and the transitivizer, the fence is (fictively) acting on the peripheral-made-central applied object. The reversive, then, somehow changes or undoes the fictive motion. The literal interpretation of

the above construction could be considered 'the fence goes and returns upon the house (surrounding it)'. The middle voice indicates (logically) that the *surrounding* in this context is not an action carried out by an agent.

3.4.5 Causative

We have already seen lexical causatives (e.g., 'break', 'spill'), which do not require any sort of morphological causative. Gĩkũyũ also has a morphological causative, which is discussed here, as well as analytic causatives, illustrated in section 7.2.2. Payne (1997: 176) defines 'causative' as "a linguistic expression that contains in semantic/logical structure a predicate of cause, one argument of which is a predicate expressing an event". Further, "causatives can be divided into three types: lexical, morphological, and periphrastic/analytic. A morphological causative is one kind of 'valence increasing' operation". Nearly every token in our data containing morphological causative *-ith* also contains the transitivizer *-i* (see section 3.4.8), as in **(214)** and **(215)**, below. We were only able to elicit one token of a verb with the causative marker and *no* transitivizer, as seen below in **(216)**:

(214) gaikithirio
ka- ik **-ith** -ir -i -o
NC_{12}- throw -**CAUS** -COMPL -TRNS -PV
'(The child) was **made to** throw (before yesterday).'

(215) **gakĩgũithia** mũithikiri
ka- kĩ- gũ **-ith** -i -a mũ- ithikiri
SC_{12}- SEQ- fall -**CAUS** -TRNS -FV NC_3- bicycle
'He dropped the bicycle (before yesterday).' (Lit. 'He **caused** the bicycle to fall. / He **made** the bicycle fall.')

(216) nĩaramũthaithire
nĩ- a- ra- mũ- tha **-ith** -ir -e
FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- OC_1- pity -**CAUS** -COMPL -FV
'He **caused** her to feel pity (yesterday).'

It could be, however, that *thaitha* 'cause to feel pity' has become lexicalized. If so, *-ith* might not be functioning as a morphological causative in this context.

3.4.6 Applicative

The applicative is a valence-increasing operation that "brings a peripheral participant onto center stage" (Payne, 1997). The most common form of the applicative marker in Gĩkũyũ is *-ĩr*. Compare **(217)** and **(218)**:

(217) nĩndĩramũthura
nĩ- N- ra- mũ- thur -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- OC_1- elect -FV
'I am electing her/him.'

(218) nĩndĩramũthurĩra
nĩ- N- ra- mũ- thur **-ĩr** -a
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- OC_1- elect -**APP** -FV
'I am electing **for** her/him.'

Example **(217)**, with no applicative, involves the subject and semantic agent ('I') electing the object and semantic patient ('her/him'), perhaps to fulfill some job or position. The person being elected is marked as *mũ-*. In example **(218)**, the action carried out by the subject is *on behalf of* 'him/her'; the applicative indicates that the marked object is *not* the semantic patient but rather a third (in this case benefactive) argument. Compare with examples **(219)** and **(220)**:

(219) nĩmaraikia mũbira
nĩ- ma- ra- ik -i -a mũ- bira
FOC- SC_2- CR.PRES- throw -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball
'They are throwing (a ball).'

(220) nĩtũramaikĩria mũbira
nĩ- tũ- ra- ma- ik **-ĩr** -i -a mũ- bira
FOC- 1PL- CR.PRES- OC_2- throw -**APP** -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball
'We are throwing them a ball.'

In examples **(219)** and **(220)**, due to the presence of the object noun phrase *mũbira* 'ball', there is no verb marking for this object. Example **(220)** involves a third argument, (recipient) 'them', marked by *ma-*. The applicative marker in this example indicates to the listener that the marked object is not the object being thrown, but rather is the recipient.

(221) nĩmaikĩirio mũbira

nĩ- ma- Ø- ik **-ĩ** -ir -i -o

FOC- SC_2- CR.PST- throw **-APP** -COMPL -TRNS -PV

'They were thrown a ball (today).'

The applicative can also appear as *-ĩ*, as seen above in **(221)**. This *-ĩ* form typically appears when the applicative precedes completive aspect suffix *-ir*. Applicative suffix *-ĩr* is isomorphic with processual marker *-ĩr*, which I discuss later in this chapter.

3.4.7 Aspect

There are five aspect suffixes found in our data: the processual marker *-ĩr*, which can be found in verbs involving some sort of persistive action (e.g., swimming, hugging); *-ag*, which can be described as "imperfective" or "habitual"; *-ĩt* ('perfect'); *-ir* ('completive'); and *-Ø* ('progressive' and 'sequential' are both unmarked).

3.4.7.1 Processual

The processual marker is specific to persistive event verbs. Morrison (2011: 255) defines persistive events as those which "began at some point in the past and occur continuously until the time of speaking". See **(222)**; note *thamb* means 'wash', with *-ĩr* marking the persistive event 'swim' which is now fully lexicalized; our consultant sees these verbs as clearly related due to the ongoing activity in water:

(222) nĩndĩrathambĩra

nĩ- N- ra- thamb **-ĩr** -a

FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- wash **-PROC** -FV

'I am swimming.'

We have confirmed that processual marker *-ĩr* can co-occur with applicative *-ĩr,* as in **(223)**:

(223) nĩndĩramũthambĩrĩra

nĩ- N- ra- mũ- thamb **-ĩr** **-ĩr** -a

FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- OC_1- wash **-APP** **-PROC** -FV

'I am swimming for him/her.'

According to our consultant, the above construction (which she produced) is totally acceptable, but she feels she has never said it before. This is unsurprising, given the strange situation involving 'swimming for another person'. For this reason, constructions like these

are probably uncommon in general. Further research could reveal which constructions allow both suffixes (together) and which do not.

3.4.7.2 Imperfective / Habitual

Along with the progressive (see section 3.4.7.5), habitual and imperfective aspects are classed in a group of "non-perfective aspects" (Payne, 1997: 239), with habitual a subclass of imperfective. In perfective aspect, "the situation is viewed in its entirety, independent of tense"; the aspect marker *-ag* usually functions to indicate an event regularly occurs (or occurred), and is therefore not viewed in its entirety. Two Pear Story examples:

(224) arĩmaga matunda ma *pears*
a- rĩm **-ag** -a ma- tunda ma- a *pears*
SC_1- cultivate **-IMPF** -FV NC_6- fruits AC_6- ASSOC NC_9-pears
'He grew pears (before yesterday).'

(225) tũgĩthakaga
tũ- kĩ- thak **-ag** -a
NC_{13}- SIM- play **-IMPF** -FV
'As they (the little boys) were playing,' (at that time)

In **(224)**, the subject referent (the farmer) grew pears for a living. Thus the growing of pears can be considered an ongoing or habitual event. (As a profession or a lifestyle, he *always* or *reliably* grew pears.) The 'playing' in **(225)** is slightly different. The children were not playing *habitually*; rather, the playing is described "as an ongoing process" (Payne, 1997: 239). The same morpheme *-ag* is used for these two similar, non-perfective aspects. Given their similarity in meaning and the fact they are both non-perfective, I have glossed both as 'IMPF'.

3.4.7.3 Perfect

Not to be confused with 'perfective,' the *perfect* aspect "normally describes a currently relevant state brought about by the situation (normally an event) expressed by the verb" (Payne, 1997: 239). An example from the Pear Story:

(226) twatigĩtwo
tũ- a- **tig** **-ĩt** -wo
SC_{13}- RM.PST- **abandon** **-PERF** -PV
'The little boys that had been left behind (before yesterday),'

In example **(226)**, the speaker is describing the *state* of the little boys as having been left behind. If the sentence were instead 'the little boys *were left behind*,' this would be a situation viewed in its entirety, and therefore perfective. (It would also take completive marker *-ir*, which is discussed below in Section 3.4.7.4.)

In non-passive constructions, perfect aspect is always followed by final vowel *-e*, as in **(227)** and **(228)**. Completive marker *-ir* is also always followed by final vowel *-e.* A discussion of this can be found in Section 3.5, which covers the system of final vowels in Gĩkũyũ.

(227) nĩagũthiĩte

nĩ- a- kũ- thi **-ĩt** **-e**

FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- go **-PERF -FV**

'He/she had gone (today).'

(228) thingo ciĩgonyagonyithanĩtie

thingo nĩ- ci- ĩ- gonya- gony -ith -an **-ĩt** **-i** **-e**

NC_{10}.wall FOC SC_{10}- REFL- REDUP- bend -CAUS -RECIP **-PERF -TRNS -FV**

'The walls zigzag around each other.'

3.4.7.4 Completive

The completive aspect marker indicates that an event is complete. Compare **(229)**, with no completive marker, and **(230)**, with completive *–ir*. Just as with the perfect aspect, the (context of the) completive marker changes the final vowel to *-e*.

(229) nĩakũina

nĩ- a- kũ- in -a

FOC- SC_1- CR.FUT- sing -FV

'He/she will sing (today).'

(230) nĩainire

nĩ- a- Ø- in **-ir** **-e**

FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- sing **-COMPL -FV**

'He/she sang (an hour ago).'

3.4.7.5 Progressive

Also a "subtype of imperfective" (Payne, 1997: 239), the progressive aspect "implies an ongoing, dynamic process". The progressive aspect is unmarked in Gĩkũyũ, as in **(231)**:

(231) nĩmaraina

nĩ- ma- ra- in -Ø -a
FOC- SC_2- CR.PRES- sing -PROG -FV
'They are singing (now).'

3.4.7.6 Sequential

The sequential aspect is seen throughout narratives such as the Pear Story. Labeled 'consecutive' in Clements (1984: 312), this aspect has a meaning similar to 'thus' or 'and then'. As discussed in section 3.2.4, tense prefix *kĩ-* marks this tense/aspect combination also labeled 'narrative tense' by our consultant; there is no aspect suffix. An example can be seen in **(232)**:

(232) akĩhaica ngathĩ

a- kĩ- haic -a ngathĩ
NC_1- SEQ- mount -FV NC_9.ladder
'And (then) he climbed up a ladder.'

3.4.8 Transitivizer

The transitivizer is sometimes required based on particular verbs and meanings, and sometimes not required based on others. Consider example **(233)**, in which the transitivizer is required:

(233) nĩmethambanirie

nĩ- ma- Ø- ĩ- thamb -an -ir **-i** -e
FOC- SC_2- CR.PST- REFL- wash -RECIP -COMPL **-TRNS** -FV
'They washed each other (today).'

In **(233)** agent and patient are different and distributed. Because 'wash' is not a lexical causative in Gĩkũyũ, this construction cannot exist without the transitivizer. Compare **(234)** and **(235)**:

(234) nĩethambire

nĩ- a- Ø- ĩ- thamb -ir -e
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- REFL- wash -COMPL -FV
'He washed himself (today).'

(235) nĩethambirie

nĩ- a- Ø- ĩ- thamb -ir **-i** -e

FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- REFL- wash -COMPL **-TRNS** -FV

'He washed himself (today).'

Example **(234)** has no transitivizer. According to our consultant, the meaning of this construction involves the object being washed—'himself'—being one and the same as the person washing it. In example **(235)**, however, according to our consultant, the object being washed is conceptually separate from the person washing it. One way to think about the difference in meaning between these two examples is to compare English 'himself' with '*his self*'. Both **(234)** and **(235)** employ the reflexive marker, which is a valence-decreasing operation (Payne, 1997). Yet, given the above analysis, **(235)** involves a detachment or sort of separation from agent and (reflexive) patient. Although the difference in meaning may be slight, given the presence of the transitivizer, it can be understood that **(235)** is more transitive than **(234)**.

3.4.9 Passive

The passive operation in transitive verb constructions serves to place "the [semantic] patient in the subject role and the [semantic] agent in an oblique" (Payne, 1997: 169). In Gĩkũyũ the passive suffix is a verb-final *-o* or *-wo.* This variation is conditioned by the preceding sound (usually the preceding morpheme). For example, when preceded by transitivizer *-i*, the passive takes the form *-o*; when immediately preceded by a consonant-final morpheme such as (completive) *-ir*, however, the passive takes the form *-wo*.

Example (102) below shows the semantic patient ('the porridge') as the passive subject. Here, the passive marker takes the form *-o* due to the presence of transitivizer suffix *-i*:

(236) ũcũrũ nĩũhondoririo

ũ- cũrũ nĩ- ũ- hondor -ir -i -o

NC_{14}- porridge FOC- SC_{14}- gulp -COMPL -TRNS -PV

'The porridge was gulped (today).'

The semantic agent (AKA the active subject) can be either omitted altogether, as in **(236)**, or put in an oblique, as in **(237)**:

(237) ũcũrũ nĩũhondoririo **nĩ kana** hondoro hondoro

ũ- cũrũ nĩ- ũ- hondor -ir -i -o nĩ ka- ana hondoro hondoro

NC14- porridge FOC- SC14- gulp -COMPL -TRNS -PV by NC_{12}- child gulp.ID gulp.ID

'The porridge was gulped **by the child** (gulp gulp) (today).'

In addition, other semantic roles can also be passive subject, by means of the applicative. In **(238)** below, 'they' represents the semantic recipient (c.f. 'We threw the ball **to them**').

(238) **nĩmaikĩirio** mũbira nĩ ithuĩ

nĩ- ma- Ø- ik -ĩ -ir -i -o mũ- bira nĩ ithuĩ

FOC- SC_2- CR.PST- throw -APP -COMPL -TRNS -PV NC_3- ball by 1PL.PRON

'They were thrown a ball by us (today).'

3.5 Final Vowel

All verb forms (aside from those with a passive suffix) end with a different "final vowel" which carries information about tense and/or mood. This final vowel is *-a* in most situations; it appears to have no synchronic meaning. The final vowel always becomes *-e* following completive morpheme *-ir* and perfect *-ĩt*:

(239) nĩethambire

nĩ- a- Ø- ĩ- thamb **-ir** -e

FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- REFL- wash **-COMPL** -FV

'He washed himself (today).'

(240) nĩagũthiĩte

nĩ- a- kũ- thi **-ĩt** **-e**

FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- go **-PERF** **-FV**

'He/she had gone (just now).'

And, on the opposite end of the realis-irrealis continuum (Payne, 1997: 245), the final vowel also takes the form of *-e* in the subjunctive (e.g., the verb in the complement of polite requests):

(241) nĩndĩrenda ũine

nĩ- N- ra- end -a ũ- in -e

FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- like -FV 2SG- sing -SJV

'I want you to sing (right now).'

3.6 Summary

In this chapter I have discussed the position classes for various grammatical functions in Gĩkũyũ verbs. Although these are the only classes I have evidence of, there could be more. Clements (1984: 291) makes mention of a 'directive prefix,' but we have not found evidence in

our work to support this. Mugane (1997: 59) refers to 'static' morpheme *-am* in the word *rũg-am-a* 'stand'. This is in fact the only example of a possible 'static' morpheme in our data:

(242) rũga
rũg -a
jump -FV
'jump!'

(243) rũgama
rũg -am -a
jump -STAT -FV
'stand'

Another major area for further in-depth investigation is tone, which this sketch grammar only mentions superficially.

Chapter 4

Copular Clauses

Jessica Li & Anaí Navarro

Gĩkũyũ has a verbal copula, which inflects for tense and is marked to agree with the subject in terms of noun class, person, and number. The Gĩkũyũ copula differentiates between first person and second person, and singular and plural. Third person singular and plural correspond to Noun Classes 1 and 2, respectively, and pattern in the same way. The copula is used in predicate nominals, predicate attributives, locative clauses, possessive clauses, and existential clauses. The only exception to this is the present tense, where noun classes—including the people noun classes 1 and 2—instead use the focus particle *nĩ* and the negative focus particle *ti* in predicate nominals and predicate attributives.

4.1 Copula

At least four tenses in Gĩkũyũ are accounted for with the copula: the present, the bounded recent past (BRP), the recent past, and the past. The bounded recent past refers to a condition that just happened, and lasted no longer than a day. The recent past refers to a condition that occurred yesterday. The past refers to a condition that happened sometime before yesterday.

The copula stem is *rĩ*, which takes *ra-* and *a-* prefixes to form the recent past and past forms, respectively, *rarĩ* and *arĩ*. The copula stem for the BRP tense is *uma*.

The following table shows the paradigm of forms the copula takes for each of the four tenses, the four person and number combinations, and the seventeen noun classes.

The first person singular forms are an exception when it comes to prefixing the various copula forms. For example, in the recent past, instead of prefixing *N-* to *rarĩ* to form *ndarĩ*, as would be expected, the form is *ndĩrarĩ*. In the past, instead of prefixing *N-* to *arĩ* to form *nyarĩ*, as would be expected, the form is *ndarĩ*.

The present form of the copula includes shortened forms for all except the first person singular form. It seems that in the present tense, the *r* in the copula stem *rĩ* is optional. Shortened forms of these copulas can be formed by removing the *r*, and are seen to the right of the slashes in the paradigmatic table below.

Table 25: Copula forms in Gĩkũyũ

CLASS	PRESENT	PRESENT (PRED. NOM, PRED. ATR.)	BRP	RECENT PAST	PAST
1SG	*ndĩ* *(N + rĩ)*	*ndĩ* *(N + rĩ)*	*nyuma* *(N + uma)*	*ndĩrarĩ* *(ndĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*ndarĩ* *(nd + a + rĩ)*
2SG	*ũrĩ / wĩ* *(ũ + rĩ)*	*ũrĩ / wĩ* *(ũ + rĩ)*	*uma* *(ũ + uma)*	*ũrarĩ* *(ũ + ra + rĩ)*	*warĩ* *(ũ + a + rĩ)*
1PL	*tũrĩ / tũĩ* *(tũ + rĩ)*	*tũrĩ / tũĩ* *(tũ + rĩ)*	*tuma* *(tũ + uma)*	*tũrarĩ* *(tũ + ra + rĩ)*	*twarĩ* *(tũ + a + rĩ)*
2PL	*mũrĩ / mũĩ* *(mũ + rĩ)*	*mũrĩ / mũĩ* *(mũ + rĩ)*	*muma* *(mũ + uma)*	*mũrarĩ* *(mũ + ra + rĩ)*	*mwarĩ* *(mũ + a + rĩ)*
NC1	*arĩ / e* *(a + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*auma* *(a + uma)*	*ararĩ* *(a + ra + rĩ)*	*arĩ* *(a + a + rĩ)*
NC2	*marĩ / me* *(ma + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*mauma* *(ma + uma)*	*mararĩ* *(ma + ra + rĩ)*	*marĩ* *(ma + a + rĩ)*
NC3	*ũrĩ / wĩ* *(ũ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*uma* *(ũ + uma)*	*ũrarĩ* *(ũ + ra + rĩ)*	*warĩ* *(ũ + a + rĩ)*
NC4	*ĩrĩ / ĩ* *(ĩ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*yuma* *(ĩ + uma)*	*ĩrarĩ* *(ĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*yarĩ* *(ĩ + a + rĩ)*
NC5	*rĩrĩ / rĩ* *(rĩ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*riuma* *(rĩ + uma)*	*rĩrarĩ* *(rĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*rĩarĩ* *(rĩ + a + rĩ)*
NC6	*marĩ / me* *(ma + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*mauma* *(ma + uma)*	*mararĩ* *(ma + ra + rĩ)*	*marĩ* *(ma + a + rĩ)*
NC7	*kĩrĩ / gĩ* *(kĩ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*kiuma* *(kĩ + uma)*	*kĩrarĩ* *(kĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*kĩarĩ* *(kĩ + a + rĩ)*
NC8	*irĩ / i* *(i + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*ciuma* *(ci + uma)*	*irarĩ* *(i + ra + rĩ)*	*ciarĩ* *(ci + a + rĩ)*
NC9	*ĩrĩ / ĩ* *(ĩ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*yuma* *(ĩ + uma)*	*ĩrarĩ* *(ĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*yarĩ* *(ĩ + a + rĩ)*
NC10	*irĩ / i / cirĩ / ciĩ* *(i + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*ciuma* *(ci + uma)*	*irarĩ / cirarĩ* *(i/ci + ra + rĩ)*	*ciarĩ* *(ci + a + rĩ)*
NC11	*rũrĩ / rũĩ* *(rũ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*ruma* *(rũ + uma)*	*rũrarĩ* *(rũ + ra + rĩ)*	*rũarĩ* *(rũ + a + rĩ)*
NC12	*karĩ / ge* *(ka + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*kauma* *(ka + uma)*	*kararĩ* *(ka + ra + rĩ)*	*karĩ* *(ka + a + rĩ)*
NC13	*tũrĩ / tũĩ* *(tũ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*tuma* *(tũ + uma)*	*tũrarĩ* *(tũ + ra + rĩ)*	*tũarĩ* *(tũ + a + rĩ)*
NC14	*ũrĩ / wĩ* *(ũ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*uma* *(ũ + uma)*	*ũrarĩ* *(ũ + ra + rĩ)*	*warĩ* *(ũ + a + rĩ)*
NC15	*kũrĩ / gũĩ* *(kũ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*kuma* *(kũ + uma)*	*kũrarĩ* *(kũ + ra + rĩ)*	*kũarĩ* *(kũ + a + rĩ)*
NC16	*harĩ / he* *(ha + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*hauma* *(ha + uma)*	*hararĩ* *(ha + ra + rĩ)*	*harĩ* *(ha + a + rĩ)*
NC17	*kũrĩ* *(kũ + rĩ)*	*nĩ* *(FOC)*	*kuma* *(kũ + uma)*	*kũrarĩ* *(kũ + ra + rĩ)*	*kũarĩ* *(kũ + a + rĩ)*

Table 26: Negative copula forms in Gĩkũyũ

	PRESENT	PRESENT (PRED. NOM., PRED. ATR.)	BRP	RECENT PAST	PAST
1SG	*ndirĩ* *(N + ti + rĩ)*	*ndirĩ* *(N + ti + rĩ)*	*ndiuma* *(N + ti + uma)*	*ndirarĩ* *(N + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*ndiarĩ* *(N + ti + a + rĩ)*
2SG	*ndũrĩ* *(nd + ũ + rĩ)*	*ndũrĩ* *(nd + ũ + rĩ)*	*nduma* *(nd + ũ + uma)*	*ndũrarĩ* *(nd + ũ + ra + rĩ)*	*ndũarĩ* *(nd + ũ + a + rĩ)*
1PL	*tũtirĩ* *(tũ + ti + rĩ)*	*tũtirĩ* *(tũ + ti + rĩ)*	*tũtiuma* *(tũ + ti +uma)*	*tũtirarĩ* *(tũ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*tũtiarĩ* *(tũ + ti + a + rĩ)*
2PL	*mũtirĩ* *(mũ + ti + rĩ)*	*mũtirĩ* *(mũ + ti + rĩ)*	*mũtiuma* *(mũ + ti + uma)*	*mũtirarĩ* *(mũ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*mũtiarĩ* *(mũ + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC1	*ndarĩ* *(nd + a + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*ndauma* *(nd + a + uma)*	*ndararĩ* *(nd + a + ra + rĩ)*	*ndarĩ* *(nd + a + a + rĩ)*
NC2	*matirĩ* *(ma + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*matiuma* *(ma + ti + uma)*	*matirarĩ* *(ma + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*matiarĩ* *(ma + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC3	*ndũrĩ* *(nd + ũ + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*nduma* *(nd + ũ + uma)*	*ndũrarĩ* *(nd + ũ + ra + rĩ)*	*ndũarĩ* *(nd + ũ + a + rĩ)*
NC4	*ndĩrĩ* *(nd + ĩ + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*ndiuma* *(nd + ĩ + uma)*	*ndĩrarĩ* *(nd + ĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*ndĩarĩ* *(nd + ĩ + a + rĩ)*
NC5	*rĩtirĩ* *(rĩ + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*rĩtiuma* *(rĩ + ti + uma)*	*rĩtirarĩ* *(rĩ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*rĩtiarĩ* *(rĩ + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC6	*matirĩ* *(ma + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*matiuma* *(ma + ti + uma)*	*matirarĩ* *(ma + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*matiarĩ* *(ma + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC7	*gĩtirĩ* *(gĩ + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*gĩtiuma* *(gĩ + ti + uma)*	*gĩtirarĩ* *(gĩ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*gĩtiarĩ* *(gĩ + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC8	*itirĩ* *(i + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*itiuma* *(i + ti + uma)*	*itirarĩ* *(i + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*itiarĩ* *(i + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC9	*ndĩrĩ* *(nd + ĩ + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*ndiuma* *(nd + ĩ + uma)*	*ndĩrarĩ* *(nd + ĩ + ra + rĩ)*	*ndĩarĩ* *(nd + ĩ + a + rĩ)*
NC10	*itirĩ* *(i + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*itiuma* *(i + ti + uma)*	*itirarĩ* *(i + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*itiarĩ* *(i + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC11	*rũtirĩ* *(rũ + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*rũtiuma* *(rũ + ti + uma)*	*rũtirarĩ* *(rũ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*rũtiarĩ* *(rũ + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC12	*gatirĩ* *(ga + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*gatiuma* *(ga + ti + uma)*	*gatirarĩ* *(ga + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*gatiarĩ* *(ga + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC13	*tũtirĩ* *(tũ + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*tũtiuma* *(tũ + ti + uma)*	*tũtirarĩ* *(tũ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*tũtiarĩ* *(tũ + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC14	*ndũrĩ* *(nd + ũ + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*nduma* *(nd + ũ + uma)*	*ndũrarĩ* *(nd + ũ + ra + rĩ)*	*ndũarĩ* *(nd + ũ + a + rĩ)*
NC15	*gũtirĩ* *(gũ + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*gũtiuma* *(gũ + ti + uma)*	*gũtirarĩ* *(gũ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*gũtiarĩ* *(gũ + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC16	*hatirĩ* *(ha + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*hatiuma* *(ha + ti + uma)*	*hatirarĩ* *(ha + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*hatiarĩ* *(ha + ti + a + rĩ)*
NC17	*gũtirĩ* *(gũ + ti + rĩ)*	*ti* *(FOC.NEG)*	*gũtiuma* *(gũ + ti + uma)*	*gũtirarĩ* *(gũ + ti + ra + rĩ)*	*gũtiarĩ* *(gũ + ti + a + rĩ)*

Negation of the copula follows the same pattern of negation as other verbs in Gĩkũyũ, as described in 3.2.3 and 6.3. Table 26 shows the negative-inflected forms of the copula.

It is interesting to note that when the present and past forms are orthographically identical (see Table 1), as in Noun Classes 1, 2, 6, 12, and 16, the pronunciation is not the same, as the first vowel in the past form is a double vowel, and therefore long. This can be seen in the following examples:

(244) kana karĩ nyũmba

ka- ana ka- rĩ N- nyũmba

NC_{12}- child SC_{12}- COP NC_9- house

'The small child is in the house.'

(245) kana karĩ nyũmba

ka- ana ka- a- rĩ N- nyũmba

NC_{12}- child SC_{12}- PST- COP NC_9- house

'The small child was in the house (before yesterday).'

4.2 Predicate Nominals

In predicate nominals, the copula links the subject to the nominal predicate. As mentioned in the introduction, in the case of noun classes in the present tense, the focus particle *nĩ* is used instead of the copula. In negative predicate nominal clauses, the negative focus particle *ti* is used instead of a negative copula.

Following are some examples of non-present-tense predicate nominal clauses.

(246) nyuma o mwarimũ

N- uma o mũ- arimũ

1SG- COP.BRP just NC_1- teacher

'I was just a teacher (today).'

(247) ngui yuma o nyamũ

N- gui ĩ- uma o N- nyamũ

NC_9- dog SC_9- COP.BRP just NC_9- animal

'The dog was just an animal (today).'

(248) mũtirarĩ arimũ

mũ- ti- ra- rĩ a- arimũ

2PL- NEG- NR.PST- COP NC_2- teacher

'You (pl.) were not teachers (yesterday).'

(249) ngui ĩrarĩ nyamũ

N- gui ĩ- ra- rĩ N- nyamũ
NC_9- dog SC_9- NR.PST- COP NC_9- animal
'The dog was an animal (yesterday).'

(250) tũrarĩ arimũ

tũ- ra- rĩ a- arimũ
1PL- NR.PST- COP NC_2- teacher
'We were teachers (yesterday).'

(251) mbembe ndĩarĩ nyamũ

N- bembe nd- ĩ- a- rĩ N- nyamũ
NC_{10}- corn NEG- SC_9- PST- COP NC_9- animal
'The corn was not an animal (yesterday).'

As the following examples show, the focus particle and the negative focus particle are only used in present predicate nominals in which the subject is a noun belonging to one of the seventeen noun classes.

(252) ndĩ mwarimũ

N- rĩ mũ- arimũ
1SG- COP NC_1- teacher
'I am a teacher.'

(253) mũtirĩ arimũ

mũ- ti- rĩ a- arimũ
2PL- NEG- COP NC_2- teacher
'You (pl.) are not teachers.'

(254) ngui nĩ nyamũ

N- gui nĩ N- nyamũ
NC_9- dog FOC NC_9- animal
'A dog is an animal.'

(255) mbembe ti nyamũ

N- bembe ti N- nyamũ
NC_{10}- corn NEG NC_9- animal
'Corn is not an animal.'

(256) mataha nĩ irio itahagwo na kaihũri

ma- taha nĩ i- rio i- tah -ag -wo na ka- ihũri
NC_6- taha FOC NC_8- food NC_8- fetch -HAB -PV with NC_{12}- gourd
'Mataha is food scooped with a little half gourd.'

As seen above, in contrast with **(252)** and **(253)**, which both used forms of the copula *rĩ* to join the subject and the predicate, **(254)**-**(256)** use the focus particle *nĩ*. The subjects in the predicate nominal clauses of **(252)** and **(253)**, are 1st or 2nd person while the subjects in the predicate nominal clauses of **(254)**-**(256)** fall under noun classes.

The reason *nĩ* and *ti* are analyzed as focus particles instead of copulas is due to differences that result when the subject is focused. Copula *rĩ* is maintained in clauses where first and second person subjects are focused. Clauses with focused noun class subjects– including Noun Classes 1 and 2, which include 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural– however, prohibit *nĩ* between the two noun phrases.

(257) ndĩ mwarimũ

N- rĩ mũ- arimũ
1SG- COP NC_1- teacher
'I am a teacher.'

(258) nĩ niĩ ndĩ mwarimũ

nĩ niĩ N- rĩ mũ- arimũ
FOC 1SG.PRO 1SG- COP NC_1- teacher
'It is I who am a teacher.'

(259) Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ

Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ
PROP FOC NC_1- teacher
'Wanjirũ is a teacher.'

(260) nĩ Wanjirũ mwarimũ

nĩ Wanjirũ mũ- arimũ
FOC PROP NC_1- teacher
'It is Wanjirũ who is a teacher.'

(261) *nĩ Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ
* nĩ Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ
FOC PROP FOC NC1- teacher

In example **(258)** the subject is focused by adding the focus marker *nĩ* before the subject, and the inflected copula *ndĩ* remains between the subject and the nominal predicate. In example **(260)**, however, focusing the subject results in elimination of the link between the subject and nominal predicate, so that a clause maintaining *nĩ* between the two is ungrammatical, as in **(261)**.

4.3 Predicate Attributives

Predicate attributives are formed in the same way as predicate nominals: subject, followed by the copula (or the focus particle for noun class subjects in the present tense), followed by the attributive predicate. Following are some examples of non-present predicate attributives.

(262) uma mũrũaru
ũ- uma mũ- rũaru
2SG- COP.BRP JC_1- sick
'You (sg.) were just sick (today).'

(263) tũtirarĩ arũaru
tũ- ti- ra- rĩ a- rũaru
1PL- NEG- NR.PST- COP JC_2- sick
'We were not sick (yesterday).'

(264) mĩaki ndĩrarĩ mĩnene
mĩ- aki nd- ĩ- ra- rĩ mĩ- nene
NC_4- fire NEG- SC_4- NR.PST- COP JC_4- big
'The fires were not big (yesterday).'

(265) kĩrĩma kĩarĩ kĩnene
kĩ- rĩma kĩ- a- rĩ kĩ- nene
NC_7- mountain SC_7- PST- COP JC_7- big
'The mountain was big (before yesterday).'

Just as with predicate nominals, in predicate attributives, the focus particle and the negative focus particle are only used in present predicate attributives in which the subject is a noun class and not 1st or 2nd person. This is shown in the following examples.

(266) tũrĩ arũaru
tũ- rĩ a- rũaru
1PL- COP JC_2- sick
'We are sick.'

(267) ndũrĩ mũrũaru
nd- ũ- rĩ mũ- rũaru
NEG- 2SG- COP JC_1- sick
'You (sg.) are not sick.'

(268) kĩrĩma nĩ kĩnene
kĩ- rĩma nĩ kĩ- nene
NC_7- mountain FOC JC_7- big
'The mountain is big.'

(269) mĩaki ti mĩnene
mĩ- aki ti mĩ- nene
NC_4- fire FOC.NEG JC_4- big
'The fires are not big.'

4.4 Locative Clauses

When indicating the locational relation between two objects, the two are joined by the copula *rĩ*, and locative marker *-inĩ* attaches to the nominal predicate of location.

(270) mbuku ĩrĩ metha-inĩ
N- buku ĩ- rĩ N- metha -inĩ
NC_9- book SC_9- COP NC_9- table -LOC
'The book is on the table.'

(271) ibera rĩrĩ gĩkombe-inĩ
i- bera rĩ- rĩ kĩ- kombe -inĩ
NC_5- pear SC_5- COP NC_7- cup -LOC
'The pear is in the cup.'

(272) ndĩ mũrango-inĩ
N- rĩ mũ- rango -inĩ
1SG- COP NC_3- door -LOC
'I am by the door.'

In **(270)** the location of the subject NP *mbuku* 'book' is indicated by the predicate NP *metha-inĩ* 'on the table,' and the two are joined by the inflected copula. Similarly, in **(271)** the subject *ibera* 'pear' is followed by the copula, which is then followed by the locative predicate *gĩkombe-inĩ* 'in the cup.' In **(272)** *rĩ* is inflected for the first person singular subject, followed by the predicate *mũrango-inĩ* 'by the door.' Since the NPs serving as locations are inanimates, locative marker *-inĩ* is necessary for a locative meaning. Otherwise, a predicate nominal or possessive clause is formed:

(273) ndĩ mũrango
N- rĩ mũ- rango
1SG- COP NC_3- door
'I am a door.' 'I have a door.'

When the location of the subject is predicated in relation to a place rather than to an inanimate object, this is expressed without *-inĩ.*

(274) ararĩ cukuru
a- ra- rĩ N- cukuru
SC_1- PST- COP NC_9- school
'He/she was at school (yesterday).'

(275) ũrĩ mũciĩ
ũ- rĩ mũ- ciĩ
2SG- COP NC_3- home
'You are at home.'

(276) ngui ĩrĩ nja
N- gui ĩ- rĩ N- ca
NC_9- dog SC_9- COP NC_9- outside
'The dog is outside.'

Attaching *-inĩ* to a noun that denotes a place brings more attention to the specific location within the place, resulting in:

(277) ararĩ cukuru-inĩ

a- ra- rĩ N- cukuru -inĩ

SC_1- PST- COP NC_9- school -LOC

'He/she was around / at / inside the school (yesterday).'

(278) ũrĩ mũciĩ-inĩ

ũ- rĩ mũ- ciĩ -inĩ

2SG- COP NC_3- home -LOC

'You are on the homestead (i.e. around / inside / at the property of the home).'

In some cases, the meaning appears to be the same whether or not *-inĩ* is attached, such as in the following examples.

(279) ĩrĩ ngari

ĩ- rĩ N- kari

NC_9- COP NC_9- car

'It's in the car.'

(280) ĩrĩ ngari-inĩ

ĩ- rĩ N- kari -inĩ

NC_9- COP NC_9- car -LOC

'It's in the car.'

It could be that the presence or absence of *-inĩ* does not result in a change in meaning in these two examples because the noun serving as the location, *ngari* 'car,' is neither a prototypical object nor a prototypical place. More data is needed to understand this alternation and with what nouns it occurs.

4.5 Possessive Clauses

Possessive clauses are typically structured in the following way:

Possessor + copula + *na* (oblique 'with') + possessed NP

(281) ndĩ na mbuku

N- rĩ na N- buku

1SG- COP OBL NC_9- book

'I have a book.' (Lit. 'I am with book.')

(282) gĩtĩ kĩrĩ na magũrũ mana
kĩ- tĩ kĩ- rĩ na ma- gũrũ ma- na
NC_7- chair SC_7- COP OBL NC_6- leg NC_6- four
'The chair has four legs.' (Lit. 'The chair is with four legs.')

(283) **m**ũrĩ na benjũ
mũ- rĩ na benjũ
2PL- COP OBL NC_9.pencil
'You (PL) have pencils.' (Lit. 'You are with pencils.')

However, *na* is not always necessary in a possessive clause. The presence of *na* highlights the immediateness of the possession, so that a possessive clause lacking *na* indicates more permanent possession, as seen in **(284)**-**(287)**.

(284) nĩtũrĩ na ngari
nĩ- tũ- rĩ na N- kari
FOC- 1PL -COP OBL NC_9- car
'We have a car (at the moment).' (Lit. 'We are with car.')

(285) nĩtũrĩ ngari
nĩ- tũ- rĩ N- kari
FOC- 1PL- COP NC_9- car
'We own a car.'

(286) ndĩ na mbuku
N- rĩ na N- buku
1SG- COP OBL NC_9- book
'I have a book (in my possession at the moment).' (Lit. 'I am with book.')

(287) ndĩ mbuku
N- rĩ N- buku
1SG- COP NC_9- book
'I own a book.'

In addition, focus particle *nĩ* can be used in possessive clauses lacking *na* in order to distinguish them from predicate nominals.

(288) tũrĩ ngari
tũ- rĩ N- kari
1PL- COP NC_9- car
'We have a car.' 'We are a car.'

(289) nĩtũrĩ ngari
nĩ- tũ- rĩ N- kari
FOC- 1PL- COP NC_9- car
'We have a car.'

(290) ndĩ mbuku
N- rĩ N- buku
1SG- COP NC_9- book
'I have a book.' 'I am a book.'

(291) nĩndĩ mbuku
nĩ- N- rĩ N- buku
FOC- 1PL- COP NC_9- book
'I have a book.'

(288) and **(290)** are ambiguous since they can be possessive clauses or predicate nominals. In order to express an exclusively possessive meaning, the focus particle is prefixed onto the copula, as in **(289)** and **(291)**.

Possessive clauses, as discussed in section 4.5, can also be used to show attribution. For possessive clauses to show attribution, the subject is described by the object—which is usually not a tangible object—being possessed. This is shown in the following example.

