

**A MORPHO-SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF AGREEMENT IN
GIKUYU IN THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM**

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DEDICATION

**TO MY HUSBAND JOHN AND MY CHILDREN NJINO, KUI AND TERESA FOR THEIR
MORAL SUPPORT AND PRAYERS**

and

**MY MOTHER FOR HER PRAYERS AND GREAT INSPIRATION THROUGHOUT MY
STUDY LIFE**

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I would like to thank my family and friends for their encouragement, inspiration and prayers.

I appreciate the good work, which was done by my lecturers during my course-work.

The typing of the manuscripts was an excruciating exercise. I am grateful to Wahu of Jeff 'N' Son Bureau Services.

Lastly, I owe great appreciation to those scholars whose works I made references. Their works contributed enormously to realization of the results of this project.

ABSTRACT

The main concern of this study was to analyze agreement in Gikũyũ nouns and verbs. The noun and verb movements were analyzed for feature checking under the Minimalist Program (MP), Chomsky (1993, 1995).

Chapter one mainly introduces the tenets of the MP and looks at its philosophical background among other things.

Chapter two analyzes Gikũyũ noun classes and agreement marking between the Head Noun (HN) and its modifiers.

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Chapter three examines agreement markers in the Gikũyũ verb form.

The analysis of the verb and noun movement is done in chapter four, which is the core of the study. Here we see that in the Minimalist Program verbs and nouns are given their inflectional properties in the lexicon. The inflectional nodes do not just add inflections to bare verbs and nouns, instead they are meant for feature checking to ensure that the inserted verb or noun is syntactically correct.

Chapter five presents the conclusion that the Minimalist Program is adequate to describe agreement features found in the Gikũyũ Noun Phrase construction, verb form and sentences.

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ABBREVIATIONS

A/ A' / Adj.	adjective
AGR/ Agr	agreement
AGRCM	agreement class marker
AGRo/ AGRo' / AGRoP	agreement object (phrase)
AGRs/ AGRs' / AGRsP	agreement subject (phrase)
APP	applicative
ASP/ ASP	aspect
C/ C' / CP	complementiser
cl	class
Comp	complement
D	determiner
D.O.	direct object
DP	determiner phrase
DS	deep structure
Ext.	extension
I	full interpretation
OC	focus
v.	final vowel
GB	Government and Binding
IN	head noun
NF	infinitive
NFL	inflection
O	indirect object
P	inflectional phrase
F	logical form
t	literal
P	Minimalist Program
	noun
IG/ Neg/ NEG'	negation
om	nominal
	noun phrase
m.	number
A.	object agreement
A.M.	object agreement marker
S	passive
	phonological form
	plural
	possessive
	prepositional phrase
	prefix
	preposition
	pronoun
nt	quantifier
QUE'	question
	reflexive

rt	root
S.A.	subject Agreement
S.A.M	subject agreement marker
Sing.	singular
SPEC	specifier
SS	surface structure
Subj	subject
Suff.	suffix
ta	trace/ adjective
td	trace/ determiner
T.G.G.	Transformational Generative Gram
tn	trace/ noun
tnum.	Trace/number
to	trace/ object
TNS/ tns/ TNS ¹	tense
ts	trace/ subject
tv	trace/ verb
UG	Universal Grammar
VP/ V ¹ / V	Verb Phrase
XP/ X ¹ / X	any phrase
1PS	first person singular
3 PS	third person singular

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction to the Language of Study

The language to be studied in this work is Gikũyũ, a Bantu language, which is spoken by people who mainly live in the central part of Kenya i.e. areas in and around central province. Central province includes the following districts: Kiambu, Murang'a, Thika, Nyandarua, Nyeri and Kirinyaga. However, there are Gikũyũ speakers in other parts of the country.

This study embodies data which are collected from the western dialect of Gikũyũ. This dialect is spoken in Kiambu district. It is also referred to as Kabete dialect, Mukuria (1987).

The Kabete dialect is what could be referred to as 'Proper Gikũyũ' since it is spoken by more Agikũyũ than the other dialects. It is the dialect used in print i.e. Gikũyũ books and magazines, teaching the language and also in the various Gikũyũ radio stations. This is my choice of dialect since it is the one I speak and it is also used by those who will assist me in my research.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

This study attempts a morphosyntactic analysis of agreement in nouns and verbs in Gikũyũ in the Minimalist Program. Specifically it intends to investigate the adequacy of the Minimalist Program in describing agreement in Gikũyũ. The theory is feature-driven, whereby the various function changing morphemes receive their own heads e.g. AGRs and AGRo. These morphemes are regarded as bundles of features containing gender, number and person.

The language under study has some unique features, and the study wishes to find out if they can be accounted for under the minimalist program. The VP is highly inflected such that a complete sentence can be found in the VP, i.e. by adding affixes.

The person, number and in some cases class agreement which is found in most African languages (including Gikũyũ), -often does not have any morphological marking in English. Gikũyũ has a richer paradigm of conjugation e.g.

Agreement Marker in the VP

ne	–	a	–	ra	–	re – a
foc		S.A.		TNS		eat – f.v
(He/ she is eating)						

NP Agreement

<u>Mo</u> –_iretu	<u>Mo</u> -_iro	<u>Mo</u> –_kuhe
Girl	Dark	Short

As is evident in the two examples above person and number agreement is rich in Gikūyū.

1.3. Hypotheses

The hypotheses to be tested in this study are:

- (i) Agreement in Gikūyū has a morpho-syntactic function.
- (ii) Gikūyū sentence does show agreement prefixes in the various constituents of the sentence i.e. subject, verb, object e.t.c
- (iii) Agreement is realized with different morphemes in different noun classes morphologically.
- (iv) Gikūyū does have verbal agreement, which is realized in various verbal prefixes.
- (v) The checking theory of the minimalist program is adequate to describe the agreement system in Gikūyū.

1.4. Objectives

This study will be guided by the following objectives:

- (i) To study agreement in Gikūyū in order to determine the morpho-syntactic functions of agreement
- (ii) To find out how much of the sentence show agreement and show which parts of the sentence show it, i.e. subject, verb, object e.t.c.
- (iii) To determine how agreement is realized in different noun phrases morphologically and what the noun class system is based on.
- (iv) To investigate agreement affixes in the verb structure.

1.5. Rationale

Since agreement is one of the main means of expressing grammatical relationships, a morpho-syntactic description of agreement in Gikūyū in the minimalist program will contribute to UG. This study will also provide data for a linguistic audience in Gikūyū studies since no attempt has been done in this area.

1.6. Scope And Limitation

The scope of this study will be only those aspects that are relevant to grammatical agreement in the Gikūyū NP¹, verb form and some simple sentences.

It is important to note in this section that, agreement in Gikūyū pervades the entire syntactic constituents of the grammar. The noun agrees with the verb, adjectives, numerals and other modifiers.

In the verb form, the study will only look at agreement markers that occur as prefixes. The study will not dwell on other verbal affixes such as tense, aspects, tone system or give details of other verb forms apart from the indicative verb.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

1.7.1. The Minimalist Program

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is the Minimalist Program as formulated in Chomsky (1993, 1995). This model differs with an earlier one GB, which is a principles and parameter framework. The minimalist approach is reduced to general principles, which guarantee that linguistic structure is well represented at interface level only. The interface level has the phonological form (PF) and the logical form (LF). There are several processes and principles through which the lexical or morphological information is transported from the lexicon to the interface level.

1.7.2. Generative Grammar: Philosophical Background

In Generative Grammar, Language is viewed as part of the natural world. The theory perceives man to be endowed with an innate language faculty, which comprises of a general component called competence also referred to as I – Language and performance also E-Language. Competence refers to the speaker's actual knowledge of his language,

¹ I am not looking at relative clauses that are normally considered embedded in the noun phrase.

which allows him to perceive relationships of linguistic elements and to describe, analyze and generate the structures of his language in grammar. The native speaker also has a finite number of rules, which enable him to produce and understand an indefinite number of sentences. Competence also enables him to assess the grammaticality of expressions through his intuition i.e. he can judge well or ill-formed sentences.

Performance, on the other hand, is seen as the actual use of language in concrete situations (Chomsky 1965: 4) i.e. specific utterances produced by the native speaker. Thus it is concerned with proper language use and focuses more on the cultural and conventional normative concepts than on the grammaticality of sentences. Realistically, there is no clear distinction between competence and performance, for Chomsky both are interrelated and contribute to investigating the UG and the human mind. The distinction exists under ideal speaker-listener conditions in a completely homogenous speech community only, (Chomsky 1965:3).

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Chomsky's main interest is to come up with a universal theory of language, with the grammatical descriptions of the various languages contributing to develop the properties of UG.

There are some adequacy conditions that every grammar of a language has to meet, these are: observational adequacy, descriptive adequacy and explanatory adequacy. For instance, generative grammar, which is an adequate grammatical model meets these conditions. First it meets observational adequacy, because it distinguishes ill-formed and well-formed sentences on phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic grounds. Descriptive adequacy is achieved by formulating the rules and regulations of the language structure based on the native speakers intuition about well-formedness of the language. Finally, explanatory adequacy is met through giving good reasons for the rules of the grammar.

1.7.3. The Computational Process in the M.P.

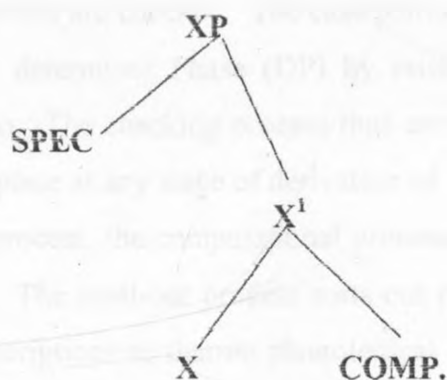
This section provides a description of the model i.e. the "Computational Process" from the lexicon to the interface level.

In the lexicon there is all the lexical and morpho-syntactic information about verbs and nouns. Through a process called numeration, a number of morpho-syntactic and lexical

items are taken from the lexicon. Then a computational process takes place, which merges the elements into projections and partial trees. Merge is part of the structure-building process that takes place to transport information from the lexicon to the interface level (similar to the surface level in GB).

The structure-building process in the MP differs from the projection principle in GB in that in GB the DS was seen as functioning as an internal interface between the lexicon and the syntactic representation. The information in the lexicon was then projected into the DS level. In the MP, the structure-building process eliminates the projection principle and the DS level of GB's T-model (Chomsky 1981:5), which represents the generated information from the Lexicon.

The specifier-head and the head-head relationship of the X-bar theory are retained in the MP (Chomsky 1995:6). The lexical items in the lexicon are transformed into a specifier-head complement relationship (Ibid).



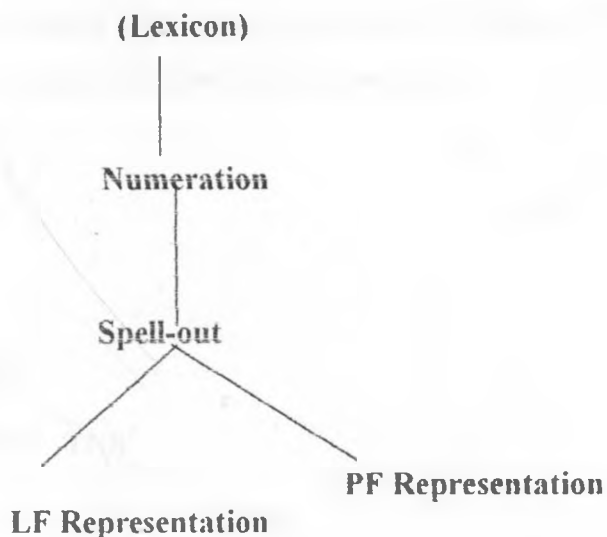
The figure above shows a typical structure of a maximal projection (Chomsky 1981: 29). The idea is that representations are projected from the lexicon into the master plan for all phrases and presupposes a cross-categorical symmetry for all of them. The structure building process is driven by necessity and licensed by morphosyntactic or lexical information of the lexicon. Thus, a language can produce partial trees with a head and no complement, if there is no need for case-assignment under the specifier and the specifier-head relationship. Any vacuous positions are not allowed in the MP.

Movement in the MP occurs for checking purposes. The need for checking creates the positions in the structure-building process, for example, the SPEC position becomes necessary, only if constituents exist that require case checking. The movement process is no longer determined by the nature of INFL (Haegeman 1994: 591), since now it is a checking process, where the abstract inflectional features are checked against the syntactic positions in the sentence structure. The same happens for nouns and their morphology, case features are checked in their appropriate specifier positions.

The theory also develops a different understanding of AGR and TNS, they now have two functions. INFL is nonexistent (Pollock 1989), it is now decomposed into TNS, Agreement subject (AGRs) and Agreement object (AGRo) projections. Inflectional morphology is not dominated by functional heads AGR and TNS, since they are now bundles of abstract features. Feature checking process i.e. movements to AGRs, TNS and AGRo, eliminate the abstract features so that they do not survive into the interface representation (Cook et al 1996: 321). AGR and TNS projections make sure that the appropriateness of verb properties are checked. The case features check the properties of the NP, now referred to as determiner Phrase (DP) by raising them to the specifier positions of AGRs and AGRo. The checking process thus ensures the proper pairing of NP and VP. Checking takes place at any stage of derivation of the PF and LF.

After the structure-building process, the computational process spells out information of the lexicon onto PF and LF. The spell-out process sorts out phonological and semantic information for structural descriptions so that no phonological information will appear at LF, neither can logical information appear at PF. If the phonological and semantic information is mixed on the respective levels a derivation crashes and an ungrammatical structure will be the result. But if all the conditions of the PF and LF are met, the derivation converges.

Below is a diagram of the two representations of the interface.



The principle of FI has been incorporated into the spell-out process, which is now linked to the principle of economy. This principle controls the structure-building process such that only lexically or morphologically licensed elements appear. The principle of FI also guides the spell-out to ensure that unlicensed elements do not appear on the interface level.

There is also the principle of Economy, which interacts with other principles in the computational process before spell-out into PF and LF.

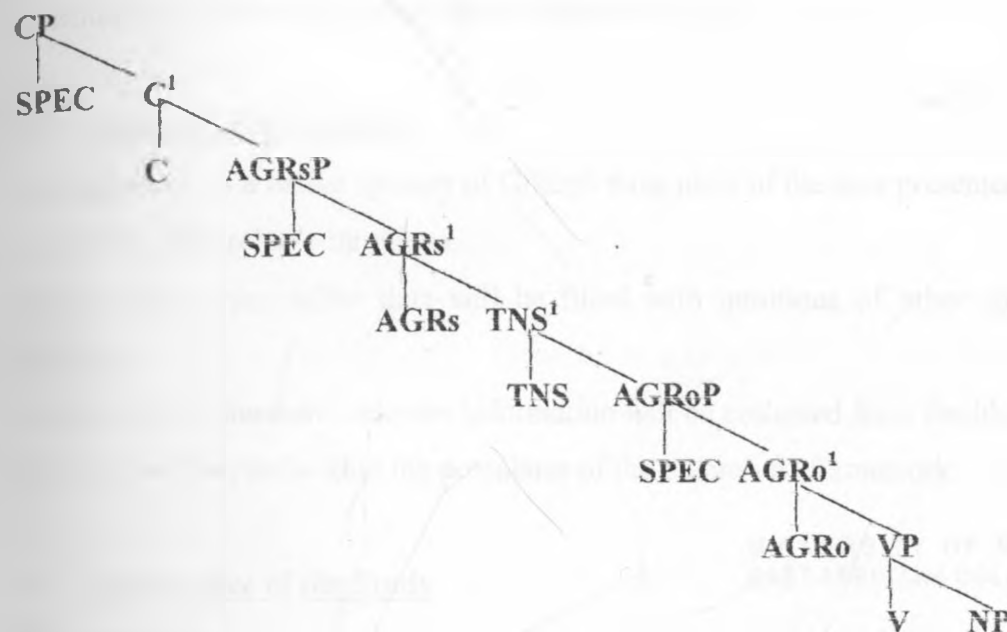
1.7.4. The Role of Morphology

The role of morphology is vital in the Minimalist Program. The operations in the computational process are driven by morphological necessity (Chomsky 1993:32). Thus the nature of the morphology of a given language determines the movement in the structure-building process, (Chomsky 1993:8).

The M.P., which has a morphosyntactic nature, assumes that verbs and nouns are given their inflectional features in the lexicon and the already inflected verbs and nouns with their case morphology are put in the VP under their respective heads.

In the MP, languages are described as having either weak or strong agreement (AGR). Strong AGR is visible at PF, weak AGR is not. Languages with strong AGR force verb movement to eliminate the abstract feature bundles before spell-out into PF. The ones with weak AGR do not force verb movement since there is no checking for any features, thus the verb appears right away at LF.

The diagram below shows how the new basic sentence structure (Chomsky 1993:7) handles morphology especially verbal inflection and case marking.



AGRs and AGRo are bundles of features (number, person and gender), which distinguish the agreement marking of the two functional roles of subject and object. In the MP, languages which have morphological object case marking are considered.

1.7.5. The Phenomena of Word Order

Word order refers to the order of constituents (i.e. subject, verb and object) in the sentence. In the MP the determination of word order is left to morphology (Chomsky 1993:31). The parameter of word order is a result of feature checking.

A requirement of feature-checking is that all languages should have verb movement i.e. verb moves to the inflectional nodes, while NPs move to the specifier of AGRsP and AGRoP for feature-checking. Whether the movements take place before or after spell-out vary in different languages. The languages in which movement occurs before spell-out, are said to have 'Overt Movement', if it occurs after spell-out, the language has covert movement. Languages with overt movement have strong AGR, those with covert movement have weak AGR. This division based on verb movement has been modified, since in the MP all languages have to move the verb for feature-checking but there is a new distinction between overt and covert verb movement.

