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

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UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRIканA COLLECTION

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF MASTER OF ARTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES

2004
DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

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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
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My most sincere thanks go to D.P.M. for graciously sponsoring me in 2003/2004. Without this support, my study life would not have been a success.

I am grateful to my dedicated supervisors, Dr. Schröder and Prof. Abdulaziz who read raw drafts, guided me and provided material support. Particularly, I am indebted to Dr. Schröder for her encouragement and availing to me a copy of her Ph.D thesis, which greatly helped me in understanding the tenets of the Minimalist Program.

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 Gikuyu 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 tenents of the MP and looks at its philosophical background among other things.

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

Chapter three examines agreement markers in the Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu Noun Phrase construction, verb form and sentences.
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root
subject Agreement
subject agreement marker
singular
specifier
surface structure
subject
suffix
trace/ adjective
trace/ determiner
Transformational Generative Gram
trace/ noun
Trace/number
trace/ object
tense
trace/ subject
trace/ verb
Universal Grammar
Verb Phrase
any phrase
first person singular
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 Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu speakers in other parts of the country.

This study embodies data which are collected from the western dialect of Gikuyu. 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 Gikuyu’ since it is spoken by more Agikuyu than the other dialects. It is the dialect used in print i.e. Gikuyu books and magazines, teaching the language and also in the various Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu in the Minimalist Program. Specifically it intends to investigate the adequacy of the Minimalist Program in describing agreement in Gikuyu. 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 Gikuyu), often does not have any morphological marking in English. Gikuyu has a richer paradigm of conjugation e.g.
1.3. Hypotheses

The hypotheses to be tested in this study are:

(i) Agreement in Gikuyu has a morpho-syntactic function.

(ii) Gikuyu 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) Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu.

1.4. Objectives

This study will be guided by the following objectives:

(i) To study agreement in Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu in the minimalist program will contribute to UG. This study will also provide data for a linguistic audience in Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu NP, verb form and some simple sentences.

It is important to note in this section that, agreement in Gikuyu 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 L-Language and performance also E-Language. Competence refers to the speaker's actual knowledge of his language.

\[1\text{I am not looking at relative clauses that are normally considered embedded in the noun phrase.}\]
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).

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-categorial 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 exists 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 inexistent (Pollock 1989), it is now decomposed into TNS, Agreement subject (AGR)s 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 Phase (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 Gikuyu 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.

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 Gikuyu 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, Gikuyu 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 **Gikuyu Studies**

A lot has been written about Gikuyu language. The works available range from simple grammars, Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu, which were meant for beginners learning the language, who include pupils in elementary classes, missionaries and settlers working and living in and around Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu using a Functional Approach, it is also useful for this work. Gatende (1991) NP and WH-movement in Gikuyu, provides important background to this study.

Mwangi J. W (1992) has looked at the Typology of Empty Categories in Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu.

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

The works identified and other works done on languages closely related to Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu 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
agreement as a system where grammatical categories restricts forms of words i.e.
grahmatical 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.

### 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.
(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.
(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.
CHAPTER TWO: AGREEMENT WITHIN THE NOUN PHRASE

2.1 Noun Class System in Gikuyu

The noun class system in Gikuyu (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:

(1a) cl. Pref. | N. rt | Agr. Pref | Adj. root
---|---|---|---
mo- | ndo | mo- | tana
cl.I. Sing | man | cl.I. Agr | generous
(a generous man)

(1b) cl. I. Sing | story | cl.6. Agr | prep | his/ her
---|---|---|---|---
ro- | yanö | ro- | a- | ke
(his/ her story)

Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu

In Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. Pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2a) mo-</td>
<td>rata</td>
<td>a friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1 Sing</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2b) mo-</td>
<td>hunjia</td>
<td>a preacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1 Sing</td>
<td>preacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. 1 pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3a) a-</td>
<td>rata</td>
<td>friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. pl</td>
<td>friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3b) a-</td>
<td>hunjia</td>
<td>preachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1. pl.</td>
<td>preacher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. Pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(4a) mo-</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>a tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 2 Sing</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4b) mo-</td>
<td>ọụọjia</td>
<td>a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 2 sing</td>
<td>day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(5a) me-</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 2. pl.</td>
<td>tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5b) me-</td>
<td>ọụọjia</td>
<td>days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.2. pl</td>
<td>day</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This class consists of nouns with the initial morphemes \{mo-\} and \{me-\} referring to:

(i) trees e.g. mo- \(\mathcal{J}\) andoko (wattle tree) e.t.c.