(292) ndimũ ciĩ na goro
N- timũ ci- rĩ na goro
NC_{10}- lime SC_{10}- COP with NC_{14}.expense
'The limes are expensive.' (Lit. 'The limes are with expense.')

4.6 Existential Clauses

Existential clauses are formed using the same structure as possessive clauses, but the possessor is a place, either definite or indefinite, indicated by noun class prefixes *ha-* (NC_{16}) or *kũ-* (NC_{17}), respectively, on the copula.

(293) nĩkũarĩ na mũrĩmi mũbaranja
nĩ- kũ- a- rĩ na mũ- rĩmi mũ- baranja
FOC- SC_{17}- RM.PST- COP OBL NC_1- farmer AC_1- Frenchman
'There was a French farmer.' (Lit. 'INDEF.place was with French farmer.')

The clause in **(293)** predicates the French farmer's existence by prefixing the copula with *kũ-*, the noun class marker indicating indefinite place. This, followed by the oblique marker and then the possessed noun phrase, results in a literal meaning of 'definite place is with French farmer,' which ultimately means 'there was a French farmer.'

Kũrĩ is the more general existential predicate since it refers to an indefinite place, while *harĩ* is used to highlight existence in a known place since it refers to a definite location. Compare the examples in **(294)**-**(297)**.

(294) kũrĩ na ngoma
kũ- rĩ na N- koma
SC_{17}- COP OBL NC_{10}- spirit
'There are spirits.' (Lit. 'INDEF:place is with spirits.')

(295) harĩ na ngoma
ha- rĩ na N- koma
SC_{16}- COP OBL NC_{10}- spirit
'There are spirits in that place.' (Lit. 'DEF:place is with spirits.')

(296) gũtirĩ na kahũa
kũ- ti- rĩ na ka- hũa
SC_{17}- NEG- COP OBL NC_{12}- coffee
'There is no coffee.' (Lit. 'INDEF:place is not with coffee.')

(297) hatirĩ na kahũa
ha- ti- rĩ na ka- hũa
SC_{16}- NEG- COP OBL NC_{12}- coffee
'There is no coffee (in this place).' (Lit. 'DEF:place is not with coffee.')

(294) and **(296)**, which use *kũrĩ*, express the existence of the noun phrase, while **(295)** and **(297)**, which instead use *harĩ*, express their existence in relation to a particular location.

The oblique marker *na* in existential clauses is optional. The examples in **(298)** and **(299)** below show that the omission of *na* does not result in a change in meaning, and all examples in **(293)**-**(297)** can also optionally omit *na*.

(298) harĩ na benjũ metha-inĩ
ha- rĩ na benjũ N- metha -inĩ
SC_{16}- COP OBL NC_9.pencil NC_9- table -LOC
'There is a pencil on the table.'

(299) harĩ benjũ metha-inĩ
ha- rĩ benjũ N- metha -inĩ
SC_{16}- COP NC_9.pencil NC_9- table -LOC
'There is a pencil on the table.'

4.7 Constructions with *Koragwo*

Koragwo, the habitual passive form of *kora* 'find', can be used instead of or in conjunction with the copula for a habitual meaning of each of the five aforementioned clause types. These constructions can be roughly translated as 'be usually found,' and can inflect for tense.

(300) koragwo
kor -ag -wo
find -HAB -PV
'be usually found'

It appears that the reason *koragwo* is used in these cases is that the copula, *rĩ*, cannot inflect for aspect. So in order to express habituality in any of the copular clauses, a serial verb construction must be used, where the first verb (*koragwo*) takes subject, tense, and aspect markers while the second (*rĩ*) inflects only for subject agreement.

4.7.1 Predicate Nominals and Attributives with *koragwo*

When *koragwo* constructions are used in predicate nominals and attributives, the copula is necessary. Some examples of this construction at use in predicate nominals and attributives are as follows.

(301) tũkoragwo tũrĩ arimũ
tũ- kor -ag -wo tũ- rĩ a- arimũ
1PL- find -HAB -PV 1PL- COP NC_2- teacher
'We are usually teachers.'

(302) twakoragwo tũrĩ arimũ

tũ- a- kor -ag -wo tũ- rĩ a- arimũ
1PL- PST- find -HAB -PV 1PL- COP NC_2- teacher
'We had been teachers (before yesterday).'

(303) ihũa rĩkoragwo rĩrĩ rĩthaka

i- hũa rĩ- kor -ag -wo rĩ- rĩ rĩ- thaka
NC_5- flower SC_5- find -HAB -PV SC_5- COP JC_5- beautiful
'The flower is usually beautiful.'

When forming the negative of the *koragwo* construction, either the *koragwo* verb or the copula may be in the negative form. This is shown in the following examples.

(304) ihũa rĩkoragwo rĩtarĩ rĩthaka

i- hũa rĩ- kor -ag -wo rĩ- ta- rĩ rĩ- thaka
NC_5- flower SC_5- find -HAB -PV SC_5- NEG- COP JC_5- beautiful
'The flower is not usually beautiful.'

(305) ihũa rĩtikoragwo rĩrĩ rĩthaka

i- hũa rĩ- ti- kor -ag -wo rĩ- rĩ rĩ- thaka
NC_5- flower SC_5- NEG- find -HAB -PV SC_5- COP JC_5- beautiful
'The flower is not usually beautiful.'

4.7.2 Locative Clauses with *Koragwo*

In locative clauses with *koragwo*, the copula is optional and the meaning is the same with or without it.

(306) nĩngoragwo (ndĩ) cukuru

nĩ- N- kor -ag -wo N- rĩ N- cukuru
FOC- 1SG- find -HAB -PV 1SG- COP NC_9- school
'I am usually at school.'

Oblique marker *na* can also be added for a directional meaning. However, this also results in a possessive clause:

(307) nĩngoragwo (ndĩ) na cukuru

nĩ- N- kor -ag -wo N- rĩ na N- cukuru
FOC- 1SG- find -HAB -PV 1SG- COP OBL NC_9- school
'I am usually towards (in the direction of) the school.' 'I have a school.'

4.7.3 Possessive Clauses with *Koragwo*

In possessive constructions with *koragwo*, both the copula and oblique marker are optional, as seen in **(308)**.

(308) ikoragwo (irĩ) (na) mbembe
i- kor -ag -wo i- rĩ na N- bebe
SC_8- find -HAB -PV SC_8- COP OBL NC_{10}- corn
'It usually has corn.'

When the possessed noun is a place, however, *na* is mandatory because the clause would instead be specifically locative without it, seen in the comparison between **(309)** and **(310)**.

(309) nĩngoragwo (ndĩ) na mũciĩ
nĩ- N- kor -ag -wo N- rĩ na mũ- ciĩ
FOC- 1SG- find -HAB -PV 1SG- COP OBL NC_3- home
'I am usually towards (in the direction of) home.' 'I own a home.'

(310) nĩngoragwo (ndĩ) mũciĩ
nĩ- N- kor -ag -wo N- rĩ mũ- ciĩ
FOC- 1SG- find -HAB -PV 1SG- COP NC_9- home
'I am usually at home.'

4.7.4 Existential Clauses with *Koragwo*

Since existential clauses are a type of possessive clause, the copula and oblique marker are also optional in existential clauses with *koragwo*.

(311) nĩgũkoragwo (kũrĩ) (na) kahũa
nĩ- kũ- kor -ag -wo kũ- rĩ na ka- hũa
FOC- SC_{17}- find -HAB -PV SC_{17}- COP OBL NC_{12}- coffee
'There is usually coffee (in general).'

(312) nĩhakoragwo (harĩ) (na) kahũa
nĩ- ha- kor -ag -wo ha- rĩ na ka- hũa
FOC- SC_{16}- find -HAB -PV SC_{16}- COP OBL NC_{12}- coffee
'There is usually coffee (in this place).'

Chapter 5

Grammatical Relations and Argument Structure

Lisa Jeon

Gĩkũyũ has a nominative-accusative system of grammatical relations. The formal properties that directly identify grammatical relations in the language are participant reference marking on verbs and constituent order. This chapter will describe the system for grouping the three basic semantico-syntactic roles S, A, and P in single-argument and multi-argument clauses. Definitions for S, A, and P follow Payne (1997: 133-134)):

S: the only nominal argument of a single-argument clause

A: the most AGENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause (or the argument treated morphosyntactically the same as prototypical AGENTS if no argument is a good AGENT)

P: the most PATIENT-like argument of a multi-argument clause (or the argument treated morphosyntactically the same as prototypical PATIENTS if no argument is a good PATIENT)

The chapter will conclude by summarizing the properties of Gĩkũyũ subjects, objects, and obliques.

5.1 Grammatical Relations

Gĩkũyũ has a nominative-accusative system as illustrated in **(313)**-**(314)** below. Gĩkũyũ makes use of participant reference marking on verbs and constituent order to indicate grammatical relations. Gĩkũyũ nouns are not marked for case.

(313) Ciana nĩciraikara thĩ. (Intransitive)

ci- ana nĩ- ci- ra- ikar -a thĩ.
NC_8- child FOC- SC_8- CR.PRES- sit -FV down
S V

'The children are sitting down.'

(314) ciana nĩciraringa ngui. (Transitive)

ci- ana nĩ- ci- ra- ring -a n- gui.
NC_8- child FOC- SC_8- CR.PRES- hit -FV NC_9- dog
A V P

'The children are hitting the dog.'

The verb *ikara* 'sit' agrees with the S argument *ciana* 'children' in **(313)** and the verb *ringa* 'hit' agrees with the A argument *ciana* 'children' in **(314)**. This agreement is marked with the Class 8 subject prefix *ci-* in both **(313)** and **(314)** and illustrates that S and A are treated the same morphologically. On the other hand, in **(314)** , there is no participant reference prefix on the verb that indexes the P argument (*ngui* 'dog'). This shows that when a P argument occurs as a full noun phrase, it is not morphologically marked on the verb unlike the S and A arguments, which are. Thus, S and A are treated as morphologically "the same" by the participant reference marking system of Gĩkũyũ, whereas P is treated as morphologically "different." Further, in terms of constituent order, S, A and P occur in different positions. The full-NP S argument in **(313)** and the full-NP A argument in **(314)** both occur in pre-verbal position. By contrast, the full-NP P argument in **(314)** occurs in post-verbal position.

Sentences in Gĩkũyũ do not always contain full-NP subject or object arguments. When they are ellipted, they are indexed on the verb using noun concord markers. This is exemplified in **(315)**-**(316)** below.

(315) nĩciraikara thĩ. (Intransitive)

nĩ- ci- ra- ikar -a thĩ

FOC- SC_8- CR.PRES- sit -FV down

'They (the children) are sitting down.'

(316) nĩciramĩringa. (Transitive)

nĩ- ci- ra- mĩ- ring -a

FOC- SC_8- CR.PROG- OC_9- hit -FV

'They (the children) are hitting it (the dog).'

There are no full-NP arguments in **(315)** and **(316)**. Rather, both the ellipted S and A are indexed on the verb *ikara* 'sit' in **(315)** and *ringa* 'hit' in **(316)** by the Class 8 subject prefix *ci-*. This S and A agreement marking occurs before the tense prefix in the verb template. In **(316)**, there is no full-NP object and the object is indexed on the verb *ringa* 'hit' by means of the Class 9 object prefix *mĩ-*. Unlike S and A agreement marking, which occurs in the slot before the tense prefix, P agreement marking occurs after the tense prefix in the verb template. This provides further evidence for a nominative-accusative system in Gĩkũyũ. Subjects are indexed on the verb using noun concord marking that treats S and A alike morphologically. Objects are also indexed on the verb, but with noun concord marking that occurs in a different slot in the verb template.

5.1.1 Subjects

The most prominent grammatical relation in Gĩkũyũ is the subject. Keenan (1976) presents properties that subjects exhibit cross-linguistically. Gĩkũyũ subjects demonstrate several of the most central of these characteristics: (i) subjects exist independently from the action denoted by the predicate; (ii) the subject typically expresses the agent, if a sentence contains one; and (iii) subjects usually express the topic of a sentence. Gĩkũyũ subjects generally display these properties when they occur in semantically basic (unmarked) clauses and have basic (SV or SVO) word order. Note that these are prototypical characteristics of subjects and therefore not all subjects in Gĩkũyũ will exhibit these properties. In general, however, the NP in a given sentence that exhibits the most subject properties will be the subject.

As exemplified in **(317)**-**(318)**, subjects are indexed in the subject-marking slot of the verb template, and this is obligatory in all finite verb forms.

(317) kana nĩgaraikaire thĩ.

ka- ana nĩ- ka- ra- ikar -ir -e thĩ
NC_{12}- child FOC- SC_{12}- NR.PST- sit -COMPL -FV down
'The little child was sitting down (yesterday).'

(318) ciana nĩciraikaire thĩ.

ci- ana nĩ- ci- ra- ikar -ir -e thĩ.
NC_{8}- child FOC- SC_{8}- NR.PST- sit -COMPL -FV down
'The children were sitting down (yesterday).'

In **(317)**, the full-NP subject argument of the clause, *kana* 'little child', is indexed in the subject-marking slot on the verb by means of the Class 12 diminutive subject prefix *ka-*. Similarly, in **(318)**, the full NP subject argument of the clause, *ciana* 'children', is indexed in the subject-marking slot on the verb with the Class 8 subject prefix *ci-*.

In Gĩkũyũ, an active subject can also be demoted to oblique in passive constructions, where it is marked by the preposition *nĩ*. This is illustrated in the pair of active and passive clauses in **(319)** and **(320)**.

(319) mũtimia nĩararugire irio.

mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ir -e i- rio.
NC_{1}- woman FOC- SC_{1}- NR.PST- cook -COMPL -FV NC_{8}- food
S V O
'The woman cooked food (yesterday).'

(320) irio nĩirarugirwo nĩ mũtimia.

i-	rio	nĩ-	i-	ra-	rug	-ir	-wo	nĩ	mũ-	timia.
NC_8-	food	FOC-	SC_8-	NR.PST-	cook	-COMPL	-PV	by	NC_1-	woman
	S				V					OBL

'The food was cooked by the woman.'

In the active transitive clause in **(319)**, the full-NP A argument and active subject is *mũtimia* 'woman' and the full-NP P argument and object is *irio* 'food'. In the equivalent passive (intransitive) clause in **(320)**, the former object *irio* 'food' has been promoted to subject position and is now indexed by the Class 8 subject prefix i- in the subject-marking slot on the verb. And after undergoing passivization in **(320)**, the former subject *mũtimia* 'woman' is demoted to an oblique, as shown by the prepositional phrase *nĩ mũtimia* 'by the woman', and is not indexed by participant reference marking on the verb.

5.1.2 Transitive Objects

The object typically occurs post-verbally, as in **(321)**, where the object *kana* 'child' occurs immediately following the verb *ona* 'see'.

(321) nĩndĩrona kana.

nĩ-	N-	ra-	on	-a	ka-	ana
FOC-	1SG-	CR.PRES-	see	-FV	NC_{12}-	child

'I am seeing the/a child.'

In transitive sentences that do not contain an object NP, i.e. where the full NP object argument is ellipted, objects are required to be marked on the verb using noun concord prefixes that must agree in class with the unexpressed object argument. The object marker refers to members of a particular noun class, and it is up to the hearer to work out which particular noun in the class is intended by the speaker. Typically this is either anaphoric in the discourse or present in the physical context. These noun concord prefixes are fully described in section 2.1.1 and are exemplified in **(322)**-**(324)** below.

(322) nĩndĩramwona.

nĩ-	N-	ra-	mũ-	on	-a
FOC-	1SG-	CR.PRES-	OC_1-	see	-FV

'I am seeing him/her.'

(323) nĩndĩrakona.
nĩ- N- ra- ka- on -a
FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- OC_{12}- see -FV
'I am seeing it (child).'

(324) nĩndĩrakĩona.
nĩ- N- ra- kĩ- on -a
FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- OC_{7}- see -FV
'I am seeing it (mountain).'

Object marking on transitive verbs is required when there is no full-NP object. This is illustrated in **(325)**-**(326)**, where the object is not marked with any noun concord prefix on the verb. As a result, **(325)** is ungrammatical because it does not have a full-NP object and **(326)** is intransitive and has a habitual meaning.

(325) * nĩndĩrona.
* nĩ- N- ra- on -a
FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- see -FV

(326) nĩnyonaga.
nĩ- N- Ø- on -ag -a
FOC- 1SG- CR- see -HAB -FV
'I see (habitually).'

Objects can also be fronted in left dislocation. When the object is fronted, object marking is obligatory on the verb. This is illustrated in **(327)**-**(330)**, where the starred examples are ungrammatical because no object prefix occurs on the verb.

(327) kana nĩndĩrakona.
ka- ana nĩ- N- ra- ka- on -a
NC_{12}- child FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- OC_{12}- see -FV
'The child, I am seeing him/her.'

(328) *kana nĩndĩrona.
* ka- ana nĩ- N- ra- on -a
NC_{12}- child FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- see -FV

(329) indo nĩndĩraciona.
i- ndo nĩ- N- ra- ci- on -a
NC_8- thing FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- OC_8- see -FV
'(The) things, I am seeing them.'

(330) *indo nĩndĩrona.
* i- ndo nĩ- N- ra- on -a
NC_8- thing FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- see -FV

(331)-**(332)** below show the ability of Gĩkũyũ objects to undergo passivization.

(331) mũtimia nĩararugire irio.
mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ir -e i- rio
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- cook -COMPL -FV NC_8- food
'The woman cooked food (yesterday).'

(332) irio nĩirarugirwo nĩ mũtimia.
i- rio nĩ- i- ra- rug -ir -wo nĩ mũ- timia
NC_8- food FOC- SC_8- NR.PST- cook -COMPL -PV by NC_1- woman
'The food was being cooked by the woman.'

In **(331)**, *irio* 'food' is the object argument in the active (transitive) clause. Because it is a full-NP, it is not indexed by an object prefix on the verb and occurs in post-verbal position. In the passive (intransitive) equivalent of this clause in **(332)**, however, the former object *irio* 'food' has been promoted to subject position and is now indexed in the subject-marking slot of the verb with the Class 8 subject prefix *-i*.

5.2 Ditransitive Clauses and Double Objects *Lisa Jeon & Samantha Mauney*

In Gĩkũyũ, the two objects in a ditransitive clause are best characterized as "primary" and "secondary" objects rather than as "direct" and "indirect" objects. This is because, as in many other languages, the two types of objects do not have the same grammatical characteristics associated with direct and indirect objects (cf. Dryer 1986; Bresnan and Moshi 1990; Bearth 2003; and Morrison 2011). Gĩkũyũ is a "symmetric" object language, since both post-verbal noun phrases can display the properties of a primary object. The following sections illustrate this and discuss the properties of Gĩkũyũ objects in ditransitive clauses.

5.2.1 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive clauses in Gĩkũyũ have two objects. Example **(333)** below shows a simple transitive clause and **(334)** illustrates the addition of an argument to form a ditransitive.

(333) mũtimia nĩararugire irio.
mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ir -e i- rio
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- cook -COMPL -FV NC_8- food
'The woman cooked food (yesterday).'

(334) mũtimia nĩararugĩire irio kana.
mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ĩ -ir -e i- rio ka- ana
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- cook -APP -COMPL -FV NC_8- food NC_{12}- child
'The woman cooked food on the child's behalf (yesterday).'

Objects can be expressed as full-NP object arguments that occur post-verbally as in **(334)**, where the primary object *irio* 'food' immediately follows the verb *ruga* 'cook' and the secondary object *kana* 'child' follows the primary object.

As mentioned above, Gĩkũyũ is a symmetric object language in which two post-verbal noun phrases can both display the properties of a primary object. With respect to word order, both the primary and secondary object can appear in immediate post-verbal position as shown in **(335)**.

(335) mũtimia nĩararugĩire kana irio.
mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ĩ -ir -e ka- ana i- rio
NC_1- woman FOC- NC_1- NR.PST- cook -APP -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- child NC_8- food
'The woman cooked food on the child's behalf (yesterday).'

(336) mũtimia nĩararugĩire irio kana.
mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ĩ -ir -e i- rio ka- ana
NC_1- woman FOC- NC_1- NR.PST- cook -APP -COMPL -FV NC_8- food NC_{12}- child
'The woman cooked food on the child's behalf (yesterday).'

Both **(335)** and **(336)** are grammatical, supporting the classification of Gĩkũyũ as a symmetric object language. In such instances, speakers must rely on the level of animacy of the objects and the specific context of the utterance to determine which object is primary or secondary. In ditransitive sentences, the primary object is generally the patient theme of the verb and the secondary object generally expresses another semantic role, e.g., benefactive or recipient, of the verb. For example, in the specific context of the utterance in **(335)**-**(336)**, the patient theme

of the verb *ruga* 'cook' is *irio* 'food' and the semantic role of *kana* 'child' is benefactive. Therefore, *irio* 'food' is understood as the primary object and *kana* 'child' is understood as the secondary object regardless of the ordering of the primary and secondary object within the ditransitive clause.

An additional property of objects is their ability to be promoted to subjects in passive constructions. As exemplified in **(337)**-**(339)**, both objects can undergo passivization.

(337) mũtimia nĩaraitĩrĩirie kana maĩ.

mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- it -ĩr -ĩ -ir -i -e ka- ana ma- aĩ

NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- pour -CONT -APP -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_{12}- child NC_6- water.

'The woman sprayed the child with water (yesterday).'

(338) kana nĩkaraitĩrĩirio maĩ nĩ mũtimia.

ka- ana nĩ- ka- ra- it -ĩr -ĩ -ir -i -o ma- aĩ

NC_{12}- child FOC- SC_{12}- NR.PST- pour -CONT -APP -COMPL -TRNS -PV NC_6- water

nĩ mũ- timia

by NC_1- woman

'The child was sprayed with water by the woman (yesterday).'

(339) maĩ nĩmaraitĩrĩirio kana nĩ mũtimia.

ma- aĩ nĩ- ma- ra- it -ĩr -ĩ -ir -i -o ka- ana

NC_6- water FOC- SC_6- NR.PST- pour -CONT -APP -COMPL -TRNS -PV NC_{12}- child

nĩ mũ- timia

by NC_1- woman

'The water was sprayed on the child by the woman (yesterday).'

The ability of both objects to undergo passivization provides additional evidence in support of classification of Gĩkũyũ as a symmetric object language.

In ditransitive sentences that do not contain full-NP objects, i.e. where one or both of the full-NP object arguments are ellipted, either the primary or secondary object can be marked on the verb using a concord prefix that must agree in class with the unexpressed object. This is shown in **(340)**, where the secondary object 'me' is indexed in the object-marking slot of the verb template with the first person singular object prefix *n-*. In this example, the primary object *ndumĩrĩri* 'message' occurs as a full-NP argument immediately following the verb *tũma* 'send'. In **(341)**, the secondary object 'them' is indexed on the verb *ĩra* 'promise' with the Class 2 object prefix *ma-*. This example also shows that the primary object 'her' can occur as the pronoun *we.*

(340) nĩũrandũmĩra ndũmĩrĩri.

nĩ- ũ- ra- N- tũm -ĩr -a n- tũmĩrĩri
FOC- 2SG- CR.PRES- 1SG.O- send -APP -FV NC_9- message
'You are sending me a message.'

(341) nĩndĩramerĩra we

nĩ- N- ra- ma- ĩr -ĩr -a we
FOC- 1SG- CR.PRES- OC_2- promise -APP -FV NC_1.PRO
'I am promising her to them.'

As discussed earlier in this section, secondary objects of ditransitive verbs can have semantic roles such as recipient and benefactive. Secondary objects with different types of semantic roles for ditransitive verbs can be expressed as a full-NP object argument immediately following the verb. For instance, **(342)** shows a simple transitive clause and **(343)** illustrates the addition of a secondary object that has the semantic role of recipient, *kahĩĩ* 'little boy', expressed as a full-NP object argument before the primary object *thimũ* 'phone' of the verb *gũria* 'buy'.

(342) nĩndĩragũrire thimũ.

nĩ- N- ra- gũr -ir -e thimũ
FOC- 1SG- NR.PST- buy -COMPL -FV NC_9.phone
'I bought a phone (yesterday).'

(343) nĩndĩragũrĩire kahĩĩ thimũ.

nĩ- N- ra- gũr -ĩ -ir -e ka- hĩĩ thimũ.
FOC- 1SG- NR.PST- buy -APP -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- boy NC_9.phone
'I bought the little boy a phone (yesterday).'

In ditransitive clauses, the presence of a third argument (the applied object) may be marked on the verb after the stem by the applicative suffix *-ĩ / -ĩr* (see section 3.4.6). This was already observed immediately above in **(342)**-**(343)**, where the additional recipient argument co-occurs with the addition of the *-i* applicative suffix, marking the secondary object as recipient. It is further exemplified in **(344)**-**(345)**, where **(344)** shows a simple transitive clause and **(345)** again illustrates the addition of a recipient through the marking of the applicative suffix *-ĩr* on the verb.

(344) nĩndĩratũma ndũmĩrĩri.

nĩ- N- ra- tũm -a n- tũmĩrĩri
FOC- 1SG- CR.PROG- send -FV NC_9- message
'I am sending a message.'

(345) nĩndĩragũtũmĩra ndũmĩrĩri.

nĩ- N- ra- kũ- tũm -ĩr -a n- tũmĩrĩri
FOC- 1SG- CR.PROG- O2SG- send -APP -FV NC_9- message
'I am sending you a message.'

In **(345)**, the applicative suffix *-ĩr* is marked on the verb *tũma* 'send' to denote that the recipient 'you' indexed on the verb by the second person singular object prefix *kũ-*, is in fact an object. The primary object *ndumĩrĩri* 'message' occurs immediately following the verb.

The applicative is obligatory when the secondary object has the semantic role of benefactive. This is illustrated in **(346)**. In this example, the applicative suffix *-ĩr* is marked on the verb *ruga* 'cook' to explicitly indicate that the secondary object *kana* 'child' expresses the semantic role of benefactive rather than recipient. The secondary object then occurs following the primary object *irio* 'food', which immediately follows the verb.

(346) mũtimia nĩararugĩire irio kana.

mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- rug -ĩ -ir -e i- rio ka- ana
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- cook -APP -COMPL -FV NC_8- food NC_{12}- child
'The woman cooked food on the child's behalf (yesterday).'

When used with the passive, the applicative can promote a peripheral semantic role like benefactive to the grammatical role of subject. This is exemplified in **(347)**-**(349)**. In these examples about the construction of a stone fence built around a tree, **(347)** shows a simple transitive sentence; **(348)** shows an active ditransitive sentence with the addition of a third argument, marked on the verb after the stem by the applicative suffix -ĩr; and **(349)** shows the passive equivalent of **(348)**.

(347) makire rũgĩrĩ rwa ihiga.

ma- ak -ir -e rũ- gĩrĩ rũ- a i- higa
sc_2- build -COMPL -FV NC_{11}- fence AC_{11}- ASSOC NC_5- stone
'They built a fence of stone (before yesterday).'

(348) magĩakĩra mũtĩ rũgiri rũũthiũrũrũkĩirie rwa mahiga.

ma- kĩ- ak -ĩr -a mũ- tĩ rũ- giri
SC_2- SEQ- build -APP -FV NC_3- tree NC_{11}- fence

rũ- thi -ũrũr -ũk -ĩ -ir -i -e rũ- a ma- higa
SC_{11}- go INTENS -REVERS.MID -APP -COMPL -TRNS -FV AC_{11}- ASSOC NC_6- stone
'Then they built for the tree a fence of stones that surrounds it (before yesterday).'

(349) ũgĩakĩrwo, ũgĩthiũrũrũkĩrio na mahiga.
ũ- kĩ- ak -ĩr -wo ũ- kĩ- thi -ũrũr -ũk -ĩr -i -o
NC_3- SEQ- build -APP -PV NC_3- SEQ- go -INTENS -REVERS.MID -APP -TRNS -PV
na ma- higa
by NC_6- stone
'The tree was then built for, and encircled with stones.'

In the active ditransitive sentence in **(348)**, the applicative is marked on both verbs (*aka* 'build' and 'surround') to denote that the NP *mũti* 'tree' is the secondary object and has the semantic role of benefactive. In the passive equivalent in **(349)**, the benefactive tree itself (indexed on the verb with the Class 3 subject prefix *ũ-*) serves as the grammatical subject due to the use of the applicative and the passive on both verbs.

The examples in **(350)**-**(352)** below demonstrate that the applicative can also promote locatives to objects.

(350) mũtimia nĩagũikaire gĩtĩ-inĩ
mũ- timia nĩ- a- kũ- ikar -ir -e gĩtĩ -inĩ
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- sit -COMPL -FV NC_7.chair -LOC
'The woman was sitting on the chair (today).'

(351) mũtimia nĩagũikarĩire gĩtĩ
mũ- timia nĩ- a- kũ- ikar -ĩ -ir -e gĩtĩ
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- sit -APP -COMPL -FV NC_7.chair
'The woman was sitting on the chair (today).' (Lit. 'The woman was sitting the chair.')

(352) * mũtimia nĩagũikarĩire gĩtĩ-inĩ
* mũ- timia nĩ- a- kũ- ikar -ĩ -ir -e gĩtĩ -inĩ
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- sit -APP -COMPL -FV NC7.chair -LOC

In **(350)**, the NP *gĩtĩ* 'chair' is marked with the locative suffix *-inĩ* and occurs as an oblique to express a locative relation. By contrast, in **(351)**, the applicative suffix *-ĩ* is marked on the verb *ikara* 'sit' to indicate that the NP *gĩtĩ* 'chair', has been promoted from an oblique to a grammatical object. The ungrammatical example in **(352)** further shows that when the applicative marker occurs on the verb, the object cannot be marked with the locative suffix *-inĩ* at the same time, since the use of the applicative denotes that it can no longer be an oblique.

Thus, the applicative can add an applied object to a transitive clause, which can have non-prototypical semantic roles for object such as recipient, benefactive, and locative.

5.2.2 Verbs with Two Object Slots

Most ditransitive verbs in Gĩkũyũ have only one object-marking slot in the verb template. However, for a small subset of verbs, like *ikia* 'throw!' *inyerera* 'look after carefully!' *ĩra* 'promise!' and *twara* 'take!' the primary and secondary object can each be expressed on the verb using noun concord markers, thus giving evidence for the possibility of two object slots. In such cases, the object concord for the primary object marker precedes the one for the secondary object. In **(353)**, for instance, the class 2 primary object *ma-* precedes the class 1 secondary object *mũ-*. Examples **(354)** and **(355)** illustrate the same principle.

(353) nĩndĩramamũtwarĩire.

nĩ- N- ra- ma- mũ- twar -ĩ -ir -e
FOC- 1SG- NR.PST- OC_2- OC_1- take -APP -COMPL -FV
'I took them to him/her (yesterday).'

(354) nĩaramũmamenyerera.

nĩ- a- ra- mũ- ma- menyerer -a
FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- OC_1- OC_2- look.after -FV
'She is looking after him/her carefully for them.'

(355) nĩmaramũmũĩrĩire.

nĩ- ma- ra- mũ- mũ- ĩr -ĩ -ir -e
FOC- SC2- NR.PST- OC1- OC1- promise -APP -COMPL -FV
'They promised her to him (yesterday).'

It is uncommon to our consultant, but not unattested, to mark a third person singular primary object and third person plural secondary object on the verb. Example **(356)** below, for instance, is very common and acceptable to our consultant, whereas **(357)** is uncommon but acceptable to her, and **(358)** is ungrammatical to her.

(356) nĩndĩramũmatwarĩire

nĩ- N- ra- mũ- ma- twar -ĩ -ir -e
FOC- 1SG- NR.PST- OC_1- OC_2- take -APP -COMPL -FV
'I took him/her to them.'

(357) nĩndĩramũmaikĩirie.

nĩ- N- ra- mũ- ma- ik -ĩ -ir -i -e
FOC- 1SG- NR.PST- OC_1- OC_2- threw -APP -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'I threw him/her to them.'

(358) * nĩndĩramũmerira.

* nĩ- N- ra- mũ- ma- ĩr -ir -a
FOC- 1SG- NR.PST- OC1- OC2- promise -COMPL -FV

Ambiguity can arise because ditransitive verbs allow both primary and secondary objects to be expressed on the verb at the same time. In such cases, speakers must rely on context to determine the referent. This is illustrated in **(359)**.

(359) nĩmamũmũĩrĩire.

nĩ- ma- mũ- mũ- ĩr -ĩ -ir -e
FOC- SC_2- OC_1- OC_1- promise -APP -COMPL -FV
'They promised him/her to him/her (before yesterday).'

In **(359)**, both the primary and secondary object 'him/her' are marked with the third person singular object prefix *mũ-* in the two object slots on the verb *ĩra* 'promise.' Therefore, it is up to the hearer to work out which referent is intended by the speaker as the primary or secondary object. Typically this is either anaphoric in the discourse or determined by the physical context of the utterance.

5.3 Obliques *Lisa Jeon*

Obliques are noun phrases that do not bear a grammatical relation to the verb and therefore are not core arguments. In Gĩkũyũ, there may be multiple obliques in a sentence. In unmarked constructions with normal word order, obliques occur following any objects. There are several different types of obliques in Gĩkũyũ. One type of oblique noun phrase occurs immediately following the preposition *na* 'and/with/by'. These obliques are usually comitatives as in **(360)** or instruments as in **(361)** below.

(360) mũtimia nĩaracokire mũciĩ na ciana.

mũ- timia nĩ- a- ra- cok -ir -e mũ- ciĩ na ci- ana
NC_1- woman FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- return -COMPL -FV NC_3- home with NC_8- child
'The woman returned home with the children (yesterday).'

(361) kũruga irio ndicĩhiũhagia na mwaki. n

kũ- rug -a i- rio N- cĩ- hiũh -ag –i -a na mũ- aki

NC_{15}- cook -FV NC_8- food 1SG- OC_8- warm -HAB -TRNS -FV with NC_3- fire

'To cook the food, I warm it up with fire (habitually).'

Locatives that express spatial relations are another oblique type in Gĩkũyu and are marked with the general locative suffix *-inĩ* 'in/on/at/by', or by associative constructions such as *igũrũ* 'above/over/on', and *rungu* 'under/below'. These obliques are exemplified in **(362)**-**(364)**.

(362) njĩkĩrire thitembũ mbahaca-inĩ.

N- Ø- ĩk -ir -e thitembũ m- bahaca -inĩ

1SG- CR.PST- put -COMPL -FV NC_9.stamp NC_9- envelope -LOC

'I put the stamp in/on/at/by the envelope (today).'

(363) njĩkĩrire thitembũ igũrũ rĩa mbahaca.

N- Ø- ĩk -ir -e thitembũ i- gũrũ rĩ- a m- bahaca

1SG- CR.PST- put -COMPL -FV NC_9.stamp NC_5- above AC_5- ASSOC NC_9- envelope.

'I put the stamp above/over/on the envelope (today).'

(364) njĩkĩrire thitembũ rungu rwa mbahaca.

N- Ø- ĩk -ir -e thitembũ rũ- ungu rũ- a m- bahaca.

1SG- CR.PST- put -COMPL -FV NC_9.stamp NC_{11}- below AC_{11}- ASSOC NC_9- envelope

'I put the stamp under/below the envelope (today).'

5.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the system of marking grammatical relations in Gĩkũyũ as well as the grammatical properties of subjects, objects, and obliques.

First, this chapter has demonstrated that Gĩkũyũ has a nominative-accusative system for grammatical relations. It treats S and A as morphologically the same but P as morphologically different. It also treats S and A as syntactically the same but P as syntactically different. This system of grammatical relations is reflected in both the participant reference marking on verbs and in the constituent order of S, A, and P.

Second, subjects demonstrate some of the most important characteristics of subjects as outlined in Keenan (1976) and can be expressed through a noun phrase or through agreement affixes on the verb. Subject agreement is obligatory in all finite verb forms.

Objects are the other core grammatical relation in Gĩkũyũ. Ditransitive clauses have a primary and secondary object which are generally argument noun phrases that occur post-

verbally. Object marking occurs as a noun concord prefix on the verb when the full-NP argument is not expressed. In double object constructions, arguments with non-prototypical semantic roles for objects (e.g. recipients, benefactives, and locatives) can be expressed through the marking of the applicative suffix on the verb, which denotes that an NP with a non-prototypical semantic role is in fact a grammatical object. Although most ditransitive verbs in Gĩkũyũ have only one object-marking slot in the verb template, for a small subset of verbs the primary and secondary object can be expressed on the verb using noun concord markers that take two object slots. Gĩkũyũ also displays the behavior characteristic of a symmetric object language in that both post-verbal noun phrases can display the properties of a primary object.

Finally, obliques are nominal clause elements that do not bear a grammatical relation to the verb and are not core arguments in Gĩkũyũ. Obliques occur following any objects in a sentence and include many types such as comitatives, instruments, and locatives.

Chapter 6
Pragmatically-Marked Clause Types

This chapter deals with common types of non-declarative main clauses: yes/no questions, content questions, negation, imperatives, and monoclausal focus and topicalization constructions.

6.1 Yes/No Questions *Anaí Navarro*

6.1.1 Asking Yes/No Questions

Yes/no questions differ from declarative statements only in intonation. Yes/no questions have clause-final falling intonation but are otherwise the same as their statement equivalents since word order does not change and there is no question particle. This is shown in the contrast between sentences **(365)** (a declarative) and **(366)** (an interrogative).

(365) Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ.
Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ
PROP FOC NC_1- teacher
'Wanjirũ is a teacher.'

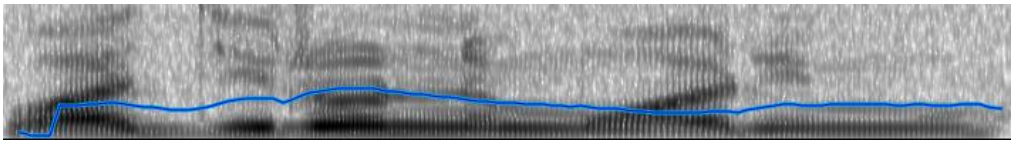


Figure 6: Sample declarative intonation

(366) Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ?
Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ
PROP FOC NC_1- teacher
'Is Wanjirũ a teacher?'

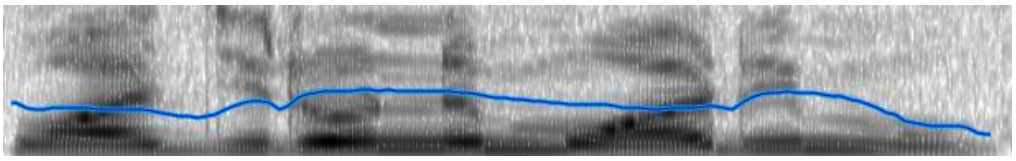


Figure 7: Sample yes/ no question intonation

In Figure 6, which displays prototypical declarative intonation, the pitch stays relatively constant throughout the end of the clause, while Figure 7 shows the pitch rising slightly before it falls at the end of the sentence.