Case marking is sometimes accomplished in terms of word order (this is also referred to as syntactical case marking) the verb determines case marking thus the verb divides both constituents i.e. the subject and object in a construction.

1.8. Research Methodology

The researcher is a native speaker of Gikũyũ thus, most of the data presented in this study is from the researcher's intuitions.

Gaps in the corpus of the data will be filled with intuitions of other speakers of the language.

For theoretical literature, relevant information will be collected from the library. The data will then be analyzed within the postulates of the theoretical framework.

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1.9. Significance of the Study

This study provides an opportunity to test the adequacy of the Minimalist Program as a model of grammatical description.

The study is significant in that as far as is known by the writer it is the first morpho-syntactic analysis of Gikũyũ grammatical agreement. The study should shed a light on other aspects of morpho-syntax and assist on further research in the language.

As indicated above, Gikũyũ is an agglutinating language and some of the most frequent features are agreement affixes. Some of the other agglutinating units like tense, aspect, tone, etc have been done.

1.10. Literature Review

1.10.1 Gikũyũ Studies

A lot has been written about Gikũyũ language. The works available range from simple grammars, Gikũyũ readers to a few recent linguistic analyses of the language.

The earliest works in the language were written by missionaries, settlers and a small number of native speakers. These were simple grammars of Gikũyũ, which were meant for beginners learning the language, who include pupils in elementary classes, missionaries and settlers working and living in and around Gikũyũ land, during the colonial era

These include: Armstrong (1940) who dealt with tonal classification, Gecaga and Kirkaldy (1953) who did a little on the verbal morphology, where they listed verbs affixes and described how they alter meaning in the verb system. Barlow (1960) also dealt with verbs. All these works provide useful data for this study.

Most of the other works deal with linguistic analyses of the language. Overton (1973) has written on Gikūyū syntax using the T.G.G, although this work uses a different theory it is useful since it provides information on the syntactic organization of the language. Johnsons (1977) has written on: A Semantic Analysis of Kikuyu Tense and Aspect. This work assists in data collection. Gathenji (1981) deals with the morphology of verbal extensions in Gikūyū using a Functional Approach, it is also useful for this work. Gatende (1991) NP and WH-movement in Gikūyū, provides important background to this study.

Mwangi J. W (1992) has looked at the Typology of Empty Categories in Gikūyū using the GB theory. The work is useful for this study since it covers nouns and verbs and their prefixes and also touches on agreement in Gikūyū.

Mukuria M. (1987) has tried to compare nouns in Kiswahili and Gikūyū. He has classified nouns and identified various noun prefixes.

The works identified and other works done on languages closely related to Gikūyū are relevant for this study as most of them present current linguistic issues and are written by native speakers whose institutions show authenticity in presentation.

So far there is no work identified by the writer, in print or otherwise, dealing with the analysis of the agreement system in Gikūyū using the Minimalist Program.

1.10.2 Theoretical Literature

This section aims at highlighting the series of fundamental changes that Generative Grammar has undergone since its inception in 1957 culminating in the minimalist program of 1993 and 1995. The changes were necessitated by additional research by linguists, which added new data to the theory. Chomsky's efforts, all this time were geared towards finding a universal model of grammar. Universal means that the theory could adequately describe most if not all linguistic phenomena found in all natural

languages of the world. The changes at various stages tried to accommodate and account for new data.

Generative Grammar was first discussed in Chomsky (1957) in his book **Syntactic Structures**. It describes the principles of Generative Grammar and transformational rules. He suggests that the phrase structures and the transformations, which alter them, should be separated.

In a later work: **Aspect of the Theory of Syntax** (1965), Chomsky came up with the notions of the Deep Structure (DS) and Surface Structure (SS). The SS is derived from the DS through transformations. He also introduced the distinction between competence and performance. This model is referred to as the 'Standard Theory'.

In the eighties a new approach, GB, was developed. The model is outlined in Chomsky (1981) **Lectures on Government and Binding**, Cook et al (1996), Chomsky's **Universal Grammar: An Introduction**, and later on in Haegeman (1994), **Introduction to Government and Binding**, to mention a few. This model, which is a descendant of the Standard Theory, is commonly referred to as the Principles and Parameter theory. It is based on the Phrase Structure, retains the DS and SS and introduces other levels of the sentence: PF and LF. It develops some Sub-theories, which are inter-related, these are, Government Theory, Binding Theory, X-bar Theory, Case Theory, Control Theory, Theta Theory and Bounding Theory.

At this juncture, it is important to note that so far issues of morphology have not been dealt with. This is because Generative Grammar is not concerned with the relationship between morphology and syntax but with the syntactic relationship between the constituents of the sentence.

An attempt to integrate morphology into UG is found in Pollock (1989) article: **Verb Movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP**. He demonstrates that the presence or absence of morphology conditions the differences in the sentence structure of languages. He looks at verb morphology in French and shows that verb movement requires a split IP and forces verb movement. The IP is split into an agreement phrase (AGRP) and tense phrase (TNSP). AGRP is a complement of tense (TNS) or negative (NEG), which also occurs as negation phrase (NEGP). To verify the split IP he examines

sentences, negation, questions, adverbs, floating quantifiers and quantifications at a distance. The concepts of the theory have been incorporated into the minimalist program. The Minimalist Program (1993, 1995) is Chomsky's most recent model. Here he makes a radical move to integrate morphology into syntax. His main aim is to make statements about languages as simple and general as possible. The Minimalist Program examines problems of Inflectional Morphology and incorporates the Split Hypothesis of Inflection (INFL), which leads to new projections of AGR and TNS. It argues that all the information of the sentence is contained in the VP. The Principle of Economy (also in Chomsky 1991) and the Principle of Full Interpretation (FI) and their determination are explored.

1.10.3 Concord

This section intends to cover the description of agreement / concord as presented in a grammar text. Leech G. (1975) *A Communicative Grammar of English*, defines agreement as a system where grammatical categories restricts forms of words i.e. grammatical items have to agree in number, person and gender. He further explains that a verb has to agree with the noun, which is its subject in number and person. In English, this only affects the verb, when the subject is the third person singular, except for the case of the verb 'to be'.

(a) Concord of Number

Subject verb concord: In English this is seen in verbs in the present tense e.g.

I pray

He prays

It is also seen in the past tense of the verb 'be' e.g.

He was

They were

(b) Pronoun Concord

A pronoun, which is referring to a singular NP is in singular, while the one referring to a plural NP is in plural e.g.

The cat wags its tail.

The Cats wag their tails.

sentences, negation, questions, adverbs, floating quantifiers and quantifications at a distance. The concepts of the theory have been incorporated into the minimalist program. The Minimalist Program (1993, 1995) is Chomsky's most recent model. Here he makes a radical move to integrate morphology into syntax. His main aim is to make statements about languages as simple and general as possible. The Minimalist Program examines problems of Inflectional Morphology and incorporates the Split Hypothesis of Inflection (INFL), which leads to new projections of AGR and TNS. It argues that all the information of the sentence is contained in the VP. The Principle of Economy (also in Chomsky 1991) and the Principle of Full Interpretation (FI) and their determination are explored.

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A pronoun, which is referring to a singular NP is in singular, while the one referring to a plural NP is in plural e.g.

The cat wags its tail.

The Cats wag their tails.

(c) Concord of person

Here the concord morphology changes according to person. The distinctions of person are usually marked in the verb in the associated personal pronouns. Person is divided into three i.e. first person (I and We), second person (you) and third person (he, she, it/they).

Examples:

I walk

She walks.

(d) Concord of Gender

Here personal pronouns are used to distinguish between personal and non-personal gender. In the personal we have masculine (he) and feminine (she), while non-personal has 'it'. The same is seen in reflexive pronouns i.e. himself, herself, itself.

Nouns, verbs and articles have no gender markings although in a small group of words, the feminine ending '-ness' marks a noun referring to a female e.g. host / hostess, actor / actress, etc.

Since nouns have no grammatical gender the choice of the pronouns he, she, it, is based on natural distinctions of meaning, for example, the choice between he and she is entirely based on sex.

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CHAPTER TWO: AGREEMENT WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1 Noun Class System in Gikũyũ

The noun class system in Gikũyũ (like in all other Bantu Languages) as observed by Guthrie (1970) are determined by an independent prefix and various dependent agreement prefixes.

Mabururu (1994) also points out that Bantu noun classes are identified and defined by both number prefixes displayed on the noun and concordial prefixes shown on other words of the noun phrase. See example:

	cl. Pref.	N. rt	Agr. Pref	Adj. root
(1a)	mo-	ndo	mo-	tana
	cl.I. Sing	man	cl.I. Agr	generous
	(a generous man)			
(1b)	ro-	ɣano	ro -	a - ke
	cl. I. Sing	story	cl.6. Agr	prep his/ her
	(his/ her story)			

Gikũyũ nouns are classified according to number and concordial prefixes. In this study it is found convenient for a pair of singular and plural prefixes to represent one class of nouns except in class ten (10). This work comes up with ten classes in total. Each class (which comprises a pair of singular and plural nouns) consists of all those nouns, which require or show a particular set of agreement with their modifiers.

2.1.1 Noun Classes in Gikũyũ

In Gikũyũ, nouns are classified according to the initial morphemes in the stem. Benson (2001) identifies sixteen classes, while Mukuria (1987) comes up with seventeen classes.

Both studies classify Gikũyũ nouns by number and concordial prefixes.

This study will adopt their classifications partially, but will differ slightly with them.

The nouns found in the various classes are:

Class 1

The initial morpheme in this class is {mo-} as in the following examples:

	cl. Pref	N. rt	Gloss
(2a)	mo-	rata	a friend
	cl. I Sing	friend	
(2b)	mo-	hunjia	a preacher
	cl. I Sing	preacher	

{mo-} is the singular morpheme it changes to {a-} in plural as in:

	cl. I pref	N. rt	Gloss
(3a)	a-	rata	friends
	cl. pl	friend	
(3b)	a-	hujia	preachers
	cl. I. pl.	preacher	

In this class there are nouns referring to people such as a – iretu (girls), mo – roaru (patient) e.t.c.

Class 2

The singular initial morpheme is {mo-} as in:

	cl Pref.	N rt	Gloss
(4a)	mo-	te	a tree
	cl. 2 Sing	tree	
(4b)	mo-	ʒɛpa	a day
	cl. 2 sing	day	

The prefix changes to {me-} in plural as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(5a)	me-	te	trees
	cl. 2. pl.	tree	
(5b)	me-	ʒɛpa	days
	cl.2. pl	day	

This class consists of nouns with the initial morphemes {mo-} and {me-} referring to:

- (i) trees e.g. mo- ʒandoko (wattle tree) e.t.c.
- (ii) objects made of trees e.g. mo-kwa (rope), mo-ikɔ (ladle)
- (iii) some diseases e.g. mo-ŋarɔ (tetanus) mo-kingɔ (AIDS)
- (iv) some behaviour e.g. mo-raramɔ (bellow/ roar), mo-eteɔ (pride)
- (v) nouns describing time e.g. mo-aka (year), mo-ɛri (month)

Class 3

The singular prefixes are {re-}, {ri-} and {i-} as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(6a)	re-	ʒiria	an idea
	cl.3. pl	idea	
(6b)	ri-	i ʒɔ	an eye
	cl. 3 sing	eye	
(6c)	i-	hi ʒa	a stone
	cl. 3 sing.	stone	

The prefix changes to {ma-¹} in plural as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(7a)	mɛ-	ʒiria	ideas
	3. pl	idea	
(7b)	ma-	i ʒɔ	eyes
	cl. 3pl	eye	
(7c)	ma-	hi ʒa	stones
	cl. 3 pl.	stone	

In this class there are nouns referring to:

- (i) Some parts of the body e.g. i-ni (liver), i-ru (knee) e.t.c.
- (ii) Some parts of plants e.g. i-hoa (flower), i ʒ kɔ (back) e.t.c.
- (iii) A mixture of things e.g. ri-oa (sun), re-twa (name) e.t.c.

1. Only for pluralized count nouns in class 3.

Class 4

The singular prefix is {ke-²} as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(8a)	ke-	ara	a finger
	cl. 4. sing	finger	
(8b)	χe-	taiχua	a deaf person
	cl. 4 pl	deaf person	

The plural prefixes are {∫i-} and {i-} as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(9a)	∫i-	ara	fingers
	cl. 4. pl.	finger	
(9b)	i-	taiχua	deaf persons
	cl. 4 pl	deaf person	

In this class we have nouns referring to:

- (i) Some parts of the body e.g. χe- kɔkɔra (elbow)
- (ii) Some things used by man e.g. ke-ihori (half calabash)
- (iii) Nouns of people with deformities e.g. ke-rimo (retarded person)
- (iv) Names of languages e.g. ke-βaranja (French)
- (v) Abstract nouns made from adjectives e.g. χe- kenɔ (happiness)

Class 5

The underlying prefix is {n-³}. The singular prefix is {n-} as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(10a)	∫ -	ɔni	bird
	cl. 5. sing.	bird	
(10b)	m	bara	war
	cl. 5 sing	war	

The plural morpheme is still {n-} i.e. does not change, because the nouns are not pluralized. Otherwise modifiers are used to indicate plural. See examples:

2. Dissimilation (phonological) rules permit that, if the affix ke- is prefixed to a voiceless consonant it changes to χe-
3. {n-} represents all words starting with nasals and others whose initial morpheme is {l} -}

	cl. pref	n. rt	Agr. pref.	Dem rt	Gloss
(11a)	ʃ -	ɔni	i-	ʃi	these birds
	cl. 5 pl.	bird	pl. pref	this	
(11b)	m-	bara	i-	ʃi ɔ	those wars
	cl. 5 pl	war	pl. pref	that	

This class consist of nouns referring to:

- (i) most animals e.g. m- bomboe (spider), ngoko (hen)
- (ii) some liquids e.g. ʒiʒin ɔ (sweat), nɪ- ɔhi (beer)
- (iii) mixed things e.g. ɻ- araʒu (femine), m- bara (war)
- (iv) some borrowed names e.g. m- biʒa (picture), ʒukuru (school)

Class 6

The class singular prefix is {ro-} as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(12a)	ro-	embɔ	song
	cl. 6. sing.	song	
(12b)	ro-	oara	finger/ toe nail
	cl. 6 sing	nail	

The plural prefix is {n-}⁴ as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(13a)	ʃ -	embɔ	songs
	cl. 6. pl.	song	
(13b)	n-	doara	finger/ toe nails
	cl. 6 pl	nail	

In this class there are nouns referring to:

Short and tall/ long things e.g. ro-e (river), ro-riʒi (string) ɻ-anɔ (stories)

⁴ See explanation on class 5 pl. pref. above.

Class 7

The singular class prefix is {ka-} as in:

	cl. pref.	N. rt	Gloss
(14a)	ka-	iretu	small girl
		cl. 7. sing.	girl
(14b)	ɣa-	kari	small car
		cl. 7 sing	car

The plural morpheme is {to-} as in:

	cl. pref	N. rt	Gloss
(15a)	to-	iretu	small girls
		cl. 7 pl.	girl
(15b)	to-	kari	small cars
		cl. 7 pl	car

This class consists of diminutive forms of all nouns e.g. ɣa-tumia (small woman), to-huti (small leaves).

Class 8

The singular prefix is {o-} as in:

	cl. pref	N. rt	Gloss
(16a)	o-	rere	bed
		cl. 8 sing	bed
(16b)	o-	ɣio	face
		cl. 8 sing	face

The plural morpheme is {ma-}⁵ as in:

	cl. pref	N. rt	Gloss
(17a)	ma-	rere	beds
		cl. 8 pl	bed
(17b)	ma- ⁶	ɣio	faces
		cl. 8 pl	face

This class consists of nouns referring to:

- (i) Mixed things e.g. o-ra ɣi (prophecy), o-tana (generosity)
- (ii) Nouns made from verbs and adjectives e.g. o-remi (farming), o-iru (jealousy)

⁵ Same as plural of class 3

⁶ In some examples here, the coalescence (phonological) rule takes place. This is a process where by two segments fuse to form a third segment e.g. in 17b above ma + oɣio the -a- and -o- fuse to form 'ɔ'

Class 9

The singular morpheme is {ko-}⁷ as in:

	cl. pref	N. rt	Gloss
(18a)	ko	ʃoro	leg
	cl.9 sing	leg	
(18b)	ko-	to	ear
	cl.9 sing	ear	

The plural prefix is {ma-}⁸ as in:

	cl. pref	N. rt	Gloss
(19a)	ma	ʃoro	legs
	cl.9 pl	leg	
(19b)	ma-	to	ears
	cl.8 pl	ear	

In this class we have nouns referring to:

- (i) Parts of the body e.g. ʃe-ʃori (chest), mo-ko (hands)
- (ii) Nouns made from verbs e.g. ko-hunjia (to preach)

Class 10⁹

The class prefixes are (a) {ko-} and (b) {ha-} as in:

	cl. pref	N. rt	Gloss
(20a)	ko-	ndo	a place
	cl.10 sing	place	
(20b)	ha-	ndo	a place
	cl.10 sing	place	

The class prefixes have no matching plural prefixes, but one can use quantifiers to pluralise them e.g.

	cl. pref	N. rt	Agr. pref	Quant. rt	Gloss
(21a)	ko-	ndo	ko-	inge	many places
	cl.10 sing	place	cl.10 Agr.	many	
(21b)	ha-	ndo	ha-	ʃoɛ	all places
	cl.10 sing	place	cl.10 Agr.	all	

7. The dissimilation rule in class 4 and 7 also applies here.

8. As in class 3 and 8 above.

9. The two prefixes are put in one class because both take the same root noun (-ndo) and in words they have the same meaning.