(ii) objects made of trees e.g. mo-kwa (rope), mo-ik\(\) (ladle)

(iii) some diseases e.g. mo-\(\mathcal{Y}\)ar (tetanus) mo-\(\mathcal{Y}\)ing (AIDS)

(iv) some behaviour e.g. mo-raram\(\) (bellow/roar), mo-\(\mathcal{Y}\)e (pride)

(v) nouns describing time e.g. mo-aka (year), mo-\(\mathcal{J}\)ri (month)

### Class 3

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6a) re-</td>
<td>jiria</td>
<td>an idea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 3 pl</td>
<td>idea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6b) ri-</td>
<td>i (\mathcal{Y})</td>
<td>an eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 3 sing</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6c) i-</td>
<td>hi(\gamma)a</td>
<td>a stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 3 sing.</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(7a) ma-</td>
<td>jiria</td>
<td>ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pl</td>
<td>idea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7b) ma-</td>
<td>i (\mathcal{Y})</td>
<td>eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 3 pl</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7c) ma-</td>
<td>hi(\gamma)a</td>
<td>stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 3 pl.</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(\mathcal{Y}\)o (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-\} as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(8a) ke-</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>a finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 4. sing</td>
<td></td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8b) (\chi)-</td>
<td>tai(\gamma)ua</td>
<td>a deaf person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 4 pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>deaf person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural prefixes are \{\(\text{i-}\)\} and \{\(\text{i-}\)\} as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(9a) (\text{i-})</td>
<td>ara</td>
<td>fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 4 pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9b) (\text{i-})</td>
<td>tai(\gamma)ua</td>
<td>deaf persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 4 pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>deaf person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this class we have nouns referring to:

1. Some parts of the body e.g. \(\chi\)- kokora (elbow)
2. Some things used by man e.g. ke-ihori (half calabash)
3. Nouns of people with deformities e.g. ke-rimo (retarded person)
4. Names of languages e.g. ke-\(\text{baranja}\) (French)
5. Abstract nouns made from adjectives e.g. \(\chi\)- k\(\text{enj}\) (happiness)

### Class 5

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(10a) (\text{n-})</td>
<td>(\text{dni})</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 5. sing</td>
<td></td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10b) m</td>
<td>bara</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 5 sing</td>
<td></td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \(\chi\)-
3. \(\text{ni}\)- represents all words starting with nasals and others whose initial morpheme is \{\(\omega\) -\}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>n. rt</th>
<th>Agr. pref.</th>
<th>Dem rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(11a) j' -</td>
<td>oni</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>these birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pl.</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>pl. pref</td>
<td>this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11b) m-</td>
<td>bara</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ji o</td>
<td>those wars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 pl.</td>
<td>war</td>
<td>pl. pref</td>
<td>that</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This class consists of nouns referring to:

(i) most animals e.g. m- bomboe (spider), ngoko (hen)
(ii) some liquids e.g. ng'in (sweat), nj- shi (beer)
(iii) mixed things e.g. j- arału (femine), m- bara (war)
(iv) some borrowed names e.g. m- bija (picture), d'ukuru (school)

**Class 6**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(12a) ro-</td>
<td>emb&gt;</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12b) ro-</td>
<td>oara</td>
<td>finger/ toe nail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sing</td>
<td>nail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural prefix is {n-} as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(13a) j' -</td>
<td>emb&gt;</td>
<td>songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13b) n-</td>
<td>doara</td>
<td>finger/ toe nails</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 pl</td>
<td>nail</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this class there are nouns referring to:

Short and tall/ long things e.g. ro-e (river), ro-rij (string), j-an (stories)