If a negative response is expected, *ti* (NEG) can be used as the copula instead of the affirmative focus particle *nĩ*. (See section 4.2 on the use of focus particles as the copula in present-tense predicate nominals for all noun classes.)

(367) Wanjirũ ti mwarimũ?
Wanjirũ ti mũ- arimũ
PROP NEG NC_1- teacher
'Wanjirũ is not a teacher?'

6.1.2 Tag Questions

A secondary way to form yes/no questions is by adding a tag to the declarative statement: *kana*, *nĩguo*, or *kana tiguo*. *Kana* 'or,' and *nĩguo* 'is it so', are used to request confirmation of the preceding statement.

(368) Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ, kana?
Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ kana
PROP FOC NC_1- teacher or
'Wanjirũ is a teacher, right?'

(369) Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ, nĩguo?
Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ nĩ- guo
PROP FOC NC_1- teacher FOC- so
'Wanjirũ is a teacher, right?'

(370) Wanjirũ ti mwarimũ, kana?
Wanjirũ ti mũ- arimũ kana
PRO NEG NC_1- teacher or
'Wanjirũ is not a teacher, right?'

(371) Wanjirũ ti mwarimũ, nĩguo?
Wanjirũ ti mũ- arimũ nĩ- guo
PROP NEG NC_1- teacher FOC- so
'Wanjirũ is not a teacher, right?'

Kana tiguo 'or is it not so,' requests disconfirmation:

(372) Wanjirũ nĩ mwarimũ, kana tiguo?
Wanjirũ nĩ mũ- arimũ kana ti- guo
PROP FOC NC_1- teacher or NEG- so
'Wanjirũ is a teacher, or is that not right?'

(373) Wanjirũ ti mwarimũ, kana tiguo?
Wanjirũ ti mũ- arimũ kana ti- guo
PROP NEG NC_1- teacher or NEG- so
'Wanjirũ is not a teacher, or is that not right?'

As seen in examples **(368)**-**(373)**, tags with both positive and negative polarity can be used following a statement containing either the affirmative or negative copula. This is also true with more prototypical verbs:

(374) nĩmũrugĩte, nĩguo?
nĩ- mũ- rug -ĩt -e nĩ- guo
FOC- 2PL- cook -PERF -FV FOC- so
'You (PL) have cooked, right?'

(375) nĩmũrugĩte, kana tiguo?
nĩ- mũ- rug -ĩt -e kana ti- guo
FOC- 2PL- cook -PERF -FV or NEG- so
'You (PL) have cooked, or is that not right?'

(376) mũtirugĩte, nĩguo?
mũ- ti- rug -ĩt -e nĩ- guo
2PL- NEG- cook -PERF -FV FOC- so
'You (PL) have not cooked, right?'

(377) mũtirugĩte, kana tiguo?
mũ- ti- rug -ĩt -e kana ti- guo
2PL- NEG- cook -PERF -FV or NEG- so
'You (PL) have not cooked, or is that not right?'

6.1.3 Answering Yes/No Questions

In answering yes/no questions, *ĩĩ* is used for an affirmative response, and *aca* is used for a negative response. In addition, repetition of the interrogative clause in declarative intonation, with the appropriate changes for person and polarity, is optional.

(378) Q: wĩ na benjũ?
ũ- rĩ na benjũ
2SG- COP with NC_9.pencil
'Do you have a pencil?'

A: ĩĩ, (ndĩ na benjũ)
ĩĩ N- rĩ na benjũ
yes 1SG- COP with NC_9.pencil
'Yes, (I have a pencil)'

(379) Q: wĩ na benjũ?
ũ- rĩ na benjũ
2SG- COP with NC_9.pencil
'Do you have a pencil?'

A: aca, (ndirĩ na benjũ)
aca N- ti- rĩ na benjũ
no 1SG- NEG- COP with NC_9.pencil
'No, (I don't have a pencil)'

Less definitive answers than *ĩĩ* and *aca* are *ndiũĩ*, *anga*, and *hihi*, the former meaning 'I don't know' and the latter two each meaning 'maybe'.

6.2 Content Questions *Jessica Li*

Content questions, for question words other than 'why' and 'how', are typically formed by placing a question word in situ in a clause. Questions can also be formed as focus questions, where the question word comes at the beginning of the clause in conjunction with the focus particle *nĩ*. 'Why' and 'how' seem to be more flexible in terms of where they can be placed than other question words. There are no other morphosyntactic features specific to question-word questions–there is no verb-fronting, interrogative particle, or other indications aside from the question word itself. Table 27 lists the main question-words of Gĩkũyũ.

Table 27: Question words

QUES. WORD	GLOSS
ũ	who
kĩĩ	what
rĩ	when
kũ	where (indefinite)
ha	where (definite)
nĩkĩ	why
atĩa	how
igana	how many
rĩkũ	which
ũ	whose

6.2.1 'Who'

The base question word for 'who' is *ũ*, while a derived form is *nũũ*. *Nũũ* is a combination of the focus particle *nĩ* and *ũ*.

The base question word *ũ* is used in situ. When the question word occurs in situ at the beginning of a clause, or if a focus question is formed wherein the question word is moved to the front of the clause, the focused variant of the question word *nũũ* is used.

Following are some examples of 'who' questions in which the base question word *ũ* is used.

(380) Nĩwe ũ?
nĩ- we ũ
FOC- 2SG.PRO who
'Who are you?'

(381) Wangũi nũũ?
Wangũi nĩ- ũ
PROP FOC- who
'Who is Wangũi?'

(382) Wangũi nĩwe ũ?
Wangũi nĩ- we ũ
PROP FOC- 3SG.PRO who
'Who is Wangũi?'

(383) Mwarimũ waku nũũ?
mũ- arimũ ũ- aku nĩ- ũ
NC_1- teacher AC_1- 2SG.POS FOC- who
'Who is your teacher?'

(384) Mwarimũ waku nĩwe ũ?
mũ- arimũ ũ- aku nĩ- we ũ
NC_1- teacher AC_1- 2SG.POS FOC- 3SG.PRO who
'Who is your teacher?'

(385) Ũraikĩria mũbira ũ?
ũ- ra- ik -ĩr -i -a mũ- bira ũ
2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- throw -APP -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball who
'Who are you throwing the ball to?'

(386) Ndĩrahĩmbĩria ũ?

N- ra- hĩmb -ĩr -i -a ũ
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- hug -APP -TRNS -FV who
'Who am I hugging?'

As can be seen in the above examples, the question word occurs in situ, and when it is preceded by a focus particle—which acts in place of a copula, as discussed in 4.2—it becomes *nũũ*.

The following examples show that when a question word occurs in situ at the beginning of a clause, it becomes *nũũ*.

(387) Nũũ ũragũikĩria mũbira?

nĩ- ũ ũ- ra- gũ- ik -ĩr -i -a mũ- bira
FOC- who RC_1- CR.PRES- 2SG.OBJ- throw -APP -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball
'Who is throwing you the ball?'

(388) Nũũ ũraikia mũbira?

nĩ- ũ ũ- ra- ik -i -a mũ- bira
FOC- who RC_1- CR.PRES- throw -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball
'Who is throwing the ball?'

(389) Nũũ ũrahĩmbĩria?

nĩ- ũ ũ- ra- hĩmb -ĩr -i -a
FOC- who RC_1- CR.PRES- hug -APP -TRNS -FV
'Who is hugging me?'

As can be seen in the previous examples, the question word, which would occur at the beginning of the clause in situ, is made into a focus question word.

The following examples show focus questions in which the question word does not remain in situ but instead is focused and moved to the beginning of the clause.

(390) Nũũ mwarimũ waku?

nĩ- ũ mũ- arimũ ũ- aku
FOC- who NC_1- teacher AC_1- 2SG.POS
'Who is it who is your teacher?'

(391) Nũũ ũraikĩria mũbira?

nĩ- ũ ũ- ra- ik -ĩr -i -a mũ- bira
FOC- who 2SG- CR.PRES- throw -APP -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball
'Who is it that you're throwing the ball to?'

(392) Nũũ ndĩrahĩmbĩria?

nĩ- ũ N- ra- hĩmb -ĩr -i -a

FOC- who 1SG- PRES- hug -APP -TRNS -FV

'Who is it that I'm hugging?'

6.2.2 'What'

'What', like 'who', manifests itself in two question words: *kĩĩ* and *nĩkĩĩ*. The latter is a construction formed from the addition of *nĩ*, the focus particle, and *kĩĩ* 'what'. *kĩĩ* occurs at the end of a clause, while *nĩkĩĩ* occurs at the beginning.

This follows the same pattern as 'who'. When the question word occurs in situ, it occurs as the base question word *kĩĩ*. When the question word occurs at the beginning of a clause—either in situ or moved as a focus question—it occurs as *nĩkĩĩ*.

Following are some examples of the base question word in situ.

(393) Gĩkĩ nĩ kĩĩ?

gĩkĩ nĩ kĩĩ

PROX.DEM$_7$ FOC what

'What is this?'

(394) Wonire kĩĩ?

ũ- a- on -ir -e kĩĩ

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV what

'What did you see (today)?'

(395) Ũikirie kĩĩ?

ũ- ik -ir -i -e kĩĩ

2SG.SUBJ- throw -COMPL -TRNS -FV what

'What did you throw (today)?'

The following examples show the question word appearing in situ at the beginning of a clause. Because it occurs at the beginning of the clause, it becomes the focused form *nĩkĩĩ*.

(396) Nĩkĩĩ kĩragũa?

nĩ- kĩĩ kĩ- ra- gũ -a

FOC- what SC$_7$- CR.PRES- fall -FV

'What is falling?'

(397) Nĩkĩĩ wonire?

nĩ- kĩĩ ũ- a- on -ir -e
FOC- what 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV
'What is it that you saw?'

(398) Nĩkĩĩ ũikirie?

nĩ- kĩĩ ũ- ik -ir -i -e
FOC- what 2SG.SUBJ- throw -COMPL -TRNS -FV
'What is it that you threw?'

6.2.3 'When'

The question word for 'when'—*rĩ*—occurs after the verb, where time words usually occur in Gĩkũyũ sentences. 'When', like 'who' and 'what', can also be prefixed with focus particle *nĩ* to form *nĩrĩ*. Some examples are as follows.

(399) Wathire rĩ?

ũ- a- thi -ir -e rĩ
2SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- go -COMPL -FV when
'When did you go?'

(400) Nĩrĩ wathire?

nĩ- rĩ ũ- a- thi -ir -e
FOC- when 2SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- go -COMPL -FV
'When was it that you went?'

(401) Ũrĩthiĩ rĩ?

ũ- rĩ- thi -ĩ rĩ
2SG.SUBJ- NR.FUT- go -FV when
'When (today) will you go?'

(402) Nĩrĩ ũrĩthiĩ?

nĩ- rĩ ũ- rĩ- thi -ĩ
FOC- when 2SG.SUBJ- NR.FUT- go -FV
'When (today) is it that you will go?'

6.2.4 'Where' (Definite and Indefinite)

There are two question words in Gĩkũyũ for 'where': *ha* and *kũ*. *Ha* refers to a definite location and *kũ* refers to an indefinite location. *Ha* and *kũ* are also the noun class prefixes for Noun Classes 16 and 17, respectively. The definite location is used when a specific place is known. The indefinite location is used when referring to thereabouts other than a specific place. These question words can also be focused using *nĩha* and *nĩkũ*, in the same way as 'who', 'what', and 'when'.

Definite location and indefinite location are relative. In general, definite location is used when the speaker knows that what they are speaking about is in a specific location. Indefinite location is used when the speaker does not know the specifics about the location of the object. For example, if a speaker knows specifically that the object is on Rice's campus, as opposed to possibly being somewhere in Houston, the definite location is used. As another example, if a speaker knows that the object is specifically in Houston, as opposed to possibly being anywhere in the United States, the definite location is used. The indefinite location is used when a more precise location is not known, but precise and imprecise are relative to each usage.

Following are some examples using indefinite location:

(403) Marĩ kũ?
ma- rĩ kũ
SC_2- COP where.INDEF
'Where (indefinite) are they (people)?'

(404) Mbuku ciĩ kũ?
N- buku i- rĩ kũ
NC_{10}- book SC_{10}- COP where.INDEF
'Where (indefinite) are the books?'

(405) Ciĩ kũ mbuku?
i- rĩ kũ N- buku
SC_{10}- COP where.INDEF NC_{10}- book
'Where (indefinite) are the books?'

(406) Nĩkũ mbuku cirĩ?
nĩ- kũ N- buku i- rĩ
FOC- where.INDEF NC_{10}- book SC_{10}- COP
'Where (indefinite) is it that the books are?'

(407) Wathiĩ kũ?

ũ- a- thi -ĩ kũ

2SG.SUBJ- IMMED.FUT- go -FV where.INDEF

'Where (indefinite) are you going?'

(408) Nĩkũ wathiĩ

nĩ- kũ ũ- a- thi -ĩ

FOC- where.INDEF 2SG.SUBJ- IMMED.FUT- go -FV

'Where (indefinite) is it that you are going?'

Following are some examples using definite location:

(409) Ciĩ ha?

i- rĩ ha

SC_{10}- COP where.DEF

'Where (definite) are they (books)?'

(410) Nĩha cirĩ?

nĩ- ha i- rĩ

FOC- where.DEF SC_{10}- COP

'Where (definite) is it that they (books) are?'

(411) Wathiĩ ha?

ũ- a- thi -ĩ ha

2SG.SUBJ- IMMED.FUT- go -FV where.DEF

'Where (definite) are you going?'

6.2.5 'Why'

The question word for 'why'—*nĩkĩ*—usually occurs at the end of the clause, but can occur elsewhere as well.

(412) Kĩũra kĩrũgire mai-inĩ nĩkĩ?

kĩ- ũra kĩ- rũg -ir -e ma- i- inĩ nĩkĩ

NC_7- frog SC_7- jump -COMPL -FV NC_6- water -LOC why

'Why did the frog jump in the water?'

(413) Kahĩĩ gethire kĩũra nĩkĩ?
ka- hĩĩ ka- ĩth -ir -e kĩ- ũra nĩkĩ
NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- search -COMPL -FV NC_7- frog why
'Why did the boy search for the frog?'

(414) Ũkenete nĩkĩ?
ũ- ken -et -e nĩkĩ
2SG.SUBJ- happy -PERF -FV why
'Why are you happy?'

When forming a why question, the word for why can also occur in other locations, as follows.

(415) Nĩkĩ kĩũra kĩrũgire mai-inĩ?
nĩkĩ kĩ- ũra kĩ- rũg -ir -e ma- i -inĩ
why NC_7- frog SC_7- jump -COMPL -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'Why did the frog jump in the water (today)?'

(416) Kĩũra, nĩkĩ kĩrũgire mai-inĩ?
kĩ- ũra nĩkĩ kĩ- rũg -ir -e ma- i -inĩ
NC_7- frog why SC_7- jump -COMPL -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'Why did the frog jump in the water (today)?'

6.2.6 'How'

The question word for how—*atĩa*—usually occurs at the end of the clause.

(417) Ũnyitaga kĩũra atĩa?
ũ- nyit -ag -a kĩ- ũra atĩa
2SG.SUBJ- catch -HAB -FV NC_7- frog how
'How do you (2SG) catch a frog (habitually)?'

(418) Kĩũra kĩnyitagwo atĩa?
kĩ- ũra kĩ- nyit -ag -wo atĩa
NC_7- frog SC_7- catch -HAB -PV how
'How is a frog caught?'

(419) Kahĩĩ kanyitire kĩũra atĩa?
ka- hĩĩ ka- nyit -ir -e kĩ- ũra atĩa
NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- catch -COMPL -FV NC_7- frog how
'How did the boy catch the frog (before yesterday)?'

(420) Ũkire cukuru atĩa ũmũthĩ kĩroko?
ũ- ũk -ir -e cukuru atĩa ũ- mũthĩ kĩ- roko
2SG.SUBJ- come -COMPL -FV NC_9.school how NC_{14}- today NC_7- morning
'How did you come to school this morning?'

It can also be focused, like other question words, as follows.

(421) Nĩatĩa kĩũra kĩnyitagwo?
nĩ- atĩa kĩ- ũra kĩ- nyit -ag -wo
FOC- how NC_7- frog SC_7- catch -HAB -PV
'How is it that a frog is caught?'

6.2.7 'How Many'

The question word for how many—*igana*—is a bound stem that agrees with the noun class of the noun it modifies, and occurs post-nominally, where quantifiers occur in Gĩkũyũ. The concord follows the same noun class patterns as with attributives. Table 28 shows the formation of 'how many' for all noun classes that occur in the plural (2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 16, 17), which are the only noun classes that can form this construction.

Table 28: Interrogative quantifiers for all plural noun classes

CLASS	INTERROGATIVE QUANTIFIER
NC_2	aigana
NC_4	ĩigana
NC_6	maigana
NC_8	cigana
NC_{10}	cigana
NC_{13}	tũigana
NC_{16}	haigana
NC_{17}	kũigana

(422) Nĩ andũ aigana maikaraga Kenya?
nĩ a- ndũ a- igana ma- ikar -ag -a Kenya
FOC NC_2- person JC_2- Q.QUANT SC_2- live -HAB -FV Kenya
'How many people live in Kenya?'

6.2.8 'Which'

The question word determiner for 'which'—*kũ*—is a bound stem that occurs post-nominally, where determiners occur. It is formed from a construction of the appropriate noun class copula, plus the indefinite location question word *kũ*, as shown in Table 29:

Table 29: Question-word determiners for all noun classes

CLASS	QUESTION WORD DETERMINER
NC1	ũrĩkũ
NC2	arĩkũ
NC3	ũrĩkũ
NC4	ĩrĩkũ
NC5	rĩrĩkũ
NC6	marĩkũ
NC7	kĩrĩkũ
NC8	irĩkũ
NC9	ĩrĩkũ
NC10	irĩkũ
NC11	rũrĩkũ
NC12	karĩkũ
NC13	tũrĩkũ
NC14	ũrĩkũ
NC15	kũrĩkũ
NC16	harĩkũ
NC17	kũrĩkũ

(423) Nĩ mbuku ĩrĩkũ ũrendia?

nĩ N- buku ĩ- rĩ- kũ ũ- ra- ĩnd -i -a

FOC NC_9- book AC_9- COP- where.INDEF 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- sell -TRNS -FV

'Which book are you selling?'

(424) Mwarimũ waku nĩ ũrĩkũ?

mũ- arimũ ũ- aku nĩ ũ- rĩ- kũ

NC_1- teacher AC_1- 2SG.POS FOC AC_1- COP- where.indef

'Which is your teacher?'

6.2.9 'Whose'

The question word for 'whose'—*ũ*—is a bound stem that occurs post-nominally where possessive pronouns occur. It is formed from a construction of the associative marker agreeing with the noun class, plus the who question word, *ũ*, as shown in Table 30:

Table 30: Possessive interrogatives for all noun classes

CLASS	POSSESSIVE INTERROGATIVE
NC1	waũ
NC2	aũ
NC3	waũ
NC4	yaũ
NC5	rĩaũ
NC6	maũ
NC7	kĩaũ
NC8	ciaũ
NC9	yaũ
NC10	ciaũ
NC11	rũaũ
NC12	kaũ
NC13	tũaũ
NC14	waũ
NC15	kũaũ
NC16	haũ
NC17	kũaũ

(425) Nĩ mũbira waũ ũyũ?

nĩ mũ- bira ũ- a- ũ ũyũ

FOC NC_3- ball AC_3- ASSOC- who PROX.DEM_3

'Whose ball is this?'

6.3 Negation *Samantha Mauney*

In Gĩkũyũ, negation can be expressed morphologically, or syntactically with a negative copula. Morphologically, negation is expressed with the prefixes *ti-*, *ta-*, which is affixed after

the subject concord marker, and *nd-*, which is affixed before the subject concord marker. (See also section 3.2.3.) The underlying form of the morpheme *nd-* is *ti-*. The prenasalized allomorph precedes subject markers that consist of a single vowel, while the morphemes *ti-* and *ta-* are used elsewhere. In negative constructions, the focus marker prefix *nĩ-* is always absent. In predicate nominal constructions, *ti* is used as a negative copula and replaces *nĩ* to form the negative (see also section 4.1).

Examples **(426)**-**(434)** all illustrate this. In **(427)**, the person agreement prefix is *ũ-*, which must take *nd-* as a negative verbal prefix because it is composed of a single vowel. Note also that the focus marker prefix is absent in example **(427)**.

(426) nĩũgũka
nĩ- ũ- kũ- ũk -a
FOC- 2SG- CR.FUT- come -FV
'You will come (today).'

(427) ndũgũka
nd- ũ- kũ- ũk -a
NEG- 2SG- CR.FUT- come -FV
'You will not come (today).'

The noun class 2 subject concord prefix *ma-* must take *ti-* as a negative verbal prefix because it consists of two phonemes. This is shown in examples **(428)** and **(429)**.

(428) nĩmagũka
nĩ- ma- kũ- ũk -a
FOC- SC_2- CR.FUT- come -FV
'They will come (today).'

(429) matigũka
ma- ti- kũ- ũk -a
SC_2- NEG- CR.FUT- come -FV
'They will not come (today).'

Similarly, the subject concord marker for Class 7 is *kĩ-*. Because it consists of two phonemes, it requires the negative morpheme *ti-*.

(430) kĩũra nĩkĩrarũga

kĩ- ũra nĩ- kĩ- ra- rũg -a

NC_7- frog FOC- SC_7- CR.PRES- jump -FV

'A frog is hopping.'

(431) kĩũra gĩtirarũga

kĩ- ũra kĩ- ti- ra- rũg -a

NC_7- frog SC_7- NEG- CR.PRES- jump -FV

'A frog is not hopping.'

The subject concord prefix used in the negative existential clause below in **(432)** is *kũ-*, which is composed of more than one phoneme, and so *ti-* is used. On the other hand, in the purpose clause in sentence **(433)**, the subject concord marker *ũ-* is used. This requires the negative prefix to be *nd-*.

(432) gũtiari mũtĩ ũcio

kũ- ti- a- rĩ mũ- tĩ ũcio

SC_{17}- NEG- RM.PST- COP NC_3- tree $ANA.DEM_3$

'That tree didn't exist (in that place) (before yesterday).'

(433) nĩgetha ndũkagũe

nĩgetha nd- ũ- ka- gũ -e

so.that NEG- SC_3- CR.PRES- fall -SJV

'so that it (the tree) would not fall.'

The following example is interesting because, if observing the surface form in isolation, it appears to contradict the previous generalization. That is, if the underlying form of the subject concord marker were *i-*, then we would expect that the negated form of the verb would be **ndihana* instead of the given form. However, the underlying form of the subject concord marker is actually *ci-*. For more on the distribution of *ci-/i-* see section 2.1.1.4. Thus, the underlying form is what takes precedence in determining which negative morpheme prefix is applied rather than how the morpheme is realized phonetically.

(434) itahana ta citũ

ci- ta- han -a ta ci- itũ

SC_{10}- NEG- look.like -FV like AC_{10}- 1PL.POS

'(Clothing) that doesn't look like ours.'

Regarding the distribution of *ti-* versus *ta-,* Mugane (1997: 148) states that *ti-* is used in main clauses, while *ta-* is used in subordinate clauses. Our data generally supports this, although there are a few exceptions to this claim. The following example illustrates one such exception, since *ta-* (rather than the expected *ti-*) is being used within a main clause.

(435) nĩkĩ gũtarĩ arimũ mathũire ciana

nĩkĩ kũ- ta- rĩ a- arimũ ma- thũ -ir -e ci- ana

why SC_{17}- NEG- COP NC_2- teacher SC_2- hate -COMPL -FV NC_8- child

'Why do no teachers hate children?' (Lit. 'Why are there no teachers (that) hate children?')

Our consultant asserts that *ta-* is used "more generally" while *ti-* is used when the negative circumstance is temporary or bounded in time.

In predicate nominal constructions with noun-class subjects (i.e. subjects that are not 1st or 2nd person), *ti* is used as the negative copula in the place of the affirmative copula *nĩ* (see section 4.1). As an answer to a polar question, the negative response particle *aca* can be used in a manner similar to 'no' in English. When used in this way, *ti* is used obligatorily to negate predicates in predicate nominal constructions. They can be observed below in the following predicate nominal constructions.

Example **(436)** is a simple, affirmative predicate nominal clause, while example **(437)** shows the negative particle being used in the place of the affirmative copula.

(436) Wambũi nĩ mwarimũ

Wambũi nĩ mũ- arimũ

PROP COP NC_1- teacher

'Wambũi is a teacher.'

(437) Wambũi ti mwarimũ

Wambũi ti mũ- arimũ

PROP NEG NC_1- teacher

'Wambũi is not a teacher.'

Example **(438)** shows *aca* 'no' accompanying a negative predicate nominal construction. Example **(437)** above, which is the same sentence without the negative response particle, is evidence that *aca* is optional.

(438) Aca, Wambũi ti mwarimũ

aca Wambũi ti mũ- arimũ

no PROP NEG NC_1- teacher

'No, Wambũi is not a teacher.'

To date, we have found no evidence of negative indefinite pronouns like 'no one', 'nobody', and 'nothing'. Arguments cannot be negated in the language. Instead, negative existential clauses are used as another form of predicate negation. This construction is formed by prefixing the negative morpheme *ti-* to the copula (see section 4.1).

(439) nĩkũrĩ kahũa
nĩ- kũ- rĩ ka- hũa
FOC- SC_{17}- COP NC_{12}- coffee
'There is coffee.'

(440) gũtirĩ na kahũa
kũ- ti- rĩ na ka- hũa
SC_{17}- NEG- COP with NC_{12}- coffee
'There is no coffee.'

(441) nĩtũrĩ na ngari
nĩ- tũ- rĩ na N- kari
FOC- 1PL.SUBJ -COP OBL NC_9- car
'We have a car.'

(442) tũtirĩ na ngari
tũ- ti- rĩ na N- kari
1PL.SUBJ- NEG- COP OBL NC_9- car
'We don't have a car.'

6.4 Imperatives *Samantha Mauney*

The imperative is formed in Gĩkũyũ by taking the verb stem and the final vowel suffix. The plural imperative is formed by adding *-i* or *-ni*. According to our consultant, the distribution of these morphemes is in free variation. Because our data comes from one speaker, confirming this is difficult. However, the fact that *-ni* is rarely used within our data suggests that our consultant has a clear preference for *-i*. Negative imperatives are discussed later in this section.

In most cases, the final vowel suffix used to form the imperative is *-a*. This can be seen in the following two examples.

(443) ina!
in -a
sing -FV
'Sing!'

(444) ũka!
ũk -a
come -FV
'Come!'

However, there are words for which the final vowel differs, such as the word for 'go!': *thiĩ*. Example **(445)** shows this:

(445) thiĩ!
thi -ĩ
go -FV
'Go!'

The following examples illustrate the formation of the plural imperative. Examples **(447)** and **(448)** are completely identical in meaning.

(446) hũũra rwimbo rũrũ!
hũũr -a rũ- imbo rũrũ
hit -FV NC_{11}- song $PROX.DEM_{11}$
'Play this song!'

(447) hũũrai rwimbo rũrũ!
hũũr -a -i rũ- imbo rũrũ
hit -FV -PL NC_{11}- song $PROX.DEM_{11}$
'(You all) play this song!'

(448) hũũrani rwimbo rũrũ!
hũũr -a -ni rũ- imbo rũrũ
hit -FV -PL NC_{11}- song $PROX.DEM_{11}$
'(You all) play this song!'

Despite the fact that *-i* and *-ni* can both be used to convey the exact same message, our consultant has a clear preference for *-i* in all circumstances.

(449) thiĩ!
thi -ĩ!
go -FV
'Go!'

(450) thiĩi
thi -ĩ -i
go –FV -PL
'You all go!'

Negative commands are expressed by inflecting the verb for person, negation, tense, and subjunctive mode. The person prefixes *ũ-* in the singular and *mũ-* in the plural are marked on the verb, as are negative verbal prefixes *nd-* and *ti-*. The distribution of the negative morphemes is discussed in section 6.3.

The following examples show these elements at work. Example **(451)** shows a singular imperative, while example **(452)** is a singular negative imperative, and example **(453)** is a plural negative imperative.

(451) ũka!
ũk -a
come -FV
'Come!'

(452) ndũgoke
nd- ũ- ka- ũk -e
NEG- 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- come -SJV
'Don't come!'

(453) mũtigoke
mũ- ti- ka- ũk -e
2PL.SUBJ- NEG- CR.PRES- come -SJV
'You all don't come!'

Examples **(452)** and **(453)** show the subjunctive suffix added in order to form the negative imperative in lieu of the imperative final vowel suffix. In negative imperatives, number is expressed with the 2SG or 2PL person prefix markers. Thus, the *-i/-ni* plural imperative allomorphs introduced above are not used in such contexts.

Sentences **(454)**-**(456)** provide another example of this process.

(454) thiĩ!
thi -ĩ!
go -FV
'Go!'

(455) ndũgathiĩ!
nd- ũ- ka- thi -e
NEG- 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- go -SJV
'Don't go!'

(456) mũtigathiĩ
mũ- ti- ka- thi -e
2PL.SUBJ- NEG- CR.PRES- go -SJV
'Y'all don't go!'

6.5 Focus and Topicalization Constructions *Robert Englebretson*

This section addresses two ways in which information in a Gĩkũyũ clause may be marked as particularly prominent or topical. 6.5.1 gives an overview of the use of *nĩ* to focus a clause constituent, and 6.5.2 illustrates 'as for' topicalization constructions using *harĩ.* Because the work of our class has been limited to monologic data, our findings likely do not give a full or accurate picture of the range of interactional and discourse-structuring work that these constructions accomplish. But the clause-level observations in this section are a good starting point nonetheless, and suggest areas for future research.

6.5.1 Constituent Focus with *nĩ*

In the vast majority of main clauses that were elicited in sessions or appear in our texts, the verb is prefixed with *nĩ-.* This prefix does not appear on negative clauses, it is generally absent from irrealis or subjunctive clauses, and it tends not to appear on the verb in relative clauses and object complements. As discussed in 4.2, this morpheme is also the suppletive form of the present-tense copula in predicate nominals for all noun-classes. Our consultant's intuition is that *nĩ-* means 'affirmative', which is certainly borne out distributionally when contrasted with negative and irrealis clauses where *nĩ-* does not occur. Because of its ubiquity as a prefix on pragmatically-unmarked main-clause predicates, however, we follow Mugane (1997) and others who have analyzed this morpheme as a general focus particle. The verb, which is the pragmatic center of the clause, is generally "in focus", thus explaining the presence of *nĩ-* as the initial prefix on the verb in the vast majority of pragmatically-neutral

main clauses. Similarly, in equational clauses, the nominal predicate is the pragmatic center of the clause and thus "in focus", explaining how it may have come about that *nĩ* has grammaticalized as the present-tense copula for noun-classes in predicate nominal constructions. Furthermore, when a different constituent (other than the predicate) is marked as the pragmatic center of the clause, *nĩ* marks it as focused.

One way to assess whether a constituent is in focus is to elicit it as an answer to a content question. To do so, we constructed a scenario for our consultant, and asked her specific questions designed to elicit focused answers. The imagined scenario involved a dog and a goat getting into a school and running amok—eating pencils, eating books, disturbing the teachers, and making the students laugh. We asked our consultant to imagine she had witnessed this, and the school principal is asking her questions about what she had seen. The following examples show focused constituents in answer to the specific questions (for the sake of brevity, we are not including the Gĩkũyũ questions here but only the English translations in the example header):

(457) Typical verb focus (answer to 'Did the dog **eat** the book?')

ngui nĩĩrĩire mbuku

n- gui nĩ- ĩ- Ø- rĩ -ir -e m- buku

NC_9- dog FOC- SC_9- CR.PST- eat -COMPL -FV NC_9- book

'The dog ate the book (today).'

(458) Subject focus (in answer to 'Did the **dog** eat the book?')

ĩĩ, nĩ ngui ĩrĩire mbuku

ĩĩ nĩ n- gui ĩ- Ø- rĩ -ir -e m- buku

yes FOC NC_9- dog SC_9- CR.PST- eat -COMPL -FV NC_9- book

'Yes, it was the dog that ate the book (today).'

(459) Object focus (in answer to 'What did the dog eat?')

nĩ benjũ ngui ĩrĩire

nĩ benjũ n- gui ĩ- Ø- rĩ -ir -e

FOC NC_9.pencil NC_9- dog SC_9- CR.PST- eat -COMPL -FV

'It was the pencils (that) the dog ate (today).'

(460) Infinitive focus (in answer to 'What were the children doing?')

ciana nĩ gũtheka irathekaga

ci- ana nĩ kũ- thek -a i- ra- thek -ag -a

NC_8- child FOC NC_{15}- laugh -FV SC_8- NR.PST- laugh -IMPF -FV

'It was laughing that the children were doing (yesterday).' (Lit. 'It was laughing that the children were laughing.')

(461) Infinitive focus (in answer to 'what were the children doing very well?')

nĩ gũthoma ciana cirathomaga wega mũno

nĩ kũ- thom -a ci- ana ci- ra- thom -ag -a wega mũno

FOC NC_{15}- read -FV NC_8- child SC_8- NR.PST- read -IMPF -FV good very

'As for reading, the children were doing it very well (yesterday).' (Lit. 'As for reading, the children were reading very well.')

Example **(457)** is a prototypical main clause with focus on the verb, which is prefixed with *nĩ-* as usual to show that it is the pragmatic center of the clause. Example **(458)** shows subject focus by placing *nĩ* immediately prior to the subject NP. **(459)** shows that when an object is focused, it occurs at the beginning of the clause and is preceded by *nĩ.* Examples **(460)** and **(461)** illustrate that a verb can be highly focused in answer to a question: the infinitive (NC_{15}) form of the verb occurs clause-initially preceded by *nĩ*, and the regular finite form of the verb occurs in its standard position. This is an interesting construction as it entails verb repetition rather than a pro-verb form for restatement in the clause core.

6.5.2 Topicalization

Following are two examples of 'as for' topicalizations. In each case, the topicalized constituent (an object and a verb, respectively, in the following two examples) occurs at the beginning of the clause and is preceded by the topic marker *harĩ*. This topic marker may be analyzable as the class 16 definite locative prefix *ha-* plus the copula stem *rĩ.* Our consultant spontaneously offered the gloss "the way things are" for *harĩ* (i.e. *ha-* indexes the known discourse universe, and the copula *rĩ* gives a locative sense; i.e. "it is in the known discourse universe that such and such thing is this way").

(462) Object topicalization

harĩ maembe nĩndĩmendete mũno

ha- rĩ ma- embe nĩ- N- ma- end -et -e mũno

NC_{16}- COP NC_6- mango FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- OC_6- like -PERF -FV very

'As for mangos, I like them very much.'

In this example, *maembe* ‘mangos’ is preceded by *harĩ* and topicalized in the first position of the clause. The rest of the clause comments on this topic, namely that the speaker likes them. Unlike in unmarked main clauses where object concord markers are not allowed if there is an object NP in the clause, the object concord marker is in fact present here, to index the identity of the topic. This is considered a form of left dislocation, since the full NP precedes the clause core, and is co-indexed on the verb as a copy. The following example shows that verbs can be topicalized as well.

(463) Infinitive topicalization

harĩ kũruga ndugaga o muthenya

ha- rĩ kũ- rug -a N- rug -ag -a o mu- thenya

NC_{16}- COP NC_{15}- cook -FV 1SG.SUBJ- cook -HAB -FV every NC_3- day

‘As for cooking, I (do it) every day.’ (Lit. ‘As for cooking, I cook every day.’)

Here, the infinitive (NC_{15}) form of the verb is topicalized, occurring clause initially preceded by the topicalizer *harĩ*. Just as in the infinitive focus construction shown in **(460)** and **(461)**, the clause core contains a finite form of the verb (i.e. the verb is copied rather than being replaced by a pro-form.)

Chapter 7
Clause Combining

This chapter presents an overview of clause combining in Gĩkũyũ. 7.1 explores relative clauses, which are clauses that modify noun phrases. 7.2 discusses object complements, clauses which are embedded inside a main clause as an object argument. 7.3 deals with adverbial clauses and related constructions that situate a clause in time, place, manner, etc, or indicate other types of overt rhetorical relations between clauses.

7.1 Relative Clauses *Robert Englebretson*

A relative clause (RC) is a clause that occurs as part of a noun phrase, generally identifying or restricting the referent of the head noun. Consider the following pair of examples. (464) is an elicited main clause based on the RC that occurs in (465) as part of a historical narrative our consultant recounted about Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ (a famous 19th-century Gĩkũyũ prophet). Here and throughout this section, the head noun will be underlined and the RC will be enclosed in square brackets.

(464) A Simple Main Clause
Mũthuri nĩarotaga iroto.
mũ- thuri nĩ- a- a- rot -ag -a i- rot -o
NC_1- man FOC- SC_1- RM.PST- dream -HAB -FV NC_8- dream NMZ
'A man used to dream dreams (before yesterday).'

(465) A Subject RC ("Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ" #002)
Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ arĩ <u>mũthuri</u> [warotaga iroto.]
Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ a- a- rĩ <u>mũ-</u> <u>thuri</u> [ũ- a- rot -ag -a i- rot -o]
PROP sc_1- RM.PST- COP NC_1- man RC_1- RM.PST- dream -HAB -FV NC_8- dream -NMZ
'Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ was a man who used to dream dreams (before yesterday).'

Example (464) illustrates a simple transitive main clause consisting of the subject *mũthuri* 'man', the verb *rota* 'dream', and the object *iroto* 'dreams'. The verb is focused with *nĩ-*, agrees with the subject, and is inflected for tense and aspect. Example (465) consists of a predicate nominal clause with the subject Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ and the predicate noun-phrase headed by *mũthuri* 'man'. This predicate NP in turn is subsequently modified by a relative clause. This RC structurally forms one large NP with the head, and functionally restricts the head noun's possible referents by identifying a specific (type of) man—one who habitually dreamed dreams.

This example thus illustrates the two defining properties of a relative clause: (1) an RC is a clause embedded within a larger NP; and (2) an RC modifies the head noun in order to restrict or identify the set of referents to which that head noun refers.