The class consists of only two words i.e. ha-ndo and ko-ndo. Both have the same root and mean the same.

Table 1: Noun Classes in Gikūyū

Noun Class	Nominal Prefixes ¹⁰		Examples		Gloss
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	
1.	mo-	a-	mo-rio	a-rio	son(s)
2.	mo-	me-	mo-te	me-te	tree(s)
3.	re-, ri-,i-	ma-	i-ni	ma-ni	liver(s)
4.	ke-	i, ∫i-	ke- ɔngɔ	∫i- ngɔ	head(s)
5.	n-	n-	ŋ - ɔmbe	ŋ - ɔ mbe	cow(s)
6.	ro-	n-	ro-oe	njo-oe	river(s)
7.	ka-	to-	ka-hee	to-hee	boy(s)
8.	o-	ma-	o-rere	ma-rere	bed(s)
9.	ko-	ma-	ko- ɣoro	ma- ɣoro	leg(s)
10. (a)	ko-		ko-ndo		place
(b)	ha-		ha-ndo		place

NB// This classification of nouns is meant to serve as a basis for analyzing their agreement systems.

2.1.2. The Head Noun in the NP in Gikūyū

The noun-phrase in Gikūyū can be a noun or a pronoun.¹¹ while the head noun is either a proper or common noun. The common noun, which is the main concern of this chapter, can be any noun from the classes identified above.

In Gikūyū the noun phrase is inflected for agreement i.e. number, person and class¹². The agreement prefix is found on the post modifiers¹³ of the head noun, these are adjectives, demonstratives, possessives, numerals and quantifiers. This concord involves these

¹⁰ Adopted from Benson 2001 but it has slight alterations.

¹¹ Pronoun Agreement will be dealt with in Ch.3.

¹² Schreider – Zioga (1995) a concept similar to gender in Indo-European Languages.

¹³ Leech et al (1975: 251)

categories simultaneously in an NP. See examples:

- (22) ka- na ka- mwe ka- nini ka- ŋu
 cl. 7 sing child num. Agr. one adj. Agr. small pos. Agr. your
 (one small child of yours(lit.))

At this juncture, it is important to define agreement. Crystal (1980: 12) defines it as a formal relationship between elements whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another. It is also referred to as concord:

In Gikūyū, the head noun controls the form of the other constituents in a noun-phrase construction. This is in line with Marete (1981) who points out that:

In all types of constructions where agreement is found, some designated word in the construction controls the form of other members...

See the genitive noun phrase below: -

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- (23) ro- embɔ ro- rea ro- a- ku
 cl. 6 sing. song cl. 6 Agr. that cl.6 Agr. of you
 (that song of yours(lit.))

In the example above the noun class prefix {ro-} influences the form of all the other constituents in the noun-phrase. In environments, where the head noun is not permitted there are corresponding concordial elements, which mark person, number and class (See Ch.3 for illustrations).

2.2 Head Noun Agreement with its Modifiers

This section examines agreement relationship between constituents in the NP; these are the head noun and its postmodifiers.

Crystal (1980; 221) argues that the modifiers play a determiner role in the NP. The head noun controls the concordial relationship with its determiners.

In Gikūyū, we find that, the noun class prefix determines the agreement prefixes attached to these elements as illustrated in the sub-sections that follow:

2.2.1 The HN Agreement with Adjectives

Here we will examine the concordial relationship (marking) between the adjective(s) and the head noun. This also depends on the noun class prefix as in the examples below:

	cl.pref	N. rt	Agr. pref	Adj. rt	gloss
(24a)	me-	te	me-	raihu	tall trees
	cl.2 pl.	tree	cl.2 Agr.	tall	
(24b)	ke-	motwe	ke-	nene	a big head
	cl. 2 sing.	head	cl. 4 sing	big	

2.2.1.1. Complex Adjectives

(a) Two Elements

(25)	mo-	iretu	mo-	kuhe	mo-	tungu
	cl.I. sing	girl	cl. I. Agr.	short	cl. I. Agr	stout
	(a short stout girl)					

(b) Three Elements

(26)	ka-	iretu	ɣa-	ʃεke	ɣa-	kuhe	ka-	iro
	cl.7 sing	girl	cl. 7 Agr	slim	cl.7 Agr	short	cl. 7 Agr	dark
	(a dark, short, slim (small) girl)							

(c) Four Elements

(27)	mo-	ndo	mo-	tungu	mo-	raihu	mo-	ero	mo-	aria
	cl.I sing	person	cl.I Agr	stout	cl.I Agr	tall	cl.I.Agr	brown	cl.I agr	talkative
	(a brown, tall, stout, talkative person)									

For more than four adjectives a conjunction has to be used before the last one as illustrated below:

(28).	a-	tumia	a-tungu	a-raihu	a-	ero
	cl.1 pl.	woman	cl. 1 Agr. stout	cl. 1 Agr. tall	cl. 1 Agr.	brown
	a-aria	na	a-ini			
	cl. 1 Agr. talkative	and	cl. 1 Agr. singers			
	(brown, tall, stout, beautiful women and (good) singers)					

2.2.2 HN Agreement With Possessives

This section examines concordial relationship between the head noun and possessives in the Gikūyū NP.

Leech et al (1975) observes that possessives have a determiner function in the NP. In Gikūyū such a relationship is marked by agreement prefixes.

There are various ways of indicating possession in the NP in Gikūyū.

2.2.2.1 Using Possessive Pronouns

In Gikūyū there are seven root possessive pronouns. See illustration below.

Root pos.

Pro.	Gloss
(29a) -kwa	my
(29b) -ito	our
(29c) -ku	your (sing)
(29d) -ɸu	your (pl)
(29e) -ɔ	their
(29f) -kε	his/her ¹⁴
(29g) -jɔ ¹⁴	its

Concordial prefixes are attached to these roots. Possessives in their determiner function agree with the HN and such agreement relationship is marked by concordial prefixes attached to the possessive pronoun roots as illustrated below.

(30a) mo	-	ana	wi	-	ito
	cl.1.sing	child		cl.1.Agr	our
	(our child)				
(30b) mo	-	tiŋɔε	wa	-	jɔ
	cl.2.sing	tail		cl.2.Agr	it
	(its tail)				

The agreement prefixes on the possessive pronouns are determined by the noun class prefixes as illustrated in table 6 below.

¹⁴ The root possessive pronoun for 'its' is determined by the noun class of the HN (see table below).

2.2.2.2. By Adding Suffixes on the HN¹⁵

These suffixes are:

(i) **-we which means his/hers as in:**

	cl. pref.	N.rt	Pos.Suff.	Gloss
(31a)	mo -	ro -	we	his/her son
	cl. 1. sing	son	his/her	
(31b)	mo -	rika -	we	his/her agemate
	cl. 1. sing	agemate	his/her	

-ɣuɔ which means 'your' as in:

	cl. pref.	N.rt	Pos.Suff.	Gloss
(32a)	mo -	ro -	ɣuɔ	your son
	cl. 1. sing	son	your	
(32b)	mo -	rika -	ɣuɔ	your agemate
	cl. 1. sing	agemate	your	

(ii) **-wa which means 'my' as in:**

	cl. pref.	N.rt	Pos.Suff.	Gloss
(33a)	mo -	ɣɔni -	wa	my in-law
	cl. 1. sing	in-law	my	
(33b)	a -	ɣɔni -	wa	my in-laws
	cl. 1. pl	in-law	my	

2.2.2.3 Possession in the Genitive NP

There are various prepositions¹⁶ in Gikuyu which are used to indicate possession.

In this sub-section we will look at '-a' and '-na'. Both these prepositions are usually preceded by the nominal concord markers, in a construction.

15. This is restricted to class one only.

16. In Gikuyu we have post-positions.

2.2.2.3.1 '-a'

The basic meaning of '-a' is 'of'¹⁷ In an NP construction it links two nouns as shown below.

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.Pref.	Prep.rt	cl. pref	N.rt
(34a)	i	- nioro	re	- a	n	- dɔ ri
	cl.3.sing	nose	cl.3.Agr	of	cl.3.sing	doll
	(the nose of the doll)					
(34b)	ɲ	- embɔ	ɲi	- a	n	- gai
	cl.5.pl.	song	cl.5.Agr	of	cl.5.sing	God
	(songs of God)					

'-a' also links HN and pronoun in an NP construction. In this case the pronoun is suffixed to the '-a' as in the examples below.

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.Pref.	Prep.rt	Pron.rt
(35a)	ro	- ʎiri	ro	- a	- ɔ
	cl.6.sing	fence	cl.6.Agr	of	them
	(a fence of them (lit.))				
(35b)	ʎe	- ɲu ʎe	ke	- a	- jɔ
	cl.4.sing.	tail	cl.4.Agr	of	it
	(a tail of it (lit.))				

2.2.2.3.1 '-na'

Basically -na means 'with'. It also links two nouns in a construction. See examples

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.pref.	Prep.rt	cl. Pref	N.rt
(36a)	mo	- tumia	we	- na	-	hanji
	cl.1.sing	woman	cl.1.Agr	with		earrings
	(a woman with earrings(lit.))					
(36b)	ro	- ʎan ɔ	rwe	- na	o	- rutani
	cl.6.pl.	story	cl.6.Agr	of	cl.6.sing	lesson
	(a story with a moral lesson)					

¹⁷ It can also be translated into various other prepositions of English such as 'to', 'about' etc.

2.2.2.3.1 '-a'

The basic meaning of '-a' is 'of'¹⁷. In an NP construction it links two nouns as shown below.

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.Pref.	Prep.rt	cl. pref	N.rt
(34a)	i	- nioro	re	- a	n	- dɔ ri
	cl.3.sing	nose	cl.3.Agr	of	cl.3.sing	doll
	(the nose of the doll)					
(34b)	ɟ	- embɔ	ɟi	- a	n	- gai
	cl.5.pl.	song	cl.5.Agr	of	cl.5.sing	God
	(songs of God)					

'-a' also links HN and pronoun in an NP construction. In this case the pronoun is suffixed to the '-a' as in the examples below.

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.Pref.	Prep.rt	Pron.rt	
(35a)	ro	- ɣiri	ro	- a	- ɔ	
	cl.6.sing	fence	cl.6.Agr	of	them	
	(a fence of them (lit.))					
(35b)	ɣe	- ɟu ɣe	ke	- a	- jɔ	
	cl.4.sing.	tail	cl.4.Agr	of	it	
	(a tail of it (lit.))					

2.2.2.3.1 '-na'

Basically -na means 'with'. It also links two nouns in a construction. See examples

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.pref.	Prep.rt	cl. Pref	N.rt
(36a)	mo	- tumia	we	- na	-	hanj
	cl.1.sing	woman	cl.1.Agr	with		earrings
	(a woman with earrings(lit.))					
(36b)	ro	- ɣanɔ	ɾwe	- na	o	- rutani
	cl.6.pl.	story	cl.6.Agr	of	cl.6.sing	lesson
	(a story with a moral lesson)					

¹⁷ It can also be translated into various other prepositions of English such as 'to', about etc.

2.2.2.3.1 '-a'

The basic meaning of '-a' is 'of'¹⁷. In an NP construction it links two nouns as shown below.

- | | cl.pref. | N.rt | Agr.Pref. | Prep.rt | cl. pref | N.rt |
|-------|------------------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|
| (34a) | i | - nioro | re | - a | n | - dɔ ri |
| | cl.3.sing | nose | cl.3.Agr | of | cl.3.sing | doll |
| | (the nose of the doll) | | | | | |
| (34b) | ɟ | - embɔ | ɟi | - a | n | - gai |
| | cl.5.pl. | song | cl.5.Agr | of | cl.5.sing | God |
| | (songs of God) | | | | | |

'-a' also links HN and pronoun in an NP construction. In this case the pronoun is suffixed to the '-a' as in the examples below.

- | | cl.pref. | N.rt | Agr.Pref. | Prep.rt | Pron.rt |
|-------|--------------------------|---------|-----------|---------|---------|
| (35a) | ro | - ɣiri | ro | - a | - ɔ |
| | cl.6.sing | fence | cl.6.Agr | of | them |
| | (a fence of them (lit.)) | | | | |
| (35b) | ɣe | - ɟu ɣe | ke | - a | - jɔ |
| | cl.4.sing. | tail | cl.4.Agr | of | it |
| | (a tail of it (lit.)) | | | | |

2.2.2.3.1 '-na'

Basically -na means 'with'. It also links two nouns in a construction. See examples

- | | cl.pref. | N.rt | Agr.pref. | Prep.rt | cl. Pref | N.rt |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|----------|
| (36a) | mo | - tumia | we | - na | - | hanji |
| | cl.1.sing | woman | cl.1.Agr | with | | earrings |
| | (a woman with earrings(lit.)) | | | | | |
| (36b) | ro | - ɣanɔ | rwe | - na | o | - rutani |
| | cl.6.pl. | story | cl.6.Agr | of | cl.6.sing | lesson |
| | (a story with a moral lesson) | | | | | |

17. It can also be translated into various other prepositions of English such as 'to', 'about' etc.

'-na' also links nouns with pronouns in an NP construction. The pronoun is suffixed to the preposition, as in:

- (37a) cl.pref. mo - N.rt ana Agr. Pref. ε - Prep.rt na - Pron.rt kε
 cl. 1. sing baby cl. 1. Agr with him/her
 (he/she is with the baby)
- (37b) o - rere we - na - mɔ
 cl. 8. sing bed cl. 8. Agr with them
 (a bed with (lit))

The prefix taken by the possession marker is determined by the noun prefix. See the table below.

Table 2: -na linking two NPs in a construction

Noun Class	Class Prefix	Cl.pref	N/rt	Agr/pref	prep	Cl.pref	N/rt	Gloss ¹⁸
1. Sing	mo-	mo	- ndo	ui	- na	ka	- hio	a man with a knife
Pl.	a-	a	- ndo	mε	- na	to	- hio	men with knives
2. Sing	mo-	mo	- te	we	- na	hɔ	ngε	a tree with branches
Pl.	me-	me	- te	e	- na	hɔ	ngε	trees with branches
3. Sing	re-, ri-, i-	ri	- ikɔ	re	- na	mo	- rare	a kitchen with hanging soot
Pl.	ma-	ma	- rikɔ	mε	- na	me	- rare	kitchen with hanging soot
4. Sing	ke-	ke	- ɔngɔ	ke	- na	n	- juere	head with hair
Pl.	ʃi-	ʃi	- ɔngɔ	ʃi	- na	n	- juere	heads with hair
5. Sing	n-	n	- goko	e	- na	n	- jui	a hen with chicks
Pl.	n-	n	- goko	ʃi	- na	n	- jui	hens with chicks
6. Sing	ro-	ro	- ʒanɔ	roe	- na	ro	- embɔ	a story with a song (in it)
Pl.	n-	ŋ	- anɔ	ʃi	- na	ʃɾ	- embɔ	stories with songs (in them)
7. Sing	ka-	ka	- ramu	kε	- na		rangi	a pen with ink
Pl.	to-	to	- ramu	toe	- na		rangi	pens with ink
8. Sing	o-	o	- rere	we	- na	n	- durowa	a bed with drawers
Pl.	ma-	ma	- rere	me	- na	n	- durowa	beds with drawers
9. Sing	ko-	ʒo	- to	koe	- na	m	- indira	an ear with earrings
Pl.	ma-	ma	- to	ma	- na	m	- indira	ears with earrings
10. (a)	ko-	ko	- ndo	koe	- na		rami	a place with tarmac roads
(b)	ha-	ha	- ndo	ha	- na	o	- ʒeri	a place (that is) well lit.

¹⁸ Literal translations.

From the analysis above of HN agreement with possessives we find that the possessives as determiners occur with singular and plural forms of the HN in the NP i.e. possessives are inflected for number as illustrated below.

	cl.pref.	N.rt	Agr.pref.	Prep.rt	cl. pref	N.rt
(38a)	i	- nioro	re	- a	n	- dɔri
	cl.6.sing	nose	cl.6.Agr	of	cl.6.sing	doll
	(nose of the doll)					
(38b)	ma	- nioro	ma	- a	n	- dɔri
	cl.6.pl.	nose	cl.6.Agr	of	cl.6.sing	doll
	(noses of the dolls)					

Otherwise if a singular agreement prefix, is attached to a preposition, whose HN is plural the result is an ungrammatical construction. See illustration.

	cl.Pref.	N.rt	Agr.pref.	Prep.rt	cl. pref	N.rt
(39)	* ma	- nioro	re	- a	n	- dɔri
	cl.6.Pl	nose	cl.6.Agr	of	cl.6.sing	doll
	(noses of one doll)					

2.2.3 HN Agreement with Demonstratives

Gikũyũ like most Bantu languages has three sets of demonstratives established on the basis of the position of the speakers and the hearer in relation to the object of reference Mabururu (1994).

Leech et al (1975:225) points out that, the general meanings of the demonstratives can be stated as near (proximal) and distant (distal).

The three sets of demonstratives are illustrated in the table below.

Table 3¹⁹: Gikũyũ Demonstratives.

Singular	Plural	Meaning
This	These	Near to the speaker and hearer
That ^a	These ^a	Distant from the speaker and hearer
That ^b	Those ^b	Distant from the speaker but near to the hearer

19. Adopted from Mabururu (1994). The original table has been slightly altered to suit this study

The class prefix of the HN determines the concordial prefix attached to the demonstrative root. See examples.

	cl.pref	N.rt	cl.Agr	Dem.rt	Gloss
(40a)	ko -	ndo	ko -	u	that ^b place
	cl.10.sing	place	cl.10.Agr	that ^b	
(40b)	i -	kombε	i: -	ria	those ^b cups
	cl.4.pl	cup	cl.4.Agr	those ^b	

Thus the agreement prefix to be attached onto the demonstrative root will be influenced by the class prefix of the HN. See the table below

Table 4: Agreement prefix attached to the various demonstratives.