---

4. See explanation in class 5 pl. pref. above.
Class 7

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(14a) ka-</td>
<td>iretu</td>
<td>small girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 7 sing</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14b) a-</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>small car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 7 sing</td>
<td>car</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural morpheme is \{to-\} as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(15a) to-</td>
<td>iretu</td>
<td>small girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 7 pl</td>
<td>girl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15b) to-</td>
<td>kari</td>
<td>small cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 7 pl</td>
<td>car</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(16a) o-</td>
<td>rere</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 8 sing</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16b) o-</td>
<td>ɣio</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 8 sing</td>
<td>face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The plural morpheme is \{ma-\} as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(17a) ma-</td>
<td>rere</td>
<td>beds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 8 pl</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17b) ma-</td>
<td>ɣio</td>
<td>faces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 8 pl</td>
<td>face</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)

\(^5\) Some 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 - ɣio - the -a- and -o- fuse to form -ɣ-
Class 9

The singular morpheme is \{ko-\} \(^7\) as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>(\gamma)oro</td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 9 sing</td>
<td></td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(18a)

(18b)

The plural prefix is \{ma-\} \(^8\) as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>(\gamma)oro</td>
<td>legs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 9 pl</td>
<td></td>
<td>leg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(19a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. 8 pl</th>
<th>ear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(19b)

In this class we have nouns referring to:

(i) Parts of the body e.g. \(\gamma\)e- \(\gamma\)ori (chest), mo-ko (hands)

(ii) Nouns made from verbs e.g. ko-hunjia (to preach)

Class 10 \(^9\)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 10 sing</td>
<td></td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(20a)

(20b)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N. rt</th>
<th>Agr. pref</th>
<th>Quant. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>inge</td>
<td>many places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 10 sing</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>cl. 10 Agr.</td>
<td>many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21a)

(21b)

\(^7\) 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 I: Noun Classes in Gikuyu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Nominal Prefixes[^10]</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>mo-rio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>mo-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>re-, ni-, i-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>i-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ke-, i, j-*</td>
<td>ke-*onjo</td>
<td>j-*ng o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n-*ombe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ro-o e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>ka-hee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>o-rere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ko-*yor o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. (a)</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ko-*oro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td></td>
<td>ha-ndo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Gikuyu

The noun-phrase in Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu the noun phrase is inflected for agreement i.e. number, person and class[^12]. The agreement prefix is found on the post modifiers[^13] of the head noun, these are adjectives, demonstratives, possessives, numerals and quantifiers. This concord involves these

[^10]: Adapted from Benson 2001 but it has slight alterations.
[^11]: Pronoun Agreement will be dealt with in Ch.3.
[^13]: Leech et al (1975: 251)
categories simultaneously in an NP. See examples:

(22) ka- na ka- mwe ka- nini ka- j' u
cl. 7 sing child num. Agr. one adj. Agr. small pos. Agr. your
(one small child of yours)\( ^{\text{lit.}} \)

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 Gikuyû, 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:

(23) ro- emb^ ro- rea ro- a- ku
cl. 6 sing. song cl. 6 Agr. that cl. 6 Agr. of you
(that song of yours)\( ^{\text{lit.}} \)

In the example above the noun class prefix \( \{ \text{ro-} \} \) 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 Gikuyû, 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:
2.2.1. Complex Adjectives

(a) Two Elements

(25) mo-iretu mo-kuhe mo-tungu
cl.1 sing girl cl. 1 Agr. short cl. 1 Agr stout
(a short stout girl)

(b) Three Elements

(26) ka-iretu ya-jeke ya-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.1 sing person cl.1 Agr stout cl.1 Agr tall cl.1 Agr brown cl.1 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 Gikuyu NP.