Right away we can observe three structural differences between the main clause in (464) and its RC equivalent in (465). First, as is required for Gĩkũyũ main clause predicates that have human subjects, the verb in (464) is prefixed with the third-singular (SC_1) human subject concord marker *a-*. However, this subject concord marker is not found in the RC in (465). Instead, we see a different subject concord marker on the RC verb, namely the relativizing prefix *ũ-*. This *ũ-* prefix is required for all class 1 nouns that occur as the subject of a relative clause. And in fact it is ungrammatical to attempt to use the *a-* prefix in this context. Relative subject concord will be taken up further in 7.1.3 below. Second, we see that the focus prefix *nĩ-*, which appears in the main clause in (464), does not appear in the RC in (465). Thirdly, we observe that the subject argument in the relative clause is gapped, as it is coreferential with the head noun. In other words the relative clause in (465) only consists of a verb and its object; the relativized NP is the subject of the relative clause and is coreferential with the head noun *mũthuri* 'man', although it is not found inside the clause itself.

(466) provides a second example of a relative clause, excerpted from another spontaneous text proffered by our consultant (a procedural text explaining how to make a traditional Gĩkũyũ food called mataha—a mash stew of beans, potatoes, corn, bananas, and pumpkin greens). This RC differs from the RC shown above in (465) in two ways. First, the RC in (466) is an object relative (not a subject relative), and second, it is introduced by a relative pronoun.

(466) An Object RC with a Relative Pronoun ("Mataha" #001)

Irio ciakwa [iria nyendete mũno] ciĩtagwo mataha.

i- rio ci- akwa [i- ria n- end -et -e mũno] ci- ĩt -ag -wo ma- taha

NC_8- food AC_8- 1SG.POS AC_8- REL 1SG- like -PERF -FV very SC_8- call -HAB -PV NC_6- taha

'My favorite food (Lit. 'The food that I like very much') is called mataha.'

(Note that the variation between *i-* and *ci-* in noun-class 8 prefixes is phonologically conditioned by whether the following phoneme is a consonant or a vowel, respectively, as discussed in section 2.1.1.4.) This example consists of the head noun *irio* 'food' modified by a possessive pronoun and a post-head relative clause. The relative clause essentially consists of the verb *enda* 'like/love/want', marked with a 1SG subject and inflected for aspect, and upgraded by the adverb *mũno* 'very'. The relativized object NP is gapped and is coreferential with the head *irio* 'food'. It does not occur inside the RC and is not indexed on the RC's verb. In addition, we also notice that the RC is introduced by the relative pronoun *iria*, which consists

of the agreement-class prefix *i-* for the head noun plus the relativizer *rĩa* (*rĩa* > *ria* because of vowel harmony with the prefix). This relative pronoun appears to be grammatically optional when the head of the RC is definite, but generally not allowed when the head of the RC is indefinite. From this point forward, the relative pronoun will be included in each example of a relative clause when allowable, but will be enclosed in parentheses to indicate its grammatical optionality according to our consultant. We will take up the matter of relative pronouns in more depth in 7.1.2 below.

The rest of this section explores relative clauses based on our textual data and in-class elicitation sessions. We will discuss the structure of Gĩkũyũ RCs, the formation and use of relative pronouns, subject concord on RC verbs, negation of the RC predicate, the types of NPs that can be relativized in light of the relative clause accessibility hierarchy, and the status of 'headless' RCs. The section will conclude with a brief overview of pseudoclefts and related focus constructions.

7.1.1 Structure of the Relative Clause

All relative clauses in Gĩkũyũ are post-head, occurring after the noun they modify. There are no attested examples of pre-head or internally-headed RCs in our textual or elicited data. ('Headless' RCs, which will be discussed below in 7.1.6 are not truly headless, since a head noun is exophoric, optionally admissible, and always indexed by a concord marker.) There are also no attested examples of a relative clause containing the focus marker *nĩ-* on the RC verb, and an attempt to make such a clause was rejected by our consultant. When an RC occurs, it always occupies the last place in the NP, occurring after all other modifiers. We have already observed this in (466) above, where the head noun *irio* 'food' is first modified by the possessive pronoun *ciakwa* 'my', and then the RC takes the final position in the NP. Following is an example of a complex NP containing numerous modifiers in addition to the RC. Note the noun-class 13 concord across the entire NP, which indicates that the head is being modified by each of these words. Again, the RC occurs at the very end of the NP.

(467) A Complex NP ("Pear" #053)

tũhĩĩ tũu tũngĩ twĩrĩ [(tũrĩa) twatigĩtwo]

tũ- hĩĩ tũ- u tũ- ngĩ tũ- ĩrĩ [(tũ- rĩa) tũ- a- tig -ĩt -wo]

NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- DIST.DEM AC_{13}- other AC_{13}- two AC_{13}- REL SC_{13}- RM.PST- abandon -PERF -PV

'those other two boys that had been left behind (before yesterday)'

The NP in (467) consists of the head noun *tũhĩĩ* 'boys', followed by a distal demonstrative, a general determiner, a numeral, and terminated by a relative clause. The relative pronoun *tũrĩa*

(consisting of the agreement-class prefix *tũ-* for class 13 nouns plus the relativizer *rĩa*) was not present in the original narrative example, although we were readily able to elicit it from our consultant, and it is included in parentheses to indicate that it is grammatically optional.

7.1.2 Relative Pronouns

As illustrated in (466) and immediately above in (467), Gĩkũyũ relative clauses may be introduced by a relative pronoun formed by the agreement-class prefix for the head noun plus the relativizer *rĩa*. Table 10 in section 2.2.1.4 lists the relative pronoun for each of the noun classes. Following are three examples of relative pronouns using the identical noun stem *mũcuha* 'swing' inflected in three different noun-classes—the diminutive (NC_{12}), which is an attested example from a narrative; NC_3, which is the typical class for this stem; and NC_7, the augmentative class.

(468) NC_{12} Relative Pronoun
kamũcuha [(karĩa) karĩ kega mũno]
ka- mũ- cuha [(ka- rĩa) ka- a- rĩ ka- ega mũno]
NC_{12}- NC_3- swing AC_{12}- REL SC_{12}- PST- COP AC_{12}- good very
'the (little) swing that was very good'

(469) NC_3 Relative Pronoun
mũcuha [(ũrĩa) warĩ mwega mũno]
mũ- cuha [(ũ- rĩa) ũ- a- rĩ mũ- ega mũno]
NC_3- swing AC_3- REL SC_3- PST- COP AC_3- good very
'the swing that was very good'

(470) NC_7 Relative Pronoun
kĩmũcuha [(kĩrĩa) kĩarĩ kĩega mũno]
kĩ- mũ- cuha [(kĩ- rĩa) kĩ- a- rĩ kĩ- ega mũno]
NC_7- NC_3- swing AC_7- REL SC_7- PST- COP AC_7- good very
'the (big) swing that was very good'

In each of these three examples, the form of the relative pronoun is determined by the class-prefix of the head noun and is *karĩa*, *ũrĩa*, and *kĩrĩa* for classes 12, 3, and 7, respectively. These three examples contain a definite head noun, implying that the identity of the 'swing' is already known information. When the head of the RC is definite, as in the above examples, then our consultant describes the use or absence of the relative pronoun to be a matter of speaker choice and style. On the other hand, our consultant does not accept the presence of a

relative pronoun in a relative clause whose head is indefinite (e.g. the above examples would not be acceptable if '**a** little swing that was very good' were being presented as discourse-new information). We have observed that most of the relative clauses produced during in-class elicitation sessions have relative pronouns, while most of the relative clauses found in the spontaneous textual data do not. It is a matter for future research (preferably employing quantitative methods and using spontaneous data from a variety of spoken and written genres of Gĩkũyũ) to assess what information-structuring, interactional, and stylistic considerations may be motivating or inhibiting the use of relative pronouns.

7.1.3 Relative Subject Concord

In examples (464)-(465) we observed that relative clauses with human (noun-class 1) subjects take a different subject concord marker on the verb than do verbs in main clauses. The following set of three examples illustrates this further. In **(471)**, the main-clause verb is marked with *a-* to agree with the noun-class of its subject *mũtimia* 'woman'. When used in a relative clause in **(472)** however, the concord marker is *ũ-*, not *a-*, and the ungrammatical clause in **(473)** demonstrates that the prefix *a-* cannot be used. Thus we again see that NC_1 subjects of RC verbs are indexed using a different concord marker than are NC_1 subjects of main-clause verbs.

(471) NC_1 subject concord *a-* on a main clause verb

mũtimia aratinirie nyama na kahiũ

mũ- timia a- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama na ka- hiũ

NC_1- woman SC_1- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat with NC_{12}- knife

'The woman cut the meat with the knife (yesterday).'

(472) NC_1 relative subject concord *ũ-* on a relative clause verb

<u>mũtimia</u> [(ũrĩa) ũratinirie nyama na kahiũ] nĩ mũrũngarũ mũno

<u>mũ-</u> <u>timia</u> [(ũ- rĩa) ũ- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama na ka- hiũ]

NC_1- woman AC_1- REL RC_1- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat with NC_{12}- knife

nĩ mũ- rũngarũ mũno

FOC NC_1- beautiful very

'The woman who cut the meat with the knife (yesterday) is very beautiful.'

(473) Ungrammatical use of NC_1 subject concord *a-* on a relative clause verb

***** mũtimia [(ũrĩa) aratinirie nyama na kahiũ] ...

mũ- timia [(ũ- rĩa) a- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama na ka- hiũ]

NC_1- woman AC_1- REL SC_1- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat with NC_{12}- knife

The above three examples illustrate that noun-class 1 subject agreement works differently in relative clauses than it does in main clauses: *a-* is used for human subject concord in main clauses, but *ũ-* is used for human subject concord in relative clauses. In our data, NC_1 is the only noun-class that does this. In all other Gĩkũyũ noun-classes, the subject concord is the same in both types of clauses. The following pair of examples gives one such instance, demonstrating that the identical NC_{12} subject concord marker *ka-* is used to index the subject of both a main clause and a relative clause verb.

(474) NC_{12} subject concord *ka-* on a main clause verb

kora karagũire rũũĩ-inĩ

ka- ũra ka- ra- gũ -ir -e rũ- ũĩ -inĩ

NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- NR.PST- fall -COMPL -FV NC_{11}- river -LOC

'A little frog fell into the river (yesterday).'

(475) NC_{12} subject concord *ka-* on a relative clause verb

kora [(karĩa) karagũire rũũĩ-inĩ] ...

ka- ũra [(ka- rĩa) ka- ra- gũ -ir -e rũ- ũĩ -inĩ]

NC_{12}- frog AC_{12}- REL SC_{12}- NR.PST- fall -COMPL -FV NC_{11}- river -LOC

'the little frog that fell into the river (yesterday)...'

7.1.4 Negation of the Relative Clause Predicate

The general strategies for predicate negation have already been discussed in 3.2.3 and 6.3. When the subject concord morpheme consists of only a single vowel, the prefix *nd-* precedes it; this is true of predicate negation in both main and relative clauses. However, what is notable about negation in relative clauses is that while main clause verbs generally take the negative prefix *ti-* (when the subject concord prefix consists of anything other than a single vowel), in all of the negated relative clauses in our data, the negative prefix is always *ta-* and never *ti-*. This observation is in line with Mugane's claim that "Negative voice constructions in Gĩkũyũ are formed by *-ti* in the main clauses and *-ta* in subordinate clauses" (Mugane 1997: 148). The following pair of examples is illustrative.

(476) Main clause predicate negated by *ti-*

atimia matiratinirie nyama na kahiũ

a- timia ma- ti- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama na ka- hiũ

NC_2- woman SC_2- NEG- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat with NC_{12}- knife

'The women did not cut meat with the knife (yesterday).'

(477) Relative clause predicate negated by *ta-*

atimia [(arĩa) mataratinirie nyama na kahiũ ...

a- timia [(a- rĩa) ma- ta- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama na ka- hiũ]

NC_2- woman AC_2- REL SC_2- NEG- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat with NC_{12}- knife

'the women who did not cut meat with the knife (yesterday)...'

Notice the negative prefix is *ti-* in the main clause (476), while in the relative clause (477) it is *ta-*, an observation that holds true for relative clause negation throughout our data.

7.1.5 Relativization and the Accessibility Hierarchy

In their well-known typological study of relative clauses from a cross-linguistic perspective, Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979) observe differences in the types of core and oblique grammatical relations that may be relativized in a given language. Some languages only allow subjects to be relativized, others allow the relativization of subjects and objects, while other languages allow for the relativization of some or all types of obliques. Yet even in a language that allows all types of arguments to be relativized, Keenan and Comrie observe that there are different relativization strategies used, and propose an Accessibility Hierarchy of NP-types that are accessible to relativization. The current subsection of this sketch grammar does not seek to review, critique, or assess Keenan and Comrie's work in light of our Gĩkũyũ data, which would be a potentially-interesting topic of its own for future research. Rather, we simply wish to show that all manner of NP-types are relativizable in Gĩkũyũ, and there are two main strategies for recovering the relativized NP: the gap strategy, which has already been illustrated above and will be shown in **(478)**-**(483)** below, and the use of a resumptive pronoun, which will be shown in examples **(484)**-**(485)**.

Examples **(478)**-**(485)** illustrate that Gĩkũyũ relative clauses may relativize the following types of arguments: subject, object (either theme or recipient), possessor, locative, instrument oblique, and object of comparison.

(478) Relativized subject

rũĩgĩ [(rũrĩa) rũranyitire kora) ...

rũ- ĩgĩ [(rũ- rĩa) rũ- ra- nyit -ir -e ka- ũra]

NC_{11}- eagle AC_{11}- REL SC_{11}- NR.PST- catch -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- frog

'the eagle that caught the little frog (yesterday)...'

In this example, we see that the head noun of the RC is *rũĩgĩ* 'eagle'. This is the relativized subject of the RC, and there is a 'gap' (the NP does not occur) pre-verbally within the relative clause, where an NP would ordinarily be expected to occur as the subject argument of 'catch'.

(479) Relativized Object

mũbira [(ũrĩa) kahĩĩ karaikĩirie kagui] ...

mũ- bira [(ũ- rĩa) ka- hĩĩ ka- ra- ik -ĩ -ir -i -e ka- gui]

NC_3- ball AC_3- REL NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- NR.PST- throw -APPL -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_{12}- dog

'the ball that the boy threw to the little dog (yesterday)...'

In this example, the head noun *mũbira* 'ball' is the relativized object of the RC, and there is a corresponding gap within the RC, where only one of the two objects is present. The next example illustrates the relativization of the other object from this same clause.

(480) Relativized recipient object

kagui [(karĩa) kahĩĩ karaikĩirie mũbira] ...

ka- gui [(ka- rĩa) ka- hĩĩ ka- ra- ik -ĩ -ir -i -e mũ- bira]

NC_{12}- dog AC_{12}- REL NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- NR.PST- throw -APPL -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_3- ball

'the dog that the boy threw the ball to (yesterday)...'

In this example, *kagui* 'little dog' is the relativized recipient object of the RC, and again there is a gap. The next example shows that possessors are relativized in this same way.

(481) Relativized possessor

kahĩĩ [(karĩa) nyina aratinirie nyama] ...

ka- hĩĩ [(ka- rĩa) nyina a- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama]

NC_{12}- boy AC_{12}- REL NC_1.mother SC_1- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat

'the boy whose mother cut meat (yesterday)...'

Here, *kahĩĩ* 'boy' is the head noun and the possessor, and is gapped from what would be the usual post-nominal possessor position where it would have occurred in a main clause after *nyina* 'mother'. The following pair of examples shows that there are two possible constructions

used for relativizing locative NPs in Gĩkũyũ. Both, however, still use the gap strategy to recover the relativized argument.

(482) Relativized locative (option 1)
metha [(ĩrĩa) mbuku ĩrarĩ] ...
N- metha [(ĩ- rĩa) m- buku ĩ- ra- rĩ]
NC_9- table AC_9- REL NC_9- book SC_9- NR.PST- COP
'the table where the book was (yesterday)... (Lit. 'the table that book was.')'

(483) Relativized locative (option 2)
metha [(ĩrĩa) ĩrarĩ na mbuku] ...
N- metha [(ĩ- rĩa) ĩ- ra- rĩ na m- buku]
NC_9- table AC_9- REL SC_9- NR.PST- COP with NC_9- book
'the table where the book was (yesterday)... (Lit. 'the table that was with book.')

Example **(482)** consists of a locative clause (see section 4.4 on locative clauses), in which the locative predicate NP *metha* 'table' has been relativized. It is the head of the relative clause, and is gapped in the RC. Example **(483)** is essentially an example of an RC with a relativized subject. It consists of a possessive clause (see section 4.5 on possessive clauses) that indicates a locative relationship by means of fictive possession ('The table has a book'). The subject of this possessive clause, *metha* 'table', is relativized as the locative head of the RC, and it is gapped within the RC. The final two examples in this subsection show the use of resumptive pronouns for recoverability of the relativized NP.

(484) Relativized instrumental oblique
kahiũ [(karĩa) mũtimia aratinirie nyama nako] ...
ka- hiũ [(ka- rĩa) mũ- timia a- ra- tin -ir -i -e n- yama nako]
NC_{12}- knife AC_{12}- REL NC_1- woman SC_1- NR.PST- cut -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_9- meat $DEP.PRO_{12}$
'the knife that the woman cut meat with (yesterday)...'

In this example, the head of the RC is *kahiũ* 'knife'. It has been relativized as an instrument oblique. But rather than a gap occurring in the RC at its expected position, there is instead a resumptive pronoun—the class 12 dependent pronoun *nako* 'with it', which is anaphoric to, and agrees in noun-class with, the head NP. (see section 2.2.1.2 on dependent pronouns). Thus in RCs with relativized instrument-obliques, we can recover the relativized NP by means of the resumptive pronoun that occurs at the expected position for the NP in the clause, and which indexes the noun class of the relativized NP. The next example illustrates the relativization of

an object of comparison, and also uses a resumptive pronoun for recoverability of the relativized NP.

(485) Relativized object of comparison

Wambũi mĩcore (ĩrĩa) mũrũthi ũrahanyũkirie makĩria yayo ...

wambũi mĩcore (ĩ- rĩa) mũ- rũthi ũ- ra- hanyũk -ir -i -e makĩria yayo

NC_9.zebra AC_9- REL NC_3- lion SC_3- NR.PST- run -COMPL -TRNS -FV exceeding DEP.PRO_9

'the zebra that the lion ran faster than (yesterday)...'

Here *wambũi mĩcore* 'zebra' is the head of the RC, and its role within the RC is the object of comparison (i.e. 'the lion ran faster than the zebra.') The relativized argument is recoverable by means of a resumptive pronoun—the class 9 dependent pronoun *yayo* 'with it', which occurs in the expected position for the object of comparison and indexes it by means of class 9 agreement.

In sum, this subsection has illustrated that all positions on the Accessibility Hierarchy are relativizable in Gĩkũyũ. It has also demonstrated the two strategies Gĩkũyũ uses for recovering the relativized NP within the RC: the gap strategy for most NP types, and the resumptive pronoun strategy that is used only for instrumental obliques and objects of comparison.

7.1.6 'Headless' Relative Clauses

The following example appears to consist of a relative clause with no head:

(486) A relative clause with no overt head noun

[arĩa mataikaraga London] nĩ athomi ega

[a- rĩa ma- ta- ikar -ag -a London] nĩ a- thomi a- ega

AC_2- REL SC_2- NEG- stay -HAB -FV London FOC NC_2- student AC_2- good

'They who do not live in London are good students.'

The lack of an overt head noun here, however, does not mean this construction is truly headless. First, the fact that there still is concord marking on both the relativizer and the RC verb suggests that the speaker does have a head in mind—and the noun-class of that concord marking gives the hearer a fairly good general idea of what its likely referent is. Furthermore, our consultant is easily able to fill in a head for these types of RCs when asked—in this case the class 2 noun *andũ* 'people'. Following is another similar example:

(487) Another 'headless' relative clause

[marĩa ndĩrenda kũrĩa] nĩ marigũ

[ma- rĩa N- ra- end -a kũ- rĩ -a] nĩ ma- rigũ

AC_6- REL 1SG- CR.PRES- like -FV NC_{15}- eat -FV FOC NC_6- banana

'What I want to eat are bananas.'

As with the previous example, although there is no overt head, the concord prefix on the relative pronoun and the RC verb give a clear indication of a general referent. Our consultant readily stated that if there had been a word before *marĩa* (i.e. if the RC had a head), it would be *matunda* 'fruit (PL)', a class 6 noun.

In sum, this subsection suggests that, although there are relative clauses in Gĩkũyũ with no overt heads, there are good reasons to not consider them 'headless'. Namely, a head noun is optionally admissible and readily identifiable, and, there is always a concord marker on the relative pronoun and RC verb that gives the hearer a general idea of what the head is, based on its noun class.

7.1.7 Pseudoclefts and Related Constructions

As discussed in 6.5, Gĩkũyũ has at least two types of monoclausal focus constructions: *nĩ* focus and *harĩ* topicalization. The current section therefore will only deal with pseudoclefts and inverted pseudoclefts, since they involve clause combining and are essentially based on relative clauses.

The headless relative clauses discussed in the previous section may be understood as forming a pseudocleft construction—the RC serves as the subject of an equational sentence, and the nominal predicate of that equational sentence is information that is being put into focus. Following are two more examples:

(488) Pseudocleft

kĩrĩa ndĩrenda kũrĩa nĩ irigũ

kĩ- rĩa n- ra- end -a kũ- rĩ -a nĩ i- rigũ

AC_7- REL 1SG- CR.PRES- like -FV NC_{15}- eat -FV FOC NC_5- banana

'What I want to eat is a banana.'

According to our consultant, if there were a head noun here it would be *kĩndũ* 'thing' (a class 7 noun). In this sentence, the information in the initial relative clause sets up the background, thus allowing *irigũ* 'banana', the NP predicate of the equational sentence, to come into focus and to highlight the thing that the speaker wants to eat. The next example illustrates an inverted pseudocleft version of this same sentence:

(489) Inverted pseudocleft
irigũ nĩrĩo ndĩrenda kũrĩa
i- rigũ nĩ- rĩo N- ra- end -a kũ- rĩ -a
NC_5- banana FOC- PRO_5 1SG- CR.PRES- like -FV NC_{15}- eat -FV
'A banana is what I want to eat.' (Lit. A banana is it (that) I want to eat.)

Unlike in a pseudocleft, in an inverted pseudocleft such as this example, the focused information is presented first (in this case, highlighting the identity of a referent: 'a banana is it'), then the background is given to contextualize why that thing is being highlighted (in this case, it is what the speaker wants to eat). In sum, Gĩkũyũ has constructions that appear to do the work of pseudoclefts and inverted pseudoclefts. Other (monoclausal) focus constructions have been addressed in sections 6.5.1-6.5.2.

7.1.8 Summary

This section has presented an overview of relative clauses in Gĩkũyũ based on our textual data and in-class elicitation sessions. We have seen that relative clauses occur post-head, after any other modifiers in the NP. Gĩkũyũ RCs are (optionally) introduced by a relativizer that agrees in noun class with the head noun. Aside from a different subject concord prefix for class 1 RC subjects, subject concord is identical to that found in main clauses. The negative prefix on RC verbs is *ta-*, and never *ti-* as found on many negative main-clause predicates. All core and oblique NP arguments can be relativized. For recoverability of the relativized NP, Gĩkũyũ uses the gap strategy in most instances, and pronoun retention for instrumental obliques and objects of comparison. Because of obligatory agreement marking, Gĩkũyũ RCs with no overt heads are not truly headless, as a general referent for the head is always inferable since its noun-class is marked with concord prefixes on the relativizer and the RC verb. Finally, we observed that Gĩkũyũ RCs participate in pseudocleft and inverted pseudocleft focus constructions.

7.2 Object Complements *Lisa Jeon*

This section follows Noonan's (2007) definition of complementation: "the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate" (Noonan 2007: 52). The term 'argument' refers to the subject or object of the predicate in the main clause and the term 'complement' denotes the clause that functions as the subject or object of that clause. When a predicate can take a complement clause as an argument, it is referred to as a 'complement-taking predicate' (CTP). This section will focus on complements

that function as the objects of verbs in Gĩkũyũ. For instance, the proper name *Njamba*, the object of the verb *ririkana* 'remember' in **(490)** is a NP argument, while the object in **(491)** is a complement clause:

(490) Wambũi nĩararirikanire Njamba.

Wambũi nĩ- a- ra- ririkan -ir -e Njamba
PROP FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- remember -COMPL -FV PROP
'Wambũi remembered Njamba (yesterday).'

This NP can be replaced by a clause, e.g., *atĩ Njamba nĩarathire* 'that Njamba left', that also functions as the object of the matrix clause. This is illustrated in **(491)**.

(491) Wambũi nĩararirikanire [atĩ Njamba nĩarathire].

Wambũi nĩ- a- ra- ririkan -ir -e [atĩ Njamba nĩ- a- ra- thi -ir -e]
PROP FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- remember -COMPL -FV COMP PROP FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- go -COMPL -FV
'Wambũi remembered (yesterday) that Njamba left (yesterday).'

Noonan (2007) describes three main criteria for identifying complement types cross-linguistically: (i) the morphology of the predicate—whether the verb form is finite and able to stand on its own, or nonfinite (lacking the expected argument and/or TAM-marking for a given language); (ii) types of arguments—whether the subject is the same or different from the predicate in the main clause (i.e., the matrix predicate) and whether co-referential arguments are required or may be omitted; and (iii) external syntactic relation—the grammatical relation of the complement to the main clause predicate. Complements may also co-occur with the presence of a complementizer (Givón 1980; Dixon 1995; Noonan 2007).

Complement clauses in Gĩkũyũ can contain verbs that are fully finite, less finite, or non-finite. Gĩkũyũ thus has three types of complement clauses: finite indicative complements, less finite subjunctive complements, and non-finite infinitival complements. Finite complements are the least integrated grammatically and are the most sentence-like (hereafter, S-like) complement type, i.e., they have the same syntactic form as a main clause (Noonan 2007: 59) and they can stand alone as an independent main clause. Thus, finite complement verbs can have a subject, tense, and aspect that is independent of the matrix verb. Verbs in complement clauses are inflected for the indicative mood for situations that are taken to be fact and inflected for the subjunctive mood for situations that are not yet realized. Different from their indicative counterparts, subjunctive complement clauses are less grammatically integrated and take less fully finite verbs that are inflected for the subjunctive mood with the suffix *-e*. Subjunctive complement clauses cannot stand on their own as independent main clauses and are less finite; they can have a subject, tense, and aspect independent of the matrix verb but

may be dependent on the CTP in terms of time reference. On the other hand, infinitival complements are the most tightly integrated grammatically. In contrast with the two other complement types, infinitival complement verbs are marked with the Class 15 noun class prefix *kũ-* and are non-finite. Non-finite complement clauses cannot stand on their own as independent main clauses, must have the same subject as the matrix verb, and are not marked for TAM and therefore are dependent on the matrix verb for both tense and aspect.

The subsequent three subsections provide a discussion of the three types of complement clauses in Gĩkũyũ. A description of finite (indicative) complement clauses is first presented and is followed by a description of less finite (subjunctive) and non-finite (infinitival) complement clauses. The final subsection describes different CTPs in Gĩkũyũ, their semantic verb classes, and the complement types that each can take.

7.2.1 Finite Indicative (S-like) Complement Clauses

The first type of complement clause in Gĩkũyũ that will be described here is the fully finite indicative complement. These complements are the least grammatically integrated with the matrix verb. Since they are fully finite, they can be independent of the matrix verb in terms of both tense and aspect and have subjects that are different from the subject of the matrix verb.

Finite complement clauses can optionally be preceded by the complementizer *atĩ*. Both **(492)** and **(493)** are grammatical, because the presence as in **(492)** or absence as in **(493)** of this complementizer is not grammatically determined. Further research is needed to determine what factors (e.g., the pragmatic status of the information contained in the complement) correlate with the use or non-use of this complementizer.

(492) mũtimia agwĩtĩkĩtie [atĩ mũthuri nĩayire ngũkũ].
mũ- timia a- kũ- ĩtĩk -ĩt -i -e [atĩ mũ- thuri
NC_1- woman SC_1- CR.PST- believe -PERF -TRNS -FV COMP NC_1- man
nĩ- a- Ø- iy -ir -e N- gũkũ]
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- steal -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken.
'The woman believed (today) that the man stole the chicken.'

(493) mũtimia agwĩtĩkĩtie [mũthuri nĩayire ngũkũ].
mũ- timia a- kũ- ĩtĩk -ĩt -i -e [mũ- thuri
NC_1- woman SC_1- CR.PST- believe -PRF -TRNS -FV NC_1- man
nĩ- a- Ø- iy -ir -e N- gũkũ]
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- steal -IMPF -FV NC_9- chicken
'The woman believed (today) the man stole the chicken.'

The types of verbs that can serve as the matrix verb for finite complement clauses primarily include verbs of utterance, perception, and cognition. Finite complement clauses are exemplified in **(494)** and **(495)** below, and examples **(496)**-**(497)** show that these complement clauses can stand on their own and are thus S-like, since they are fully-fledged independent main clauses on their own terms.

(494) mũtimia aiguire [atĩ mũthuri nĩakũiya ngũkũ].

mũ- timia a- Ø- igu -ir -e [atĩ mũ- thuri nĩ- a- kũ- iy -a N- gũkũ]
NC_1- woman SC_1- CR.PST- hear -IMPF -FV COMP NC_1- man FOC- SC_1- CR.FUT- steal -FV NC_9- chicken
'The woman heard that the man will steal the chicken.'

(495) mũtimia agwĩcirĩtie [atĩ kagui kaiyire ngũkũ].

mũ- timia a- kũ- ĩcir -ĩt -i e atĩ [ka- gui
NC_1- woman SC_1- CR.PST- think -PERF -TRNS -FV COMP NC_{12}- dog
nĩ- ka- Ø- iy -ir -e N- gũkũ]
FOC- SC_{12}- CR.PST- steal -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The woman had thought the little dog stole a chicken (today). (But it wasn't true.)'

(496) mũthuri nĩakũiya ngũkũ.

mũ- thuri nĩ- a- kũ- iy -a N- gũkũ
NC_1- man FOC- SC_1- CR.FUT- steal -FV NC_9- chicken
'The man will steal a chicken (today).'

(497) kagui kaiyire ngũkũ.

ka- gui nĩ- ka- Ø- iy -ir -e N- gũkũ
NC_{12}- dog FOC- SC_{12}- CR.PST- steal -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The little dog stole a chicken (today).'

As examples **(494)** and **(495)** demonstrate, the predicate of finite indicative complements can be independent of the matrix verb in both tense and aspect and have subjects that are different from the subject of the matrix verb. In **(494)**, the matrix verb *igua* 'hear' is unmarked for tense (and thus is in the current past) and is marked for the completive aspect with the suffix *-ir*. This TAM marking on the matrix verb is different from that of the complement verb, *iya* 'steal', which is marked for current future tense with the prefix *kũ-* and has no aspect marking. The subject of the matrix verb *mũtimia* 'woman' is also different from the subject of the complement verb *mũthuri* 'man'. Similarly, in **(495)**, the matrix verb *gwĩcira* 'think' is unmarked for tense (and thus is in the current past) and is marked for the perfect aspect with the suffix *-ĩt*. In this case, the complement verb *iya* 'steal' has the same tense as the matrix verb; however, it is marked for a different aspect with the completive suffix *-ir*. The subject of

the matrix verb *mũtimia* 'woman' also differs from the subject of the complement verb *kagui* 'little dog.'

Direct quotation is accomplished by using a quotative verb, e.g. *uga* 'say', followed by a finite complement clause (the utterance) with no complementizer. This is exemplified in **(498)** and **(499)**.

(498) mũtimia augire, ["nĩnjiyire ngũkũ."]
mũ- timia a- Ø- ug -ir -e
NC_1- woman SC_1- CR.PST- say -COMPL -FV
nĩ- N- Ø- iy -ir -e N- gũkũ
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- steal -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The woman said (today), "I stole the chicken (today)."

(499) mũtimia augire, ["iya ngũkũ!"]
mũ- timia a- Ø- ug -ir -e iy -a N- gũkũ
NC_1- woman SC_1- CR.PST- say -COMPL -FV steal -FV NC_9- chicken
'The woman said, "Steal the chicken!"'

Indirect quotation is accomplished by using a finite complement clause as in **(500)**-**(501)** and may be optionally preceded by a complementizer as in **(501)**.

(500) Lisa anjĩra [nyuma na kĩrathi nake thaa inyanya].
Lisa a- Ø- N- ĩr -a N- uma na kĩ- rathi nake
PROP SC_1- CR.PST- 1SG.OBJ- tell -FV 1SG.SUBJ- COP.BRP with NC_7- class NC_1.POS
thaa i- nyanya
NC_9.hour AC_9- eight
'Lisa then told me I had a class with her at 2[2].'

(501) cibũ anjĩra [atĩ nĩakũndũmĩra dokiumeniti ya mũcemanio wa ikotuarithimu].
cibũ a- Ø- N- ĩr -a atĩ nĩ- a- kũ- N- dũm -ĩr -a
NC_1.chief SC_1- CR.PST- 1SG.OBJ- tell -FV COMP FOC- SC_1- CR.FUT- 1SG.OBJ- send -APP -FV
dokiumeniti ĩ- a mũ- cemanio ũ- a ikotuarithimu
NC_9.document AC_9- ASSOC NC_3- meeting AC_3- ASSOC NC_9.ecotourism
'The chief told me that he would send me the document of the ecotourism meeting.'

Complements may be embedded within other complements as illustrated in **(502)**.

[2] In the Gĩkũyũ manner of telling time, the 'zero' hour of the day is (English) 6am. Thus the eighth hour in this example corresponds to 2:00pm.

(502) augire [“ndaugire [atĩ ndona [atĩ mwarĩ wakwa nĩaratuĩkire mũtimia.”]]]

a- Ø- ug -ir -e N- a- ug -ir -e atĩ N- Ø- on -a
SC_1- CR.PST- say -COMPL -FV 1SG- PST- say -COMPL -FV COMP 1SG- CR.PST- see -FV

atĩ mũ- arĩ ũ- akwa nĩ- a- ra- tuĩk -ir -e mũ- timia
COMP NC_1- daughter AC_1- 1SG.POS FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- become -COMPL -FV NC_1- woman

‘She said, “I said that I saw that my daughter had become a woman.”’

7.2.2 Less Finite Subjunctive Complements

The second type of complement clause is the subjunctive. Similar to finite indicative complements, subjunctive complement clauses may contain finite verbs and have a subject, tense, and aspect different from that of the matrix verb. However, subjunctive complement clauses are considered less finite because they contain verbs that are marked with the subjunctive suffix *-e*, they cannot stand on their own as independent clauses, and they may also be dependent on the CTP in the matrix clause in terms of time reference. The types of verbs that can serve as CTPs for subjunctive complement clauses primarily include verbs of desire, manipulation, and modality. This is demonstrated in **(503)**-**(506)**, where examples **(504)** and **(506)** show that subjunctive complement clauses cannot be fully-fledged independent clauses on their own.

(503) nĩngwendete [Wangware athambĩre].

nĩ- N- kũ- end -et -e Wangware a- Ø- thambĩr -e
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- want -PERF -FV PROP SC_1- CR.PST- swim -SJV

‘I had wanted Wangware to swim (today).’

(504) *Wangware athambĩre.

* Wangware a- Ø- thambĩr -e
PROP SC_1- CR.PST- swim -SJV

(505) mũthuri nĩararingĩrĩirie [Mũturi ahinge mũrango].

mũ- thuri nĩ- a- ra- ringĩr -ĩ -ir -i -e
NC_1- man FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- persuade -APP -COMPL -TRNS -FV

Mũturi a- Ø- hing -e mũ- rango
PROP SC_1- CR.PST- close -SJV NC_3- door

‘The man persuaded Mũturi to close the door.’

(506) *Mũturi ahinge mũrango.

* Mũturi a- Ø- hing -e mũ- rango.
PROP SC_1- CR.PST- close -SJV NC_3- door

In **(503)**, the matrix verb *enda* 'want' is marked for the perfect aspect with the suffix *-et*. This contrasts with the TAM marking of the complement verb, *thambĩra* 'swim', which has no aspect marking, and is inflected for the subjunctive mood with the suffix *-e*. The subject indexed on the matrix verb 'I' with the first person singular subject prefix *N-* also differs from the subject of the complement verb *Wangware*. **(503)** also shows that the matrix verb *ringĩra* 'persuade' is marked for the near past tense with the prefix *ra-* and for the completive aspect with the suffix *-ir*. The complement verb, by contrast, is unmarked for tense and thus is in the current past, has no aspect marking, and is inflected for the subjunctive mood with suffix *-e*. The subject of the matrix verb (*mũthuri* 'man') also differs from the subject of the complement verb (*Mũturi*).

7.2.3 Non-Finite Complements

The final type of complement clause is the infinitival complement, the most structurally reduced type of complement. Different from the two other complement types, infinitival complement verbs are marked with the Class 15 noun class prefix *kũ-* and are non-finite; they may be considered nominalizations, since they are marked with a noun-class prefix. In non-finite complement clauses, the identity of the subject of the complement clause must be identical to that of the matrix verb. In addition, non-finite complement verbs are not marked for TAM and are therefore dependent on the matrix verb in terms of both tense and aspect. The types of verbs that can serve as the matrix verb for non-finite complement clauses include aspectual verbs and verbs of desire and manipulation. This is exemplified in **(507)**-**(512)** below, where the ungrammatical examples (**(508)**, **(510)**, and **(512)**) demonstrate that non-finite infinitival complements cannot stand on their own as independent main clauses.

(507) nĩndĩrambĩrĩrie [kũrĩa].

nĩ- N- ra- amb -ĩrĩr -i -e [kũ- rĩ -a]
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- NR.PST- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- eat -FV
'I began to eat (yesterday).'

(508) *kũrĩa.

* kũ- rĩ -a

NC_{15}- eat -FV

(509) Wangware nĩerĩgĩrĩire [gũthoma mbuku].

Wangware nĩ- a- Ø- ĩrĩgĩr -ĩ -ir -e [kũ- thom -a N- buku]

PROP FOC- SC_1- RM.PST- intend -APP -COMPL -FV NC_{15}- read -FV NC_9- book

'Wangware intended to read the book (before yesterday).'

(510) *gũthoma mbuku.

* kũ- thom -a N- buku

NC_{15}- read -FV NC_9- book

(511) Wambũi nĩaretĩkĩririe [Mũturi kwĩruta rũrĩmĩ rũngĩ].

Wambũi nĩ- a- ra- ĩtĩkĩr -ir -i -e

PROP FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- allow -COMPL -TRNS -FV

[Mũturi kũ- ĩ- rut -a rũ- rĩmĩ rũ- ngĩ]

PROP NC_{15}- REFL- learn -FV NC_{11}- tongue AC_{11}- another

'Wambũi allowed Mũturi to learn another tongue (yesterday).'

(512) *Mũturi kwĩruta rũrĩmĩ rũngĩ.