Nominal Class Prefixes		This	These	That ^a	Those ^a	That ^b	Those ^b
1	mo-/a-	o-jo	a-ja	o: - rea	a: - rea	o - ʃiɔ	a - ʃiɔ
2	mo-/me-	o-jo	e-nɔ	o: - rea	e: - rea	o - ʃiɔ	e - jɔ
3	re-,ri-i/ma-	re-re	ma-ja	re: - rea	ma: - rea	re - u	ma - ʃiɔ
4	ke-/i- ʃi-	ʒe-ke	i-ʃi	ke: - rea	i: - ria	ke - u	i - ʃiɔ
5	n-/n-	e-nɔ	i-ʃi	e: - rea	i: - ria	e - jɔ	i - ʃiɔ
6	ro-/n-	ro-ro	i-ʃi	ro: - rea	i: - ria	ro - u	i - ʃiɔ
7	ka-/to	ʒa-ka	to-to	ka: - rea	to: - rea	ka - u	to - u
8	o-/ma-	o-jo	ma-ja	o: - rea	ma: - rea	o - ʃiɔ	ma - ʃiɔ
9	ko-/ma-	ʒo-ko	ma-ja	ko: - rea	ma: - rea	ko - u	ma - ʃiɔ
10.a	ko-	ʒo-ko		ko: - rea		ko - u	
b	ha-	ha-ha		ha: - rea		ha - u	

2.2.4 HN Agreement with Numerals

In this section we are going to examine the agreement prefixes that are attached onto Gikūyū root numerals.

We will start with analyzing the numerical system of Gikūyū. The following are the numeral roots.

Numeral rt	Gloss	Numeral rt	Gloss
(41a) -mwe	one	(41h) moχ oanja	seven
(41b) - χere	two	(41i) kenda	nine
(41c) - χato	three	(41j) ikomi	ten
(41d) - ϑa	four	(41k) merɔ ngɔ	tens
(41e) - χanɔ	five	(41l) iχana	hundred
(41f) -χaχato	six	(41m) maχana	hundreds
(41g) - ϑaϑa	eight	(41n) ngiri	thousand(s)
		(41o) miriɔ ni	million(s)
		(41p) mbiriɔ ni	billion(s)

The agreement prefix is overt only in the numerals preceded by a hyphen (42. a-g), for the others (42.h-p) the agreement morpheme is {∅}.

Generally the concord prefix for noun class five is used for the purpose of counting and identification, such that we have:

Agr.pref.	Num.rt	Gloss
(42a) e	- moε	one
(42b) i	- χere	two
(42c) i	- χato	three
(42d) i	- ϑa	four
(42e) i	- χanɔ	five
(42f) i	- χaχato	six
(42g) i	- ϑaϑa	eight

Otherwise the number agreement prefix is determined by the nominal class prefix as illustrated below:

	cl.pref		N.rt		Agr.pref		N.rt		Gloss
(43a)	ke	-	hee		ke	-	mwe		one (big) boy
	cl.4.sing		boy		cl.4.Agr		one		
(43b)	i	-	hee		i	-	ʔanɔ		five (big) boys
	cl.4.pl		boy		cl.4.Agr		five		

Thus every noun class has (its own) different agreement prefixes before the numeral roots that take agreement prefixes. See table 6 below.

2.2.4.3 Complex²⁰ Numerals

Complex numerals in Gikūyū include: tens, hundred(s), thousand(s), etc

Some complex numerals like tens require an obligatory conjunction (and) as in:

(44a)	a	-	ndo	merɔngɔ	e-	re ²¹	na	a	-	tanɔ
	cl.7.pl		people	tens	Num.Agr	two	and	cl.7.Agr		five
	(twenty five people)									

(44b)	to-	rataʔi	merɔngɔ	e-	re	na	to-			tanɔ
	cl.7.pl	paper	tens	Num.Agr	two	and	cl.7.Agr			five
	(twenty five papers)									

Marete (1981) points out that some complex numerals in Kimeru require an obligatory preposition. In line with that, hundreds and thousands in Gikūyū, require an obligatory 'postposition' as illustrated in the examples below:

(45a)	a-	ndo	maʔana	me-	re	ma	me-	rɔngɔ	e-	na ²²
	cl.1.pl	people	hundreds	Num.Agr	two of	Num.Pref	tens	Num.pl.		four
	(two hundred and fourty people)									

(45b)	to	-	rataʔi	ngiri	i	-	ʔere	ʃi-a	me-	rɔngɔ	e-	na
	cl.1.pl		paper	thousand	Num.Agr	two	of	Num.Pref	tens	Num.Agr		Four
	(two thousand and fourty papers)											

²⁰ Refers to all the numerals above ten.

²¹ The two of tens and hundreds become '-re' which is different from the two of ones - ere.

²² The 'four' of tens and hundreds changes to '-na'.

2.2.5. HN Agreement With Quantifiers

Crystal (1980:286) defines quantities as:

... a class of items expressing contrasts in quantity occurring with restricted distribution in the noun-phrase...

The quantifiers found in Gikūyū include:

Quant./rt	Gloss
(46a) - mwe	some
(46b) - inge	many/much ²³
(46c) -ɔʒε	all
(46d) - nini	few/little ²⁴

In this section the prefixes that mark agreement between quantifiers and the IIN in the NP are identified. Quantifiers in their determiner function agree with the HN and such agreement relationship is marked by the concordial prefixes attached onto the quantifier roots. See examples.

	cl.pref	N.rt	Agr.pref	Quant.rt	Gloss
(47a)	to	- ana	to	- inge	many children
	cl.7.pl	child	cl.7.Agr	Many	
(47b)	ha	- ndo	ha	- ɔʒε	all places
	cl.10.sing	place	cl.10.Agr	all	

As discussed above in other post modifiers of the HN, the concord prefix in the quantifiers is determined by the class prefix of the HN as illustrated in the table below.

Table 5: Agreement prefixes in Quantifiers

Noun Class	Nominal pref		-mwe (some)	-inge (many/much)	- ε (all)	²⁵ Each	-nini (few/little)
	Sing.	Pl					
1	mo-	a-	a- mwe	a- inge	a- ɔʒε	ɔ	a- nini
2	mo-	me-	e- mwe	me- inge	jɔ - ɔʒε	ɔ	me- nini
3	re-, ri-, i-/	ma-	ma- mwe	re- / ma- inge	ma- / re- ɔʒε	ɔ	ma- /i- nini
4	ke- / i- /	ʃi-	i- mwe	ʃi- inge	ke- / ʃi- ɔʒε	ɔ	nini
5	n -	n-	i- mwe	ʃri- inge	ʃi- ɔʒε	ɔ	nini
6	ro-	n-	i- mwe	ʃri- inge	ʃi- ɔʒε	ɔ	nini
7	ka-	to-	to- mwe	to- inge	tu- ɔʒε	ɔ	to- nini
8	o-	ma-	ma- mwe	ma- inge	ma- ɔʒε	ɔ	ma- nini
9	ko-	ma-	ma- mwe	ma- inge	ma- ɔʒε	ɔ	ma- nini
10a	ko-		ko- mwe	ko- inge	ɣu- ɔʒε	ɔ	ko- nini
b	ha-		ha- mwe		ha- ɔʒε	ɔ	ha- nini

²³ Whether the meaning is many or much will be determined by HN.

²⁴ The meaning is few/ little depending on HN

²⁵ "ɔ" (each) is an independent word i.e. no prefixes.

From the table above we can deduce that the plural nominal prefix influences the agreement prefixes to be taken by most quantifiers, except in a few cases.

For the HNs that cannot be pluralized the singular prefixes are used with quantifiers where possible.

2.3. SUMMARY

To summarise this chapter we will first present a table of agreement prefixes in adjectives, numerals and possessives.

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Table 6: Agreement prefixes on adjectives, numerals and possessives.

Noun Class	PREFIXES			
	Nominal	Adjectives	Numerals	Possessives
1	mo- / a-	mo- / a-	o- / a-	o- / a
2	mo- / me-	mo- / me-	o- / e-	o- / e
3	re-, ri-, i- / ma-	re- / ma-	re- / ma-	re- / ma-
4	ke- / i-, Ji	ke- /	ke- / i-	ke- / i-
5	n- / n-	ro- / n-	c- / i-	c- / i-
6	ro- / n-	ro- / n-	ro- / i-	ro- / Ji-
7	ka- / to-	ka- / to-	ka- / to-	ka- / to-
8	o- / ma-	mo- / ma-	o- / ma-	o- / ma-
9	ko- / ma-	ko- / ma-	ko- / ma-	ko- / ma-
10a	ko-	ko-	ko-	ko-
b	ha-	ha-	ha-	ha-

In summary we can argue that Gikuyu has ten noun classes which are identified by both number prefixes on the noun and concordial prefixes found in post modifiers in the NP.

We have found that the Gikuyu NP is inflected for agreement i.e. number, person and class. The agreement morphemes are found prefixed on the HN modifiers i.e. adjectives, numerals, possessives, etc.

CHAPTER THREE: AGREEMENT IN THE GĪKŪYŪ VERB FORM

3.1 Introduction: Verbal Inflection

As mentioned in chapter one, GĪkūyū like other Bantu languages is highly agglutinative. Thus, the verb-root allows a variety of grammatical forms to be attached onto it.

Johnsons (1977) identifies these grammatical forms as: tense, status, modality, negation, voice, aspect, agreement with a governing subject and sometimes with an object.

The schematic structure of the verbal affixes is clearly illustrated in the table below which has been adopted from Mwangi (1992).¹

Table 1 GĪkūyū Verb Structure

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(Particle)	S.A	TNS/ ASP	O.A	Verb Root	TNS/ ASP	V. Ext.(s)	Final Vowel
(ne-)	to-	ra-	mo-	h ɔ j-	aɣ-	er-	a

Gloss: (We were praying for you)

From the table above, we find that the verb root has prefixes and suffixes which include verbal extensions and the final vowel -a.² It is also clear that the affixes must occur in a particular order. In the sub-sections that follow, we will look at these affixes in details.

3.1.1 Prefix ne-

The initial particle ne- is optional³ in the GĪkūyū verb structure, when it occurs, it is the first prefix. At times, ne- is replaced with nɔ- in the verb form. Johnsons (1977) argues that nɔ- signals that a particularly strong assertion is being made. Thus, nɔ- is an emphatic form of ne-. See examples:

(1a) ne- a- a- ar- aɣ- i- a-
foc S.A. tns V.rt Asp V. Ext fv

(He speaks)

(1b) nɔ- a- a- ar- i- ε
foc S.A tns V.rt V.Ext fv

(He is able to/ capable of speaking)

1. The original table has been altered slightly to suit this study.

2. Benson 2001.

3. Although ne- is optional, it is very common in the verb form.

ne- is omitted in some verb forms such as infinitive, imperative and negative form. ne- simply gives focus or emphasis to the verb structure. In this study ne- will be interpreted as focus (Foc).

3.1.2 The Agreement Prefixes⁴

There are two agreement prefixes in a Gikũyũ verb structure. These are, subject agreement (S.A.) and object agreement (O.A.) markers which mark the NP subject and object respectively as illustrated below:

(2a) ne- a- re- me- kam- a
 foc S.A. tns O.A V.rt f.v.

(He/ she will milk it)

(2b) ne- to- ra- ma- hɔj- ɛr- a
 foc S.A. tns O.A V.rt App. F.v

(We are praying for them)

(2c) ne- ʃi- a- me- tɛŋɛr- i- a
 foc S.A Asp. O.A V.rt V. Ext fv

(They are running after it)

The subject agreement marker is obligatory⁵ in a verb form while the object agreement marker appears only when necessary.

3.1.3 The Tense/ Aspect Affixes⁶

The tense/ aspect morphemes occur as prefixes and suffixes.

When the morpheme occurs as a prefix, it is attached immediately after the S.A. prefix and before the verb root (in the absence of the O.A.M). Otherwise, if the O.A.M. is present it is placed between the S.A.M. and O.A.M.

As a suffix, it occurs immediately after the verb root. At times, they occur combined together. See example:

(3) ne- e- ra- re- a
 foc S.A tns/ Asp V.rt f.v

(It is eating)

4. For details on each see sections 3.3 and 3.4 below

5. Only in a tensed or aspectual verb.

6. Details not provided in this work since the topic is outside the scope of this study.

Sometimes the tense and aspect markers occur 'alternatively' i.e. when one occurs the other one doesn't. Also, at times when one occurs as a prefix the other occurs as a suffix.

See examples:

(4a) ne- ja- a- re- aɣ - a
foc S.A tns V.rt Asp. F.v

(It was eating)

(4b) ne- ka- a- ro- in- ir- ε
foc S.A Asp O.A V.rt App. f.v

(He/ she (small boy/girl) sung it)

3.1.4 The Verb Root

The verb root in Gikūyū consists of only the root without the final vowel. This way it has no meaning. Thus it is a bound morpheme. See examples below:

(5a) hɔj- (5c) kam-

(5b) ari- (5d) in-

The roots cannot be accepted by speakers as complete words.

Phonotactic rules⁷ (rules governing the sequence of segments) of Gikūyū only permit a sequence of CV. Thus the final vowel is necessary to make the verb meaningful.

Therefore the canonical syllable structure of Gikūyū is CV, i.e. verbs must end in a vowel as illustrated below:

	Verb root	f.v	Gloss
(6a)	hɔj-	a	pray
(6b)	ari-	a	speak
(6c)	kam-	a	milk
(6d)	in-	a	sing

It is in this basic structure that verbs are classified. Benson (2001) classifies Gikūyū verbs according to the number of syllables in the stem. This study will adopt his classification but will vary slightly.

7. Crystal D. (1980)

Table 2 Various Forms of Gikūyū Verbs

Class No.	No. of Syllables in Root	Example	Gloss
1.	1	k - ε	take
2.	2	hand - a	plant
3.	3	tungat - a	serve
4.	4	romerer - a	follow
5.	5	χorangerer -a	buy a few more of
6.	6	toaratoarerer - a	push closer to

3.1.5 The Final Vowel

The final vowel is mostly a simple suffix -a in the indicative and most common form of the imperative. But in some verb structures -ε, -i, -e and -ɔ are found due to morphophonemic reasons. See examples:

	V. rt	f. v	Gloss
(7a)	ʒiir-	ε	I went (Subjunctive)
(7b)	ok -a	-i	(You (pl) come (imperative))
(7c)	nd	-e	I am (stative)
(7d)	re -	ɔ	be eaten (passive)

To conclude this section, we have seen that affixes must occur in a particular order in a verb form. If they are arranged in a different order, then the result is an ungrammatical verb structure. See examples:

- (8a) *ne -to -ma -ra -hɔj -εr -a
 foc S.A O.A tns V.rt App. F.v
 (We them praying)
- (8b) *ne -ra -a -kam -me -a
 foc tns S.A V.rt O.A f.v
 ((He) is he milking it)

3.2 The Subject Agreement Marker (S.A.M.)

As earlier mentioned, the subject position in a sentence can either be occupied by a pronoun or a noun (phrase). The Gikūyū verb structure is inflected to show person, number and class agreement with the subject.

In the absence of the particle *ne-* the S.A.M. is the first affix⁸. It occurs as a prefix attached to the tense morpheme, as illustrated below:

(9a) (Njino) a -ra ʒɔm- a
 Subject S.A tns/ Asp V.rt f.v.
 ((Njino) he is reading)

(9b) (Wɛ:) a -ra ʒɔm- a
 (3ps) S.A tns/ Asp V.rt f.v.
 ((He) he is reading)

The subject agreement prefix is obligatory in a tensed verb structure. Thus, whether the nominal or pronominal subject is present or not in a sentence, the S.A.M. must occur within the verb form (except in imperatives and infinitives). See examples:

(10a) ʃau ne- ja- a- tɛʒɛr- a
 subject foc S A tns V.rt f.v.
 (The cat has run)

(10b) ne- ja- a- - tɛʒɛr- a
 foc S.A tns V.rt f.v.
 (It has ran)

If the S.A.M. is omitted in a verb form the construction becomes ungrammatical as in:

(11a)* ʃau ne- a- tɛʒɛr- a
 cat foc tns V.rt f.v.
 (The cat ran)

(11b)* ne- a- tɛʒɛr- a
 foc tns V.rt f.v.
 (has ran)

In some imperative verb forms it occurs as a suffix after the final vowel
 See sub-section 4.3.2.1

3.2.1 Nominal Subject Agreement Marker

The S.A.M. carries the features of the nominal subject, these are: person, number and class as shown below:

(12) ne- ma- ra- ndek- a
 foc S.A tns V.rt f.v.

(They are writing)

The subject agreement prefix -ma- above marks:

- (a) person agreement i.e. third (3rd) person.
- (b) number agreement i.e. plural.
- (c) class agreement i.e. nominal class one (1).

(a) Person Agreement

The subject prefix indicates whether the nominal subject is personal⁹ or non-personal¹⁰. In table 3 below, personal subject prefixes are found in class one (1) and parts of it in class seven (7) as in:

(13a) (ɔ) ma- a- ok- a
 (Them) S.A (cl. 1) tns V.rt f.v
 ((Them) They have come).

(13b) (tu-ɔ) to- a- ok- a
 Them S.A (cl. 7) tns V.rt f.v.
 ((Them) They (small boys/ girls) have come)

The non-personal nominal subject agreement markers are found in all the other noun classes and some in class nine.

(b) Number Agreement

In Gikūyū, the number system comprises singular (which denotes one) and plural (which denotes more than one).