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

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

2.2.2.1 Using Possessive Pronouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root pos.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(29a) -kwa</td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29b) -ito</td>
<td>our</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29c) -ku</td>
<td>your(sing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29d) -jiu</td>
<td>your(pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29e) -o</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29f) -ke</td>
<td>his/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29g) -jo</td>
<td>its</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 - tiŋɛ wa - jo  
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 HN

These suffixes are:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
<th>Pos.Suff.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(31a) mo</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>his/her son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1. sing</td>
<td>son</td>
<td></td>
<td>his/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31b) mo</td>
<td>rika</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>his/her agemate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1. sing</td>
<td>agemate</td>
<td></td>
<td>his/her</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
<th>Pos.Suff.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(32a) mo</td>
<td>ro</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>my in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1. sing</td>
<td>in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(32b) mo</td>
<td>rika</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>my in-laws</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 1. sing</td>
<td>agemate</td>
<td></td>
<td>my</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.3 Possession in the Genitive NP

There are various prepositions in Gikuyù 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 Gikuyù we have post-positions.
2.2.2.3.1 ‘-a’

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{cl. pref.} & \text{N.rt} & \text{Agr. Pref.} & \text{Prep.rt} & \text{cl. pref.} & \text{N.rt} \\
(i) & - & \text{nioro} & - & \text{a} & - & \text{dɔri} \\
(34a) & \text{cl.3.sing} & \text{nose} & \text{cl.3.Agr.} & \text{of} & \text{cl.3.sing} & \text{doll} \\
(34b) & \text{fî} & \text{emb} & \text{jî} & - & \text{a} & - & \text{gai} \\
& \text{cl.5.pl.} & \text{song} & \text{cl.5.Agr.} & \text{of} & \text{cl.5.sing} & \text{God} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘-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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{cl. pref.} & \text{N.rt} & \text{Agr. Pref.} & \text{Prep.rt} & \text{Pron.rt} \\
(35a) & \text{ro} & \text{yriri} & \text{ro} & - & \text{a} & - & \text{D} \\
& \text{cl.6.sing} & \text{fence} & \text{cl.6.Agr.} & \text{of} & \text{them} \\
(35b) & \text{ye} & \text{jûte} & \text{ke} & - & \text{a} & - & \text{jɔ} \\
& \text{cl.4.sing.} & \text{tail} & \text{cl.4.Agr.} & \text{of} & \text{it} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.2.2.3.1 ‘-na’

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{cl. pref.} & \text{N.rt} & \text{Agr. pref.} & \text{Prep.rt} & \text{cl. Pref} & \text{N.rt} \\
(36a) & \text{mo} & \text{tumia} & \text{we} & - & \text{na} & - & \text{hanji} \\
& \text{cl.1.sing} & \text{woman} & \text{cl.1.Agr} & \text{with} & \text{earrings} \\
(36b) & \text{ro} & \text{yan}_\text{ŋwe} & \text{na} & o & \text{rutani} \\
& \text{cl.6.pl.} & \text{story} & \text{cl.6.Agr.} & \text{of} & \text{cl.6.sing} & \text{lesson} \\
\end{array}
\]

\footnote{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’. In an NP construction it links two nouns as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
<th>Agr. Pref.</th>
<th>Prep. rt</th>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(34a) i</td>
<td>- nioro</td>
<td>re - a</td>
<td>n - dɔ ri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.3.sing</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td>cl.3.Agr of</td>
<td>cl.3.sing</td>
<td>doll</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(the nose of the doll)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(34b) j’</td>
<td>- emba</td>
<td>ji - a</td>
<td>n - gai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.5.pl.</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>cl.5.Agr of</td>
<td>cl.5.sing</td>
<td>God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(songs of God)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
<th>Agr. Pref.</th>
<th>Prep. rt</th>
<th>Pron. rt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(35a) ro</td>
<td>- yiri</td>
<td>ro - a</td>
<td>- ɔ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.6.sing</td>
<td>fence</td>
<td>cl.6.Agr of</td>
<td>them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a fence of them (lit.))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(35b) j’e</td>
<td>- j’uŋ e</td>
<td>ke - a</td>
<td>j’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4.sing.</td>
<td>tail</td>
<td>cl.4.Agr of</td>
<td>it</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a tail of it (lit.))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2.2.3.1 ‘-na’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref.</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
<th>Agr. pref.</th>
<th>Prep. rt</th>
<th>cl. Pref</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(36a) mo</td>
<td>- tumia</td>
<td>we - na</td>
<td>- hanji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.1.sing</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>cl.1.Agr with</td>
<td>earrings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a woman with earrings (lit.))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36b) ro</td>
<td>- j’an</td>
<td>τwe - na</td>
<td>o - rutani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.6.pl.</td>
<td>story</td>
<td>cl.6.Agr of</td>
<td>cl.6.sing lesson</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a story with a moral lesson)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

- **(34a)** i nioro re a n dīri
  - cl.3.sing nose cl.3.Agr of cl.3.sing doll
  - (the nose of the doll)

- **(34b)** jī 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.