* Mũturi kũ- ĩ- rut -a rũ- rĩmĩ rũ- ngĩ

PROP NC_{15}- REFL- learn -FV NC_{11}- tongue AC_{11}- another

In **(509)**, the matrix verb *ĩrĩgĩra* 'intend' is in the remote past tense whereas the complement verb *thoma* 'read' is marked with the Class 15 infinitival prefix *kũ-* and receives no TAM marking. *Wangware*, The subject indexed on the matrix verb with the noun class 1 subject prefix *a-*, has the same identity as the subject of the complement verb. Further, in **(511)**, the matrix verb *ĩtĩkĩra* 'allow' is marked for the near past tense with the prefix *ra-* and for the completive aspect with the suffix *–ir*. However, the complement verb *ruta* 'learn' is marked instead with the Class 15 infinitival prefix *kũ-* and has no TAM marking. The subject of the matrix verb *Wambũi*, differs from the subject of the complement verb *Mũturi.*

7.2.4 CTPs and Their Complements

This section briefly discusses different complement-taking predicates (CTPs) in Gĩkũyũ and their complements. A given CTP can only take certain types of complements, and this depends to a large extent on the general semantic class of verbs the particular CTP is a member of. Data were elicited for 31 CTPs to see which types of complements each predicate

could take. The results are listed in Table 31, which shows the semantic verb class of each CTP, and which of the three syntactic complement type(s) it can take (denoted by a check mark).

Table 31: Gĩkũyũ CTPs and their complement types

CTP Type	CTP	Complement Types		
		Finite (Indicative)	Less finite (Subjunctive)	Non-finite (Infinitival)
utterance	*uga* 'say'	✓		
	ĩra 'tell'	✓		
	riboti 'report'	✓		
	anĩrĩra 'announce'	✓		
perception	*igua* 'hear'	✓		
	ona 'see'	✓		
cognition	*gwĩtĩkia* 'believe'	✓		
	ririkana 'remember'	✓		
	ĩcirie 'think'	✓		
	ĩtue 'pretend'	✓		
	rota 'dream'	✓		
	ĩrire 'regret'	✓		
	kena 'be happy'	✓		
	rakara 'be angry'	✓		
desiderative	*ĩhoke* 'hope'	✓	✓	✓
	enda 'want/wish/like'	✓	✓	✓
modality	*no* 'can/must'		✓	
	hota 'might'			✓
manipulation	*tũma* 'force'		✓	
	ringĩrĩria 'persuade'		✓	
	ĩtĩkĩra 'allow'			✓
	atha 'order'			✓
	rega 'refuse'			✓
	geria 'try'			✓
	ĩrĩgĩrĩra 'expect/intend'			✓
	banga 'plan'			✓
aspectual	*amba* 'begin'			✓
	rĩka 'finish'			✓

At the top of Table 31 are finite (indicative) complements, where the matrix clause and complement clause undergo no structural integration, and the verb in the complement clause can have its own independent TAM marking. Unlike some of the complement types further

down on the table, this complement type occurs with finite verb forms. As the table shows, the types of CTPs that finite complements can take include verbs of utterance, perception, and cognition.

The CTPs in the middle of Table 31 show more variation in the types of complements they can take and include desiderative and modality verbs. Desiderative CTPs such as *ĩhoka* 'hope' and *enda* 'want/wish/like' can take all three types of complements – finite, less finite, and non-finite. By contrast, modality verbs show a split in the types of complements they can take; the CTP *no* 'can/must' may take only less finite (subjunctive) complements whereas the CTP *hota* 'might' may take only non-finite (infinitival) complements. The other CTPs in the middle of Table 31 are verbs of manipulation that Givón (1980) terms other manipulation success (implicative) CTPs, e.g., *tũma* 'force' and *rĩngĩra* 'persuade'. Different from other verbs of manipulation that occur at the bottom of the table, these CTPs take subjunctive complements, which undergo more structural integration and are marked as less finite with the subjunctive suffix *-e*.

Lastly, we see that at the bottom of Table 31, non-finite (infinitival) complements primarily occur with CTPs that include aspectual verbs and verbs of manipulation. Non-finite complements do not occur at all at the top of the chart, occur with *hota* 'might' in the middle of the chart, and appear alone towards the bottom of the table. Thus, we see that different CTPs pattern similarly in terms of the complement types they can take depending on their semantic verb class.

Table 31 also illustrates that Gĩkũyũ generally conforms to Givón's (1980) Binding Hierarchy, a full discussion of which lies outside the scope of this sketch grammar (see Givón 1980, Givón 2001).

7.2.5 Summary

This section has demonstrated that Gĩkũyũ has three types of object complement clauses: finite indicative complements, less finite subjunctive complements, and non-finite infinitival complements. Finite complements are the least integrated grammatically and are most S-like in that they can stand on their own as fully-fledged independent main clauses; the complement verb can have a subject, tense, and aspect independent of the matrix verb. By contrast, subjunctive complement clauses take less fully finite verbs than their indicative counterparts. They are also inflected for the subjunctive mood with the suffix *-e*, which marks them as less finite than main clause verbs. These less finite complement clauses can have a subject, tense, and aspect independent of the matrix verb but may be dependent on the CTP in terms of time reference. On the other hand, infinitival complements are the most tightly integrated grammatically and are the least S-like. Unlike the two other complement types,

infinitival complement verbs are marked with the Class 15 noun class prefix *kũ-* and are non-finite. These non-finite complements cannot stand alone as independent main clauses and must have subjects identical to that of the matrix verb. Further, non-finite complement verbs are not marked for TAM and are therefore dependent on the matrix verb for both tense and aspect. Finally, this section has also demonstrated that CTPs in Gĩkũyũ can only take certain types of complements, and this depends mainly on the general semantic class of verb the particular CTP is a member of. Finite complements primarily take verbs of utterance, perception, and cognition; less finite (subjunctive) complements primarily take verbs of desire, manipulation, and modality; and non-finite (infinitival) complements primarily take modality and aspectual verbs.

7.3 Adverbial Clauses and Converbs *Samantha Mauney*

In the broadest sense, an adverbial clause is one that modifies another clause or verb phrase, functioning adverbially (Longacre and Thompson 1985, as referenced in Payne 1997). An adverbial clause is a dependent clause that is often, but not always, formed with a subordinating morpheme or conjunction. Adverbial clauses are not arguments of the main verb and are therefore not complement clauses (Payne 1997). Unfortunately, determining whether or not a clause is subordinate can be difficult because the difference between subordinate clauses and main clauses is best described as a continuum, instead of in terms of clear-cut boundaries between discrete categories (Thompson et al., 2007). In Gĩkũyũ, verbs are subordinate if they are not marked for tense. A clause can be called dependent if it depends on another clause for at least some of its grammatical information (Payne, 2007). Despite the fact that subordinate verbs may carry some other grammatical information (such as noun class concord, person agreement, or even aspect), the lack of a tense morpheme is a sign that a particular verb cannot stand alone as its own sentence. In the case of null-marked tenses, the temporal meaning of the verb is gathered from the final vowel of the verb as well as other elements within the clause (ex. Is the verb the nucleus of a main clause? Can it stand alone?). Thus, the verbs *ona* 'she/he sees' and the *ona* of the time constructions found in the next section are not the same. The latter cannot stand on its own and bear the same meaning, and thus must rely on the accompanying clause to help impart that meaning.

Converbs are essentially "non-finite verb forms whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination." Converbs are not necessarily subordinate, and can also be used to mark coordination (Haspelmath & König 1995, as cited in Ramat 1996). Many of the adverbial phrases in this section are subordinate, meaning that they derive some of their grammatical information from other elements in the sentence, and therefore cannot be complete sentences in their own right. However, some of the adverbial examples listed here contain finite verbs

that can, alone, form simple sentences. Thus the term converb is a better term for the conjunctions and verbs that introduce these phrases, as it would not be appropriate to call these adverbial clauses.

The semantic categories of adverbial constructions discussed in this section are time, manner, location, conditional, substitutive, additive, and concessive. All are adapted from Thompson et al., 2007.

7.3.1 Time

7.3.1.1 'Before'

Time adverbials modify the main clause by temporally situating it. In Gĩkũyũ, events that post-date the main clause event (i.e. events that the main clause event comes 'before', temporally) are expressed with the posterior-clause morpheme *ta-* or *tana-*. Further research needs to be conducted on the distribution of these allomorphs. Verbs in these constructions are subordinate, as they cannot stand alone.

(513) atanona ngũkũ ĩyo nĩtũrarĩrire

a- tana- on -a N- gũkũ ĩyo nĩ- tũ- ra rĩr -ir -e

SC_1- POST-[3] find -FV NC_9- chicken $ANA.DEM_9$ FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- cry -COMPL -FV

'Before he found the chicken, we cried (yesterday).'

Example **(514)** below simply shows that the order of the clauses can vary.

(514) nĩtũrarĩrire atanona ngũkũ

nĩ- tũ- ra rĩr -ir -e a- tana- on -a N- gũkũ

FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- cry -COMPL -FV SC_1- POST- find -FV NC_9- chicken

'We cried (yesterday) before he found the chicken.'

Below is a more complex example of this construction. Note that the *ta-* allomorph is being used.

[3] This is not the negative morpheme *ta-*. If it were, the verb form here would be *ndanona* 'he did not see', since the subject prefix is *a-* and would therefore take the *nd-* negative allomorph as the negative prefix. This is strong evidence that the negative prefix *ti-/ta-* and the posterior-clause prefix *tana-/ta-* are in fact distinct morphemes in both form and meaning.

(515) akona maũndũ ma mbere matekĩkĩte

a- ka- on -a ma- ũndũ ma- a mbere ma- ta- ĩk -ĩk -ĩt -e

SC_1- SEQ- see -FV NC_6- thing AC_6- ASSOC ahead SC_6- POST- do -MID -PERF -FV

'So he sees events of the future before they have happened.'

7.3.1.2 'After'

Events that take place prior to the main clause event (i.e. events which the main-clause event occurs 'after') are expressed modifying the verb uninflected for tense. This applies regardless of the tense of the verb within the main clause. Examples **(517)** and **(518)** illustrate how the adverbial clause remains unchanged regardless of the tense of the verb in the main clause. As with before constructions, these after constructions can be described as adverbial clauses because they are dependent. *Ona ngũkũ* is not an acceptable independent clause in Gĩkũyũ except as an imperative 'see/find the chicken!'.

(516) nĩonire ngũkũ

nĩ- a- on -ir -e N- gũkũ

FOC- SC_1- find -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken

'He found the chicken (yesterday).'

(517) ona ngũkũ ĩyo nĩtũrarĩire

a- on -a N- gũkũ ĩyo nĩ- tũ- ra- rĩ -ir -e

SC_1- find -FV NC_9- chicken $ANA.DEM_9$ FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- eat -COMPL -FV

'After he found that chicken, we ate (yesterday).'

(518) ona ngũkũ ĩyo nĩtũkũria

a- on -a N- gũkũ ĩyo nĩ- tũ- kũ- rĩ -a

SC_1- find -FV NC_9- chicken $ANA.DEM_9$ FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- CR.FUT- eat -FV

'After he finds that chicken, we will eat (today).'

Finally, the 'after' construction is contrasted with the 'before' construction in the following two sentences. Sentences **(519)** and **(520)** are identical except for the addition of the posterior-clause prefix *tana-* in **(520)** and *kuma* 'from' in **(519)**. *Kuma* is required in **(519)** in order to express the temporal distance of 'three hours later'. The stem of this word is *uma* 'come from', and generally indicates distance in time or place.

(519) mathaa matatũ kuma ona ngũkũ ĩyo nĩtũrarĩire

ma- thaa ma- tatũ kuma a- on -a N- gũkũ ĩyo nĩ- tũ- ra- rĩ -ir -e
NC_6- hour AC_6- three from SC_1- find -FV NC_9- chicken $ANA.DEM_9$ FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- eat -COMPL -FV
'Three hours after he found that chicken, we ate (yesterday).'

(520) mathaa matatũ atanona ngũkũ ĩyo nĩturarĩire

ma- thaa ma- tatũ a- ta- on -a N- gũkũ ĩyo nĩ- tũ- ra- rĩ -ir -e
NC_6- hour AC_6- three SC_1- POST- find -FV NC_9- chicken $ANA.DEM_9$ FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- eat -COMPL -FV
'Three hours before he found that chicken we ate (yesterday).'

7.3.1.3 Simultaneity

To express simultaneous events, Gĩkũyũ uses the morpheme *kĩ-*. Unlike previous time adverbial clauses, there are constraints on word order, illustrated in examples **(523)**-**(526)**. As above, these constructions are also subordinate clauses, meaning that they cannot stand alone as complete sentences. In sentence **(521)**, for example, *ũkĩrĩa* is not a complete sentence, while the main clause *nĩethire ngũkũ* is perfectly acceptable on its own.

(521) ũkĩrĩa nĩethire ngũkũ

ũ- kĩ- rĩ -a nĩ- a- eth -ir -e N- gũkũ
2SG.SUBJ- SIM- eat -FV FOC- SC_1- search -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'As you ate, he looked for the chicken (today).'

In the sentence below, the verb in the adverbial clause remains the same, despite the fact that the tense in the main clause has changed.

(522) ũkĩrĩa nĩagwetha ngũkũ

ũ- kĩ- rĩ -a nĩ- a- kũ- eth -a N- gũkũ
2SG.SUBJ- SIM- eat -FV FOC- SC_1- CR.FUT- search -FV NC_9- chicken
'While you eat, he will look for the chicken (today).'

When the subject of the subordinate clause is the object of the main clause, the referent cannot precede the main clauses verb. For instance, in the sentence **(523)**, the adverbial clause is preceded by the main clause. The referent is introduced before it is (otherwise ambiguously) marked on the verb with a noun concord marker. That is, without the explicit *ngũkũ*, the subject referenced by the subject marker *ĩ-* could refer to anything belonging to that noun class.

(523) onire ngũkũ ĩkĩũra

a- on -ir -e N- gũkũ ĩ- kĩ- ũr -a

SC_1- find -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken SC_9- SIM- run.away -FV

'He found the chicken (yesterday) as it was running away.'

The next sentence illustrates that if the subordinate clause is to precede the main clause, the subject of the subordinate clause must be expressed with a full noun phrase.

(524) ngũkũ ĩkĩũra nĩamĩonire

N- gũkũ ĩ- kĩ- ũr -a nĩ- a- mĩ- on -ir -e

NC_9- chicken SC_9- SIM- run.away -FV FOC- SC_1- OC_9- see -COMPL -FV

'As the chicken was running away, he found it (yesterday).'

Furthermore, the next sentence is unacceptable to our consultant because even though the adverbial clause precedes the main clause, the shared referent is not expressed first.

(525) *ĩkĩũra nĩonire ngũkũ

* ĩ- kĩ- ũr -a nĩ- a- on -ir -e N- gũkũ

NC_9- SIM- run.away -FV FOC- SC_1- find -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken

When the simultaneous adverbial clause occurs first, the referent also cannot be repeated within the main clause. This is illustrated in the following example, which is ungrammatical for that reason.

(526) *ngũkũ ĩkĩũra nĩaonire ngũkũ

* N- gũkũ ĩ- kĩ- ũr -a nĩ- a- on -ir -e N- gũkũ

NC_9- chicken SC_9- SIM- run.away -FV FOC- SC_1- find -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken

The sequential tense is also *kĩ-*. It is used when discussing events in a narrative sequence. In stories, it is used to signify that the marked event follows an element introduced earlier in discourse. If simply observed in the Gĩkũyũ orthography, the construction for expressing sequential events appears identical to the construction that signals that an event is simultaneous. However, there is a tonal difference that distinguishes the two.

In **(527)**, sequentiality is expressed with the tonal sequence LHL (low high low), while in **(528)**, simultaneity is expressed with LLL (three low tones).

(527) Kenya yagĩire na wĩyathi mũtĩ ũkĩgũa

Kenya ĩ- agĩ -ir -e na wĩyathi mũ- tĩ ũ- kĩ- gũ -a
L H L
Kenya SC_9- acquire -COMPL -FV with NC_9.freedom NC_3- tree SC_3- SEQ- fall -FV
'Kenya acquired freedom (before yesterday) and then the tree fell.'

(528) Kenya yagĩire na wĩyathi mũtĩ ũ̀kĩgũa

Kenya ĩ- agĩ -ir -e na wĩyathi mũ- tĩ ũ- kĩ- gũ -a
L L L
Kenya SC_9- acquire -COMPL -FV with NC_9.freedom NC_3- tree SC_3- SIM- fall -FV
'Kenya acquired freedom (before yesterday) as the tree fell.'

7.3.2 Location

Location adverbials are actually locative relative clauses (see section 7.1.5).

(529) ndĩ wa hau ũrĩ

N- rĩ w- a hau ũ- rĩ
1SG- COP AC_1- ASSOC ANA.DEM_{16} 2SG- COP
'I belong where you are.' (Lit. 'I am of the place that you are.')

(530) Wangware na Wambũgũ maracemanirie harĩa mũgũmo ũkũraga

Wangware na Wambũgũ ma- ra- cem -an -ir -i -e ha- rĩa
PROP and PROP SC_2- NR.PST- meet -RECIP -COMPL -TRNS -FV RC_{16}- REL
mũgũmo ũ- kũr -ag -a
NC_3.mũgũmo SC_3- grow -HAB -FV
'Wangware and Wambũgũ met (yesterday) where the Mũgũmo tree grows.' (Lit. '...the place that the Mũgũmo tree grows.')

(531) Wangware na Wambũgũ maracemanirie handũ hothe mũgũmo ũkũraga

Wangware na Wambũgũ ma- ra- cem -an -ir -i -e ha- ndũ ha- othe
PROP and PROP SC_2- NR.PST- meet -RECIP -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_{16}- place AC_{16}- all
mũgũmo ũ- kũr -ag -a
NC_3.mũgũmo SC_3- grow -HAB -FV
'Wangware and Wambũgũ met (yesterday) wherever the Mũgũmo tree grows.' (Lit. '...met at all the places that the Mũgũmo tree grows.')

7.3.3 Manner

The current data suggests that in Gĩkũyũ, manner is not expressed with an adverbial clause. Instead, it is expressed with the preposition *ta* which simply means 'like' or with the verb *tara* 'be counted as.' A relative clause can be constructed to convey a similar meaning, as shown in examples **(534)** and **(535)**.

In examples **(532)** and **(533)**, the preposition *ta* is used to reflect manner.

(532) mũndũ aratariĩ ta mwana

mũ- ndũ a- ra- tari -ĩ ta mũ- ana
NC_1- man SC_1- NR.PST- count.as -FV like NC_1- child
'The man behaved like a child (yesterday).'

The following example shows an interesting serial verb construction that lends itself to further research:

(533) akwenda akorwo atariĩ ta mwana

a- kũ- end -a a- kor -wo a- tari -ĩ ta mũ- ana
SC_1- CR.FUT- want -FV SC_1- find -PV SC_1- count.as -FV like NC_1- child
'He wants to be counted as a child (today).'

When *tara* is used with a verb instead of a noun, it must be followed by a relative clause.

(534) mwana arekire ũrĩa ndĩramwĩrire

mũ- ana a- rek -ir -e ũ- rĩa N- ra- mũ- ĩr -ir -e
NC_1- child SC_1- behave -COMPL -FV AC_1- REL 1SG.SUBJ- NR.PST- OC_1- tell -COMPL -FV
'The child behaved like I told her to (yesterday).'

(535) mwana aratariĩ ũrĩa ndĩramwĩrire

mũ- ana a- ra- tari -ĩ ũ- rĩa N- ra- mũ- ĩr -ir -e
NC_1- child SC_1- NR.PST- count.as -FV AC_1- REL 1SG.SUBJ- NR.PST- OC_1- tell -COMPL -FV
'The child was as I asked/told him to be (yesterday).'

7.3.4 Purpose/Reason

Gĩkũyũ uses a conjunction such as *tondũ* 'because,' as well as *nĩguo* and *nĩgetha* 'that' to express purpose or reason. The latter two conjunctions are completely interchangeable and both mean 'so that.' It is cross-linguistically common for the infinitive to be used if the subject within the purpose clause is the same as the subject of the main clause (Haspelmath 1989, as

cited in Thompson et al. 2007). Gĩkũyũ follows this pattern, but the infinitive can also be used with *nĩũndũ* for purpose clauses with different subjects than their main clause.

Examples **(536)** and **(537)** illustrate same-subject purpose clauses.

(536) ũgĩakĩrwo ũgĩthiũrũrũkio na mahiga nigetha atĩ ndũkagwe,

ũ- kĩ- ak -ĩr -wo ũ- kĩ- thi -ũrũr -ũr -ĩk -i -o na ma- higa
SC_3- SEQ- build -APP -PV SC_3- SEQ- go -INTENS -REVERS MID -TRNS -PV with NC_6- stone

nĩgetha atĩ nd- ũ- ka- gũ -e
so.that COMP NEG- SC_3- CR.PRES- fall -SJV

'The tree was built for and encircled with stones so that it apparently would not fall.'

(537) ndugire irio nĩguo mwana arĩe

N- rug -ir -e i- rio nĩguo mũ- ana a- rĩ -e
1SG.SUBJ- cook -COMPL -FV NC_8- food so.that NC_1- child SC_1- eat -SJV

'I cooked food so that the child could eat.'

The following three sentences contrast the different strategies of constructing purpose clauses. In **(538)**, the different subject clause is introduced with *nĩgetha* and is followed by the verb in the subjunctive. Sentence **(539)**, which contains a same-subject purpose clause, uses the infinitive. The last example also contains the infinitive, but it must be preceded by *nĩũndũ*, which generally means 'because' but literally means 'business/thing of,' followed by a possessive pronoun.

(538) tũrathire Nyairobi nĩgetha wone Wangware

tũ- ra- thi -ir -e Nyairobi nĩgetha ũ- on -e Wangware
1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- go -COMPL -FV Nairobi so.that 2SG.SUBJ- see -SJV PROP

'We went to Nairobi (yesterday) so that you might see Wangware.'

(539) tũrathire Nyairobi kũona Wangware

tũ- ra- thi -ir -e Nyairobi kũ- on -a Wangware
1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- go -COMPL -FV Nairobi NC_{15}- see -FV PROP

'We went to Nairobi (yesterday) to see Wangware.'

As mentioned above, the following sentence shows the conjunction *nĩũndũ* used with the possessive pronoun *wakũ*. This is followed by the infinitive.

(540) tũrathire Nyairobi nĩũndũ waku kũona Wangware

tũ- ra- thi -ir -e Nairobi nĩũndũ waku kũ- on -a Wangware
1PL.SUBJ- NR.PST- go -COMPL -FV Nairobi because 2SG.POS NC_{15}- see -FV PROP
'We went to Nairobi (yesterday) for you to see Wangware.'

Here, reason is expressed with the conjunction *nĩũndũ* 'because.' Like in English, the verb morphology in Gĩkũyũ remains unchanged when the adverbial clause is formed.

Sentences **(542)**-**(544)** show that conjunctions like *tondũ* can be used to coordinate two independent clauses. *Ndirarĩ mwega* can form a complete sentence **(541)**, or it can be used with a coordinating conjunction to form an optional adjunct, as in **(542)**.

(541) ndirarĩ mwega

N- ti- ra- rĩ mwega
1SG- NEG- NR.PST- COP well
'I wasn't well (yesterday).'

(542) ndĩrathire kũrĩ ndagĩtarĩ tondũ ndirarĩ mwega

N- ra- thi -ir -e kũ- rĩ N- dagĩtarĩ tondũ N- ti- ra- rĩ mwega
1SG- NR.PST- go -COMPL -FV NC_{17}- COP NC_9- doctor because 1SG- NEG- NR.PST- COP well
'I went to the doctor (yesterday) because I wasn't well.'

Examples **(543)** and **(544)** further illustrate that the adjunct does not change when derived from a simple sentence, even when the subjects within the main clause and the adverbial clause differ.

(543) mwarĩ wakwa ndaraiguaga wega

$mũ_1$- arĩ ũ- akwa nd- a- ra- aigu -ag -a wega
NC_1- daughter AC_1- 1SG.POS NEG- SC_1- NR.PST- feel -IMPF -FV well
'My daughter wasn't feeling well (yesterday).'

(544) ndĩrathire kũri ndagĩtarĩ tondũ mwarĩ wakwa ndaraiguaga wega

N- ra- thi -ir -e kũ- rĩ N- dagĩtarĩ tondũ
1SG- NR.PST- go -COMPL -FV NC_{17}- COP NC_9- doctor because

$mũ_1$- arĩ ũ- akwa nd- a- ra- aigu -ag -a wega
NC_1- daughter AC_1- 1SG.POS NEG- SC_1- NR.PST- feel -IMPF -FV well
'I went to the doctor (yesterday) because my daughter wasn't feeling well.'

The phrase *mwarĩ wakwa ndaraiguaga wega* remains the same in both sentences even though the subjects of the two clauses are different.

7.3.5 Concessive

Clauses that signal a concession made by the speaker are expressed with the conjunction *onakorwo* which can mean 'even' or 'although.' Further research needs to be conducted to determine whether or not this word is a compound that has been lexicalized.

(545) onakorwo kwĩna keki ndikũmĩrĩa

onakorwo kwĩna keki N- ti- kũ- mĩ- rĩ -a
even.if when NC_9.cake 1SG- NEG- CR.FUT- OC_9- eat -FV
'Even if there is cake, I will not eat it (today).'

The following sentence shows that the order of the clauses is interchangeable.

(546) ndikũmiria, onakorwo kwĩna keki

N- ti- kũ- mĩ- rĩ -a onakorwo kwĩna keki
1SG- NEG- CR.FUT- OC_9- eat -FV even.if when NC_9.cake
'I will not eat it (today), even if there is cake.'

To form a concessive construction whose meaning can be translated as 'although....' *onakorwo* is still used, but the verb within the main clause must be in the subjunctive. In lieu of the focus marker *nĩ*, the morpheme *no-* is used. Further research needs to be done to determine if this prefix is simply a type of focus marker that always accompanies the subjunctive or something else entirely.

Example **(547)** below is composed of a clause without the concessive construction. Example **(548)** illustrates the addition of the concessive construction, which is introduced by a conjunction and requires that the verb within the main clause take the subjunctive suffix.

(547) nĩnjurire

nĩ- N- ur -ir -e
FOC- 1SG- get.lost -COMPL -FV
'I got lost.'

(548) onakorwo nyuma na mabu nonjũrire

onakorwo N- uma na mabu no- N- ũr -ir -e
although 1SG- COP.BRP with NC_9.map FOC- 1SG- get.lost -COMPL -SJV
'Although I had a map, I still got lost.'

Thompson 2007 makes a distinction between definite and indefinite concessive clauses. The previous sentences in this section have all been definite. Whereas definite clauses signify that

the adverbial clause event is specific or bounded in time, indefinite concessive clauses refer to events that are non-specific. An example is given below.

(549) ona uuge atĩa ndikuma

ona ũ- ug -e atĩa N- ti- kũ- um -a
even 2SG.SUBJ- say -SJV how 1SG- NEG- CR.FUT- leave -FV
'Whatever you say, I won't leave (today).'

7.3.6 Conditionals

Conditional statements in Gĩkũyũ are composed of two clauses, one of which takes the subjunctive and another that does not. The conditional prefix n*gĩ-* is marked on the verb that refers semantically to the condition. The main clause takes the subjunctive exactly like in the concessive constructions discussed in the previous section.

(550) ũngĩenda, noũkene

ũ- ngĩ- end -a no- ũ- ken -e
2SG.SUBJ- COND- love -FV FOC- 2SG.SUBJ- happy -SJV
'If you love, you will be happy.'

(551) ndingĩrĩ na thimũ nongũhũrĩre

N- ngĩ- rĩ na thimũ no- N- kũ- hũr -ĩr -e
1SG.SUBJ- COND- COP with NC_9.phone FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- 2SG.OBJ- call -APP -SJV
'If I had a phone, I would call you.'

7.3.7 Substitutive

Substitutive clauses—clauses in which the subordinate action was not performed in favor of the main clause action—are expressed with the phrase *handũ ha*, meaning 'in place of'. The verb in the subordinate clause takes the infinitive form.

Example **(552)** shows a simple main clause.

(552) nĩethire ngũkũ

nĩ- a- eth -ir -e N- gũkũ
FOC- SC_1- search -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'He looked for the chicken (today).'

The following two examples show the substitutive construction. Example **(554)** illustrates that the adverbial construction does not change when the verb differs. In both cases, the infinitive must be used.

(553) handũ ha gwetha ngũkũ nĩarĩire

ha- ndũ ha- a kũ- eth -a N- gũkũ nĩ- a- rĩ -ir -e
NC_{16}- place AC_{16}- ASSOC NC_{15}- search -FV NC_9- chicken FOC- SC_1- eat -COMPL -FV
'Instead of looking for the chicken, he ate (today).'

(554) handũ ha kũrĩa angĩethire ngũkũ

ha- ndũ ha- a kũ- rĩ -a a- kĩ -eth -ir -e N- gũkũ
NC_{16}- place AC_{16}- ASSOC NC_{15}- eat -FV SC_1- SEQ- search -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'Instead of eating, he should have looked for the chicken (today).'

7.3.8 Additive

Additive clauses are used to discuss "one state of affairs in addition to another" (Thompson et al., 2007). In Gĩkũyũ, the verb *tiga* 'leave alone' is used in the imperative to form this construction, and is translated as 'besides.' *Hamwe* 'together' is also used to convey a similar meaning, which can be seen in example **(556)**.

Example **(555)** shows *tiga* in the imperative taking *Wambũi* as its argument.

(555) Tiga Wambũi, Wambũgũ o nake nĩ mũrutwo mwega

tig -a Wambũi, Wambũgũ o nake nĩ mũ- rutwo mũ- ega
leave.alone -FV PROP PROP also NC_1.POS FOC NC_1- student AC_1- good
'Besides Wambũi, Wambũgũ is also a good student.'

The following sentence shows *hamwe* 'together' being used in a phrase that functions additively:

(556) ohamwe na Wambũi, Wambũgũ nĩ marutwo mwega

o- ha- mwe na Wambũi Wambũgũ nĩ mũ- rutwo mũ- ega
also- NC_{16}- one and PROP PROP FOC NC_1- student AC_1- good
'In addition to Wambũi, Wambũgũ is a good student.'

7.3.9 Absolutive

According to Thompson et al., 2007, absolutive clauses can be identified by the following characteristics: the clause is subordinate, meaning that it is not marked to show a

relationship to the main clause, and the interpretation is inferred from the pragmatic and linguistic context. Absolutive clauses in Gĩkũyũ are constructed by not inflecting the verb in the adverbial clause for tense, as examples **(557)**-**(558)** show. Thus, the resultant verbs are subordinate. Neither *anyona* nor *akũona* can be used on their own to form a complete sentence.

(557) Wangware anyona, nĩarehithire

Wangware a- N- on -a nĩ- a- ra- ĩ- hith -ir -e
PROP SC_1- 1SG- see -FV FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- REFL- hide -COMPL -FV
'Seeing me, Wangware hid himself (yesterday).'

(558) Wangware akuona nĩarehithire

Wangware a- ku- on -a nĩ- a- ra- ĩ- hith -ir -e
PROP SC_1- 2SG.SUBJ- see -FV FOC- SC_1- NR.PST- REFL- hide -COMPL -FV
'Having seen you, Wangware hid himself (yesterday).'

7.3.10 Summary

This subsection has presented a preliminary overview of adverbial clauses in Gĩkũyũ. Thus far we have discussed time, manner, location, purpose/reason, conditional, concessive, substitutive, and absolutive adverbials. There is much more research to be done on the use of the subjunctive in forming conditional and concessive constructions. Many more examples exist in the present data, and this section has only covered a portion, especially in reference to time adverbials. Furthermore, additive clauses are also a category that needs to be analyzed more closely. Speech act adverbials also occur in certain texts, and such constructions must be explored if we are to understand how Gĩkũyũ is used in interaction.

Chapter 8
Miscellaneous Constructions and Observations

This chapter consists of material that we believe will be of interest and relevance to linguists and other readers who wish to learn about Gĩkũyũ, but which does not easily fit within other parts of this sketch grammar. Material in this chapter includes: ideophones, color terms, personified animals, and body metaphors for landscape topography.

8.1 Ideophones *Robert Englebretson*

Onomatopoeia iconically represents sound in language. Our consultant observes that, in her experience, Gĩkũyũ speakers generally do not use words for animal vocalizations or other common sounds—at least not to the same extent that she has observed English speakers doing so. In our two class sessions devoted to onomatopoeia, ideophones, and proverbs, we were not able to elicit anything equivalent to 'bow wow' for a dog vocalization, no sounds for 'cluck' or 'quack' for a chicken or duck vocalization, no sounds to represent rushing water, falling rain, or crackling fire, etc. The one onomatopoeic form our consultant was able to offer us is [mɛ:] for the sound of a goat bleating. Yet, despite the paucity of onomatopoeic words, Gĩkũyũ does appear to have numerous ideophones. Ideophones tend not to be onomatopoeic, but rather are single words that represent characteristics like color, position, or manner of state or motion. Childs (1994) points out that ideophones are typically not phonologically transparent, do not have meaning on their own as a word, and are syntactically tightly collocated with particular verbs. All of these are true of Gĩkũyũ ideophones. In our data, ideophones always occur at the end of the clause, and our consultant prefers that when these clauses are written, they should end with an exclamation point.

In his overview of African ideophones, Childs writes: "Although they constitute a robust word category in African languages, ideophones are relatively neglected and are rarely integrated into linguistic descriptions" (Childs 1994: 178). To our knowledge, there are no published sources that document or describe Gĩkũyũ ideophones. The current subsection seeks to remedy this by offering a list of ideophones our consultant was able to come up with during elicitation. This is no doubt only a partial listing, and the origins and use of Gĩkũyũ ideophones would be a fruitful topic for future research. As a starting point, we offer a table of ideophones, the verbs with which they collocate, and their general meaning, followed by several examples, the first of which comes from our elicited procedural text on how to make mataha (a traditional Gĩkũyũ food—see Appendix C).

Table 32: List of Gĩkũyũ ideophones

Ideophone	Verb Collocate	Meaning
ka	kũma 'to dry'	(intensifier) bone dry
ki	gũkira 'to be quiet'	(intensifier) very quiet
ku	gũkua 'to die'	(intensifier) stone dead
mi	kũminja 'to spit'	forcefully spit a liquid
mi	kũmira 'to blow'	blow the nose
mu	kũgũa 'to fall'	fall flat
mu	kũrumia 'to hit hard'	hit hard
nwee [ɲwɛː]	gũthiĩ 'to slide'	sliding manner of motion
ng'o [ŋɔ]	kũringa 'to hit'	sound of hitting
ng'ũ [ŋo]	accompanied by gesture plucking a tooth with the finger	'nothing'
pa	*kũma* 'dry'	dry completely
piũ / biũ	*gũcamũka* 'to boil'	boil completely
tobo [tɔβɔ]	gũtoboka 'to submerge oneself'	fall completely in water
tũrũ	gũtũrĩka 'to burst'	sound of popping

Following are six examples, the first of which appears in the "Mataha" procedural text (see Appendix C), and the remaining five of which were elicited in class:

(559) ũgacamũkia mbembe kinya igacamũka biũ

ũ- ka- camũk -i -a N- bembe kinya i- ka- camũk -a biũ

2SG- SEQ- boil -TRNS -FV NC_{10}- corn until SC_{10}- SEQ- boil -FV ID

'(What you do is) you boil corn until it is completely boiled.'

(560) Ndatobokire tobo!

N- a- tobok -ir -e tobo!

1SG- RM.PST- submerge -COMPL -FV ID

'I fell completely in water (before yesterday)!'

(561) Ndagũa thĩ mu!

n- a- gũ -a thĩ mu!

1SG- RM.PST- fall -FV down ID

'I fell down flat (today)!'

(562) Yakua ku!

ĩ- a- ku -a ku!

SC_9- RM.PST- die -FV ID

'It (the chicken) died stone dead (today)!'

(563) Kira ki!
kir -a ki!
be.quiet -FV ID
'Shut up!'

(564) Mira mi!
mir -a mi!
blow -fv ID
'Blow your nose!'

8.2 Color Terms *Jonas Wittke & Jessica LI*

In the adjective class, Gĩkũyũ has three colors: *tune* 'red', *erũ* 'white', and *irũ* 'black'. Traditionally (i.e. for speakers in generations older than our consultant), all colors were referred to using these three terms. Our consultant recalled a time when her grandmother requested her brown hat; because only three terms for color were available to her, she requested her *ngũbia njirũ* 'black hat'.

According to Berlin and Kay (1969: 2):

> "If a language encodes fewer than eleven basic color categories, then there are strict limitations on which categories it may encode. The distributional restrictions of color terms across languages are: 1. All languages contain terms for white and black. 2. If a language contains three terms, then it contains a term for red. 3. If a language contains four terms, then it contains a term for either green or yellow (but not both)."

In their discussion, the authors say that basic color terms should ideally be monolexemic. As mentioned above, Gĩkũyũ has three basic, monolexemic color terms; the three terms are for the colors red, white, and black, just as predicted by Berlin and Kay.

When these colors are referred to on their own, without modifying a noun, the adjective marker for Noun Class 14 (*mũ-*) is used, to agree with *rangi* 'color':

(565) rangi mũtune
rangi mũ- tune
NC_{14}.color NC_{14}- red
'red color'

(566) rangi mwerũ
rangi mũ- erũ
NC_{14}.color NC_{14}- white
'white color'

(567) rangi mũirũ
rangi mũ- irũ
NC_{14}.color NC_{14}- black
'black color'

More recently, other colors have come to be expressed in Gĩkũyũ, but these color terms are formed using the associative construction. The following table shows how to form various color terms.

Table 33: Associative constructions of colors in Gĩkũyũ

COLOR	CONSTRUCTION
Orange	ASSOC. + *macungwa* ('orange (fruits)')
	ASSOC. + *orĩnji*
Yellow	ASSOC. + *itumbĩ* ('eggs')
	ASSOC. + *yero*
Green	ASSOC. + *mahuti* ('leaves')
	ASSOC. + *ngirini*
Blue	ASSOC. + *mburuu*
Gray	ASSOC. + *mũhu* ('ashes')
Brown	ASSOC. + *tĩri* ('soil')

As can be seen in the above table, some speakers use English borrowings for color names (e.g. *orenji* 'orange', *mburuu* 'blue'), versions which are becoming more prevalent in modern-day Gĩkũyũ. Speakers with less exposure to English more commonly use names of objects to describe colors, as in the following constructions:

(568) rangi wa macungwa
rangi ũ- a ma- cungwa
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_{6}- orange
'orange' (Lit. 'color of oranges')

(569) rangi wa itumbĩ

rangi ũ- a i- tumbĩ
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_5- egg
'yellow' (Lit. 'color of eggs')

(570) rangi wa mahuti

rangi ũ- a ma- huti
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_6- leaf
'green' (Lit. 'color of leaves')

(571) rangi wa mũhu

rangi ũ- a mũ- hu
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_3- ash
'gray' (Lit. 'color of ashes')

(572) rangi wa tĩri

rangi ũ- a tĩri
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_{14}.soil
'brown' (Lit. 'color of soil')

The following examples show colors modifying nouns in noun phrases using the associative construction.