The singular category includes common non-count nouns and names of people. Count nouns are variable occurring with either singular or plural number.

There are also variable plurals, where the determiner indicates plurality (see ch. 2 section 2.2.3.).

9. Personal i.e. nouns referring to people.

10. Non-person – nouns referring to other things.

Below are some examples of agreement prefixes indicating number in the verb structure.

(14a) (a – nake) ne- ma- ra- ro- a
 (pl. subject) foc S.A. (pl) tns V.rt f.v.
 ([The young men]They are fighting)

(14b) (n- jamba) ne- i- ra- ro- a
 (pl. subject) foc S.A. (pl) tns V.rt f.v.
 ([The cocks] They are fighting)

The morpheme {-ma-} in (14a) is a plural prefix indicating number agreement for class one while {-i-} indicates plural prefix for class five. The nominal subjects (which are non-overt) must be plural nouns.

(c) Class Agreement

It is clear from examples 13 and 14 above that the S.A.M. varies depending on the noun class of the nominal subject whether overt or covert.

Thus the person, number and class prefix is the same morpheme in the verb form. The table below shows the S.A.M. in the various noun classes in Gikũyũ.

Table 3 S.A.M. Indicating Person, Class and Number in the 'Verb'

Noun Class	Nominal Prefixes		S.A.M.		Example	Gloss
	Sing	Pl	Sing	Pl		
1	mo-/ a-		-a-	-ma-	ma- a- ok- a	They have come
2	mo-/ me-		-wa-	-ja-	wa- a- tem- w-ɔ	It has been cut
3	re-, ri-, i-/ ma-		-re-	-ma-	re- ra- tur- a	It is paining
4	ke-/ ʃi-, i-		-ke-	- ʃi-	ke- ra- tur- a	It is paining
5	n-/ n-		-ja-	- ʃi-	ja- a- re- a	It has eaten
6	ro-/ n-		-ro-	- ʃi-	ro- a- in-w-ɔ	It has been sung
7	ka-/ to-		-ka-	-to-	to- ra- in -a	They are singing
8	o-/ ma-		-mo-	-ma-	ne- ma- a- ar-ε	They (beds) have been made
9	ko-/ ma-		-ko-	-ma-	ne-ko-ra-imb-a	It is swelling
10 (a)	ko-		-ko-		ne-ko-ra-ɔn-εk-a	It can be seen
(b)	ha-		-ha-		ne-ha-ra- ɔn-εk-a	It can be seen

It is clear from the table above that the S A M. carries person, number and class features of the nominal subject in a construction.

We also find that, the S.A.M. in the verb form changes with the subject accordingly in terms of class, person and number. If it does not change the result is an ungrammatical verb construction as in:

(15a)*(Teresa na Kui) ne- a- ra- hɔj- a
 foc S.A (IPS) tns V.rt f.v.

([Teresa and Kui] is praying).

(15b)*(Nguĩ na au) ne- e- ra- ro- a
 foc S.A (3PS) tns V.rt f.v.

([The dog and cat] is fighting).

3.3 Pronominal S.A.M.

Gikũyũ like other Bantu languages has two types of pronouns, these are personal and non-personal (neuter).

These pronouns like nouns have the features number, person and class.

3.3.1 S.A. Prefixes Marking Personal Pronouns

To begin with, we will identify the Gikũyũ personal pronouns and then look at their agreement prefixes. These are:

	Pronoun	Gloss
(16a)	nie	I
(16b)	iŋue	we
(16c)	wɛ:	you (sing)
(16d)	iŋ ^h ue	you (pl)
(16e)	wɛ	he/ she
(16f)	ɔ	they

The above pronouns function as NP subjects in a sentence.

There are six agreement prefixes indicating personal pronouns subject – verb agreement in the verb-structure. These are:

	Sing. Pref.	Gloss		pl. pref	Gloss
(17a)	-n-	I	(17d)	-to-	we
(17b)	-o-	you	(17e)	-mo-	you
(17c)	-a-	he/ she	(17f)	-ma-	they

The prefixes just like the nominal agreement prefixes occur after the particle *ne-* or in the absence of *ne-*, they occur as the first affix as illustrated in the table below:

Table 4 Pronominal S.A.M. in the Verb Form

Pronoun	Agreement Prefix	Example in the Verb Form					Gloss
		Foc	S.A.	V.rt	Asp.	F.v.	
nie	-n-	ne-	n-	de-	aχ -	a	I eat
iʒue	-to-	ne-	to-	re-	aχ -	a	We eat
we.	-o-	ne-	o-	re-	aχ -	a	You eat
iʒue	-mo-	ne-	mo-	re-	aχ -	a	You (pl) eat
we.	-a-	ne-	a-	re-	aχ -	a	She/ he eat
o	-ma-	ne-	ma-	re-	aχ -	a	They eat

The above agreement prefixes are present whether the subject is overt or not.

We can also deduce from the table above that every number/ person combination has a different agreement prefix.

3.3.2 Non-Personal Pronouns

Non-personal pronouns can also be referred to as neuter. Mwangi (1992) points out that they have a common root ʒ. The prefix attached to this root vary depending on the class prefix of the noun the pronoun is referring to. See the table below.

Table 5. Non-personal pronouns S.A.M.

Noun class	Nominal pref.		Pronoun pref. ¹¹		Example: prefix in the V. form	Gross
	sing.	pl	sing.	pl		
2	mo - /	me -	ɣu-ɔ /	j-ɔ	wa-a-ɣo-a	It has fallen
3	re - ,	ri - , i - /	ma-re-ɔ /	m-ɔ	ma-a-ɣo-a	They have fallen
4	ke - /	ɣi -	ke-ɔ /	ɣi-ɔ	ke-a-ɣo-a	It has fallen
5	n - /	n -	j-ɔ /	ɣi-ɔ	ja-a-ɣo-a	It has fallen
6	ro - /	n -	ru-ɔ /	ɣi-ɔ	ro-a-ɣir-a	It has ended
7	ka - /	to -	k-ɔ /	tu-ɔ	to-a-ɣo-a	They have fallen
8	o - /	ma -	ɣu-ɔ /	m-ɔ	ma-a-ar-w-ɔ	They (beds) have been made
9	ko - /	ma -	ku-ɔ /	m-ɔ	ko-a-ɣo-a	It has fallen
10a	ko -		ku-ɔ		ko-a-hing-w-ɔ	It has been closed
10b	ha -		h-ɔ		ha-a hing-w-ɔ	It has been closed

From the table above we can conclude that the nominal S.A.M. is maintained even when the subject position in a construction is occupied by a (non-personal) pronoun. Also the non-personal pronoun suffix -ɔ is maintained in all classes.

3.4 Object Agreement Marker (O.A.M.)

The O.A.M. is the second agreement prefix in the Gikūyū verb structure. It is the nominal or pronominal¹² object marker in the verb form.

In the verb structure, as shown in table one (1) in 3.1 above, it is prefixed between the tense / aspect prefix and the verb root. See examples

- (18a) ja - a - mo - tuɟɟ- a
 S.A. Tns/Asp O.A Vrt f.v.
 (It (cl.5) has snatched (it) from him / her)

11. Mwangi (1992)

12. See Sub-section 3.4.2

(18b) ne – wa – a – me – ak – a
 foc S.A. Tns/Asp O.A. Vrt. f.v.
 (you have built it (cl.5))ⁱ

We also find that the O.A.M. agrees in person, number and class with the nominal / pronominal object it marks in a construction. See examples:

(19a) ne – a – a – tɔngɔ r- aɣ - i- a ando
 foc S.A. tns V.rt Asp V. ext f.v. people
 (He/ she leads the people)

(19b) ne – a – a – ma tɔngɔ r- aɣ - i- a
 foc S.A tns O.A. V.rt Asp V.ext f.v.
 (He/ she leads them)

The O.A.M. – ma – in 19.b above indicates that the nominal object can only be from noun class one (1), and it can only be third person plural.

Below is a table of object prefixes in the various noun classes.

Table 6. Nominal object agreement prefixes

Noun class	Nominal ref. sing. pl	O.A.M. sing. pl.	Example	Gross
1	mo-/a-	-mo-/ -ma-	a-a-ma-hor-a	He has beaten them
2	mo-/me-	-o-/ -me-	a-a-o-tɛm-a	She has cut it.
3	re-,ri,i-/ma-	-re-/ -ma-	a-a-re-iki-a	She has thrown it
4	ke-/ ʃi-	-ke-(ɣe)/ - ʃi-	a-a-ɣe-tini-a	He has cut it
5	n-/n-	-me-/ - ʃi-	a-a-me-hor-a	He has lashed it
6	ro-/n-	-ro-/ - ʃi-	a-a-ro-ɣan-a	She has narrated it.
7	ka-/to-	-ka-/ -to-	a-a-to-hor-a	He has beaten them
8	o-/ma-	-o-/ -ma-	a-a-o-ar-a	She has made it (bed).
9	ko-/ma-	-ko- (-ku-)/ -ma-	a-a-ku-ɔh-a	She has dressed it (leg).
10a	ko-	-ko- (-ku-)	a-a-ku-ɔn-a	She has seen it (place).
10b	ha-	-ha-	a-a-ha-ɔn-a	He has seen it (place)

It is clear from our analysis of the O.A.M. that it only occurs in a verb structure when the nominal / pronominal object is omitted in a construction. If both appear, the result is an ungrammatical construction. See illustration below.

(20a)*ne- ja- a- ʃi- tɛɣɛr- i- a mbea
 foc S.A. Asp O.A V. rt V. ext f.v. object

(It has ran after them the rats)

(20b)*ne- a- a- ma- tɔngɔr aɣ- i- a ando
 foc S.A tns O.A V.rt Asp V. ext f.v. object

(She leads them the people)

3.4.1 ID Object Agreement in a Ditransitive Verb

In Gikūyū there are some verbs that take two objects. However, the O.A.M. can only be one in a construction. Thus in case of direct object (D.O.) and indirect object (I.O.), the I.O. is the one marked in the verb form. See illustrations:

(21a) ne- ja- a- tuɣɾ - a ngoko ɣafui
 foc S.A. Asp/ Tns V.rt f.v. I.O. D.O.

(It has snatched a chick from the hen (lit.))

(21b) ne- ja- a- me- tuɣɾ - a ɣafui
 foc S.A. Asp. Tns O.A. V.rt f.v. D.O.

(It has snatched its chick (lit.))

The object agreement marker '-me-' in (21b) above refers to the I.O. (ngoko) in (21a) above.

Otherwise, if the D.O. is marked in the verb form, the construction becomes ungrammatical and vague as in:

(22)* ne- ja- a- a- tuɣɾ - a ngoko
 Foc S.A. Tns/ Asp O.A. V.rt f.v. I.O.

(It has snatched it the hen)

There are also some verb structures which do not have the subject marker but only the object agreement marker. For illustrations see section 3.6 on the passive.

Before we complete this sub-section on the O.A.M., we are obliged to mention in passing the applicative verb form.

(20a)*ne- ja- a- ʃi- tɛʃɛr- i- a mbea
 foc S.A. Asp O.A V. rt V. ext f.v. object

(It has ran after them the rats)

(20b)*ne- a- a- ma- tɔngɔr aʃ- i- a ando
 foc S.A tns O.A V.rt Asp V. ext f.v. object

(She leads them the people)

3.4.1 ID Object Agreement in a Ditransitive Verb

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(21a) ne- ja- a- tuʃɾ - a ngoko ʃafui
 foc S.A. Asp/ Tns V.rt f.v. I.O. D.O.

(It has snatched a chick from the hen (lit.))

(21b) ne- ja- a- me- tuʃɾ - a ʃafui
 foc S.A. Asp. Tns O.A. V.rt f.v. D.O.

(It has snatched its chick (lit.))

The object agreement marker '-me-' in (21b) above refers to the I.O. (ngoko) in (21a) above.

Otherwise, if the D.O. is marked in the verb form, the construction becomes ungrammatical and vague as in:

(22)* ne- ja- a- a- tuʃɾ - a ngoko
 Foc S.A. Tns/ Asp O.A. V.rt f.v. I.O.

(It has snatched it the hen)

There are also some verb structures which do not have the subject marker but only the object agreement marker. For illustrations see section 3.6 on the passive.

Before we complete this sub-section on the O.A.M., we are obliged to mention in passing the applicative verb form.

In Gikūyū the applicative is morphological in the verb form and it comprises the benefactive suffix {-er¹³}. Gathenji (1981) identifies some of its allomorphs such as: -er- and -ir-²

The suffix changes the verb form by adding an additional object (D O.) i.e. a morpheme marking the direct object. See examples:

(23a) ne- a- a- ko- h o r- er- a
 foc S.A. Tns/ Asp O.A. V.rt App. f.v.
 (He/ she has rung it (the phone) to you (lit))

(23b) ne- to- a- me- re- er- a
 foc S A Asp/ Tns O.A. V.rt App. F.v.
 (We have eaten (the food) on it (lit))

From the above examples we find that when the applicative morpheme is added, the verb form is extended and an extra argument is added into the verb structure.

3.3.2 Pronominal O.A.M.

In section 3.3, we identified the pronominal subject agreement markers. In this section, we will identify the pronominal object agreement markers. These are:

Sing pref.	Gloss		pl. pref	Gloss
(24a) -a-	me	(25d)	-to-	us
(24b) -ko-	you	(25e)	-mo-	you
(24c) -mo-	him/ her	(25f)	-ma-	them

The prefixes, like the nominal O.A.M., occur immediately before the verb root in a verb structure. See the table below:

13. The suffix -er- indicates that the direct object has a semantic role of the benefactive

Table 7 Pronominal O.A.M. Prefixes

Pronoun	Pronominal O.A.M	Example					Gloss
		S.A.	Tns	O.A.	V.rt	f.v.	
nie	-a-	ma-	ra-	a-	hɔr-	a	They are beating me.
i ʃ ue	-to-	ma-	ra-	to-	hɔr-	a	They are beating us.
wɛ.	-ko-	ma-	ra-	ko-	hɔr-	a	They are beating you.
i ʃ ¹ ue	-mo- ¹⁴	ma-	ra-	mo-	hɔr-	a	They are beating you (pl).
wɛ	-mo- ¹⁴	ma-	ra-	mo-	hɔr-	a	They are beating him/ her.
ɔ	-ma-	ma-	ra-	ma-	hɔr-	a	They are beating them.

However if the S.A.M. and the O.A.M. have the same referent i.e. the antecedent, the O.A.M. changes to -ε- in the verb structure. But the two must agree in number, person and class. See examples below:

(25a) ne- to- ra- -ε- itang- a
 foc S.A. Tns O.A. (Rfl) V.rt f.v.

(We are 'ruining' ourselves(lit.))

(25) ne- o- ra- -ε- itang- a
 foc S.A. Tns O.A. (Rfl) V.rt f.v.

(You are 'ruining' yourself(lit.))

(25c) ne- e- ra- -ε- rom- a
 foc S.A. Tns O.A. (Rfl) V.rt f.v.

(It is biting itself)

3.5. Agreement Prefixes in a Negative Verb Form

The negative morpheme in Gikūyū occurs as a prefix in the negative verb structure. There are two different prefixes marking negation in the verb form.

These are {-nd-} and {-ti-}. The occurrence of either of them in the verb structure is determined by two factors, first whether the S.A.M. is a vowel (v) or a consonant and vowel (cv). Secondly, the noun class of the nominal subject.

The noun class one (1) singular prefix {mo-} and the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular personal pronouns take nd- as in:

14. The two are distinguished through tone

(26a) nd- a- na-¹⁵ mo- huti- a
 neg. S.A. Tns O.A. V.rt f.v.

(He/ she did not touch him/ her)

(26b) nd- i-¹⁶ ko- me- re- a
 neg. S.A. Tns O.A. V.rt f.v.]

(I will not eat it)

(26c) nd- o- ko- roar- a
 neg. S.A. Tns V.rt f.v.

(You will not fall sick)

(26d) nd- ε-¹⁷ ko- in- a
 neg. S.A. Tns V.rt f.v.

(He/ she will not sing)

From the examples above, we find that when nd- marks negation it appears as the first prefix in a construction.

The table below illustrates this clearly. It has been adopted from Mwangi (1992) but has slight alterations.

Table 8 Negation Prefix as the First Morpheme

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Neg	S.A.	TNS/ ASP	O.A.	V.rt	V. Exts	f.v.
nd-	i-	ko-	me-	re-	re- ir-	-ε

Gloss (I had not eaten it (anything) on it (lit))

However, the negation prefix changes to -i-, if the S.A.M. in the verb form marks 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons plurals. See examples:

(27a) ma- ti- na- ma- huti- a
 S.A. Neg Tns O.A. V.rt f.v.

(They did not touch them)

(27b) to- ti- ko- me- re- er- a
 S.A. Neg Tns O.A. V.rt App. F.v.

(We will not eat it (food) on it (lit))

15. *na-* is a past tense marker used only in the negation of a near or immediate past tense form. Johnsons (1977).