- **(35a)** ro yiri ro a
  - cl.6.sing fence cl.6.Agr of them
  - (a fence of them (lit.))

- **(35b)** ke a jī
  - 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

- **(36a)** mo tumia we na - haji
  - cl.1.sing woman cl.1.Agr with earrings
  - (a woman with earrings (lit.))

- **(36b)** ro yanò rive 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) mo - ana  \( \varepsilon \) - na - ke

cl. 1. sing baby cl. 1. Agr with him/her

(he/she is with the baby)

(37b) o - rere we - na - m\( \rightarrow \)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Class Prefix</th>
<th>Cl. pref</th>
<th>N/rt</th>
<th>Agr/pref</th>
<th>prep</th>
<th>Cl. pref</th>
<th>N/rt</th>
<th>Gloss(^{18})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sing</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>mo - ndo</td>
<td>ui - na</td>
<td>ka - hio</td>
<td>a man with a knife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>a - ndo</td>
<td>me - na</td>
<td>to - hio</td>
<td>men with knives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sing</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>mo - te</td>
<td>we - na</td>
<td>h( \rightarrow ) ng( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>a tree with branches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>me - te</td>
<td>e - na</td>
<td>h( \rightarrow ) ng( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>trees with branches</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Sing</td>
<td>re-, ri-, i-</td>
<td>ri - ik( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>re - na</td>
<td>mo - rare</td>
<td>a kitchen with hanging soot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma - rik( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>me - na</td>
<td>me - rare</td>
<td>kitchen with hanging soot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sing</td>
<td>ke-</td>
<td>ke - ng( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>ke - na</td>
<td>n - juere</td>
<td>head with hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>j( \rightarrow ) - ng( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>j( \rightarrow ) - na</td>
<td>n - juere</td>
<td>heads with hair</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sing</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n - goko</td>
<td>e - na</td>
<td>n - ju</td>
<td>a hen with chicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n - goko</td>
<td>j( \rightarrow ) - na</td>
<td>n - ju</td>
<td>hens with chicks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sing</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td>ro - ( \chi ) an( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>roe - na</td>
<td>ro - emb( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>a story with a song (in it)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>n - ng( \rightarrow )</td>
<td>j( \rightarrow ) - na</td>
<td>j( \rightarrow ) - embo</td>
<td>stories with songs (in them)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sing</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ka - ramu</td>
<td>k( \rightarrow ) - na</td>
<td>rangi</td>
<td>a pen with ink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>to - ramu</td>
<td>toe - na</td>
<td>rangi</td>
<td>pens with ink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Sing</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>o - rere</td>
<td>we - na</td>
<td>n - durowa</td>
<td>a bed with drawers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma - rere</td>
<td>me - na</td>
<td>n - durowa</td>
<td>beds with drawers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Sing</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>k( \rightarrow ) - to</td>
<td>koe - na</td>
<td>m - indira</td>
<td>an ear with earrings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma - to</td>
<td>ma - na</td>
<td>m - indira</td>
<td>ears with earrings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (a)</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ko - ndo</td>
<td>koe - na</td>
<td>rami</td>
<td>a place with tarmac roads</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha - ndo</td>
<td>ha - na</td>
<td>o - ( \chi ) eri</td>
<td>a place (that is) well lit.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) 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.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
& \text{cl. pref.} & \text{N. rt} & \text{Agr. pref.} & \text{Prep. rt} & \text{cl. pref} & \text{N. rt} \\
(38a) & i & - & nioro & re & - & a & n & - & dɔr i \\
& \text{cl.6.sing} & \text{nose} & \text{cl.6.Agr} & \text{of} & \text{cl.6.sing} & \text{doll} \\
& \text{(nose of the doll)} \\
(38b) & ma & - & nioro & ma & - & a & n & - & dɔr i \\
& \text{cl.6.pl.} & \text{nose} & \text{cl.6.Agr} & \text{of} & \text{cl.6.sing} & \text{doll} \\
& \text{(noses of the dolls)} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
& \text{cl. Pref.} & \text{N. rt} & \text{Agr. pref.} & \text{Prep. rt} & \text{cl. pref} & \text{N. rt} \\
(39) & * & ma & - & nioro & re & - & a & n & - & dɔr i \\
& \text{cl.6.Pl} & \text{nose} & \text{cl.6.Agr} & \text{of} & \text{cl.6.sing} & \text{doll} \\
& \text{(noses of one doll)} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.2.3 HN Agreement with Demonstratives