(573) mbuku ya ngirini

N- buku ĩ- a N- kirini
NC_9- book AC_9- ASSOC NC_9- green
'green book'

(574) kahũa ga tĩri

ka- hũa ka- a tĩri
NC_{12}- coffee AC_{12}- ASSOC NC_{14}.soil
'brown coffee'

The associative construction is not used, however, when the color modifying the noun phrase is one of the three monolexemic, basic color terms in Gĩkũyũ (black, white, or red). For those three colors, the color term modifies the noun directly, which provides strong evidence that these three basic color terms belong to the adjective word-class. For example, while 'brown coffee' in example **(574)** above requires the associative construction, 'red meat' in example **(575)** below does not:

(575) nyama ndune
N- yama N- tune
NC_9- meat NC_9- red
'red meat'

When distinguishing between two or more shades of the same color, speakers refer to the degree to which the color is 'saturated' or 'held'. Compare examples **(576)**, **(577)**, and **(578)**, which show expressions for 'light blue', 'medium blue', and 'dark blue', respectively:

(576) rangi wa mburuu ĩtarĩ ngwatu
rangi ũ- a mburuu ĩ- ta- rĩ N- gwat -u
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC blue NC_{10}- NEG- COP NC_{10}- held -NMZ
'light blue' (Lit. 'color of blue that is not held')

(577) rangi wa mburuu ngwatagwatu
rangi ũ- a mburuu N- gwata -gwat -u
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC blue NC_{10}- REDUP- held -NMZ
'medium blue' (Lit. 'color of blue that is held a little')

(578) rangi wa mburuu ngwatu
rangi ũ- a mburuu N- gwat -u
NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC blue NC_{10}- held -NMZ
'dark blue' (Lit. 'color of blue that is held')

The 'light blue' color in **(576)** is thought of as being a "blue that has not held". In other words, the blue is less saturated ('held') than the other blues in comparison. A reduplicated form (see section 3.3.1 on reduplication) is used in **(577)** to refer to a 'medium blue', one that "has held a little". Dark blue, then, is saturated (*ngwatu*) compared to the other two shades, as shown in example **(578)**.

In summary, Gĩkũyũ has three basic, monolexemic color terms, which are consistent with those predicted by Berlin and Kay (1969). Several other colors can be expressed using an associative construction (e.g. 'color of eggs', 'color of leaves'), and some names for colors are English borrowings (e.g. *mburuu* for 'blue'). Factors such as age, education, and exposure to English all appear to influence the range of color terms available to a given speaker.

8.3 Personified Animals *Lisa Jeon*

Animals, like any other Gĩkũyũ noun, belong to a noun class and are referenced through grammatical noun class concord. Personified animals, however, can be expressed by means of

two additional strategies in Gĩkũyũ: (i) through the use of human agreement marking on the verb instead of marking that agrees grammatically with the class of the personified subject or object; and (ii) by using the first strategy as well as prefixing the personified animal subject or object with the personifying prefix *wama-* instead of using the noun prefix that is typically used for its class. Both strategies demonstrate that it is possible for grammatical agreement to be overridden by semantics when expressing personified animals.

8.3.1 Class 1 / 2 (Human) Agreement Marking

An interesting phenomenon in Gĩkũyũ is that when animals are personified, grammatical noun class marking can be overridden by semantic factors. One strategy for expressing personified animals is to use human agreement marking for the personified subject or object rather than the noun concord marking that agrees with its grammatical class. This is exemplified in **(579)**-**(580)**.

(579) nyau nĩyonire ngũkũ.
N- nyau nĩ- ĩ- Ø- on -ir -e N- gũkũ.
NC_9- cat FOC- SC_9- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The cat saw the chicken (today).' (non-personified)

(580) nyau nĩonire ngũkũ.
N- nyau nĩ- a- Ø- on -ir -e N- gũkũ.
NC_9- cat FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The (personified) cat saw the chicken (today).'

In **(579)**, we see that animals receive noun concord agreement marking according to the grammatical class that they belong to. Thus, the verb *ona* 'see' in **(579)** agrees with the grammatical class of the animal subject *nyau* 'cat'. This agreement is indexed on the verb with the Class 9 subject prefix *ĩ-*.

However, when an animal is personified as in **(580)**, human agreement marking can be used for the personified subject or object rather than the concord marking that agrees with its grammatical class. We see this in **(580)**, where subject agreement is marked on the verb *ona* 'see' using Class 1 human marking with the subject prefix *a-* rather than with the expected Class 9 subject prefix *ĩ-*. Therefore, the verb can take agreement morphology used for humans to accomplish semantic agreement, despite the fact that the subject is, grammatically, a non-human noun of a different class.

In addition, both full-NP subject and object arguments that are personified can be ellipted and indexed on the verb using human agreement marking instead of agreeing with the grammatical class of the subject or object. This is illustrated in **(581)**-**(582)** below.

(581) nĩonire ngũkũ.
nĩ- a- Ø- on -ir -e N- gũkũ.
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'S/he saw the chicken (today).'

(582) nĩamwonire.
nĩ- a- Ø- mũ- on -ir -e
FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- OC_1- see -COMPL -FV
'S/he saw her/him (today).'

In **(581)**, we see that when the full-NP subject *nyau* 'cat' is personified and ellipted, it is indexed on the verb *ona* 'see' using Class 1 human agreement marking with the subject prefix *a-* instead of the expected Class 9 subject prefix *ĩ-*. Similarly, in **(582)**, when the full-NP object *ngũkũ* 'chicken' is personified and ellipted, it is indexed on the verb *ona* 'see' using Class 1 human agreement marking with the object prefix *mũ-* rather than with the expected Class 9 object prefix *mĩ-*.

Thus, when human agreement marking is used to index personified animals in Gĩkũyũ, grammatical noun class marking is overridden by semantics.

8.3.2 The *wama-* Prefix

Another strategy in Gĩkũyũ for expressing personified animals is to prefix the personified subject or object with the personifying prefix *wama-*. It is possible that *wama-* could be related to the associative construction, i.e., the human associative prefix *wa-* used together with the Class 6 associative prefix *ma-*. However, the precise nature of the morphology of this prefix is a topic that requires further investigation using additional historical and comparative data. This strategy with the prefix *wama-* is commonly used in storytelling and makes it very clear that the noun it precedes is a personified animal. This is demonstrated in **(583)**-**(585)**.

(583) nyau nĩyonire ngũkũ.
N- nyau nĩ- ĩ- Ø- on -ir -e N- gũkũ.
NC_9- cat FOC- SC_9- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The cat saw the chicken (today).' (non-personified)

(584) wamanyau nĩonire ngũkũ.
wama- nyau nĩ- a- Ø- on -ir -e N- gũkũ.
PERSF- cat FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV NC_9- chicken
'The (personified) cat saw the chicken (today).'

(585) wamanyau nĩonire wamagũkũ.
wama- nyau nĩ- a- Ø- on -ir -e wama- gũkũ.
PERSF- cat FOC- SC_1- CR.PST- see -COMPL -FV PERSF- chicken
'The (personified) cat saw the (personified) chicken (today).'

In **(583)**, repeated here from **(579)**, we again see that non-personified animals receive normal noun concord agreement marking according to the grammatical class that they belong to. The verb *ona* 'see' in **(583)** agrees with the grammatical class of the animal subject *nyau* 'cat'. This agreement is indexed on the verb with the Class 9 subject prefix *ĩ-*.

By contrast, when prefixed with *wama-* as in **(584)** and **(585)**, the personified animal subject *nyau* 'cat' and personified animal object *ngũkũ* 'chicken' no longer have their grammatical noun class marking (the Class 9 noun prefix *N-*). Yet, despite the fact that *wama-* is not the human noun class prefix, the verb still acts as if the subject is a human noun by indexing the personified animal subject or object on the verb with human agreement concord marking. This is exemplified in **(584)**-**(585)**, where subject agreement is overridden by semantic factors and is indexed on the verb *ona* 'see' using human agreement marking with the subject prefix *a-* instead of the expected Class 9 subject prefix *ĩ-*. Thus, the prefix *wama-* is used to mark personified animals in Gĩkũyũ, and human agreement marking is used on the verb, resulting in semantic agreement that overrides grammatical agreement.

8.4 Landscape Topography and Body Metaphors *Jonas Wittke*

In describing spatial orientation related to certain topographical features, Gĩkũyũ speakers employ body part metaphors, projecting them onto the landscape. Our data elicitations revealed two such mappings: the 'back' representing what English speakers would commonly refer to as 'up' (i.e., 'higher' on a mountain or an 'upstream' area of a river), and the stomach representing 'down' or 'below' (i.e., 'downstream' or at the bottom of a mountain). This is illustrated in the following examples:

(586) ndĩrarorire kĩanda kĩa rũũĩ
N- ra- ror -ir -e kĩ- a- nda kĩ- a rũ- ũi
1SG- NR.PST- look -COMPL -FV AC_7- ASSOC stomach AC_7- ASSOC NC_{11}- river
'I looked down (downstream) the river.' (Lit. 'I looked of the stomach of the river.')

(587) kĩanda gĩa kĩrĩma

nkĩ- a- nda kĩ- a kĩ- rĩma

AC_7- ASSOC stomach AC_7- ASSOC NC_7- hill

'below the mountain' (Lit. 'of the belly of the mountain')

In **(586)**, the stomach (or 'belly') is mapped onto the area of the river toward which water is flowing; in **(587)**, the belly is mapped onto the area below or at the bottom of a mountain.

Conversely, examples **(588)** and **(589)** illustrate 'upstream' and 'up the mountain', respectively:

(588) ndĩrarorire rũgongo rwa rũũĩ

N- ra- ror -ir -e rũ- gongo rũ- a rũ- ũi

1SG- NR.PST- look -COMPL -FV NC_{11}- back AC_{11}- ASSOC NC_{11}- river

'I looked up the river.' (Lit. 'I looked the back of the river.')

(589) rũgongo rwa kĩrĩma

rũ- gongo rũ- a kĩ- rĩma

NC_{11}- back AC_{11}- ASSOC NC_7- hill

'up the mountain' (Lit. 'the back of the mountain')

Just as a body has a 'stomach' and a 'back, so can rivers and mountains in Gĩkũyũ. Further, such metaphorical mappings are not unique to Gĩkũyũ—consider English 'mouth of the river' or 'foot of the mountain', for example. English and Gĩkũyũ both use the body as the source domain for topographic metaphors, but the two languages map it on different axes. While English maps topography on the vertical axis (head/foot) as with a human standing up, Gĩkũyũ uses the dorsal/ventral axis ('back/belly'), as with a human or other animal on all fours.

Appendices: Glossed Sample Texts

Appendix A

Picture-Book Narrative: "Frog Story" *Class*

A narration of *A Boy, a Dog and a Frog* by Mercer Mayer (Dial Books, 2003 (1967))
MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/01-frog.mp3

1. nĩngũmũganĩra karũgano[4].
nĩ- N- kũ- mũ- gan -ĩr -a ka- rũ- gan -o
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.FUT- 2PL.OBJ- narrate -APP -FV NC_{12}- NC_{11}- narrate -NMZ
'I'm going to tell you a little story.'

2. (ALL:) Gana[5]!
gan -a
narrate -FV
'Tell!' (Lit. 'Praise!')

3. karũgano gaka nĩ ga kahĩĩ,
ka- rũ- gan -o ka- ka nĩ ka- a ka- hĩĩ
NC_{12}- NC_{11}- narrate -NMZ AC_{12}- PROX.DEM FOC AC_{12}- ASSOC NC_{12}- boy
'This little story is about a little boy,'

4. na kagui,
na ka- gui
and NC_{12}- dog
'and a little dog,'

[4] This is a formulaic story opening, and projects the response given in 2.
[5] This is the expected response to the story announcement in the previous line. IN this case, it was said in chorus by the entire class.

5. na,
na
and
'and,'

6. mathiaga rũũĩ.
ma- thi -ag -a rũ- ũĩ
SC_2- go -IMPF -FV NC_{11}- river
'they were going to the river.'

7. mũthenya ũmwe kahĩĩ nĩgathiire na kagui rũũĩ,
mũ- thenya ũ- mwe ka- hĩĩ nĩ- ka- thi -ir -e na ka- gui rũ- ũĩ
NC_3- day AC_3- one NC_{12}- boy FOC- SC_{12}- go -COMPL -FV with NC_{12}- dog NC_{11}- river
'One day the little boy went with the little dog to the river,'

8. gũtega ciũra.
kũ- tega ci- ũra
NC_{15}- trap NC_8- frog
'to trap frogs.'

9. gakinya rũũĩ-inĩ nĩkahaicire mũtĩ,
ka- kĩ- iny -a rũ- ũĩ -inĩ nĩ- ka- haic -ir e mũ- tĩ
SC_{12}- SIM- arrive -FV NC_{11}- river -LOC FOC- SC_{12}- climb -COMPL -FV NC_3- tree
'When he arrived at the river, he climbed a tree,'

10. gakĩona kĩũra gĩikaire maĩ-inĩ.
ka- kĩ- on -a kĩ- ũra kĩ- ika -ir -e ma- aĩ -inĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- see -FV NC_7- frog SC_7- sit -COMPL -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'He then saw a frog sitting by the water.'

11. kĩũra gĩaikarĩire ithagu rĩa mũtĩ.
kĩ- ũra kĩ- a- ikar -ĩ -ir -e i- thagu rĩ- a mũ- tĩ
NC_7- frog SC_7- RM.PST- sit -APP -COMPL -FV NC_5- feather AC_5- ASSOC NC_3- tree
'The frog was sitting on the feather of a tree.'

12. kana ithangũ rĩa mũtĩ.
kana i- thangũ rĩ- a mũ- tĩ
or NC_5- leaf AC_5- ASSOC NC_3- tree
'Or, (I mean) a leaf of the tree.'

13. gaikaikara, kahĩĩ nĩkarorire rũũĩ,
ka- ika- ikar -a ka- hĩĩ nĩ- ka- ror -ir -e rũ- ũĩ
SC_{12}- REDUP- sit -FV NC_{12}- boy FOC- SC_{12}- look.at -COMPL -FV NC_{11}- river
'After he stayed for a little while, the little boy looked at the river,'

14. gagĩthiĩ harĩ kĩũra.
ka- kĩ- thi -ĩ ha- rĩ kĩ- ũra
SC_{12}- SEQ- go -FV SC_{16}- COP NC_{7}- frog
'and went where the frog was.'

15. gathiĩ kuona kĩũra,
ka- thi -ĩ kũ- on -a kĩ- ũra
SC_{12}- go -FV NC_{15}- see -FV NC_{7}- frog
'When he went to see the frog,'

16. gakĩgwa rũũĩ-inĩ.
ka- kĩ- gu -a rũ- ũĩ -inĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- fall -FV NC_{11}- river -LOC
'He then fell into the river.'

17. kĩũra nĩkĩamakire mũno kuona kahĩĩ na ngui ikĩgwa.
kĩ- ũra nĩ- kĩ- a- mak -ir -e mũno
NC_{8}- frog FOC- SC_{8}- RM.PST- surprise -COMPL -FV very
kũ- on -a ka- hĩĩ na N- gui i- kĩ- gũ -a
NC_{15}- see -FV NC_{12}- boy and NC_{9}- dog SC_{8}- SIM- fall -FV
'The frog was very surprised to see the little boy and the dog as they fell.'

18. a,
'Oh,'

19. kahĩĩ nĩkagũire rũũĩ,
ka- hĩĩ nĩ- ka- gũ -ir -e rũ- ũĩ
NC_{12}- boy FOC- SC_{12}- fall -COMPL -FV NC_{11}- river
'The little boy fell into the river,'

20. kĩongo gĩkĩgĩ-- gĩgĩthiĩ maĩ-inĩ.
kĩ- ongo gĩkĩgĩ kĩ- kĩ- thi -ĩ ma- aĩ -inĩ
NC_{7}- head TRUNC SC_{7}- SEQ- go -FV NC_{6}- water -LOC
'(His) head then went into the water.'

21. na kagui nako gakĩgwa rũũĩ-inĩ.
na ka- gui na- ka- o ka- kĩ- gũ -a rũ- ũĩ -inĩ
and NC_{12}- dog and- AC_{12}- PRO SC_{12}- SEQ- fall -FV NC_{11}- river -LOC
'and the little dog also fell into the river.'

22. na kĩongo gĩgĩthiĩ maĩ-inĩ.
na kĩ- ongo kĩ- kĩ- thi -ĩ ma- aĩ -inĩ
and NC_7 head SC_7- SEQ- go -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'And (his) head went into the water.'

23. kagui @@@ --
ka- gui
NC_{12}- dog
'the little dog (laughter) --'

24. kagui nĩgacokire gagĩthambĩra.
ka- gui nĩ- ka- cok -ir -e ka- kĩ- thambĩr -a
NC_{12}- dog FOC- SC_{12}- return -COMPL -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- swim -FV
'The little dog then swam.'

25. gakĩuma maĩ-inĩ.
ka- kĩ- um -a ma- aĩ -inĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- come.out -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'It came out of the water.'

26. na kahĩĩ nako gakiuma maĩ-inĩ.
na ka- hĩĩ na- ka- o ka- ki- um -a ma- aĩ -inĩ
and NC_{12}- boy and- AC_{12}- PRO SC_{12}- SEQ- come.out -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'and the little boy also came out of the water.'

27. gakĩĩhumbĩra kĩongo na ndoo.
ka- kĩ- ĩ- humb -ĩr -a kĩ- ongo na N- doo
SC_{12}- SEQ- REFL- cover -APP FV NC_7- head with NC_9- bucket
'He covered his head with a bucket.'

28. gagĩũka gakĩrora kora.
ka- kĩ- ũk -a ka- kĩ- ror -a ka- ũra
SC_{12}- SEQ- come -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- look.at -FV NC_{12}- frog
'Then he came and looked at the little frog.'

29. Kahĩĩ,
ka- hĩĩ
NC_{12}- boy
'The little boy,'

30. gakĩĩhumbĩra maitho gakĩaga kuona kĩũra.
ka- kĩ- ĩ- humb -ĩr -a ma- itho ka- kĩ- ag -a kũ- on -a kĩ- ũra
SC_{12}- SEQ- REFL- cover -APP -FV NC_6- eye SC_{12}- SEQ- fail -FV NC_{15}- see -FV NC_7- frog
'he covered his eyes and failed to see the frog.'

31. no kĩũra nakĩo nĩkĩarũgire,
no kĩ- ũra na- kĩ- o nĩ- kĩ- a- rũg -ir -e
but NC_7- frog and- AC_7- PRO FOC- SC_7- RM.PST- jump -COMPL -FV
'But the frog also jumped,'

32. gĩgĩtiga kahĩĩ,
kĩ- kĩ- tig -a ka- hĩĩ
SC_7- SEQ- abandon -FV NC_{12}- boy
'and left the little boy,'

33. na kagui maĩ-inĩ.
na ka- gui ma- aĩ -inĩ
and NC_{12}- dog NC_6- water -LOC
'and the little dog at the water.'

34. kahĩĩ gatigwo maĩ-inĩ,
ka- hĩĩ ka- tig -wo ma- aĩ -inĩ
NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- abandon -PV NC_6- water -LOC
'when the little boy was left at the river'

35. nĩgacokire gakĩrora harĩa kora gathiire.
nĩ- ka- cok -ir -e ka- kĩ- ror -a ha- rĩa ka- ũra ka- thi -ir -e
FOC- SC_{12}- return -COMPL -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- look.at -FV AC_{16}- REL NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- go -COMPL -FV
'He then looked at where the little frog went.'

36. kora gathiire gagĩikarĩra mũtĩ.
ka- ũra ka- thi -ir -e ka- kĩ- ikar -ĩr a mũ- tĩ
NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- go -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- SEQ- sit -APP -FV NC_3- tree
'The little frog went and sat on a tree.'

37. nako kagui gakĩambĩrĩria gũthambĩra.
na- ka- o ka- gui ka- kĩ amb -ĩrĩr -i -a kũ- thambĩr -a
and- AC_{12}- PRO NC_{12}- dog SC_{12}- SEQ- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- swim -FV
'And the little dog also started to swim.'

38. hakuhĩ na kahĩĩ.
ha- kuhĩ na ka- hĩĩ
AC_{16}- short with NC_{12}- boy
'near the little boy.'

39. kahĩĩ nako gakĩrũgama gakĩĩrorera,
ka- hĩĩ na- ka- o ka- kĩ- rũgam -a ka- kĩ- ĩ- ror -ĩr -a
NC_{12}- boy and- AC_{12}- PRO SC_{12}- SEQ- stand -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- REFL- look.at -APP -FV
'the little boy also stood and observed for himself,'

40. gakĩĩrorera kora.
ka- kĩ- ĩ- ror -ĩr -a ka- ũra
SC_{12}- SEQ- REFL- look.at -APP -FV NC_{12}- frog
'observed for himself the little frog.'

41. kagui na kahĩĩ nĩciaikarire-- nĩmaikarire maĩ-inĩ,
ka- gui na ka- hĩĩ nĩ- ci- a- ikar -ir -e --
nC_{12}- dog and NC_{12}- boy FOC- SC_{8}- RM.PST- sit -COMPL -FV TRUNC
nĩ- ma- a- ikar -ir -e ma- aĩ -inĩ
FOC- SC_{2}- RM.PST- sit -COMPL -FV NC_{6}- water -LOC
'The little dog and little boy stayed in the water,'

42. meroreire kora.
ma- ĩ- ror -ĩ -ir -e ka- ũra
SC_{2}- SIM- look.at -APP -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- frog
'while they looked at the little frog.'

43. nako kora gagĩikara mũtĩ-inĩ keroreire kahĩĩ na kagui.
na- ka- o ka ũra ka- kĩ- ikar -a mũ- tĩ -inĩ
and- AC_{12}- PRO NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- SEQ- stand -FV NC_{3}- tree -LOC
ka- ĩ- ror -ĩ -ir -e ka- hĩĩ na ka- gui
SC_{12}- SIM- look.at -APP -COMPL FV NC_{12}- boy and NC_{12}- dog
'And also the little frog stayed in the tree while observing the little boy and the little dog.'

44. kagui gakĩhaica harĩa kora karĩ,
ka- gui ka- kĩ- haic -a ha- rĩa ka- ũra ka- rĩ,
NC_{12}- dog SC_{12}- SEQ- climb -FV AC_{16}- REL NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- COP
'The little dog climbed to the place where the little frog was,'

45. nako kahĩĩ gakĩhaica harĩa kora karĩ,
na- ka- o ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- haic -a ha- rĩa ka- ũra ka -rĩ
and- AC_{12}- PRO NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- climb -FV AC_{16}- REL NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- COP
'The little boy also climbed to the place where the frog was,'

46. ciothe igĩikarĩra kamũtĩ.
ci- othe i- kĩ- ikar -ĩr -a ka- mũtĩ
AC_8- all SC_8- SEQ- sit -APP -FV NC_{12}- tree
'they all then sat on the little tree.'

47. ciaikaikara rĩ,
ci- a- ika- ikar -a rĩ
SC_8- RM.PST- REDUP- sit -FV COP
'After they sat a while, then (guess what happened!),'

48. kagui nĩkambĩrĩrie gũthaka na kora.
ka- gui nĩ- ka- amb -ĩrĩr -i -e kũ- thak -a na ka- ũra
NC_{12}- dog FOC- SC_{12}- start -INTENS- -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- play -FV with NC_{12}- frog
'the dog began to play with the frog.'

49. nako kahĩĩ gakĩhumbĩra kora na neti,
na- ka- o ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- humb -ĩr -a ka- ũra na neti
and- AC_{12}- PRO NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- cover -APP -FV NC_{12}- frog with NC_9.net
'Then the little boy covered the little frog with a net,'

50. na mũtego.
na mũ- teg -o
with NC_3- trap -NMZ
'with a trap.'

51. kahĩĩ gakĩhumbĩra kagui na mũtego.
ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- humb -ĩr -a ka- gui na mũ- teg -o
NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- cover -APP -FV NC_{12}- dog with NC_3- trap -NMZ
'Then the little boy covered the little dog with the trap.'

52. kora nako gakĩgũa maĩ-inĩ gagĩcoka maĩ-inĩ.
ka- ũra na- ka- o ka- kĩ- gũ -a ma- aĩ -inĩ
NC_{12}- frog and- AC_{12}- PRO SC_{12}- SEQ- fall -FV NC_6- water -LOC
ka- kĩ- cok -a ma- aĩ -inĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- return -FV NC_6- water -LOC
'And then the frog fell into the water, went back to the water.'

53. kahĩĩ nĩgacokire gagĩtega,
ka- hĩĩ nĩ- ka- cok -ir -e ka- kĩ- teg -a
NC_{12}- boy FOC- SC_{12}- return -COMPL -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- trap -FV
'Then the boy trapped,'

54. gagĩ-- gakĩoya kagui na mũtego,
ka- kĩ- -- ka- kĩ- oy -a ka- gui na mũ- teg -o
SC_{12}- SEQ- TRUNC SC_{12}- SEQ- take -FV NC_{12}- dog with NC_3- trap -NMZ
'took the little dog with the trap,'

55. kora karĩ maĩ-inĩ keroreire ũrĩa kahĩĩ kareka,
ka- ũra ka- rĩ ma- aĩ -inĩ ka- ĩ- ror -ĩ -ir -e
NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- COP NC_6- water -LOC SC_{12}- REFL- look.at -APP -COMPL -FV
ũ- rĩa ka- hĩĩ ka- rek -a
AC_{14}- REL NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- do -FV
'while the frog was at the water, observing what the little boy was doing,'

56. naũrĩa kora kareka e--
na- ũ- rĩa ka- ũra ka- rek -a e--
and- AC_{14}- REL NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- do -FV TRUNC
'and what the frog was doing --'

57. kũrĩa ka-- ũrĩa kagui kareka na ũrĩa kahĩĩ kareka.
kũ- rĩa ka- -- ũ- rĩa ka- gui ka- rek -a
AC_{15}- REL NC_{12}- TRUNC AC_{14}- REL NC_{12}- dog SC_{12}- do -FV
na ũ- rĩa ka- hĩĩ ka- rek -a
and AC_{14}- REL NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- do -FV
'what the dog was doing and what the boy was doing.'

58. kagui kagui nĩga-- nĩkahumbĩrire-- nĩkahumbĩrirwo nĩ kahĩĩ.
ka- gui ka- gui nĩ- ka- -- nĩ- ka- humb -ĩr -ir -e --
NC_{12}- dog NC_{12}- dog FOC- SC_{12}- TRUNC FOC- SC_{12}- cover -APP -COMPL -FV TRUNC

nĩ- ka- humb -ĩr -ir -wo nĩ ka- hĩĩ
FOC- SC_{12}- cover -APP -COMPL -PV by NC_{12}- boy
'The little dog was covered by the little boy.'

59. gagĩikara karĩ kahumbĩre na mũtego.
ka- kĩ- ikar -a ka- rĩ ka- humb -ĩr -e na mũ- teg -o
SC_{12}- SEQ- sit -FV SC_{12}- COP SC_{12}- cover -APP -FV with NC_3- trap -NMZ
'He stayed covered by the trap.'

60. gatiahotire kuuma hau.
ka- ti- a- hot -ir -e kũ- um -a ha- u
SC_{12}- NEG- RM.PST- able -COMPL -FV NC_{15}- come.out -FV AC_{16}- ANA
'He was unable to get out of there.'

61. kahĩĩ gakĩambĩrĩria kwaria na-- na kora.
ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- amb -ĩrĩr -i -a kũ- ari -a na-- na ka- ũra
NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- speak -FV with with NC_{12}- frog
'Then the little boy started to speak to the little frog.'

62. gagĩcoka gakĩhumbũria kagui,
ka- kĩ- cok -a ka- kĩ- humb -ũr -i -a ka- gui
SC_{12}- SEQ- return -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- cover -REVERS -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- dog
'Then the little boy uncovered the little dog,'

63. makĩinũka,
ma- kĩ- in -ũk -a
SC_2- SEQ- sing -REVERS.MID -a
'They went home[6],'

64. kora gagĩtigwo gaikarĩire ihiga rũũĩ-inĩ.
ka- ũra ka- kĩ- tig -wo ka- ikar -ĩ -ir -e i- higa rũ- ũĩ -inĩ
NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- SEQ- abandon -PV SC_{12}- sit -APP -COMPL -FV NC_5- stone NC_{11}- river -LOC
'The frog was left sitting on a stone by the river.'

65. kahĩĩ nĩgai-- nĩgathiire mũciĩ.
ka- hĩĩ nĩ- ka- i-- nĩ- ka- thi -ir -e mũ- ciĩ
NC_{12}- boy FOC- SC_{12}- TRUNC FOC- SC_{12}- go -COMPL -FV NC_3- home
'and then the boy went home.'

[6] See section 3.4.4 on the reversive suffix for an analysis of this expression, presented there as example (212).

66. Nĩkaambĩrĩrie kuuma rũũi-inĩ na kahĩĩ.
nĩ- ka- amb -ĩrĩr -i -e kũ- um -a rũ- ũi -inĩ na ka- hĩĩ
FOC- SC_{12}- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- come.out -FV NC_{11}- river -LOC with NC_{12}- boy
'It started to come out of the river with the boy.'

67. magĩthiĩ na magũrũ,
ma- kĩ- thi -ĩ na ma- gũrũ
SC_{2}- SEQ- go -FV with NC_{6}- leg
'And then they went on foot,'

68. kahĩĩ gakururĩtie mũtego.
ka- hĩĩ ka- kurur -ĩt -i -e mũ- teg -o
NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- drag PERF -TRNS -FV NC_{3}- trap -NMZ
'while the little boy dragged the trap.'

69. ka-- kora nĩgatigirwo rũũĩ karĩ o gaiki.
ka-- ka- ũra nĩ- ka- tig -ir -wo rũ- ũĩ ka- rĩ o ka- iki
TRUNC NC_{12}- frog FOC- SC_{12}- abandon -COMPL -PV NC_{11}- river SC_{12}- COP just AC_{12}- alone
'The frog was left at the river all alone.'

70. mĩtĩ-inĩ.
mĩ- tĩ -inĩ
NC_{4}- tree -LOC
'in the trees.'

71. kwarĩ na mĩtĩ mĩingĩ na mahuti m-- maingĩ.
kũ- arĩ na mĩ- tĩ mĩ- ingĩ na ma- huti m-- ma- ingĩ
SC_{17}- COP with NC_{4}- tree JC_{4}- many and NC_{6}- leaf TRUNC JC_{6}- many
'There were a lot of trees and a lot of leaves.'

72. no kora gaikarĩte karĩ o gaiki ihiga-inĩ.
no ka- ũra ka- ikar -ĩt -e ka- rĩ o ka- iki i- higa -inĩ
but SC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- sit -PERF -FV SC_{12}- COP just AC_{12}- alone NC_{5}- stone -LOC
'But the frog was sitting, being all alone on the stone.'

73. kora gagĩcoka gakĩambĩrĩria kũrũmĩrĩra makinya ma kahĩĩ na kagui.
ka- ũra ka- kĩ- cok -a ka- kĩ- amb -ĩrĩr -i -a
NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- SEQ- return -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV

kũ- rũm -ĩrĩr -a ma- kinya ma- a ka- hĩĩ na ka- gui
NC_{15}- follow -INTENS -FV NC_6- footstep AC_6- ASSOC NC_{12}- boy and NC_{12}- dog
'Then the frog started following the footsteps of the little boy and the little dog.'

74. gagĩũka kinya rũ-- kinya mũciĩ.
ka- kĩ- ũk -a kinya rũ- -- kinya mũ- ciĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- come -FV until NC_{11}- TRUNC until NC_3- home
'He came all the way home.'

75. gakiuma o rũũĩ-inĩ gagĩũka kinya mũciĩ.
ka- kĩ- um -a o rũ- ũĩ -inĩ ka- kĩ- ũk -a kinya mũ- ciĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- come.out -FV all NC_{11}- river -LOC SC_{12}- SEQ- come -FV until NC_3- home
'He came all the way from the river and came (up to the) home.'

76. gagĩkora kahĩĩ na kagui me-- maĩ-inĩ magĩĩthamba.
ka- kĩ- kor -a ka- hĩĩ na ka- gui ma- e ma- aĩ -inĩ ma- kĩ- ĩ- thamb -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- find -FV NC_{12}- boy and NC_{12}- dog AC_2- at NC_6- water -LOC SC_2- SIM- REFL- wash -FV
'Then he found the boy and the dog in the water washing themselves.'

77. gakĩmarũthĩrĩria.
ka- kĩ- ma- rũth -ĩrĩr -i -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- OC_2- peek -INTENS -TRNS -FV
'He peeked at them.'

78. kahĩĩ na kagui makĩona kora gakĩrũga.
ka- hĩĩ na ka- gui ma- kĩ- on -a ka- ũra ka- kĩ- rũg -a
NC_{12}- boy and NC_{12}- dog SC_2- SEQ- see -FV NC_{12}- frog SC_{12}- SIM- jump -FV
'Then the little boy and the little dog saw the little frog jumping.'

79. gakĩrũga gagĩũka maĩ-inĩ harĩa maarĩ magĩĩthamba.
ka- kĩ- rũg -a ka- kĩ- ũk -a ma- aĩ -inĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- jump -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- come -FV NC_6- water -LOC
ha- rĩa ma- a- rĩ ma- kĩ- ĩ- thamb -a
AC_{16}- REL SC_2- RM.PST- COP SC_2- SIM- REFL- wash -FV
'It jumped and came into the water where they were while washing themselves.'

80. gakĩmakinyĩra.
ka- kĩ- ma- kiny -ĩr -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- OC_2- arrive -APP -FV
'He caught up with them.'

81. na magĩikara mbabu-inĩ marĩ atatũ kahĩĩ kagui na kora.
na ma- kĩ- ikar -a mbabu -inĩ ma- rĩ a- tatũ ka- hĩĩ ka- gui na ka- ũra
and SC_2- SEQ- sit -FV NC_9.bath -LOC SC_2- COP AC_2- three NC_{12}- boy NC_{12}- dog and NC_{12}- frog
'Then they sat in the bathtub the three of them, the boy, the dog, and the frog.'

82. rũgano rwakwa rwathirĩra hau[7].
rũ- gan -o rũ- akwa rũ- a- thir -ĩr -a ha- u
NC_{11}- narrate -NMZ SC_{11}- 1SG.POS SC_{11}- CR.PRES end -APP -FV AC_{16}- ANA.DEM
'My story ends there.'

[7] This is a formulaic story closing and is found in two related forms in the other narratives in this appendix as well.