16. The 1st person singular S.A.M. changes to *-i-* in a negative verb form.

17. Notice with change of tense the 3rd person changes to *-ε-*.

(27c) mo- ti- ko- roar- a
 S.A. Neg Tns V.rt f.v.
 (You (pl) will not fall sick)

We note from the above examples that the negation prefix is the second morpheme in the verb construction. See the table below:

Table 9 Negation Prefix as the Second Morpheme

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
S.A.	Neg	Tns/ Asp	O A.	V.rt	V. Ext	f.v.
mo-	ti-	a-	mo-	ɔn-	ir-	-ε

Gloss (You did not see him)

For the other noun classes, the negation prefix is either nd- or -ti- as shown in the table below

Table 10 Negation Prefixes in other Noun Classes

Noun Class	Nominal Prefixes	Example	Gloss ¹⁸
2 sing	mo-	nd*-o-na-tɛm-w-ɔ	It was not cut
pl	me-	nd*-e-na-tɛm-w-ɔ	They were not cut
3 sing	re-,ti-,i-,	re-ti*-na-iki-ɔ	It was not thrown
pl	ma-	ma-ti*-na-iki-ɔ	They were not thrown
4 sing	ke-(ɣe-)	ɣe-ti*-na-ɛnj-w-ɔ	It was ² shaven
pl	ʃi-	ʃi-ti-na-ɛnj-w-ɔ	They were not shaven
5 sing	n-	nd*-e-na-ʒɛnj-w-ɔ	It was not slaughtered
pl	n-	ʃi-ti*-na-ʒɛnj-w-ɔ	They were not slaughtered
6 sing	ro-	ro-ti*-na-in-w-ɔ	It was not sung
pl	ʃi-	ʃi-ti*-na-in-w-ɔ	They were not sung
7 sing	Ka(ɣa)	ɣa-ti*-nge-tini-a	It can't cut
pl	to-	to-ti*-nge-tini-a	They can't cut
8 sing	o-	nd*-o-ko-ar-w-ɔ	It (bed) won't be made
pl	ma-	ma-ti*-ko-ar-w-ɔ	They won't be made
9 sing	ko-(ɣo-)	ɣo-ti*-ra-tur-a	It is not paining
pl	ma-	ma-ti*-ra-tur-a	They are not paining
10(a)	ko-(ɣo-)	ɣo-ti*-nge-ʃɛ-r-w-ɔ	It cannot be visited
(b)	ha-	ha-ti*-nge-ʃɛ-r-w-ɔ	It cannot be visited

In the table above, the asterisks mark the negation prefixes. From the examples we note that non-personal pronouns (singular and plural) take either *nd-* or *-ti-* for their negation marker.

We can also argue that the subjects that take a vowel for S.A.M. in a construction take *nd-*, while the ones whose S.A. markers' initial sound is a consonant take the prefix *-ti-*.

The table above disagrees with Mwangi (1992) who argues that the basic negation morpheme in Gikũyũ is *-ti-* and that in singular it is realized as *-di-*.

3.6 Agreement Prefixes in a Passive Verb Form

The English passivization rules¹⁹ also apply to Gikũyũ whereby, in order to change the voice of a verb construction, the O.A.M. of an active construction becomes the S.A.M. of a passive one while the S.A.M. and the NP subject are deleted or left out.

However, Muthiani (1988:111) observes that:

When we transform a sentence into the passive voice we must preserve the subject-verb agreement. This is done by patterning the verb with the new subject...

Gikũyũ agrees with this, see examples below:

(28a) (⊃) ne- ma- a- mo- amb- ir- ε
 foc S.A. Tns O.A. V.rt V.ext f.v.
 ((Them) they crucified him)

(28b) (Jesu) ne- a- a- amb- ir- w- ⊃
 foc S.A. Tns V.rt V.ext PAS f.v.
 ((Jesus)He was crucified (by them)).

The O.A.M – mo – in the active verb (28a) above becomes – a – in the passive verb (28b). Thus, the passive verb must mark agreement with the new subject.

Passivisation in Gikũyũ is formed by morphological processes that suffixes ‘-o-’ in the verb form and changes the final vowel from ‘-a-’ to ‘-⊃’.

Thus the passive suffix is -o-. However if a verb root ends in a consonant, morphophonemic rules (glide formation rule) allow the passive suffix to change to -w-. See examples.

(29a) ko- ⊃h- o- ⊃
 INF V.rt PAS f.v
 (to be tied)

This becomes:

(29b) ko- ⊃h- w- ⊃
 INF V.rt PAS f.v
 (to be tied)

Nevertheless, the suffixation of the passive -o- onto a verb ending in a vowel cluster results in a ‘problematic’ vowel cluster. See illustrations:

19. Leech et al (1975:258)

	Active	Passive	Gloss
(30a)	hɛni-a	hɛni-o-	(cheat, be cheated)
(30b)	ku-a	ku-o-	(carry, be carried)
(30c)	re-a	re-o-	(eat, be eaten)

Mwangi (2001) observes that to avoid the series of vowels such as in the examples above, the -o- is dropped but it leaves behind a residue passive effect of having changed the final vowel from -a to -

Thus the verb forms above becomes:

(31a)	a-	a-	hɛni-	ɔ
	S.A.	TNS/ ASP	V.rt	PAS/ f.v.
	(She/ he has been cheated)			
(31b)	ja-	a-	ku-	ɔ
	S.A.	TNS/ ASP	V.rt	PAS (f.v.)
	(It has been carried)			
(31c)	ka-	a-	re-	ɔ
	S.A.	TNS/ ASP	V.rt	PAS (f.v.)
	(Its (cl. 7) has been eaten)			

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3.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have found out that the Gikũyũ verb structure is highly agglutinative. Thus it has pre-verbal prefixes and post-verbal suffixes. These affixes must occur in a particular order. If they are arranged in a different order then the result is an ungrammatical construction.

We have also examined the agreement markers in the verb structure. These are the S.A.M. and the O.A.M. We have seen that the S.A.M. is obligatory in a tensed or aspectual verb form. While the O.A.M. occurs only when needed. Both are prefixes in the verb structure and they carry the features of the nominal/ pronominal subject and object in a construction. These features are, person, number and class. In case the NP subject and object are deleted in a construction, the agreement prefixes make the NPs recoverable

We have also identified the applicative verb form in Gikúyú, which extends the verb structure by adding another object morpheme.

The negation prefixes were identified, these are nd- and -ti-.

Finally we observed the behaviour of the agreement prefixes in a passive verb form. That, the O.A.M. of an active construction becomes the S.A.M. of a passive one.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FUNCTION OF AGREEMENT

This chapter examines a theoretical analysis of the morpho-syntactic functions of agreement as realized in the NP (ch. 2) and verb form (ch. 3). We will also discuss the basic sentence structure of Gikũyũ so as to show verb movement, the structure-building process and feature-checking in the sentence, verb form and noun-phrase.

We will also show that both the structure-building process and feature checking are morphologically driven. Thus, every morpheme receives its feature bearing head in a construction. This means that the Minimalist Program is feature driven and each additional morphological bearing head induces a new specifier-head-relationship.

We are obliged at this juncture to talk about the Agreement Phrase (AGRP).

4.1. The Agreement Phrase (AGRP)

Schneider-Zioga (1995) points out that there has been a lot of arguments against projecting agreement as a head of its own phrase. He cites linguistic works such as:

Iatridou (1990) who disagrees with Pollock's (1989) proposal that there is AGRP in English and French and Mitchell (1994) who believes in a 'relational account of agreement' and objects 'the functional analysis of agreement' and the proposal that there is an agreement phrase (AGRP) raised by scholars such as Kinyalolo *et al* (1989), who observe that:

...there are languages where there is such a great proliferation of agreement that in a single clause, the auxiliaries, modals and the verb all get inflected to indicate subject agreement.

Schneider-Zioga (1995) provides an empirical argument in support of AGRP "...at least in Bantu languages." In such languages, to mark agreement relationship a special morpheme(s) occurs on the NP and verb form.

Radford (1997:223) referring to Belletti and Chomsky observes that:

...the agreement head occupies a higher position than the noun head and that auxiliaries (Aux) are generated in the tense (TNS) position and from there can move into the separate agreement positions and that nominal subjects raise from SPEC of VP to SPEC of AGRP to check their case features. Since the agreement relationship in question involves subjects, it has become conventional in the

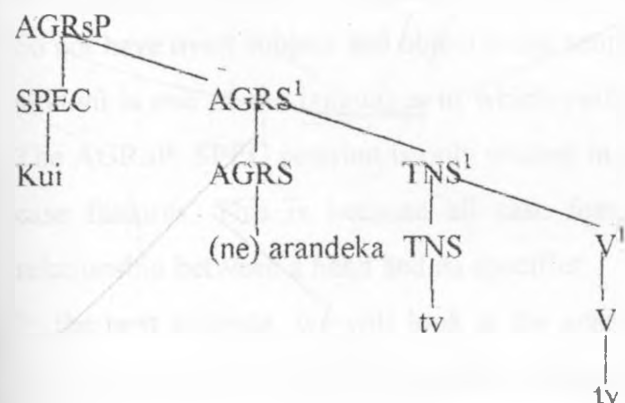
linguistic literature to denote the relevant subject agreement head as AGRs, and its subject agreement phrase projection as AGRSP...

The tense head is conventionally abbreviated as TNS and its tense phrase as TNSP, thus IP is split into TNSP, AGRsP and AGRoP heads respectively (see illustrations in the section below).

4.1.1 The Subject Agreement Phrase (AGRsP) in Gikũyũ

The AGRsP is a constituent structure of the general AGRP mentioned above. The subject agreement head is referred to as AGRs and its subject agreement phrase as AGRsP. See illustration and structure below:

- (1) Kui (ne-) a- ra- ndek- a
 Kui (foc) S.A. TNS V.rt f.v.
 (Kui is writing)

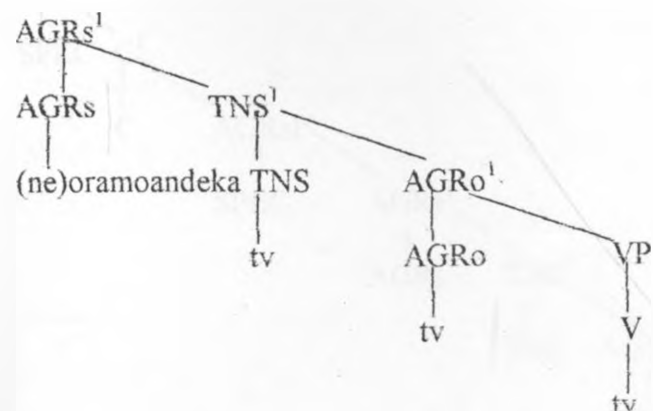


4.1.2 Agreement Object Phrase (AGRoP) in Gikũyũ

The agreement object phrase position is created because in Gikũyũ the agreement object is a morpheme in the verb form. The AGRoP is placed between the tense (TNS¹) and the verb root in a Gikũyũ verb form. See example:

- (2) (ne-) o- ra- mo- andek- a
 (foc) S.A. TNS O.A. V.rt f.v.
 (You are employing him/ her)

The structure that is built for such a construction is as follows:



In the above structure the verb moves three times from its V position to the AGRo of AGRo¹ to check agreement features, in the TNS of TNS¹ to check tense features and in the AGRs position of AGRs¹ to check agreement features.

We find that the SPEC position of the AGRsP and NP node of VP are left out since we do not have overt subject and object in the sentence.

Gikūyū is one of the languages in which verbs inflect for agreement with their objects. The AGRoP/ SPEC position is only created in order for the object to check its accusative case features. This is because all case features are checked under a specifier-head relationship between a head and its specifier.

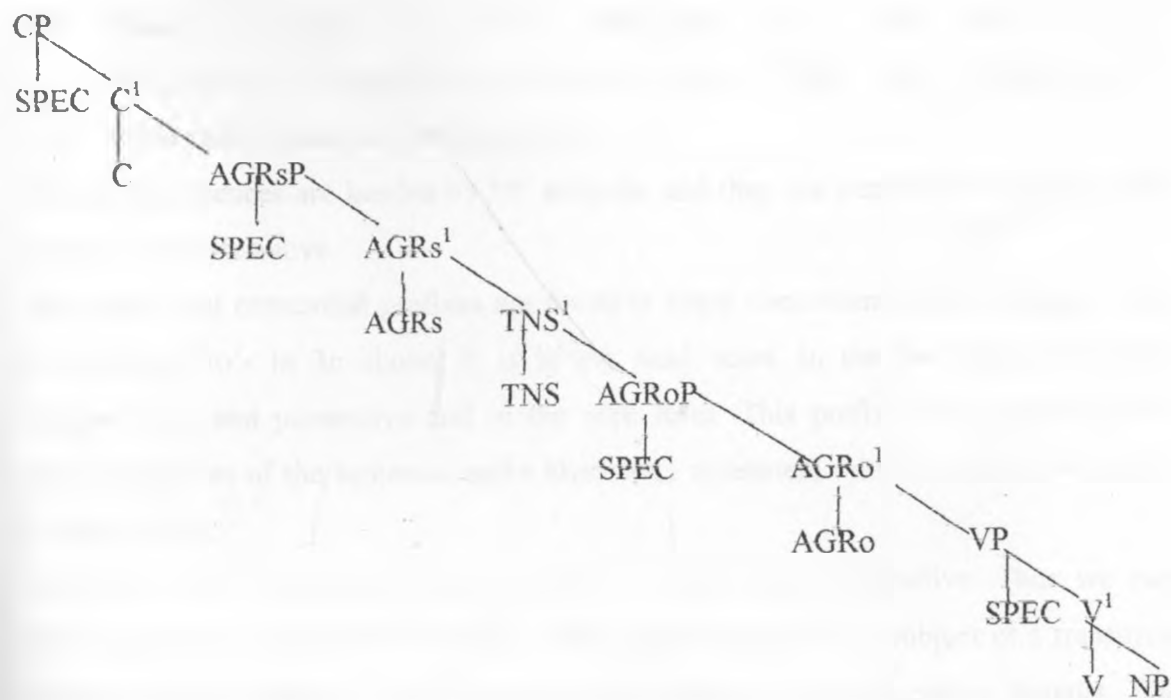
In the next sections, we will look at the analyses of agreement in the simple sentence, verb form and NP. It is quite in order to start with agreement in the simple sentences.

4.2. Morpho-syntactic Analysis of Agreement within the Sentence

This section will examine concordial relationship between the various constituents of the sentence. These are: the NP subject, the verb and NP object in Gikūyū. We will also see case-marking in Gikūyū.

4.2.1 The Basic Sentence Structure in the MP

In the Minimalist Program, the basic sentence structure as shown in chapter one (I) section 1.7.4 is as in the structure below (Chomsky 1993:7).



The above structure of the sentence in the Minimalist Program favours SVO languages because the nouns move out of the sentence in order to have its nominative/ accusative case features checked under the specifier of AGRsP and AGRoP. The verb moves to TNS/ TNS¹ and AGRs for tense and agreement checking respectively.

In Gikūyū some verb forms usually agree with the subject and this agreement relationship is morphologically marked in the verb structure.

Other affixes found in the verb form are object agreement marker, tense and various suffixes such as the applicative marker.

Gikūyū is an SVO language, whereby the NP subject heads the sentence. This NP could be a single noun, a pronoun or a noun and determiner (s) (See ch. 2). Below are examples of sentences:

- (3a) Tata a- ra- kim- a iriɔ
 NP subject S.A. TNS¹ V.rt f.v. NP Object

(My auntie is mashing'iriɔ(lit))

- (3b) m-bori ne- e- ra- re- a
 NP Subject foc S.A. TNS V.rt f.v.

(The goat is eating)

1. Tense at times usually occurs combined with Aspect.

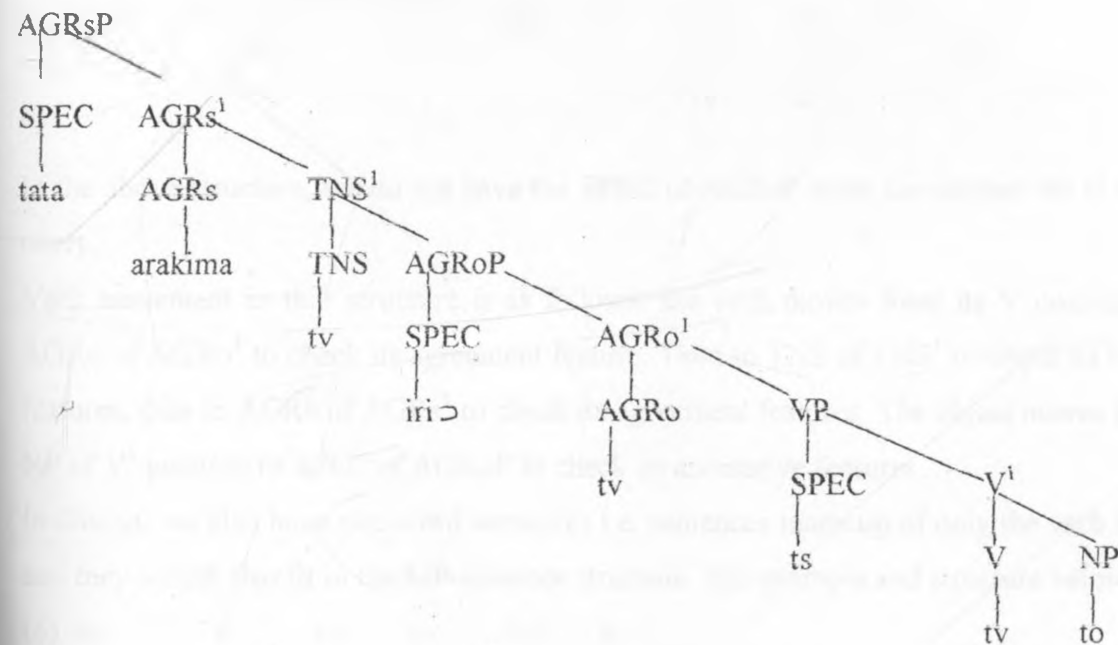
- (3c) Ro-ara ro -ro ro -aku ro- a- un- ek- a
 NP subject cl. Agr. this cl. Agr. your S.A. TNS V.rt V. Ext f.v.
 (This nail of yours has broken up(lit))

The above sentences are headed by NP subjects, and they are expected to fit in the MP sentence structure above.