Gikuyu 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 3: Gikuyu Demonstratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This</td>
<td>These</td>
<td>Near to the speaker and hearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That(^a)</td>
<td>These(^b)</td>
<td>Distant from the speaker and hearer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That(^a)</td>
<td>Those(^b)</td>
<td>Distant from the speaker but near to the hearer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{19}\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N.rt</th>
<th>cl. Agr</th>
<th>Dem.rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(40a) ko</td>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>that(^b) place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.10.sing</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>cl.10.Agr</td>
<td>that(^b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(40b) i</td>
<td>kombe</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>ria</td>
<td>those(^b) cups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl.4.pl</td>
<td>cup</td>
<td>cl.4.Agr</td>
<td>those(^b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal Class Prefixes</th>
<th>This</th>
<th>These</th>
<th>That(^a)</th>
<th>Those(^a)</th>
<th>That(^b)</th>
<th>Those(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 mo-/a-</td>
<td>o-jo</td>
<td>a-ja</td>
<td>o: -rea</td>
<td>a: -rea</td>
<td>o-jo</td>
<td>a-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 mo-/me-</td>
<td>o-jo</td>
<td>e-no</td>
<td>o: -rea</td>
<td>e:-rea</td>
<td>o-jo</td>
<td>e-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 re,-ri-i/ma-</td>
<td>re-re</td>
<td>ma-ja</td>
<td>re:-rea</td>
<td>ma:-rea</td>
<td>re-u</td>
<td>ma-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ke/i-</td>
<td>i-ji</td>
<td>i-ji</td>
<td>ke:-rea</td>
<td>i:-ria</td>
<td>ke-u</td>
<td>i-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 n/n-</td>
<td>e-no</td>
<td>i-ji</td>
<td>e:-rea</td>
<td>i:-ria</td>
<td>e-jo</td>
<td>i-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 ro/n-</td>
<td>ro-ro</td>
<td>i-ji</td>
<td>ro:-rea</td>
<td>i:-ria</td>
<td>ro-u</td>
<td>i-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ka/to</td>
<td>ja-ka</td>
<td>to-to</td>
<td>ka:-rea</td>
<td>to:-rea</td>
<td>ka-u</td>
<td>to-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 o/-ma-</td>
<td>o-jo</td>
<td>ma-ja</td>
<td>o:-rea</td>
<td>ma:-rea</td>
<td>o-jo</td>
<td>ma-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 ko/-ma-</td>
<td>jo-ko</td>
<td>ma-ja</td>
<td>ko:-rea</td>
<td>ma:-rea</td>
<td>ko-u</td>
<td>ma-jo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.a ko-</td>
<td>jo-ko</td>
<td>ko-rea</td>
<td>ko-u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b ha-</td>
<td>ha-ha</td>
<td>ha:-rea</td>
<td>ha-u</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.4 HN Agreement with Numerals