Appendix B

Film-Viewing Narrative: "Pear Story" *Jonas Wittke*

A narration of the *Pear Film* (see Chafe 1980, and http://www.pearstories.org/).
MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/02-pears.mp3

1. nĩkũarĩ na mũrĩmi mũbaranja
nĩ- kũ- a- rĩ na mũ- rĩmi mũ- baranja
FOC- SC_{17}- RM.PST- COP with NC_1- farmer AC_1- French
'there was a French farmer'

2. arĩmaga matunda ma *pears*
a- rĩm -ag -a ma- tunda m- a *pears*
SC_1- cultivate -HAB -FV NC_6- fruit AC_6- ASSOC NC_9.pears
'he grew pears'

3. na mũthenya ũmwe nĩathire gũtua matunda
na mũ- thenya ũ- mwe nĩ- a- th -ir -e kũ- tu -a ma- tunda
and NC_3- day AC_3- one FOC- SC_1- go -COMPL -FV NC_{15}- pick -FV NC_6- fruit
'and one day he went to pick fruit'

4. akĩhaica ngathĩ
a- kĩ- haic -a ngathĩ
SC_1- SEQ- mount -FV NC_9.ladder
'and (then) he climbed up a ladder'

5. akĩhai-- agĩ--
akĩhai-- agĩ--
TRUNC TRUNC

6. agĩtua matunda maigana ũna
a- kĩ- tu -a ma- tunda ma- igana ũna
SC_1- SEQ- pick -FV NC_6- fruit JC_6- quantity known.amount
'and then he picked a number of fruits'

7. ikabu cigana ũna
i- kabu ci- igana ũna
NC_8- basket JC_8- quantity known.amount
'a number of baskets (of fruit)'

8. ta ithatũ kana inya
ta i- thatũ kana i- nya
like AC_8- three or AC_8- four
'about three or four'

9. agĩthiĩ gũtua mangĩ-rĩ
a- kĩ- thi -ĩ kũ- tu -a ma- ngĩ -rĩ
SC_1- SEQ- go -FV NC_{15}- pick -FV JC_6- other MKR
'and when he went to pick some more,'

10. nĩhokire kahĩĩ
nĩ- ha- ũk -ir -e ka- hĩĩ
FOC- SC_{16}- come -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- boy
'there came a little boy'

11. arĩ ngathĩ igũrũ kahĩĩ gagĩũka
a- rĩ ngathĩ igũrũ ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- ũk -a
SC_1- COP NC_9.ladder up NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- come -FV
'while he was up the ladder, a little boy came'

12. ga
ga
TRUNC

13. ke-na mũithikiri
ka- rĩ- na mũ- ithikiri
SC_{12}- COP with NC_3- bicycle
'with a bicycle'

14. gakĩiga mũithikiri thĩ
ka- kĩ- ig -a mũ- ithikiri thĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- put -FV NC_3- bicycle down
'and then the little boy put the bicycle down'

15. gagĩcũthĩrĩria
ka- kĩ- cũth -ĩrĩr -i -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- hit -INTENS -TRNS -FV
'he peeked (as you would from behind a tree)'

16. gagĩcũthĩrĩria kana mũndũ nĩarakona
ka- kĩ- cũth -ĩrĩr -i -a kana mũ- ndũ nĩ- a- ra- ka- on -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- hit -INTENS -TRNS -FV if NC_1- person FOC- SC_1- CR.PRES- OC_{12}- see -FV
'he peeked (to learn) whether the man could (at that time) see him'

17. gakĩona ndarakona
ka- kĩ- on -a nd- a- ra- ka- on -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- see -FV NEG SC_1- CR.PRES- OC_{12}- see -FV
'he saw that the man could not (at that time) see him'

18. gakĩinamĩrĩra gakĩoya gĩkabu kĩmwe
ka- kĩ- inam -ĩrĩr -a ka- kĩ- oy -a kĩ- kabu ki- mwe
SC_{12}- SEQ- bend -INTENS -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- take -FV NC_7- basket AC_7- one
'and then he bent over and took one basket'

19. gakĩiga ha-kuhĩ na mũithikiri
ka- kĩ- ig -a ha- kuhĩ na mũ- ithikiri
SC_{12}- SEQ- put -FV NC_{16}- short with NC_3- bicycle
'and then he put it near the bicycle'

20. gagĩcoka gakĩhaica mũithikiri
ka- kĩ- cok -a ka- kĩ- haic -a mũ- ithikiri
SC_{12}- SEQ- return -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- mount -FV NC_3- bicycle
'and then he got on the bicycle'

21. gakĩoya gĩkabu kĩa matunda
ka- kĩ- oy -a kĩ- kabu kĩ- a ma- tunda
SC_{12}- SEQ- take -FV NC_7- basket AC_7- ASSOC NC_6- fruit
'and then he took the basket of fruit'

22. gakĩigĩrĩra mũithikiri-inĩ na gagĩthiĩ
ka- kĩ- ig -ĩrĩr -a mũ- ithikiri -inĩ na ka- kĩ- thi -ĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- put -INTENS -FV NC_3- bicycle -LOC and SC_{12}- SEQ- go -FV
'and then he put it on the bicycle and left'

23. gagĩikũrũka handũ harĩ karĩma
ka- kĩ- igũrũ -ũr -ik -a ha- ndũ ha- rĩ ka- rĩma
SC_{12}- SEQ- above -REVERS -MID -FV NC_{16}- place SC_{16}- COP NC_{12}- hill
'and then he went down this little hill'

24. gaikũrũka
ka- igũrũ -ũr -ik -a
SC_{12}- above -REVERS -MID -FV
'when he descended'

25. gaikũrũka
ka- igũrũ -ũr -ik -a
SC_{12}- above -REVERS -MID -FV
'he descended'

26. gagĩcemania na tũhĩĩ tũngĩ tũtatũ
ka- kĩ- cem -an -i -a na tũ- hĩĩ tũ- ngĩ tũ- tatũ
SC_{12}- SEQ- cross.paths -RECIP -TRNS -FV with NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- other AC_{13}- three
'he crossed paths with three other little boys'

27. tũhĩĩ tũu
tũ- hĩĩ tũ- u
NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- ANA.DEM
'those little boys'

28. nĩgwa-- nĩtwahĩ--
nĩgwa-- nĩtwahĩ--
TRUNC TRUNC

29. nĩtũahĩtũkire kahĩĩ kau
nĩ- tũ- a- hĩt -ũr -ik -ir -e ka- hĩĩ ka- u
FOC- SC_{13}- RM.PST- hunt -REVERS -MID -COMPL -FV NC_{12}- boy AC_{12}- ANA.DEM
'they passed that little boy'

30. gagĩikũrũka
ka- kĩ- igũrũ -ũr -ik -a
SC_{12}- SEQ- above -REVERS -MID -FV
'as he went down the hill'

31. na tũo tũkĩambata tũgĩthakaga
na tũ- o tũ- kĩ- ambat -a tũ- kĩ- thak -ag -a
and AC_{13}- ANA.DEM SC_{13}- SEQ- ascend -FV SC_{13}- SEQ- play -IMPF -FV
'and they went uphill as they played'

32. makĩhĩtũkana na kahĩĩ gakĩmageithia
ma- kĩ- hĩt -ũr -ik -an -a na ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- ma- ge -ith -i -a
SC_6- SEQ- hunt -REVERS -MID -RECIP -FV and NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- OC_6- have -CAUS -TRNS -FV
'they (and the boy) then passed each other and the boy greeted them'

33. ndiũĩ kana nĩ ngũbia gathire kũruta
N- ti- ũĩ kana nĩ ngũbia ka- thi -ir -e kũ- rut -a
1SG- NEG- know if FOC NC_9.hat SC_{12}- go -COMPL -FV NC_{15}- remove -FV
'I don't know, he went to remove his hat'

34. kamageithie
ka- ma- ge -ith -i -e
SC_{12}- OC_6- have -CAUS -TRNS -FV
'so as to greet them'

35. kageithie tũhĩĩ tũu tũngĩ tũtatũ
ka- ge -ith -i -e tũ- hĩĩ tũ- u tũ- ngĩ tũ- tatũ
SC_{12}- have CAUS -TRNS -FV NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- ANA AC_{13}- other AC_{13}- three
'so as to greet those other three boys'

36. kana nĩ atĩa gakĩgũithia mũithikiri na gakĩgwa
kana nĩ atĩa ka- kĩ- gũ -ith -i -a mũ- ithikiri na ka- kĩ- gũ -a
or FOC what SC_{12}- SEQ- fall CAUS -TRNS -FV NC_3- bicycle and SC_{12}- SEQ- fall -FV
'or, whatever it is – he dropped the bicycle and then he fell'

37. kagwa matunda mothe makĩgwa
ka- gũ -a ma- tunda ma- othe ma- kĩ- gũ -a
SC_{12}- fall -FV NC_6- fruit JC_6- all SC_6- SEQ- fall -FV
'(when) he fell, all the fruit then fell'

38. magwa nĩguo tũhĩĩ twacokire
ma- gũ -a nĩ- guo tũ- hĩĩ tũ- a- cok -ir -e
SC_6- fall -FV FOC- when NC_{13}- boy SC_{13}- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV
'after the fruit fell – that is when the boys returned'

39. gũcoka kuona nĩkagwa
kũ- cok -a kũ on -a nĩ- ka- gũ -a
NC_{15}- return -FV NC_{15}- see -FV FOC- SC_{12}- fall -FV
'returned, and saw that the boy fell'

40. tũgĩcoka gũkane gũgateithia
tũ- kĩ- cok -a kũ- ka- ne kũ- ka- te -ith -i -a
SC_{13}- SEQ- return -FV NC_{15}- OC_{12}- give.by.hand NC_{15}- OC_{12}- help CAUS -TRNS -FV
'then they returned to give him... to help him'

41. twagateithia
tũ- a- ga- te -ith -i -a
SC_{13}- RM.PST- OC_{12}- help CAUS -TRNS -FV
'after they helped him'

42. gac gacoka ningĩ
gac ka- cok -a ningĩ
TRUNC SC_{12}- return -FV also
'when he went back, also'

43. kahaica mũithikiri-rĩ
ka- haic -a mũ- ithikiri -rĩ
SC_{12}- mount -FV NC_3- bicycle MKR
'when he got on the bicycle,'

44. nĩguo
nĩ- guo
FOC- when
'that is when'

45. nĩkambire gakĩmahe ma matunda matatũ
nĩ- ka- amb -ir -e ka- kĩ- ma- he ma- ma- tunda ma- tatũ
FOC- SC_{12}- start -COMPL -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- OC_6- give TRUNC NC_6- fruit AC_6- three
'he started by giving them three fruits'

46. gagĩcoka gakĩhaica mũithikiri gagĩthiĩ
ka- kĩ- cok -a ka- kĩ- haic -a mũ- ithikiri ka- kĩ- thi -ĩ
SC_{12}- SEQ- return -FV SC_{12}- SEQ- mount -FV NC_3- bicycle SC_{12}- SEQ- go -FV
'and then he got on the bicycle and left'

47. nĩguo tũhĩĩ twacokire tũkĩona ngũbia
nĩ- guo tũ- hĩĩ tũ- a- cok -ir -e tũ- kĩ- on -a ngũbia
FOC- when NC_{13}- boy SC_{13}- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV SC_{13}- SEQ- see -FV NC_9.hat
'that is when the boys then found the hat'

48. kahĩĩ kamwe gakĩoya ngũbia
ka- hĩĩ ka- mwe ka- kĩ- oy -a ngũbia
NC_{12}- boy AC_{12}- one SC_{12}- SEQ- take -FV NC_9.hat
'one boy then took the hat'

49. gagĩcokeria kahĩĩ gaka gatete ngũbia
ka- kĩ- cok -ĩr -i -a ka- hĩĩ ka- ka ka- ta -ĩt -e ngũbia
SC_{12}- SEQ- return -APP -TRNS -FV NC_{12}- boy AC_{12}- PROX.DEM SC_{12}- lose -PERF -FV NC_9.hat
'he then returned it to this boy who had lost a hat'

50. aaaa-- gagĩcoka ĩĩ ĩhĩ
aaaa-- ka- kĩ- cok -a ĩĩ ĩhĩ
TRUNC SC_{12}- SEQ- return -FV yes no
'ummm... and then the boy went back... yes... no...'

51. gacokia ngũbia
ka- cok -i -a ngũbia
SC_{12}- return -TRNS -FV NC_9.hat
'when he returned the hat'

52. nĩguo kaheirwo matunda matatũ
nĩ- guo ka- he -ir -wo ma- tunda ma- tatũ
FOC- when SC_{12}- give -COMPL -PV NC_6- fruit AC_6- three
'that is when he was given three fruits'

53. kahe tũhĩĩ tũu tũngĩ twĩri twatigĩtwo
ka- he tũ- hĩĩ tũ- u tũ- ngĩ tũ- ĩri tũ- a- tig -ĩt -wo
SC_{12}- give NC_{13}- boy AC_{13}- ANA.DEM AC_{13}- other AC_{13}- two SC_{13}- RM.PST- abandon -PERF -PV
'to give to those other two boys that had been left behind'

54. aaaa-- twaheo matunda macio matatũ
aaaa-- tũ- a- he -o ma- tunda ma- cio ma- tatũ
TRUNC SC_{13}- RM.PST- give -PV NC_6- fruit AC_6- ANA.DEM AC_6- three
'ummm... when they were given those three fruits'

55. no gũthiĩ twathire tũkĩambĩrĩria
no kũ- thi -ĩ tũ- a- thi -ir -e tũ- kĩ- amb -ĩrĩr -i -a
just NC_{15}- go -FV SC_{13}- RM.PST- go -COMPL -FV SC_{13}- SEQ- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV
'they just left, then they started'

56. gũthiĩ nakũrĩa twathiaga

kũ- thi -ĩ na- kũ- rĩa tũ- a- thi -ag -a

NC_{15}- go -FV with AC_{17}- DIST.DEM SC_{13}- RM.PST- go -IMPF -FV

‘to go to the place that they were going’

57. nako kahĩĩ gagĩthiĩra

na- ka- o ka- hĩĩ ka- kĩ- ĩ- thi -ĩr -a

and AC_{12}- ANA.DEM NC_{12}- boy SC_{12}- SEQ- REFL- go -PROC -FV

‘and the little boy went on his way’

58. kũrĩa gathiaga

kũ- rĩa ka thi -ag -a

AC_{17}- REL SC_{12}- go IMPF -FV

‘to the place that he was going’

59. rũgano rwakwa rũgĩthirĩra hau!

rũ- gan -o rũ akwa rũ- kĩ- thir -ĩr -a ha- u

NC_{11}- narrate -NMZ AC_{11}- 1SG.POS SC_{11}- SEQ- end -APP -FV AC_{16}- ANA.DEM

‘and then my story ended there!’

Appendix C

Procedural Text: "Mataha" *Anaí Navarro*

MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/03-mataha.mp3

1. irio ciakwa iria nyendete mũno ciĩtagwo mataha

i- rio i- akwa i- ria N- end -et -e mũno i- ĩt -ag -wo ma- taha

NC_8- food NC_8- 1SG.POS NC_8- REL 1SG.SUBJ- like -PERF -FV very SC_8- call -IMPF -PV NC_6- *mataha*

'my favorite food is called *mataha*'

2. mataha nĩ irio itahagwo na kaihũri

ma- taha nĩ i- rio i- tah -ag -wo na ka- ihũri

NC_6- *mataha* FOC NC_8- food SC_8- fetch -IMPF -PV with NC_{12}- gourd

'mataha is food scooped with a little half gourd'

3. na ikoragwo na mbembe

na i- kor -ag -wo na N- bembe

and SC_8- find -IMPF -PV with NC_{10}- corn

'and it has corn'

4. icamũkagio mbembe

i- camũk -ag -i -wo N- bembe

SC_{10}- boil -IMPF -TRNS -PV NC_{10}- corn

'corn is boiled'

5. ũgacamũkia mbembe kinya igacamũka biũ

ũ- ka- camũk -i -a N- bembe kinya i- ka- camũk -a biũ

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- boil -TRNS -FV NC_{10}- corn until SC_{10}- CR.PRES- boil -FV completely

'you boil corn until it is completely boiled'

6. ũgacoka ũgacamũkia mboco

ũ- ka- cok -a ũ- ka- camũk -i -a N- boco

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- resume -FV 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- boil -TRNS -FV NC_{10}- beans

'then you boil beans'

7. kinya igacamũka biũ

kinya i- ka- camũk -a biũ

until SC_{10}- CR.PRES- boil -FV completely

'until they are completely boiled'

8. kana ũgacamũkanĩria ciothe hamwe

kana ũ- ka- camũk -an -ĩr -i -a i- othe ha- mwe

or 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- boil -RECIP -PROC -TRNS -FV NC_{10}- together NC_{16}- one

'or you could boil them all together in one place'

9. icio nĩcio nyendete cia mbembe na mboco nyũmũ

i- cio nĩ- ci- o N- end -et -e i- a N- bembe na N- boco N- ũmũ

NC_8- DEM FOC- NC_8- PRO 1SG.SUBJ- like -PERF -FV AC_8- ASSOC NC_{10}- corn and NC_{10}- beans AC_{10}- dry

'that is the way I like it, made of dry corn and beans'

10. kana mboco na mbembe njũa

kana N- boco na N- bembe N- cũa

or NC_{10}- beans and NC_{10}- corn NC_{10}- green

'or green beans and corn'

11. ũgacamũkia na maĩ

ũ- ka- camũk -i -a na ma- aĩ

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- boil -TRNS -FV with NC_6- water

'you boil them with water'

12. cikahĩa kinya maĩ, ma--

i- ka- hĩ -a kinya ma- aĩ ma--

SC_{10}- CR.PRES- cook -FV until NC_6- water TRUNC

'they cook until the water'

13. kinya igatuĩka, ikahĩa biũ biũ biũ

kinya i- ka- tuĩk -a i- ka- hĩ -a biũ biũ biũ

until SC_{10}- CR.PRES- become -FV SC_{10}- CR.PRES- cook -FV completely completely completely

‘until they become, they are completely cooked’

14. kinya igatuĩka njororo

kinya i- ka- tuĩk -a N- cororo

until SC_{10}- CR.PRES- become -FV AC_{10}- soft

‘until they become soft’

15. ũgaita maĩ

ũ- ka- it -a ma- aĩ

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- pour.out -FV NC_6- water

‘you then pour out the water’

16. ũgekĩra

ũ- ka- ĩkĩr -a

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- put -FV

‘then you put’

17. aca, ũgekĩra

aca ũ- ka- ĩkĩr -a

no 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- put -FV

‘no, then you put’

18. ũtanaita maĩ ũgekĩra

ũ- tana- it -a ma- aĩ ũ- ka- ĩkĩr -a

2SG.SUBJ- POST- pour.out -FV NC_6- water 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- put -FV

‘before you pour out the water, you put’

19. marigũ methĩ na nyeni

ma- rigũ ma- ĩthĩ na N- nyeni

NC_6- banana AC_6- unripe and NC_{10}- greens

‘unripe bananas and greens’

20. kana marigũ merĩ na-- methĩ na waru na nyeni
kana ma- rigũ ma- ĩrĩ na ma- ĩthĩ na waru na N- nyeni
or NC_6- banana AC_6- two and AC_6- unripe and NC_{10}.potato and NC_{10}- greens
'or unripe bananas and potatoes and greens'

21. igacamũka kinya ikahĩa
i- ka- camũk -a kinya i- ka- hĩ -a
SC_{10}- CR.PRES- boil -FV until SC_{10}- CR.PRES- cook -FV
'they boil until they're cooked'

22. ikahĩanĩria hamwe na mboco
i- ka- hĩ -an -ĩr -i -a ha- mwe na N- boco
SC_{10}- CR.PRES- cook –RECIP -PROC -TRNS -FV NC_{16}- one with NC_{10}- beans
'they cook together with the beans'

23. hamwe na mbembe
ha- mwe na N- bembe
NC_{16}- one with NC_{10}- corn
'together with the corn'

24. na nĩtuge
na nĩ- tũ- ug -e
and FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- say -FV
'and let's say'

25. ũcamũkĩtie ikombe inya cia mbembe
ũ- camũk -ĩt -i -e i- kombe i- nya i- a N- bembe
2SG.SUBJ- boil -PERF -TRNS -FV NC_8- cup AC_8- four AC_8- ASSOC NC_{10}- corn
'you've boiled four cups of corn'

26. ũgwĩkĩra gĩkombe kĩmwe kĩa
ũ- kũ- ĩkĩr -a kĩ- kombe kĩ- mwe kĩ- a
2SG.SUBJ- CR.FUT- put -FV NC_7- cup AC_7- one AC_7- ASSOC
'you're going to put one cup of'

27. aca ikombe ithatũ cia mbembe
aca i- kombe i- thatũ i- a N- bembe
no NC_8- cup AC_8- three AC_8- ASSOC NC_{10}- corn
'no, three cups of corn'

28. ikombe ithatũ cia mboco
i- kombe i- thatũ i- a N- boco
NC_8- cup AC_8- three AC_8- ASSOC NC_{10}- beans
'three cups of beans'

29. gĩkombe kĩmũe kĩa mbembe
kĩ- kombe kĩ- mũe kĩ- a N- bembe
NC_7- cup AC_7- one AC_7- ASSOC NC_{10}- corn
'one cup of corn'

30. icio nacio rĩu ũgwĩkĩra marigũ
i- cio na- ci- o rĩu ũ- kũ- ĩkĩr -a ma- rigũ
AC_8- ANA.DEM and- AC_8- PRO now 2SG.SUBJ- CR.FUT- put -FV NC_6- banana
'and into that you will now put bananas'

31. ta mana kana matano
ta ma- na kana ma- tano
like AC_6- four or AC_6- five
'like four or five'

32. na waru inya kana ithano
na waru i- nya kana i- thano
and NC_{10}.potato AC_{10}- four or AC_{10}- five
'and four or five potatoes'

33. na nyeni mahuti ta ikũmi kana mĩrongo ĩrĩ
na N- nyeni ma- huti ta ikũmi kana mĩ- rongo ĩ- ĩrĩ
and NC_{10}- greens NC_6- leaf like ten or NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two
'and greens, like ten or twenty leaves'

34. o, o iria ũngĩenda gũĩkĩra

o o i- ria ũ- ngĩ- end -a kũ- ĩkĩr -a

just just AC_{10}- REL 2SG.SUBJ- COND- like -FV NC_{15}- put -FV

'just however many you would like to put'

35. cia marenge

i- a ma- renge

AC_{10}- ASSOC NC_6- pumpkin

'of pumpkin plant'

36. nyeni cia marenge nĩ njega mũno na gĩtheri, na mataha

N- nyeni i- a ma- renge nĩ N- ega mũno na kĩ- theri na ma- taha

NC_{10}- greens AC_{10}- ASSOC NC_6- pumpkin FOC SC_{10}- good very with NC_7- *gĩtheri* and NC_6- *mataha*

'pumpkin leaves are very good with *gĩtheri*[8] and *mataha*'

37. ha-- ciacamũka ciahĩa-rĩ ũgakimakima

ha-- i- a- camũk -a i- a- hĩ -a -rĩ ũ- ka- kima- kim -a

TRUNC SC_{10}- CR.PST- boil -FV SC_8- CR.PST- cook -FV -MKR 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- REDUP- mash -FV

'once they boil and it is cooked, you continuously mash it'

38. ũgakima kinya ikahĩa biũ

ũ- ka- kim -a kinya i- ka- hĩ -a biũ

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- mash -FV until SC_{10}- CR.PRES- cook -FV completely

'you mash it until it's completely cooked'

39. iga-- igatuĩka, rĩu igatukana ciothe

iga-- i- ka- tuĩk -a rĩu i- ka- tukan -a i- othe

TRUNC SC_8- CR.PRES- become -FV now SC_8- CR.PRES- mix -FV AC_8- all

'it gets-- now it all gets mixed together'

40. igatuĩka, ikahana o nyeni

i- ka- tuĩk -a i- ka- han -a o N- nyeni

SC_8- CR.PRES- become -FV SC_8- CR.PRES- look -FV just NC_{10}- greens

'it becomes, it looks like just greens'

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[8] *Gĩtheri* is plain beans and corn with nothing added to it.

41. ikagĩa na rangi wa nyeni
i- ka- gĩ -a na rangi ũ -a N- nyeni
SC_8- CR.PRES- acquire -FV with NC_{14}.color AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_{10}- greens
'it acquires the color of the greens'

42. na Gĩkũyũ nĩkiugaga
na kĩ- kũyũ nĩ- kĩ- ug -ag -a
and NC_7- Gĩkũyũ FOC- SC_7- say -HAB -FV
'and Gĩkũyũ people say'

43. rĩrĩa kĩndũ kĩ hakuhĩ gwĩkĩka maugaga
rĩ- rĩa kĩ- ndũ kĩ- rĩ ha- kuhĩ kũ- ĩk -ĩk -a ma- ug -ag -a
AC_5- DIST.DEM NC_7- thing SC_7- COP AC_{16}- short NC_{15}- do -MID -FV SC_2- say -HAB -FV
'when something is about to happen, they say'

44. "itigairie o hanini ta nyeni ta wa--
i- tiga -ir -i -e o ha- nini ta N- nyeni ta wa--
SC_8- remain -COMPL -TRNS -FV just AC_{16}- small like NC_{10}- greens like TRUNC
'"only a short time is remaining, like greens, like"'

45. itigairie o handũ hanini ta ha waru na nyeni"
i- tiga -ir -i -e o ha- ndũ ha- nini ta ha- a waru na N- nyeni
SC_8- remain -COMPL -TRNS -FV just NC_{16}- place NC_{16}- small like AC_{16}- ASSOC NC_{10}.potato and NC_{10}- greens
'"a short time remains, like that of potatoes and greens"'

46. nĩ ta kuga itihĩaga kahinda karaihu
nĩ ta kũ- ug -a i- ti- hĩ -ag -a ka- hinda ka- raihu
FOC like NC_{15}- say -FV SC_{10}- NEG- cook -IMPF -FV NC_{12}- time AC_{12}- long
'it's like saying they don't cook for a long time'

47. rĩu ihĩte, wekĩra waru na nyeni
rĩu i- hĩ -ĩt -e ũ- a- ĩkĩr -a waru na N- nyeni
now SC_8- cook -PERF -FV 2SG.SUBJ- PRES- put -FV NC_{10}.potato and NC_{10}- greens
'now when it's cooked, once you put potatoes and greens'

48. ciahĩa ũgakima

i- a- hĩ -a ũ- ka- kim -a

SC_8- PRES- cook -FV 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- mash -FV

'when it's cooked, you mash it'

49. nĩ kahinda ta ga ithaa

nĩ ka- hinda ta ka- a i- thaa

FOC NC_{12}- time like AC_{12}- ASSOC NC_5- hour

'it's a duration of about an hour'

50. ĩĩ nuthu ithaa

ĩĩ nuthu i- thaa

yes half NC_5- hour

'yes, half an hour'

51. wakima ũgacoka rĩu ũgacitaha na kaihũri

ũ- a- kim -a ũ- ka- cok -a rĩu ũ- ka- i- tah -a

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- mash -FV 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- resume -FV now 2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- NC_8- fetch -FV

na ka- ihũri

with NC_{12}- gourd

'once you mash it, now you scoop it with a little half gourd'

52. ũkĩigaga gĩtarũrũ-inĩ

ũ- kĩ- ig -ag -a kĩ- tarũrũ -inĩ

2SG.SUBJ- SIM- put -IMPF -FV NC_7- tray -LOC

'while putting it on the tray'

53. ũgataha na kaihũri ũkĩigaga gatarũrũ-inĩ

ũ- ka- tah -a na ka- ihũri ũ- kĩ- ig -a ka- tarũrũ -inĩ

2SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- fetch -FV with NC_{12}- gourd 2SG.SUBJ- SIM- put -FV NC_{12}- tray -LOC

'you scoop it with half a gourd, putting it on the tray'

54. irio icio cia-- no irĩo irĩ hiũ

i- rio i- cio cia-- no i- rĩ -wo i- rĩ N- hiũ

NC_8- food AC_8- ANA.DEM TRUNC can SC_8- eat -PV SC_8- COP AC_8- hot

'that food of-- it can be eaten when it is hot'

55. no ciahora
no i- ahor -a
but SC_8- be.cold -FV
'but when it gets cold'

56. no irĩo ningĩ irĩ hehu
no i- rĩ -wo ningĩ i- rĩ N- hehu
can SC_8- eat -PV also SC_8- COP AC_8- cold
'it can be eaten also when it's cold'

57. na no irĩo kinya m-- kium-- kĩmw--
na no i- rĩ -wo kinya m-- kĩ- umia kĩ- mwe
and can SC_8- eat -PV until TRUNC NC_7- week AC_7- one
'and it can be eaten for up to one week'

58. hau ciikaire o ũguo
ha- u i- ika -ir -e o ũguo
AC_{16}- ANA.DEM SC_8- sit -COMPL -FV just thus
'while it just sits there like that (it doesn't go bad)'

59. nĩ irio njega mũno tondũ ikoragwo na, na *protein*
nĩ i- rio N- ega mũno tondũ i- kor -ag -wo na na *protein*
FOC NC_8- food JC_8- good very because SC_8- find -IMPF -PV with with protein
'it is very good food because it has protein'

60. na ikoragwo na, na s-- *carbohydrates*
na i- kor -ag -wo na na s-- *carbohydrates*
and SC_8- find -IMPF -PV with with TRUNC carbohydrates
'and it has carbohydrates'

61. na ikoragwo na green vegetables
na i- kor -ag -wo na *green vegetables*
and SC_8- find -IMPF -PV with green vegetables
'and it has green vegetables'

62. nĩũndũ wa *roughage*
nĩũndũ ũ- a *roughage*
because AC_{14}- ASSOC roughage
'because of the roughage'

63. na ikoragwo na marigũ
na i- kor -ag -wo na ma- rigũ
and SC_8- find -IMPF -PV with NC_6- banana
'and it has bananas'

64. hinya wa marigũ ũngĩ ta maũndũ ta m-- ta
hinya ũ- a ma- rigũ ũ- ngĩ ta ma- ũndũ ta m-- ta
NC_{14}.energy AC_{14}- ASSOC NC_6- banana AC_{14}- other like NC_6- thing like TRUNC like
'the energy of bananas and other things like...'

65. mangĩ itangĩririkana, na waru
ma- ngĩ i- ta- N- ririkan -a na waru
NC_6- other SC_8- NEG- 1SG.OBJ- remember -FV and NC_{10}.potato
'other things I can't remember, and potatoes'

66. na nĩicamaga wega mũno na no wĩkĩre cumbĩ
na nĩ- i- cam -ag -a ũ- ega mũno na no ũ- ĩkĩr -e cumbĩ
and FOC- SC_8- taste -HAB -FV NC_{14}- good very and can 2SG.SUBJ- put -FV NC_{14}.salt
'and it tastes very good and you can put salt'

67. na andũ angĩ nĩmendaga gũcoka ningĩ magacikaranga
na a- ndũ a- ngĩ nĩ- ma- end -ag -a
and NC_2- people AC_2- other FOC- SC_2- like -HAB -FV
kũ- cok -a ningĩ ma- ka- i- karang -a
NC_{15}- resume -FV also SC_2- CR.PRES- OC_8- fry -FV
'and other people like after that to also fry it'

68. ihana o ũguo igakarangwo
i- han -a o ũguo i- ka- karang -wo
SC_8- look -FV just thus SC_8- CR.PRES- fry -PV
'just as it is it is fried'

69. na nyanya na biribiri na korogoco
na N- nyanya na biribiri na korogoco
with NC_{10}- tomato and NC_{10}.chili.pepper and other.things
'with tomatoes and chili peppers and other things'

70. niĩ ndiendete, nyendaga ihana o ũguo irĩ
niĩ N- ti- end -et -e N- end -ag -a i- han -a o ũguo i- rĩ
1SG 1SG.SUBJ- NEG- like -PERF -FV 1SG.SUBJ- like -HAB -FV SC_8- look -FV just thus SC_8- COP
'I don't like that, I like it being just like it is'

71. ngacoka rĩu
N- ka- cok -a rĩu
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PRES- resume -FV now
'what I do now'

72. no ũrĩe na nyama ngarange cĩĩ mwanya
no ũ- rĩ -e na N- nyama N- karange i- rĩ mwanya
can 2SG.SUBJ- eat -FV with NC_{10}- meat AC_{10}- fried SC_{10}- COP separate
'you can eat it with separate fried meat'

73. kana nyeni ingĩ mwanya irĩ ngarange
kana N- nyeni i- ngĩ mwanya i- rĩ N- karange
or NC_{10}- greens AC_{10}- other separate SC_{10}- COP AC_{10}- fried
'or any other separate fried vegetables'

74. nĩ irio njega mũno
nĩ i- rio N- ega mũno
FOC NC_8- food JC_8- good very
'it is very good food'

Appendix D

Childhood Narrative #1: "Swing" *Jessica Li*

MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/04-swing.mp3

1. Tene mũno no ti tene mũno.
tene mũno no ti tene mũno
past very but NEG past very
'A long time ago, but not so long ago.'

2. Ndĩ--, ndĩwa mĩaka kenda nĩndarĩkanĩire na mwarĩ wa maitũ tũcuhe.
N- rĩ -- N- ũ- a mĩ- aka ka- enda
1SG.SUBJ- COP TRUNC 1SG.SUBJ- AC1- ASSOC NC4- year NC12- nine
nĩ- N- a- rĩk -an -ĩ -ir -e na mũ- arĩ ũ- a maitũ
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- agree -RECIP -APP -COMPL -FV with NC_1- daughter AC_1- ASSOC NC_1.mother
tũ- cuh -e
1PL.SUBJ- swing -FV
'When I was nine years old I agreed with my sister that we swing.'

3. Tũgĩthondeka kamũcuha karĩ kega mũno o hau haitũ nja, tũkĩambĩrĩria gũikania.
tũ- kĩ- thondek -a ka- mũ- cuha ka- rĩ ka- ega mũno o ha- u
1PL.SUBJ- SEQ- make -FV NC_{12}- NC_3- swing RC_{12}- COP JC_{12}- good very just AC_{16}- ANA.DEM
ha- itũ nja tũ- kĩ- amb -ĩrĩr -i -a kũ- ik -an -i -a
AC_{16}- 1PL.POS outside 1PL.SUBJ-.SUBJ SEQ- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- push -RECIP -TRNS -FV
'Then we made a nice little swing that was very good, right there outside (of our home), then we started to push each other.'

4. Tũkĩrĩkanĩra tũikanie maita ikũmi tũcoke tũikanie maita mĩrongo ĩrĩ.
tũ- kĩ- rĩk -an -ĩr -a tũ- ik -an -i -e ma- ita i- kũmi
1PL.SUBJ- SEQ- agree -RECIP -APP -FV 1PL.SUBJ- push -RECIP -TRNS -FV NC_6- time AC_5- ten

tũ- cok -e tũ- ik -an -i -e ma- ita mĩ- rongo ĩ- ĩrĩ
1PL.SUBJ- return -FV 1PL.SUBJ- push -RECIP -TRNS -FV NC_6- time NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two
'We then agreed to push each other ten times, then to push each other twenty times.'

5. Mũndũ agaikia ũyũ-- ũmwe maita ikũmi ũyũ ũngĩ agaikia ũyũ ũngĩ maita ikũmi mũndũ agaikia ũyũ ũngĩ maita ikũmi nake agaikio maita ikũmi.

mũ- ndũ a- ka- ik -i -a ũyũ-- ũ- mwe ma- ita i- kũmi ũyũ
NC_1- person SC_1- CR.PRES- push -TRNS -FV TRUNC NC_1- one NC_6- time NC_5- ten AC_1.PROX.DEM

ũ- ngĩ a- ka- ik -i -a ũyũ ũ- ngĩ ma- ita i- kũmi
NC_1- other SC_1- CR.PRES- push -TRNS -FV AC_1.PROX.DEM NC_1- other NC_6- time NC_5- ten

mũ- ndũ a- ka- ik -i -a ũyũ ũ- ngĩ ma- ita i- kũmi
NC_1- person SC_1- CR.PRES- push -TRNS -FV AC_1.PROX.DEM NC_1- other NC_6- time NC_5- ten

nake a- ka- ik -i -o ma- ita i- kũmi
NC_1.DEP.PRO SC_1- CR.PRES- push -TRNS -PV NC_6- time AC_5- ten

'Someone then pushes the other person ten times, this other person pushes the other person ten times, then someone pushes the other person ten times, and gets pushed ten times.'

6. Tũgĩthiĩ tũkĩongagĩrĩra tũkĩongarĩrĩra.

tũ- kĩ- thi -ĩ tũ- kĩ- ong -ag -ĩrĩr -a tũ- kĩ- ong -ag -ĩrĩr -a
1PL.SUBJ- SEQ- go -FV 1PL.SUBJ- SEQ- add -IMPF -INTENS -FV 1PL.SUBJ- SEQ- add -IMPF -INTENS -FV
'Then we went on adding and adding.'

7. Rĩrĩa twakinyirie maita igana,

rĩ- rĩa tũ- a- kiny -ir -i -e ma- ita i- gana
AC_5- DIST.DEM 1PL.SUBJ- RM.PST- arrive -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_6- time AC_5- hundred
'When we got to a hundred times,'

8. Mwarĩ wa maitũ akĩnjĩra rĩu tũkuongerera tũkinyie maita magana merĩ.

mũ- arĩ ũ- a maitũ a- kĩ- N- ĩr -a
NC_1- daughter AC_1- ASSOC NC_1.mother NC_1- SEQ- 1SG.OBJ- tell -FV

rĩu tũ- kũ- ong -ĩrĩr -a tũ- kiny -i -e ma- ita ma- gana ma- ĩrĩ
now 1PL.SUBJ- CR.FUT- add -INTENS -FV 1PL.SUBJ- arrive -TRNS -FV NC_6- time AC_6- hundred AC_6- two
'My sister told me now we will add and get to two hundred times.'

9. Akĩambĩrĩria kũnjikia, akĩnjikia, akĩnjikia, rĩakinya ndiũĩ kana nĩ rita rĩa ikũmi kana nĩ mĩrongo ĩrĩ, akĩnjikia mũno mũno mũno mũno.

a- kĩ- amb -ĩrĩr -i -a kũ- N- ik -i -a

SC_1- SEQ- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{15}- 1SG.OBJ- push -TRNS -FV

a- kĩ- N- ik -i -a a- kĩ- N- ik -i -a

SC_1- SEQ- 1SG.OBJ- push -TRNS -FV SC_1- SEQ- 1SG.OBJ- push -TRNS -FV

rĩ- a- kiny -a N- ti- ũ -ĩ kana nĩ ri- ta rĩ- a i- kũmi

SC_5- RM.PST- arrive -FV 1SG.SUBJ- NEG- know -FV whether FOC NC_5- time AC_5- ASSOC NC_5- ten

kana nĩ mĩ- rongo ĩ- rĩ

or FOC NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two

a- kĩ- N- ik -i -a mũno mũno mũno mũno

SC_1- SEQ- 1SG.OBJ- push -TRNS -FV very very very very

'She then started to push me, she then pushed me, and pushed me, when it got to I don't know whether it was ten times or twenty times, she then pushed me so far, so far, so far, so far.'

10. Ngĩthiĩ ngĩcuhũka!

N- kĩ- thi -ĩ N- kĩ- cuh -ũk -a

1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- go -FV 1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- swing -REVERS.MID -FV

'I then went falling off the swing!'

11. Ngĩgwa thĩ!

N- kĩ- gũ -a thĩ

1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- fall -FV down

'I then fell down on the ground!'

12. Ngĩrĩra!

N- kĩ- rĩr -a

1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- cry -FV

'Then I cried!'

13. Ngĩrĩra mũno mũno mũno mũno.

N- kĩ- rĩr -a mũno mũno mũno mũno

1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- cry -FV very very very very

'I cried a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot.'

14. No kinya ũmũthĩ ngĩririkana nĩgũtheka thekaga.
no kinya ũmũthĩ N- kĩ- ririkan -a nĩ- kũ- theka- thek -ag a
but until NC_{14}.today 1SG.SUBJ- SIM- remember -FV FOC- NC_{15}- REDUP- laugh -HAB -FV
'But up until this day, as I remember, I always laugh a little.'

15. Ndiũĩ nĩkĩ gĩtũmaga theke.
N- ti- ũ -ĩ nĩ- kĩ kĩ- tũm -ag -a thek -e
1SG.SUBJ- NEG- know -FV FOC- what SC_8- make -HAB -FV laugh -SJV
'I don't know what it is that makes me laugh.'

16. Ndiũĩ kana nĩ ũndũ nĩ kũgũa ndagũire na gũtirĩ ũndũ wahanire tiga ndĩna kĩrema haha ritho-inĩ rĩakwa gĩa kuonania ũrĩa ndagũire.
N- ti- ũ -ĩ kana nĩ ũndũ nĩ kũ- gũ -a N- a- gũ -ir -e na
1SG.SUBJ- NEG- know -FV whether FOC because FOC NC_{15}- fall -FV 1SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV and
kũ- ti- rĩ ũndũ ũ- a- han -ir -e tiga N- rĩ -na
SC_{17}- NEG- COP because SC_{14}- RM.PST- look.like -COMPL -FV except 1SG.SUBJ- COP -with
kĩ- rema haha rĩ- itho -inĩ rĩ- akwa kĩ- a
NC_8- scar AC_{16}.PROX.DEM NC_5- eye -LOC NC_5- 1SG.POS NC_8- ASSOC
kũ- on -an -i -a ũrĩa N- a- gũ -ir -e
NC_{15}- see -RECIP -TRNS -FV how 1SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV
'I don't know whether it is because I fell and nothing happened except for the fact that I have a scar here on my eye to show how I fell.'

17. Nĩndatwarirwo thibitarĩ na ngĩtumwo ritho.
nĩ- N- a- twar -ir -wo thibitarĩ na N- kĩ- tum -wo rĩ- itho
FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- take -COMPL -PV NC_9.hospital and 1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- sew -PV NC_5- eye
'I was taken to the hospital and I was stitched above my eye.'