Also notice that concordial prefixes are found in every constituent of the sentence, note for example 'ro'- in 3c above. It is in the head noun, in the two determiners i.e. demonstrative and possessive and in the verb form. This prefix 'ro'- as seen in the various elements of the sentence marks head noun agreement with the various elements of the sentence.

Example 3a is a transitive sentence, while 3b and 3c are intransitive. Thus we can conclude that the verb form in Gikūyū marks agreement with the subject of a transitive and intransitive sentence. This is common for nominative and accusative systems. The features of agreement should be checked under the various inflectional heads.

The sentence structure that corresponds to 3a above is:

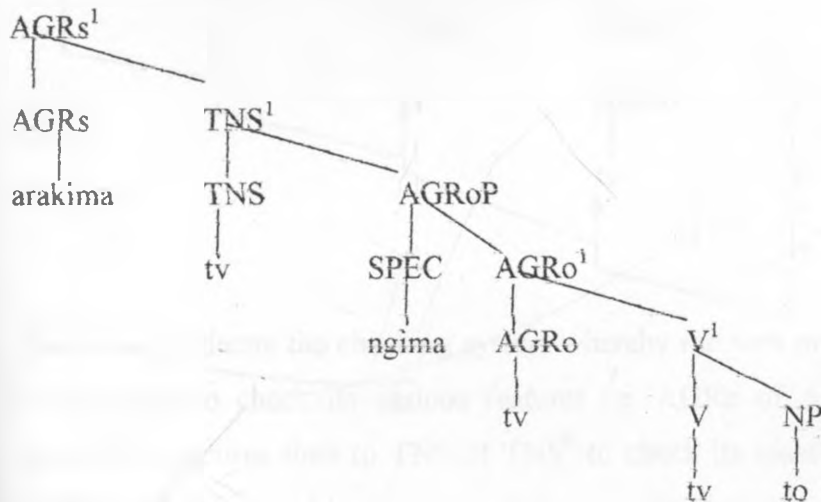


In the above structure the subject is overt, i.e. the nominative (subject) i.e. 'Tata', while the accusative (object) is *iri* and also overt. The noun (Tata) will move from the SPEC of VP to SPEC of AGRsP to check its nominative case. The object '*iri*' moves from the NP of V¹ to AGRs of AGRs¹ to SPEC of AGRoP to check its accusative case. See

discussion of case marking in Gikuyu in sub-section 4.2.2 above. The verb moves to $AGRO$ of $AGRO^1$ to check its object agreement features then to TNS of TNS^1 to check its tense features, finally to $AGRs$ of $AGRs^1$ to check its subject agreement features. In some Gikuyu sentences the subject NP is non-overt, see the example below:

- (4) a- ra- kim- a n-gima
 S.A. TNS V.rt f.v. NP object
 (She/ he is preparing ugali)

This sentence can also fit in the Minimalist Approach tree structure.



In the above structure, we do not have the SPEC of $AGRsP$ since the subject NP is non-overt.

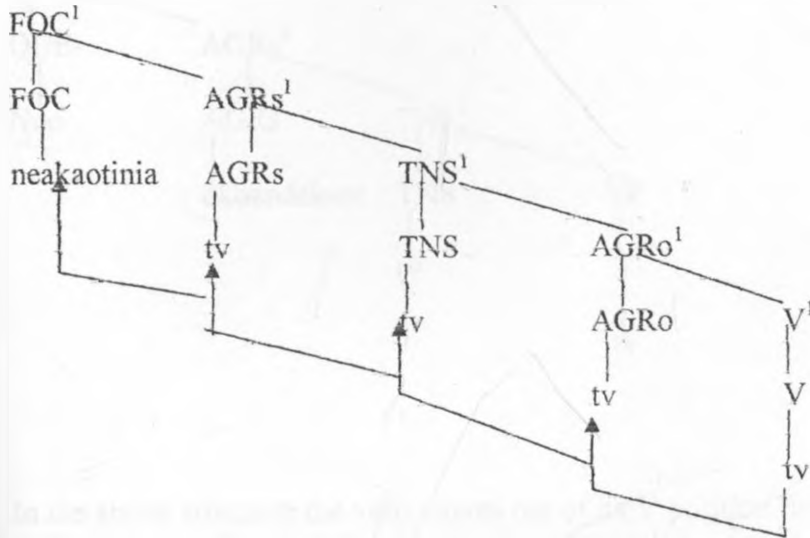
Verb movement in that structure is as follows: the verb moves from its V position to $AGRO$ of $AGRO^1$ to check its agreement feature. Then to TNS of TNS^1 to check its tense features, then to $AGRs$ of $AGRs^1$ to check its agreement features. The object moves from NP of V^1 position to $SPEC$ of $AGRoP$ to check its accusative features.

In Gikuyu we also have one-word sentences i.e. sentences made up of only the verb form and they would also fit in the MP sentence structure. See example and structure below:

- (5) ne- a- ka- o- . tini- a
 foc S.A. TNS O.A. V.rt f.v.
 (She/ he will cut it (the tree))

A focus head (FOC) heads the structure for (5) above. The focus prefix 'ne'- as explained in sub-section 3.1.1 above is morphologically marked on the verb form and it appears as

the first prefix. The focus feature triggers the building of a focus head. This focus head is created so that the focus feature can be checked. The verb has a focus prefix that is checked under the FOC of FOC. Thus the focus head, heads the verb phrase. See the tree structure below.



The arrows indicate the checking system whereby the verb moves from its position V of V¹ upwards to check its various features i.e. AGRo of AGRo¹, to check its object agreement features then to TNS of TNS¹ to check its tense features, and to AGRs of AGRs¹ to check its subject agreement features, finally to Foc of Foc¹ to check its focus features.

It is important before we complete this section on the sentence structure to look at simple interrogative constructions or WH-Questions. In Gikūyū the question word is in front of the verb. See examples below:

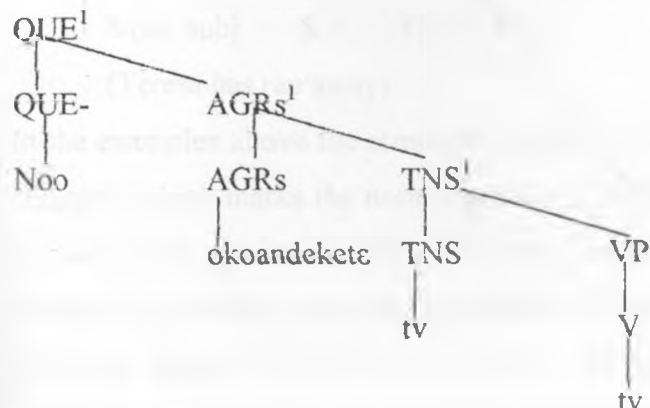
(6a) Nekee o- ra- re- a hwae-ine?
 Que S.A. TNS V.rt f.v. complement
 (What are you eating in the evening?)

(6b) Noo o- ko- andek- et- ε?
 Que S.A. TNS V.rt V.ext f.v.
 (Who employs you?(lit:))

In examples (6a) and (6b) above, the question words 'Nekee' (what) and 'Noo' (who) head the sentences. The QUE feature triggers the building of a QUE head. The QUE head

is created because the question features have to be checked under a head in this case. the QUE head, which also heads the sentence. See the tree structure below.

The structure for 6(b) (or generally for a WH-Question) is as follows:



In the above structure the verb moves out of its V position first to TNS/ TNS¹ to have its tense features checked then to AGRs/ AGRs¹ to have its agreement features checked.

To conclude this section on the basic sentence structure of Gikûyû, we must mention that all the features in a structure must be licensed. Culicover (1997:349) observes that:

...a feature that is not licensed produces ungrammaticality. For example, the feature [case] must be licensed. The verb must move to [SPEC of AGRsP] to check nominative case...

4.2.2 Case Marking in Gikûyû

Gikûyû has a nominative-accusative case and marks case by argument structure. Thus case marking is accomplished in terms of word order, this is also referred to as syntactical case. This is where the nominative subject and the accusative object are clearly divided by the verb form in a sentence. See the transitive and intransitive constructions below:

(7a) Teresa a- a- keend- a n-dɔri
 Nom. Subj. S.A. TNS V.rt f.v. Acc. Object

(Teresa has plaited the doll's hair)

(7b) Teresa a- a- kɔu- a n-dɔri
 Nom. subj. S.A. TNS V.rt f.v. Acc. Object

(Teresa has carried the doll)

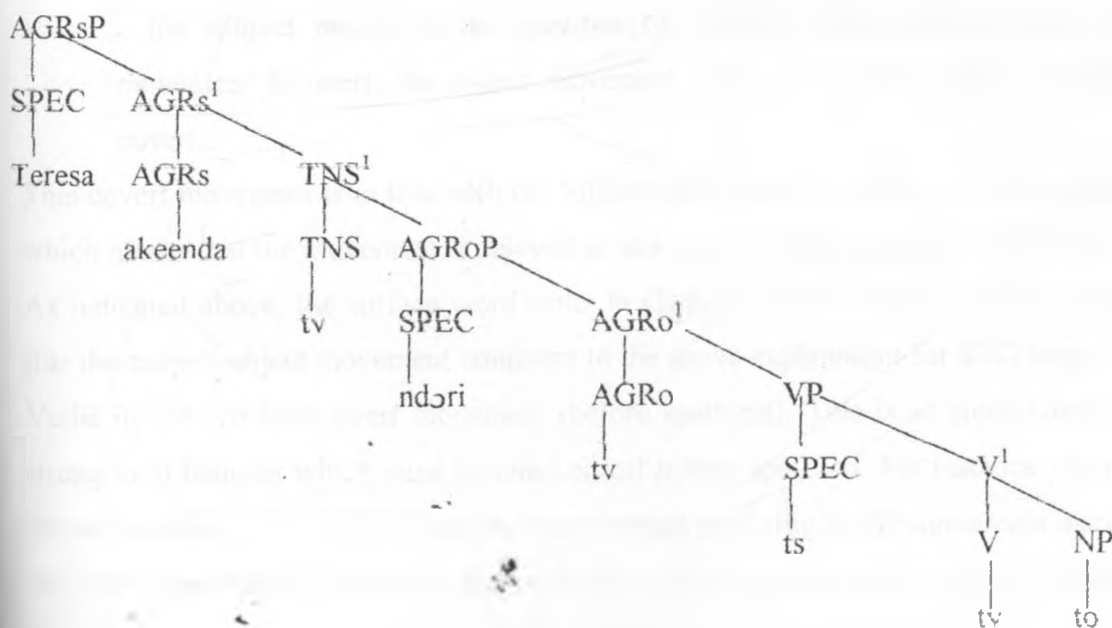
- (7c) Teresa a- a- or- a
 Nom. subj. S.A. TNS V.rt. f.v.
 (Teresa has ran away)

In the examples above the structural subject of the sentence is occupied by the nominal 'Teresa', which marks the nominative case. While the structural object position is taken by 'nd ri' in sentences 7a and 7b above, which marks the accusative case. Therefore Gikūyū has structural case, and movement is structure motivated.

Thus the subjects of both the transitive and intransitive constructions are marked as nominative and the objects of transitive sentences as accusative. Also note that the verb in such sentences usually marks agreement with the subject. The agreement prefix 'a-' above, refers to the subject of a transitive and intransitive sentences.

This marking strategy conforms to a typical nominative-accusative system.

Case-checking of nominative subjects takes place in the SPEC position of the AGRsP head while the accusative case-checking takes place in the SPEC of AGRoP head. Thus, the nominative subject moves from the SPEC of VP position to SPEC of AGRsP to check its nominative case features. While the nominal object moves from the NP position in the VP to SPEC of AGRoP. This is clearly illustrated in the structure below:



In the structure above, the verb moves from the V position to check its various features i.e. to AGRO of AGRO¹ to check its object agreement features then to TNS/ TNS¹ position to check its tense features and to AGRs/ AGRs¹ to check its subject agreement features.

Then case-checking is licensed which is done in SPEC positions. The subject moves from the SPEC position of the VP to the SPEC position of AGRsP to check its nominative features and the object moves from the NP of V¹ position to SPEC of AGROp to check its accusative features

From the above discussion, we have observed that Gikūyū has a nominative and accusative case system marked by the argument structure of a surface SVO order. Therefore we can conclude that Gikūyū has structural case.

In this section we will also look at spell-out, i.e. when it occurs since it has a direct implication on feature-checking.

Cook et al (1996:334-335) in his attempt to show that the surface word order of English is SVO explains:

...if both the subject and the object move to specifier of AGROp, then both will obviously precede the verb.

However for an SVO word order, he continues:

...the subject moves to the specifier of AGRsP before spell-out hence, the movement is overt, the object movement takes place after spell-out hence is covert.

This covert movement is in line with the Minimalist Program's principle of Procrastinate, which means that the movement is delayed as late as possible Haegeman (1994:617).

As indicated above, the surface word order in Gikūyū is SVO, thus this study assumes that the subject-object movement conforms to the above explanation-for SVO languages.

Verbs in Gikūyū have overt movement (before spell-out). This is so since Gikūyū has strong verb features which must be checked off before spell out. For instance, the noun-phrase is usually incorporated into the verb through prefixing an NP agreement marker in the verb. The order of affixes in the verb form determines the word order in a language

this is upported by the Mirror Principle, Baker (1988: 13). According to this principle the affixes on the verb must reflect the SVO structure of the language.

The remaining information about sentences can be seen in the next section (4.3.2.) since in Gikūyū a sentence can be realized in a verb structure.

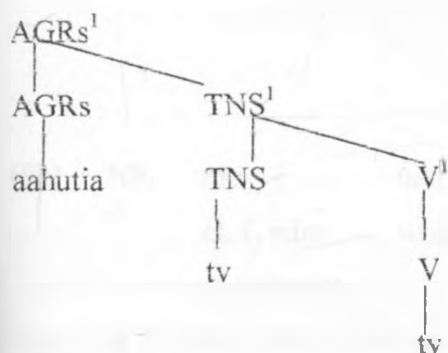
4.3. Morpho-syntactic Analysis of AGR in the VP and NP

In this section we will examine the maximal projections or the structure-building process in the Gikūyū VP (verb form) and NP (noun-phrase construction).

In the Minimalist Program all the lexical and morpho-syntactic information about verbs and nouns is found in the lexicon. Through a process called numeration, all morpho-syntactic and lexical items are taken from the lexicon. Then, the Merge (a computational process) takes place. It merges the elements into heads and partial trees. Merge, which is part of the structure-building process, transports information from the lexicon to the interface level.

The items in the lexicon are transformed into a specifier-head-complement relationship. Below are illustration of a verb form (VP) and NP constructions.

(8a) VP construction: a- a- huti- a
 S.A. TNS V.rt f.v.
 (he/ she has touched(lit.))

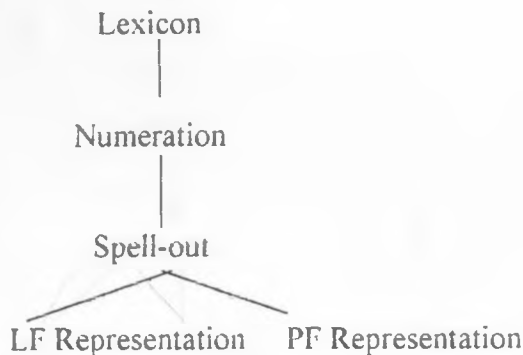


The head-building ought to present in the structure all the morphemes in the verb form.

(8b) NP construction: mo- ndo o- rea
 cl. I. sing man cl. I. Agr. that
 (that^a man)

Movement occurs for checking purposes only.

When the structure-building process is complete, the computational process spells-out information of the lexicon onto PF and LF. During spell-out phonological and semantic information is sorted out for the structural description. The phonological information appears at PF and the semantic information at LF. See the diagram of the two representations of the interface below



The principle of FI controls the structure-building process such that only lexically or morphologically licensed elements appear. This principle also guides spell-out so that unlicensed elements do not appear at the interface level.

4.3.1 The Noun-Phrase in Gikũyũ

In this section, we will present the phrase structure and the structure-building processes in the Gikũyũ NP.

In Gikũyũ, the head noun precedes its modifiers or determiners as discussed in chapter two.

In the Minimalist Approach the structure-building process, i.e. the order of the elements in an NP structure is fixed according to how they appear in the language in question. It is also important to note here that, the noun and their morphology are checked in their appropriate SPEC position for case features.