18. No kinya hĩndĩ ĩyo-kuma mũthenya ũcio ndiacokire gũgacuha rĩngĩ na mwarĩ wa maitũ.
no kinya hĩndĩ ĩyo -kuma mũ- thenya ũ- cio
but from NC_9.time AC_9.PROX.DEM -from NC_3- day AC_3- ANA.DEM
N- ti- a- cok -ir -e kũ- ka- cuh -a rĩ- ngĩ
1SG.SUBJ- NEG- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV NC_{15}- RM.FUT- swing -FV AC_5- other
na mũ- arĩ ũ- a maitũ
with NC_1- daughter AC_1- ASSOC NC_1.mother
'But from that day on, I didn't go swinging again with my sister.'

19. Na ingĩona mũcuha wa ciana ũmũthĩ no nginya ngaririkana.
na i- N- kĩ- on -a mũ- cuha ũ- a ci- ana ũmũthĩ
and if- 1SG.SUBJ- SIM- see -FV NC_3- swing AC_3- ASSOC NC_8- child NC_{14}.today
no N- kiny -a N- ka- ririkan -a
must 1SG.SUBJ- arrive -FV 1SG.SUBJ- SEQ- remember -FV
‘And whenever I see a kid’s swing today it is an absolute must that I remember,’

20. Magĩcuha mũtĩinĩ... ũrĩa ndagũire.
ma- kĩ- cuh -a mũ- tĩ -inĩ ũrĩa N- a- gũ -ir -e
SC_2- SIM- swing -FV NC_3- tree -LOC how 1SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- fall -COMPL -FV
‘when I see kids swinging on a tree... how I fell.’

Appendix E

Childhood Narrative #2: "Christmas" *Jessica Li*

MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/05-christmas.mp3

1. Mũthenya wakwa ũrĩa warĩ mwega piũ warĩ mũthenya wa thigũkũ ya Christmas.

mũ- thenya ũ- akwa ũ- rĩa ũ- a- rĩ mũ- ega piũ

NC_3- day AC_3- 1SG.POS AC_3- REL SC_3- RM.PST- COP JC_3- good completely

ũ- a- rĩ mũ- thenya ũ- a thigũkũ ĩ- a Christmas

SC_3- RM.PST- COP NC_3- day AC_3- ASSOC NC_9.holiday AC_9- ASSOC Christmas

'My favorite day (Lit. my day that was the best) was Christmas.'

2. Na baba nĩa... nĩetaga... tondũ arĩ mũborithi.

na baba nĩa-- nĩ- a- a- ĩt -ag -a tondũ a- a- rĩ mũ- borithi

and NC_1.father TRUNC FOC- SC_1- RM.PST- call -HAB -FV because SC_1- RM.PST- COP NC_{10}- police

'And father would call because he was a police officer.'

3. Arĩ chief inspector of police nĩetaga ciana mũthenya wa thigũkũ agacihe mathako na theremende na mĩthiguiti na tũindo tũingĩ twa gũthaka natuo na twa kũrĩa.

a- a- rĩ *chief inspector of police*

SC_1- RM.PST- COP chief inspector of police

nĩ- a- a- ĩt -ag -a ci- ana mũ- thenya

FOC- SC_1- RM.PST- call -HAB -FV NC_8- child NC_3- day

ũ- a thigũkũ a- ka- ci- he ma- thako na theremende na

AC_3- ASSOC NC_9.holiday SC_1- CR.PRES- OC_8- give NC_6- games and NC_{14}.sweets and

mĩ- thiguiti na tũ- indo tũ- ingĩ tũ- a kũ- thak -a natuo

NC_4- biscuit and NC_{13}- thing AC_{13}- many AC_{13}- ASSOC NC_{15}- play -FV NC_{13}.DEP.PRO

na tũ- a kũ- rĩ -a
and AC_{13}- ASSOC NC_{15}- eat -FV
'He was chief inspector of police, he used to call children on Christmas day and give them games and sweets and biscuits and a lot of little things to play with and to eat.'

4. Tũindo ta balloons na mĩbira na nĩtwakenaga mũno.
Tũ- indo ta *balloons* na mĩ- bira na nĩ- tũ- a- ken -ag -a mũno
NC_{13}- thing like balloons and NC_4- ball and FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- RM.PST- happy -HAB -FV very
'Little things like balloons and balls, and we used to be very happy.'

5. Rĩu kwogwo, mũthenya wa thigũkũ ndoragia gũgakĩa rĩ?
rĩ- u kwa- ũ- guo mũ- thenya ũ- a thigũkũ
AC_5- ANA.DEM for- NC_{14}- PRO NC_3- day AC_3- ASSOC NC_9.holiday
N- a- ũr -ag –i -a kũ- ka- kĩ -a rĩ
1SG.SUBJ- RM.PST- ask -HAB -TRNS -FV SC_{17}- RM.FUT- dawn -FV when
'Now because of that, I would be asking, when will Christmas day dawn?'

6. Na nĩtwaheagwo kinya iratũ na nguo nj-erũ
na nĩ- tũ- a- he -ag -wo kinya i- ratũ na N- kuo N- erũ
and FOC- 1PL.SUBJ- RM.PST- give -HAB -PV also NC_8- shoes and NC_{10}- clothes JC_{10}- new
'We would also be given shoes and new clothes.'

7. Na indo njerũ ciaheanagwo mũthenya ũcio wa Christmas.
na i- ndo N- erũ ci- a- he -an -ag -wo
and NC_8- thing JC_8- new SC_8- RM.PST- give -RECIP -HAB -PV
mũ- thenya ũ- cio ũ- a *Christmas*
NC_3- day AC_3- ANA.DEM AC_3- ASSOC Christmas
'And new things would be given out on that day of Christmas.'

8. Ũcio nĩguo warĩ mũthenya wakwa ũrĩa wa bata mũno.
ũ- cio nĩ- guo ũ- a- a-rĩ mũ- thenya ũ- akwa
AC_3- ANA.DEM FOC- so SC_3- RM.PST- COP NC_3- day AC_3- 1SG.POS
ũ- rĩa ũ- a bata mũno
AC_3- REL AC_3- ASSOC NC_{14}.importance very
'That used to be my most important day.'

9. Ningĩ kĩroko twokĩra twokagĩra tũkaheo irio njega tũkanyua cai mwega kana tũkanyua indo ta soda tũtanyuaga mĩthenya ĩno ĩngĩ.

ningĩ kĩ- roko tũ- ok -ĩr -a tũ- ok -ag -ĩr -a
also NC_7- in.morning 1PL.SUBJ- rise -PROC -FV 1PL.SUBJ- rise -HAB -PROC -FV

tũ- ka- he -o
1PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- give -PV

i- rio N- ega tũ- ka- nyu -a cai mũ- ega kana
NC_8- food JC_8- good 1PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- drink -FV NC_{14}.tea JC_{14}- good or

tũ- ka- nyu -a i- ndo ta soda tũ- ti a- nyu -ag -a mĩ- thenya
1PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- drink -FV NC_8- thing like soda 1PL.SUBJ- NEG- RM.PST- drink -HAB -FV NC_4- day

ĩno ĩ- ngĩ
AC_4.PROX.DEM AC_4- other

'Also in the morning we would get up and be given nice food and drink, nice tea or things to drink like soda, which we didn't drink on other days.'

10. Na kwarĩo irio, gũkarĩo irio itarĩagwo hingo ĩyo ĩngĩ.

na kũ- a- rĩ -o i- rio kũ- ka- rĩ -o i- rio
and NC_{15}- RM.PST- eat -PV NC_8- food NC_{15}- CR.PRES- eat -PV NC_8- food

i- ti- a- rĩ -ag -wo N- hingo ĩyo ĩ- ngĩ
SC_8- NEG- RM.PST- eat -HAB -PV NC_9- time AC_9.PROX.DEM AC_9- other

'And when food is eaten at that time, it is food that is not eaten any other time.'

11. Ikarĩo irio ta mĩcere, nyama... mũthenya mwega mũno.

i- ka- rĩ -o i- rio ta mĩ- cere N- nyama mũ- thenya mũ- ega mũno
SC_8- CR.PRES- eat -PV NC_8- food like NC_4- rice NC_{10}- meat NC_3- day JC_3- good very

'Food that is eaten is food like rice, meat... a very good day.'

12. Twarĩaga tũkarĩa tũkarĩa kinya tũkahũhita.

tũ- a- rĩ -ag -a tũ- ka- rĩ -a tũ- ka- rĩ- a
1PL.SUBJ- RM.PST- eat -HAB -FV 1PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- eat -FV 1PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- eat -FV

kinya tũ- ka- hũhit -a
until 1PL.SUBJ- CR.PRES- get.indigestion -FV

'We used to eat and eat and eat until we got indigestion.'

Appendix F

Diary Narrative: "Day"

Lisa Jeon

MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/06-day.mp3

mũthenya ũmwe wa Wambũi

mũ- thenya ũ- mwe ũ- a Wambũi

NC_3- day AC_3- one AC_1- ASSOC PROP

'A Day in the Life of Wambũi'

1. ũmũthĩ njũkĩrire thaa ithatũ kĩroko.

ũ- mũthĩ N- Ø- ũkĩr -ir -e thaa i- thatũ kĩ- roko.

NC_{14}- today 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- wake.up -COMPL -FV NC_{10}.hour[9] AC_{10}- three NC_7- morning

'Today I woke up at 9 in the morning[10].'

2. ndethikĩrĩria nuthu ithaa ndethamba.

N- a- ĩ- thik -ĩrĩr -i -a nuthu i- thaa

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- REFL- listen -INTENS -TRNS -FV NC_{10}.half NC_{10}- hour

N- a- ĩ- thamb -a

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- REFL- wash -FV

'I then meditated for half an hour and showered.'

3. ndacoka ndanyua ũcũrũ.

N- a- cok -a N- a- nyu -a ũ- cũrũ

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- return -FV 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- drink -FV NC_{14}- porridge

'I then drank porridge.'

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[9] *Thaa* can be glossed in a variety of ways related to time: 'time', 'hour', 'clock' and 'wristwatch'.

[10] In the Gĩkũyũ manner of telling time, the 'zero' hour of the day is (English) 6am.

4. ndaharĩria indo cia gym.
N- a- har -ĩr -i -a i- ndo ci- a *gym*
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- prepare -APP -TRNS -FV NC_8- thing AC_8- ASSOC gym
'I then prepared things for the gym.'

5. hĩndĩ ĩyo kuma kĩndũ thaa inya.
hĩndĩ ĩyo kũ- uma kĩ- ndũ thaa i- nya.
NC_9.time AC_9.ANA.DEM NC_{15}- COP.BRP NC_7- thing NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- four
'That time was something like 10.'

6. ndahaica mbathi.
N- a- haic -a N- bathi
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- climb -FV NC_9- bus
'I then got on the bus.'

7. o kuma kĩndũ thaa inya itigairie ndagĩka mĩrongo ĩrĩ.
o kũ- uma kĩ- ndũ thaa i- nya
oh NC_{15}- COP.BRP NC_7- thing NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- four
ĩ- tiga -ir -i -e N- dagĩka mĩ- rongo ĩ- rĩ
AC_9- remain -COMPL -TRNS -FV NC_{10}- minute NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- two
'Oh, it was something like 20 minutes to 10.'

8. ndahaica mbathi thaa inya.
N- a- haic -a N- bathi thaa i- nya
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- climb -FV NC_9- bus NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- four
'I then got on the 10 o' clock bus.'

9. mbathi namba mĩrongo mũgwanja na ithatũ kuma West University Place gũka Rice University.
N- bathi namba mĩ- rongo mũgwanja na i- tatũ
NC_9- bus NC_9.number NC_4- set.of.ten seven and AC_{10}- three
kũ- um -a West University Place kũ- ũk -a Rice University
NC_{15}- come.out -FV PROP NC_{15}- come -FV PROP
'Bus number 73 from West University Place to Rice University.'

10. ndoka Herring Hall ndona Rita Riley.

N- a- ũk -a Herring Hall N- a- on -a Rita Riley

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- come -FV PROP 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- see -FV PROP

'I then came to Herring Hall and saw Rita Riley.'

11. ahingũrĩra rumu ya computer.

a- hing -ũr -ĩr -a rumu i- a *computer*

SC_1- close -REVERS -APP -FV NC_9.room AC_9- ASSOC computer

'She opened the computer room for me.'

12. ndacaba marwa ma tax.

N- a- cab -a ma- rwa ma- a *tax*

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- print -FV NC_6- letter AC_6- ASSOC tax

'I then printed the tax letter.'

13. ndacoka ndona Jessica thaa ithano.

N- a- cok -a N- a- on -a Jessica thaa i- thano

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- return -FV 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- see -FV PROP NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- five

'I then saw Jessica at 11.'

14. ndamũona kinya thaa thita ĩtigairie ndagĩka ikũmi

N- a- mũ- on -a kinya thaa thita[11] ĩ- tiga -ir -i -e

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- OC_1- see -FV until NC_{10}.hour NC_{10}.six AC_9- remain -COMPL -TRNS -FV

N- dagĩka i- kũmi

NC_{10}- minute AC_{10}- ten

'I saw her until 10 minutes to 12.'

15. ndathiĩ gym ndeka total athletic conditioning ithaa rĩmwe.

N- a- thi -ĩ *gym* N- a- ĩk -a *total athletic conditioning*

1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- go -FV gym 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- do -FV PROP

i- thaa rĩ- mwe

NC_5- hour AC_5- one

'I then went to the gym and did total athletic conditioning for one hour.'

[11] *Thita* (likely based on a borrowing of the Arabic word for 'six') refers to the 6th hour in the Gĩkũyũ manner of telling time, i.e. either noon or midnight.

16. ndathiĩ nja --
N- a- thi -ĩ nja
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- go -FV outside
'I then went outside'

17. ndarĩkia na gym ndathiĩ nja ndarĩa ranji kuma thaa mũgwanja kinya thaa inyanya.
N- a- rĩk -i -a na *gym* N- a- thi -ĩ nja
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- finish -TRNS -FV with gym 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- go -FV outside
N- a- rĩ -a ranji kuma thaa mũgwanja
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- eat -FV NC_9.lunch from NC_{10}.hour seven
kinya thaa i- nyanya
until NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- eight
'I then finished with the gym, went outside, and ate lunch from 1 until 2.'

18. thaa inyanya ndambĩrĩria o guota rĩũa.
thaa i- nyanya N- a- amb -ĩrĩr -i -a o kũ- ot -a rĩ- ũa
NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- eight 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- start -INTENS -TRNS -FV just NC_{15}- bask -FV NC_5- sun
'At 2 I started to just bask in the sun.'

19. thaa inyanya na na -- na robo,
thaa i- nyanya na na na robo
NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- eight and and and quarter
'At a quarter past 2,'

20. kana thaa inyanya na kuota,
kana thaa i- nyanya na kuota
or NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- eight and quarter
'Or quarter past 2,'

21. kana thaa inyanya ĩhĩtũkĩtie ndagĩka ikũmi na ithano.
kana thaa i- nyanya ĩ- hĩtũk -ĩt -i -e N- dagĩka i- kũmi na i- thano.
or NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- eight SC_9- pass -PERF -TRNS -FV NC_{10}- minute AC_{10}- ten and AC_{10}- five
'Or 15 minutes past two.'

22. ndathiĩ raiburarĩ.
N- a- thi -ĩ raiburarĩ
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- go -FV NC_9.library
'I then went to the library.'

23. raiburarĩ, ndaikara ndagĩka mĩrongo ĩna na ithano.
raiburarĩ N- a- ikar -a N- dagĩka mĩ- rongo ĩ- na na i- thano
NC_9.library 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- sit -FV NC_{10}- minute NC_4- set.of.ten NC_4- four and AC_{10}- five
'At the library, I then stayed for 45 minutes.'

24. ndacoka ndoka Herring Hall rĩngĩ.
N- a- cok -a N- a- ũk -a Herring Hall rĩ- ngĩ
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- return -FV 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- come -FV PROP NC_5- other
'I then came back to Herring Hall again.'

25. ndoka kĩrathi kĩa Robert na arutwo atano.
N- a- ũk -a kĩ- rathi kĩ- a Robert na a- rutwo a- tano
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- come -FV NC_7- class AC_7- ASSOC PROP and NC_2- student AC_2- five
'I then came to the class of Robert and five students.'

26. ndarĩkia thaa kenda na ndagĩka mĩrongo ĩtano.
N- a- rĩk -i -a thaa kenda na N- dagĩka mĩ- rongo ĩ- tano
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- finish -TRNS -FV NC_{10}.hour nine and NC_{10}- minute NC_4- set.of.ten AC_4- five
'I finished at 3:50.'

27. ndauma ndathiĩ.
N- a- um -a N- a- thi -ĩ
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- come.out -FV 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- go -FV
'I got out and left.'

28. nĩguo Lisa anjĩra nyuma na kĩrathi nake thaa igĩrĩ-- thaa inyanya.
nĩ- guo Lisa a- a- N- ĩr -a N- uma na kĩ- rathi nake
FOC- so PROP SC_1- CR.PST- 1SG.OBJ- tell -FV 1SG.SUBJ- COP.BRP with NC_7- class NC_1.DEP.PRO
thaa i-gĩrĩ-- thaa i- nyanya
NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}-two-- NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- eight
'That is when Lisa told me I had a class with her at 2.'

29. ndacokoroka-- ndacokoroka tweka kĩrathi kĩmwe nake gĩa ithaa rĩmwe.
N- a- cok -or -ok -a N- a- cok -or -ok -a
1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- return -REVERS -MID -FV 1SG.SUBJ- CR.PST- return -REVERS -MID FV
tũ- a- ĩk -a kĩ- rathi kĩ- mwe nake kĩ- a i- thaa rĩ- mwe
1PL.SUBJ- CR.PST- do -FV NC_7- class AC_7- one NC_1.DEP.PRO AC_7- ASSOC NC_5- hour AC_5- one
'I then unexpectedly had to go right back, and we did an hour's class with her..'

30. na rĩu twĩ hakuhĩ kũrĩkia.
na rĩu tũ- rĩ ha- kuhĩ kũ- rĩk -i -a
and now 1PL.SUBJ- COP NC_{16}- short NC_{15}- finish -TRNS -FV
'And now we are about to finish.'

31. njoke thiĩ Zumba.
N- cok -e thi -ĩ *Zumba*
1SG.SUBJ- return -FV go -FV PROP
'then I will go to Zumba.'

32. kuma thaa-- kuma thinacara kinya thaa ĩmwe.
kuma thaa kuma thinacara[12] kinya thaa i- mwe
from NC_{10}.hour from NC_{10}.twelve until NC_{10}.hour AC_{10}- one
'From 6 until 7.'

33. no ndiũĩ kana nĩngũthiĩ Zumba.
no N- ti- ũ -ĩ kana nĩ- N- kũ- thi -ĩ *Zumba*
but 1SG.SUBJ- NEG- know -FV if FOC- 1SG.SUBJ- CR.FUT- go -FV PROP
'But I don't know if I will go to Zumba.'

34. tondũ ndĩ-- ndĩ na wĩra mũingĩ mũno ndĩrenda gũĩka-- ndĩrenda kũruta.
tondũ N- rĩ N- rĩ na wĩra mũ- ingĩ mũno N- end -a
because 1SG.SUBJ- COP 1SG.SUBJ- COP with work JC_3- many very 1SG.SUBJ- want -FV
kũ- ĩk -a N- end -a kũ- rut -a
NC_{15}- do -FV 1SG.SUBJ- want -FV NC_{15}- remove -FV
'Because I have a lot of work I want to do-- I want to take care of.'

[12] *Thinacara* (likely based on a borrowing of the Arabic word for 'twelve') refers to the zero hour in the gĩkũyũ manner of telling time, i.e. both 6am and 6pm.

Appendix G

Historical Narrative: "Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ"

Samantha Mauney

MP3 audio available at http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~reng/kik/07-mugo.mp3

1. Nĩkwarĩ mũthuri wetagwo Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ.
nĩ- kũ- a- rĩ mũ- thuri ũ- ĩt -ag -wo Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ
FOC- SC_{17}- RM.PST- COP NC_1- man RC_1- call -IMPF -PV PROP
'There was a man called Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ.'

2. Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ arĩ mũthuri warotaga iroto ikauma.
Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ a- a- rĩ mũ- thuri u- a- rot -ag -a i- rot -o
PROP SC_1- RM.PST- COP NC_1- man RC_1- RM.PST- dream -HAB -FV NC_8- dream -NMZ
i- ka- um -a
RC_8- CR.PRES- come.out -FV
'Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ was a man who used to dream dreams that came true.'

3. Kana akona maũndũ ma mbere magĩĩkĩka, matekĩkĩte.
kana a- ka- on -a ma- ũndũ ma- a mbere ma- kĩ- ĩk -ĩk -a
or SC_1- CR.PRES- see -FV NC_6- thing AC_6- ASSOC ahead SC_6- SIM- do -MID -FV
ma- ta- ĩk -ĩk -ĩt -e
SC_6- POST- do -MID -PERF -FV
'Or, he saw events of the future happening, before they had actually happened.'

4. Aa Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ nĩarotire rĩmwe atĩ nĩgũgoka andũ mahana kĩengere ngothi-inĩ yao.
Aa Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ nĩ- a- rot -ir -e rĩ- mwe atĩ
ah PROP FOC- SC_1- dream -COMPL -FV NC_5- one COMP
nĩ- kũ- ka -ũk -a a- ndũ ma- han -a kĩ- engere
FOC- SC_{17}- RM.FUT- come -FV NC_2- person RC_2- look.like -FV NC_7- white.frog

N- ngothi -inĩ ĩ- ao

NC_9- skin -LOC AC_9- NC_2.POS

'Ah, Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ once dreamt that there would come people who looked like kĩengere[13] on their skin.'

5. Na andũ acio nĩmagakorwo na na nguo ihana...

Na a- ndũ a- cio nĩ- ma- ka- kor -wo

and NC_2- person AC_2- ANA.DEM FOC- SC_2- RM.FUT- find -PV

na na N- nguo i- han -a

with with NC_{10}- clothes SC_{10}- look.like -FV

'And those people will have clothes that look like...'

6. ... The word for butterfly just left me!

7. ... ya ihana ciĩhuruta, nguo ihana ciĩhuruta,

ya i- han -a ci- ĩhuruta

ya RC_{10}- look.like -FV NC_8- butterfly

N- nguo i- han -a ci- ĩhuruta

NC_{10}- clothes RC_8- look.like -FV NC_8- butterfly

'um that look like butterflies, clothes that look like butterflies,'

8. na andũ acio nĩmagakorwo na mĩtĩ kana njũgũma irĩ na mwaki.

na a- ndũ a- cio nĩ- ma- ka- kor -wo na mĩ- tĩ kana

and NC_2- person AC_2- ANA.DEM FOC- SC_2- RM.FUT- find -PV with NC_4- stick or

N- njũgũma i- rĩ na mũ- aki

NC_{10}- club SC_{10}- COP with NC_3- fire

'and those people will have sticks or clubs with fire.'

9. Rĩu mũthenya ũmwe rĩ nĩgwokire andũ ta acio.

Rĩu mũ- thenya ũ- mwe rĩ nĩ- kũ- ũk -ir -e a- ndũ ta a- cio

now NC_3- day AC_3- one now FOC- SC_{17}- come -COMPL -FV NC_2- person like AC_2- ANA.DEM

'Now, one day, what happened is, there came people like those.'

[13] Kĩengere: a certain species of white frog.

10. Gũgĩũka Athũngũ mena- matatũhana, - mena ngothi njerũ.
kũ- kĩ- ũk -a athũngũ mena
SC_{17}- SIM- come -FV foreigners with
ma- ta- tũ- han -a mena N- ngothi N- erũ
SC_{2}- NEG- 1PL.OBJ- look.like -FV with NC_{10}- skin JC_{10}- white
'There came foreigners with—who don't look like us, with white skin.'

11. Na mekagĩra nguo itahana ta citũ tondũ citũ itirĩ marangi maingĩ.
Na ma- ĩk -ĩr -ag -a N- nguo i- ta- han -a ta ci- itũ tondũ
and SC_{2}- wear -APP -HAB -FV NC_{10}- clothes RC_{10}- NEG- look.like -FV like AC_{10}- 1PL.POS because
ci- itũ i- ti- rĩ ma- rangi ma- ingĩ
AC_{10}- 1PL.POS SC_{10}- NEG- COP NC_{6}- color AC_{6}- many
'And they wore clothes that don't look like ours because ours do not have many colors[14].'

12. ikoragwo ihana cia tĩĩri-- nĩ cia gĩtĩri kana njirũ.
i- kor -ag -wo i- han -a ci- a tĩri nĩ
SC_{10}- find -HAB -PV SC_{10}- look.like -FV AC_{10}- ASSOC soil FOC
ci- a kĩ- tĩri kana N- ĩrũ
AC_{10}- ASSOC NC_{7}- brown or NC_{10}- black
'They usually look like... of brown or black color.'

13. Magĩcoka magĩũka na mĩcinga.
Ma- kĩ- cok -a ma- kĩ- ũk -a na mĩ- cinga
SC_{2}- SEQ- return -FV SC_{1}- SEQ- come -FV with NC_{4}- gun
'They then came with guns.'

14. Mĩcinga ĩyo nĩyo Cege... nĩyo Cege... nĩyo Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ kana Cege wa Kĩbirũ etaga njũgũma cia na mwaki.
mĩ- cinga ĩ- yo nĩ- ĩ- yo Cege-- nĩ- ĩ- yo Cege nĩ- ĩ- yo
NC_{4}- gun AC_{4}- ANA.DEM FOC- AC_{4}- ANA.DEM PROP FOC- AC_{4}- ANA.DEM PROP FOC- AC_{4}- ANA.DEM
Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ kana Cege wa Kĩbirũ a- ĩt -ag -a
PROP or PROP SC_{1}- call -IMPF -FV

[14] Gĩkũyũ dress at the time was brown treated soft leather usually from goat skin.

N- njũgũma ci- a na mũ- aki
NC_{10}- club AC_{10}- ASSOC with NC_3- fire
'Those guns those are the ones Cege[15], are those that Cege, are those that Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ or Cege wa Kĩbirũ referred to as clubs with fire.'

15. Aa ningĩ nĩ harĩ o ũndũ ũmwe arotete akauga nĩgũgoka,
aa n- ingĩ nĩ ha- a- rĩ o ũ- ndũ ũ- mwe
ah JC_8- other FOC SC_{16}- RM.PST- COP just NC_{14}- thing AC_{14}- one
a- rot -ĩt -e a- ka- ug -a nĩ- kũ- ka- ũk -a
SC_1- dream -PERF -FV SC_1- CR.PRES- say -FV FOC- SC_{17}- RM.FUT- come -FV
'Ah, also there was one other thing he had dreamt saying there will come,'

16. nyoka ĩkoragwo ĩrĩ ya... ya cuma na nĩ ĩgakorwo na magũrũ.
N- nyoka ĩ- kor -ag -wo ĩ- rĩa y- a y- a N- cuma na
NC_9- snake SC_9- find -IMPF -PV AC_9- REL AC_9- ASSOC AC_9- ASSOC NC_9- metal and
nĩ ĩ- ka- kor -wo na ma- gũrũ
FOC NC_9- RM.FUT- find -PV and NC_6- leg
'A snake will be of.. of metal and it will have legs.'

17. na ikoima mwena wa Mombatha ithiĩ kinya kĩrĩma gĩa Kenya na,
na i- ka- um -a mũ- ena w- a Mombatha i- thi -ĩ
and SC_9- RM.FUT- come.out -FV NC_3- side AC_3- ASSOC Mombasa SC_9- go -FV
kinya kĩ- rĩma kĩ- a Kenya na
until NC_7- mountain AC_7- ASSOC Kenya and
'It will come from the side of Mombasa going up to Mt. Kenya and,'

18. ĩhĩtũke na ĩhĩtũke ĩkĩ-- na kũu.
ĩ- hĩtũk -e na ĩ- hĩtũk -e ĩkĩ-- na kũ- u
SC_9- pass -SJV and SC_9- pass -SJV TRUNC and SC_{17}- ANA.DEM
'It would pass, and pass through, going over there.'

19. Rĩu yacokire ĩgĩcoka ĩgĩtuika ũcio nĩ mũgithi.
Rĩu ĩ- a- cok -ir -e ĩ- kĩ- cok -a ĩ- kĩ tuik -a
now SC_9- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV SC_9- SEQ- return -FV SC_9- SEQ- become -FV

[15] Cege is another name for Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ.

ũ- cio nĩ mũ- githi.

AC_3- ANA.DEM COP NC_3- train

'Now, it then came to pass that that was a train.'

20. Na nĩwokire mwaka wa naitini ĩite wanu kinya naintini teni.. ĩitini naite siks. teni.. ĩitini naite siks.

Na nĩ- ũ- a- ũk -ir -e mũ- aka w- a *naitini ĩite wanu* kinya *naintini*

and FOC- SC_3- RM.PST- come -COMPL -FV NC_3- year AC_3- ASSOC 19 80 1 until 19

teni.. ĩitini naite siks.

10 18 90 6

'And It came the year of ~~1981 until 1986...101910... 1896...10.~~ 1896[16]'

21. Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ. Nĩgũo gwakirwo mũgithi ũgĩthiĩ kinya Gĩthumo.

Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ nĩ- gũo kũ- ak -ir -wo mũ- githi ũ- kĩ- thi -ĩ

PROP FOC- thus SC_{17}- build -COMPL -PV NC_3- train RC_3- SEQ- go -FV

kinya Gĩthumo

until Kisumu

'Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ. Thus there was built a train that then went up to Kisumu.'

22. mwaka wa naintini teni.

mũ- aka ũ- a *naintini teni*

NC_3- year AC_3- ASSOC 19 10

'In the year of 1910.'

23. Ha! Nĩacokire akĩrota nĩgũkagũa mũtĩ wa Mũgũmo handũ, hetagwo Mũkũrwe wa Nyagathanga, wona Kenya yagĩa na wĩyathi.

Ha nĩ- a- cok -ir -e a- kĩ- rot -a nĩ- kũ- ka- gũ -a

hmm FOC- SC_1- return -COMPL -FV SC_1- SEQ- dream -FV FOC- SC_{17}- RM.FUT- fall -FV

mũ- tĩ ũ- a Mũ- gũmo ha- ndũ

NC_3- tree AC_3- ASSOC NC_3- Mũgũmo NC_{16}- place

ha- ĩt -ag -wo Mũkũrwe wa Nyagathanga

SC_{16}- call -IMPF -PV PROP

[16] This final date is a repair of the first.

ũ- on -a Kenya ĩ- agĩ -a na wĩyathi

2SG.SUBJ- see -FV Kenya SC_9- acquire FV with NC_9.freedom

'Hmm! He then dreamt that there would fall a Mũgũmo tree[17] at a place called Mũkũrwe wa Nyagathanga, when Kenya gets its freedom.'

24. Na mũtĩ ũcio atĩ nĩwacokire ũkĩgwa, o ihinda-inĩ rĩu rĩa wĩyathi.

Na mũ- tĩ ũ- cio atĩ nĩ- ũ- a- cok -ir -e ũ- kĩ- gũ -a

and NC_3- tree AC_3- ANA.DEM COMP FOC- SC_3- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV SC_3- SEQ- fall -FV

o i- hinda -inĩ rĩ- u rĩ- a wĩyathi

just NC_5- time -LOC AC_5- ANA.DEM AC_5- ASSOC NC_9.freedom

'and that tree apparently then fell down, just then during that period of independence.'

25. Na Athũngũ merwo nĩmamakire mũno.

Na a- thũngũ ma- ĩr -wo nĩ- ma- mak -ir -e mũno

and NC_2- European SC_2- tell -PV FOC- SC_2- be.shocked -COMPL -FV very

'And the Europeans, when they were told, they were very shocked.'

26. makĩ-- makiuga mũtĩ ũcio wa Mũgũmo nĩmakũwakĩra,

makĩ-- ma- kĩ- ug -a mũ- tĩ ũ- cio w -a Mũgũmo

TRUNC SC_2- SEQ- say -FV NC_3- tree AC_3- ANA.DEM AC_3- ASSOC Mũgũmo

nĩ- ma- kũ- ũ- ak -ĩr -a

FOC- SC_2- CR.FUT- OC_3- build -APP -FV

'They then said, that Mũgũmo tree, they would build for it,'

27. na magĩaka; ũgĩakĩrwo ũgĩthiũrũrũkio na mahiga nigetha atĩ ndũkagwe.

na ma- kĩ- ak -a ũ- kĩ- ak -ĩr -wo

and SC_2- SEQ- build -FV SC_3- SEQ- build -APP -PV

ũ- kĩ- thi -ũrũr -ũk -ĩr -i -o na ma- higa

NC_3- SEQ- go -INTENS -REVERS.MID -APP -TRNS -PV with NC_6- stone

nĩgetha atĩ nd- ũ- ka- gũ -e

so.that COMP NEG- SC_3- CR.PRES- fall -SJV

'And they built; The tree was built for and encircled with stones so that it apparently would not fall.'

[17] The Mũgũmo tree is a type of fig tree sacred to the Gĩkũyũ people who pray and do important rituals under it. It is considered a bad omen to cut it, and if it falls on its own it is also considered a bad omen.

28. na nĩwacokire ũkĩringwo nĩ... nĩ.. nĩ rũheni na ũkĩgwa na ũgĩkua na ũkĩũma.
na nĩ- ũ- a- cok -ir -e ũ- kĩ- ring -wo nĩ nĩ nĩ rũ- heni
and FOC- SC_3- RM.PST- return -COMPL -FV SC_3- SEQ- hit -PV by by by NC_{11}- lightning
na ũ- kĩ- gũ -a na ũ- kĩ- ku -a na ũ- kĩ- ũm -a
and SC_3- SEQ- fall -FV and SC_3- SEQ- die -FV and SC_3- SEQ- dry -FV
'And it then was hit by lightening and it fell and it died and it dried up totally.'

29. Kwoguo tũkĩheyo wĩyathi Kenya naintini sigiste thirii gũtiari mũtĩ ũcio.
kwoguo tũ- kĩ- he -o wĩyathi Kenya *naintini sigiste thirii*
therefore 1PL.SUBJ- SIM- give -PV NC_9.freedom Kenya 19 60 3
kũ- ti- a- rĩ mũ- tĩ ũ- cio
SC_{17}- NEG- RM.PST- COP NC_3- tree AC_3- ANA.DEM
'Therefore as we received independence in Kenya in 1963 that tree wasn't there.'

30. nĩwomĩte na ũkoma pa.
nĩ- ũ- a- ũm -ĩt -e na ũ- kĩ- ũm -a pa
FOC- SC_3- RM.PST- dry -PERF -FV and SC_3- SEQ- dry -FV ID
'It had dried and was all dried up.'

31. *Right...* kwoguo nĩkĩo mũndũ ũgwĩtwo Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ nĩahetwo,
Right kwoguo nĩ- kĩo mũ- ndũ ũ- gwĩt -wo Mũgo wa Kabirũ nĩ- a- he -ĩt -wo
Right therefore FOC- why NC_1- person RC_1- call -PV PROP FOC- SC_1- give -PERF -PV
'Right... Therefore that is why the distinguished person called Mũgo wa Kĩbirũ is given,'

32. gĩtĩyo mũno mwena wa Gĩkũyũ nĩkũratha, - arĩ mũndũ mũrathi.
gĩtĩyo mũno mũ- ena ũ- a kĩ- kũyũ nĩ- kũ- rath -a
respect very NC_3- side AC_3- ASSOC NC_7- Gĩkũyũ FOC- NC_{15}- predict -FV
a- a- rĩ mũ- ndũ mũ- rath -i
SC_1- RM.PST- COP NC_1- person NC_1- predict -NMZ
'much respect on the side of the Gĩkũyũ people because of prediction—the man was a prophet.'

33. Na arĩ mũndũ mũrathi mũno.
na a- a- rĩ mũ- ndũ mũ- rath -i mũno
and SC_1- RM.PST- COP NC_1- person NC_1- predict -NMZ very
'And the person was a great predictor.'

34. Na andũ nĩmamwĩtĩkagia.
na a- ndũ nĩ- ma- mũ- ĩtĩk. -ag -i -a
and NC_2- person FOC- SC_2- OC_1- believe -HAB -TRNS -FV
'And the people believed him.'

35. No kũrĩ andũ maracoka makauga aca.
no kũ- rĩ a- ndũ ma- ra- cok -a ma- ka- ug -a aca
but SC_{17}- COP NC_2- person RC_2- CR.PRES- return -FV RC_2- CR.PRES- say -FV no
'But there are people who are now saying "no." (saying no in retrospect)'

36. ndarĩ mũndũ mũrathi tondũ nonginya akorwo nĩerĩtwo nĩ andũ.
nd- a- a- rĩ mũ- ndũ mũ- rath -i tondũ no- nginya
NEG- SC_1- RM.PST- COP NC_1- person NC_1- predict -NMZ because SJV- up.to
a- kor -wo nĩ- er -ĩt -wo nĩ a- ndũ
SC_1- find -PV FOC- tell -PERF -PV by NC_2- person
'He wasn't a prophet because he must have been told by people.'

37. ũhoro wa mũthũngũ rĩrĩa agũthiĩ mwena wa Mombatha.
ũ- horo ũ- a mũ- thũngũ rĩrĩa a- gũ- thi -ĩ mũ- ena ũ- a Mombatha
NC_3- information AC_3- ASSOC NC_1- foreigner when SC_1- CR.PST- go -FV NC_3- side AC_3- ASSOC Mombasa
'The information about the European when he traveled to the Mombasa area.'

38. Na angĩ magakiuga atĩrĩ[18] ũhoro wa mũgithi akĩonete kũ?
na a- ngĩ ma- ka- kĩ- ug -a atĩ- rĩrĩ
and NC_2- other SC_2- CR.PRES- SEQ- say -FV COMP- NC_5.PROX.DEM
ũ- horo ũ- a mũ- githi a- kĩ- on -et -e kũ
nc_3- information AC_3- ASSOC NC_3- train SC_1- SEQ- see -PERF -FV where
'And others then (as a consequence) say: how could he have known about the train?'

39. (Na da...) na Mombatha (gutirĩ ha-) gũtiarĩ mũgithi.
na da na Mombatha kũ- ti- rĩ ha kũ- ti a- rĩ mũ- githi
and TRUNC and Mombasa SC_{17}- NEG- COP TRUNC SC_{17}- NEG- RM.PST- COP NC_3- train
'and... he had not... and in Mombasa - there was no train.'

[18] Shortened form of atĩrĩrĩ, which literally means 'that' (complementizer *atĩ*) plus 'this' (class 5 proximal demonstrative *rĩrĩ*).' It is frequently used as a discourse marker.

40. Rũgano rwakwa rwathirĩra hau.

Rũ- gan -o rũ- akwa rũ- a- thir -ĩr -a ha- u

NC_{11}- narrate -NMZ SC_{11}- 1SG.POS SC_{11}- CR.PRES- end -APP -FV AC_{16}- ANA.DEM

‘My story ends there.’

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