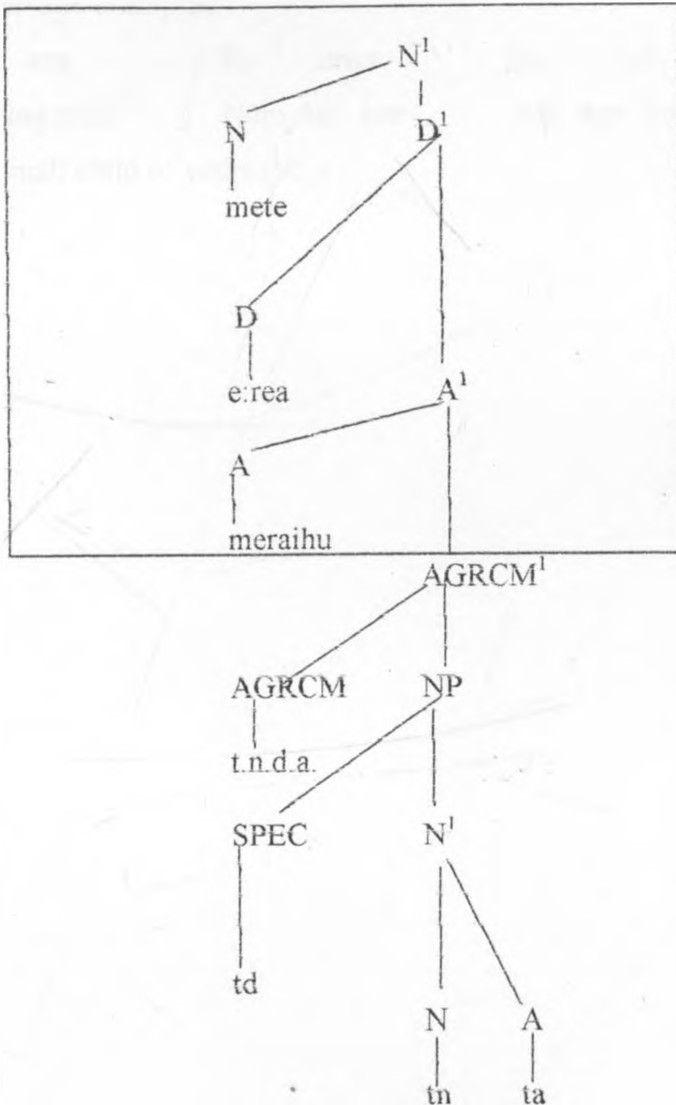
The specifier-head-complement relationships between the HN and its modifiers in Gikũyũ is more extensively realized morphologically. See the illustrations below:

(10)	me-	te	c:-rea	me-	raiɦu
	cl. 2. pl	tree	those ³	cl. 2 Agr.	tall

(those tall trees)

The NP construction is headed by agreement class marker (AGRCM). The agreement class marker in the noun phrase triggers the building of AGRCM head. The AGRCM head is created because the agreement features in the noun phrase have to be checked under a head i.e. AGRCM head which also heads the NP, see examples (10) and (11) below for illustrations.

The structure⁴ for (10) ten above is as follows:



The structure above shows how representations are projected from the lexicon into a structure of a noun-phrase. In the structure we see clearly movement of the various elements in the noun-phrase. These are an adjective (A), a determiner (D) and a head

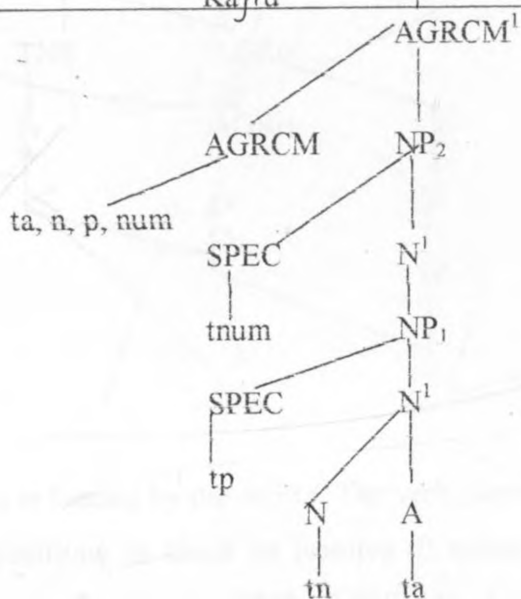
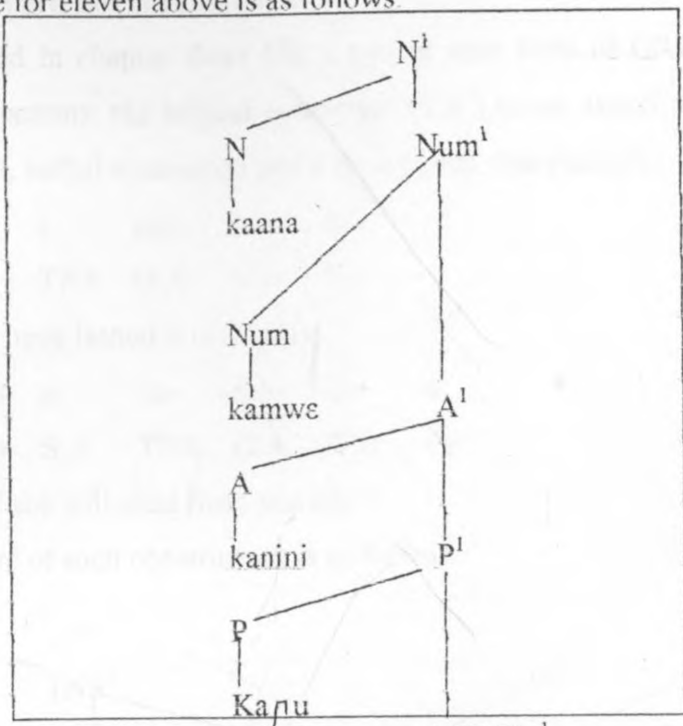
⁴ NP structure built with the assistance of the supervisor

noun. The adjective moves from its position A of N^1 first to AGRCM (agreement class marker) to check its agreement feature and then to A of A^1 to check its adjective feature. The head noun moves from its original place N of N^1 first to AGRCM to check its agreement feature then to N of N^1 that heads the phrase to check its noun feature. The determiner (e:rea) moves from the SPEC of NP first to AGRCM to check its agreement feature then to D of D^1 to check its determiner feature.

Before we complete this section of NP in Gikūyū, we will also look at a complex NP with three elements. See examples:

- (11) ka- ana ka- mwe ka- nini ka- ʃu
 cl. 7 sing child Num Agr. one Adj. Agr. small Pos. Agr. your
 (one small child of yours (lit.))

The structure for eleven above is as follows:



In the structure above, we find that all the elements of the NP will move from their original positions, and first move to AGRCM to check their class agreement, then move to their various positions in the box.

4.3.2 The Verb Form in Gikūyū

As mentioned in chapter three (3), a typical verb form of Gikūyū is composed of the following elements: the subject agreement (S.A.), tense/ aspect, object agreement (O.A.) the verb root, verbal extensions and a final vowel. See example:

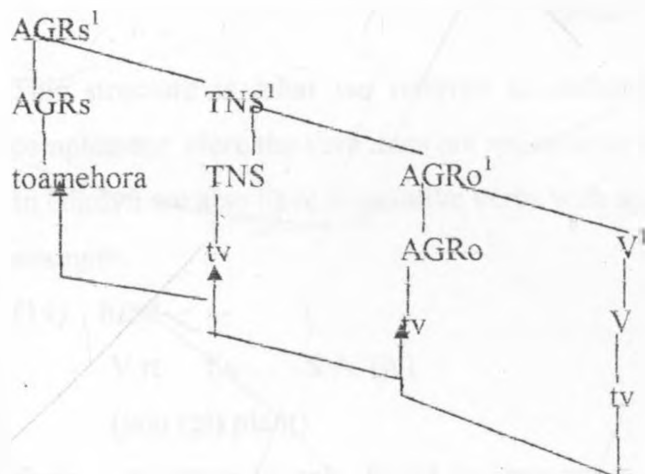
(12a) to- a- me- hor- a
S.A. TNS O.A. V.rt f.v.

(We have lashed it (animal))

(12b) (ne-) a- ka- mo- ij- a
(foc) S.A. TNS O.A. V.rt f.v.

(He/ she will steal from you (lit.))

The structure of such construction is as follows:



This structure is headed by the AGRs. The verb moves from its original place V of V¹ to the various positions to check its features. It moves to AGRo of AGRo¹ to check its object agreement features, to TNS of TNS¹ to check its tense features and finally to AGRs of AGRs¹ to check its subject agreement features.

The structure-building process is morphologically driven i.e. the structure is built using the various morphemes in the verb form.

However, the structure changes when we have a different verb form. See the sections that follow.

4.3.2.1 Imperative Verb Form

The imperative verb form can also fit in the MP structure. See the examples below:

- (13) hand- a
 V.rt f.v.
 (You (sing) plant)

The structure for (13) is as follows:



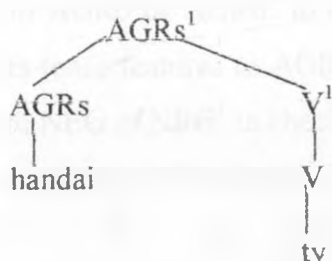
This structure is what we referred to earlier as a partial tree with a head and no complement. Here the verb does not move since there is no checking.

In Gikūyū we also have imperative verbs with agreement subject suffixed to the verb. See example:

- (14) hand- a- i
 V.rt f.v. S.A. (pl)
 (you (pl) plant)

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Such a structure is only found in imperative verbs with an overt subject agreement marker indicating second person plural only. The structure for such a verb is as follows:



That structure shows the maximal phrase of this type of verb form. The verb moves from V of V^I to AGRs of AGRs^I to check its verb subject agreement features.

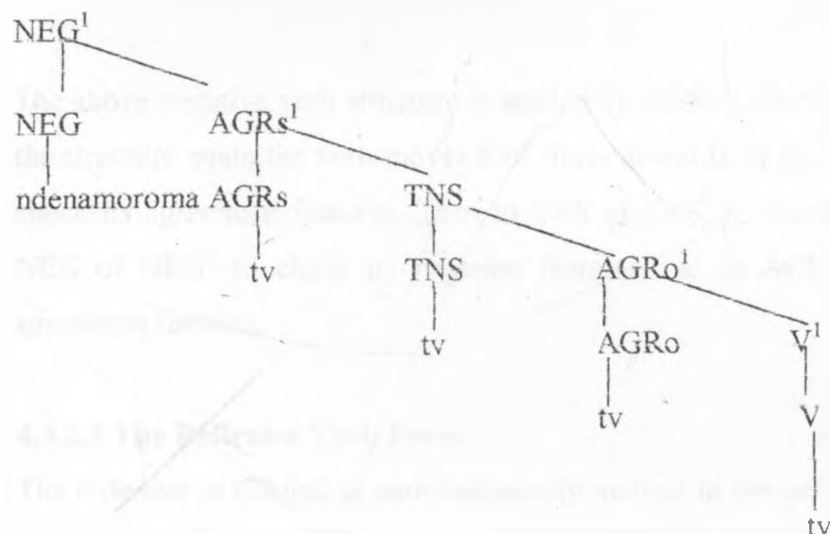
4.3.2.2 Negative Verb Form

The negation morphemes as shown in chapter three (3) are prefixes {nd-} and {-ti-}. nd- occurs before the subject prefixes while -ti- occurs after the subject prefix.

The negation prefix requires an extra head because of feature checking. See examples:

- (15) nd- e- na- mo- rom- a
 NEG S.A. Tns O.A. V.rt f.v.
 (It did not bite him/ her)

The structure of (15) above is headed by NEG. See illustration below:

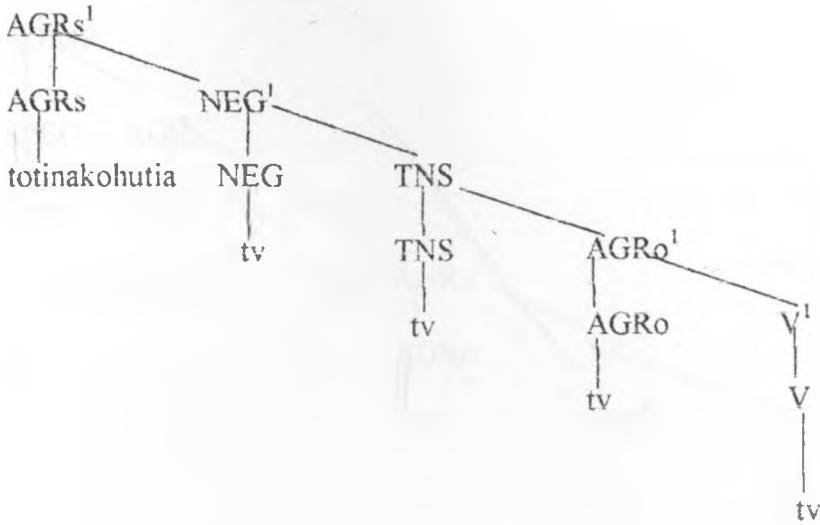


In this structure, the verb moves four times upwards to check its various features. It moves to AGRo of AGRo¹ to check its object agreement features, to TNS of TNS¹ to check its tense features to AGRs of AGRs¹ to check its subject agreement features and finally to NEG of NEG¹ to check its negation features.

In the next example the negative verb form is headed by AGRs¹, as in.

- (16) to- ti- na- ko- huti- a
 S.A NEG TNS O.A V.rt f.v.
 (We did not touch you).

The structure for 16 is as follows:



The above negative verb structure is headed by AGR_s^1 , the NEG head comes after it. In the structure again the verb moves four times upwards. It moves to $AGRO$ of $AGRO^1$ to check its agreement features. Then to TNS of TNS^1 to check its tense features and to NEG of NEG^1 to check its negation features and to AGR_s of AGR_s^1 to check its agreement features.

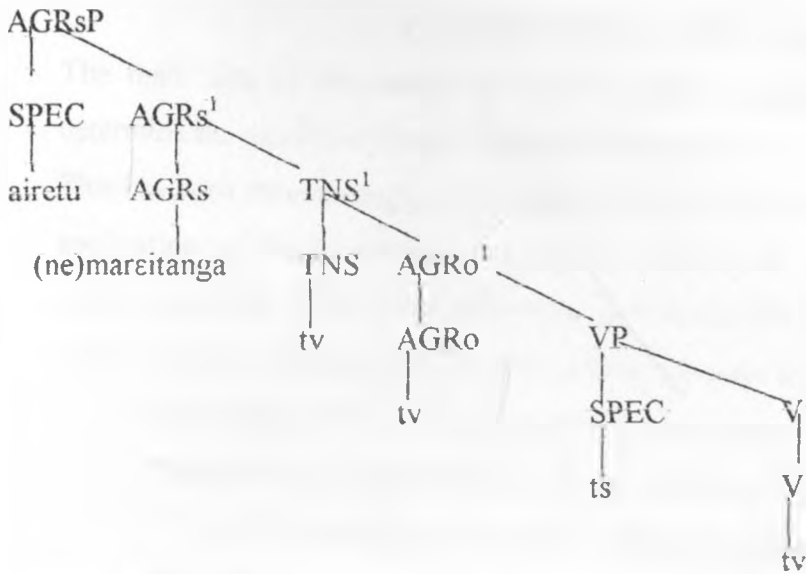
4.3.2.3 The Reflexive Verb Form

The reflexive in Gîkûyû is morphologically marked in the verb form. The reflexive affix {-ε-} (see ch.3) is prefixed into the verb structure, and it takes the role of the object prefix. See examples:

- (17a) a- iretu (ne-) ma- ra- ε- itang- a *ʔʔ
 cl. I pl girl (foc) S.A. TNS RFL V.rt f.v.
 (The girls are 'ruining' themselves (lit.))

- (17b) n- gui ne- e- ra- ε- rom- a
 cl. 5 sing dog foc S.A. TNS RFL V.rt f.v.
 (The dog is biting itself)

Schröder (2002:49) observes that since the structure-building process and the FI principle require morphological features to be checked under a head, the reflexive has to have a head for feature checking. The reflexive feature will be checked under the $AGRO$ head since the reflexive prefix represents the O A M. in the verb form. See the tree structure of 17 (a) above.



From the structure above, the verb moves from its place under V of V¹ to AGRo of AGRo¹ to check its reflexive features, then to TNS/ TNS¹ for tense feature checking and lastly to AGRs/ AGRs¹ to check its subject agreement feature. The subject moves from the SPEC of VP to the SPEC of AGRsP to check its nominative case feature

4.4. SUMMARY

In this chapter we have seen that the Minimalist Program is feature driven and any additional morpheme bearing a head induces a new specifier-head relationship. We have also seen that the AGRP, exists at least in Gikūyū (the language being studied in this work) which is marked using some special morphemes in the NP's and VP's. This AGRP in Gikūyū can be split into AGRsP and AGRoP.

We have also seen that the structure-building process is morphologically driven and it is licensed by morpho-syntactic or lexical information of the lexicon. After the structure-building process, the computational process spells-out the information of the lexicon into PF and LF.

Finally we have seen the verb and noun movement (for feature-checking) in the Minimalist Approach.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The main aim of this study has been to analyze agreement in Gikũyũ in order to determine the morpho-syntactic function of agreement.

This has been done through analyzing Gikũyũ data chapters two (2) and three (3) and the application of the Minimalist Program to Gikũyũ NP (construction), verb form and simple sentences. We were able to come up with the following conclusions:

- That the checking theory of the MP is adequate to describe the agreement system of the Gikũyũ NP, verb form and simple sentences.
- That agreement has morpho-syntactic functions which are:
 - (a) To mark agreement relationship in a syntactic structure.
 - (b) To assign case i.e. nominative and accusative in a Minimalist Approach sentence structure.
 - (c) To carry features i.e. agreement heads are bundles of features that carry number, person and class.
- That agreement has its own head since we have seen that in a single construction the subject, verb form and object have all been inflected to indicate subject agreement. Thus the AGRsP heads in a tree structure representing a sentence, i.e. the verb form and sentence are headed by AGRsP.
- That the NP construction is headed by Agreement Class Marker (AGRCM)
- That the Gikũyũ sentence structure conforms to the proposed sentence structure of the M P.
- That Gikũyũ is one of the languages that has strong agreement which is visible at PF, and for that reason these features must be eliminated before spell-out i.e. checked off before spell-out Haegeman (1994:618). Therefore the noun and verb movement occurs before spell-out. The structure building is triggered, then movement occurs for feature checking.

From the above conclusions, it is apparent that the Minimalist Program is adequate to describe agreement features found in the Gikũyũ NP (construction), verb form in simple sentence

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study though concerned with agreement within the NP, was only restricted to HN agreement with its modifiers/ determiners. There are also clausal NPs in Gikūyū, it would be in order, if a sister study is done on Agreement in the clausal NP under the Minimalist Program.

Secondly, the study when dealing with the Minimalist Program only dealt with simple sentences, further research needs to be done on Gikūyū complex sentences under the Minimalist Program.

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