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Numeral rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(41a) -mwe</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>(41h) mo' oanja</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41b) - yere</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>(41i) kenda</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41c) - yato</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>(41j) ikomi</td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41d) - fia</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>(41k) mer'ng&gt;</td>
<td>tens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41e) - yan&gt;</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>(41l) i'ana</td>
<td>hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41f) - ya'atto</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>(41m) ma'ana</td>
<td>hundreds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(41g) - ya'ra'ra</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>(41n) ngiri</td>
<td>thousand(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(41o) miri&gt; ni</td>
<td>million(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(41p) mbiri&gt; ni</td>
<td>billion(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 {O}.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agr. pref.</th>
<th>Num. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(42a) e</td>
<td>- mwe</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42b) i</td>
<td>- yere</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42c) i</td>
<td>- yato</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42d) i</td>
<td>- fia</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42e) i</td>
<td>- yan&gt;</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42f) i</td>
<td>- ya'atto</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(42g) i</td>
<td>- ya'ra'ra</td>
<td>eight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Complex numerals in Gikuyu include: tens, hundred(s), thousand(s), etc. Some complex numerals like tens require an obligatory conjunction (and) as in:

(44a) a-ndo merong e-re na a-tan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.7.pl</th>
<th>people tens</th>
<th>Num.Agr two and cl.7.Agr five</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>a-tan</td>
<td>(twenty five people)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(44b) to-rata ngiri i-ere p-a me-ong e-na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.1.pl</th>
<th>paper thousand</th>
<th>Num.Agr two of Num.Pref tens Num.pl. four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to-rata</td>
<td>ngiri</td>
<td>(two thousand and fourty papers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(45a) a-ndo ma'ana me-re ma merong e-na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.1.pl</th>
<th>people hundreds</th>
<th>Num.Agr two of Num.Pref tens Num.pl. four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'ana</td>
<td>me-re ma-merong</td>
<td>(two hundred and fourty people)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(45b) to-rata/ ngiri i-ere i-a me-merong e-na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl.1.pl</th>
<th>paper thousand</th>
<th>Num.Agr two of Num.Pref tens Num.Agr.Four</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to-rata</td>
<td>ngiri</td>
<td>(two thousand and fourty papers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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 Gikuyu include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quant./rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(46a) - mwe</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46b) - inge</td>
<td>many/much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46c) - yε</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(46d) - nini</td>
<td>few/little</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this section the prefixes that mark agreement between quantifiers and the HN 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cl. pref</th>
<th>N rt</th>
<th>Agr. pref</th>
<th>Quant. rt</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(47a)</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>inge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 7.pl</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>cl. 7 Agr</td>
<td>Many</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(47b)</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>yε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cl. 10.sing</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>cl. 10 Agr</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Nominal pref Sing. Pl</th>
<th>-mwe (some)</th>
<th>-inge (many/much)</th>
<th>-ε (all)</th>
<th>25 Each</th>
<th>-nini (few/little)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mo- / a-</td>
<td>a- mwe</td>
<td>a- inge</td>
<td>a- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>a- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo- / me-</td>
<td>e- mwe</td>
<td>me- inge</td>
<td>i- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>me- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>re- , ri- , i- ma-</td>
<td>ma- mwe</td>
<td>re- / ma- inge</td>
<td>ma- / re- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ma- / i- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ke- / i- / fi-</td>
<td>i- mwe</td>
<td>k- inge</td>
<td>ke- / fi- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n- / n-</td>
<td>i- mwe</td>
<td>i- inge</td>
<td>i- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ro- / n-</td>
<td>i- mwe</td>
<td>i- inge</td>
<td>i- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ka- / to-</td>
<td>to- mwe</td>
<td>to- inge</td>
<td>tu- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>to- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o- / ma-</td>
<td>ma- mwe</td>
<td>ma- inge</td>
<td>ma- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ma- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ko- / ma-</td>
<td>ma- mwe</td>
<td>ma- inge</td>
<td>ma- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ma- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ko- mwe</td>
<td>ko- inge</td>
<td>yu- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ko- nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha- mwe</td>
<td>ha- inge</td>
<td>ha- yε</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ha- nini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23. Whether the meaning is many or much will be determined by HN.
24. The meaning is few/ little depending on HN.
25. '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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
<th>Possessives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mo- / a-</td>
<td>mo- / a-</td>
<td>o- / a-</td>
<td>o- / a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo- / me-</td>
<td>mo- / me-</td>
<td>o- / e-</td>
<td>o- / e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>re-, ri-, i- / ma-</td>
<td>re- / ma-</td>
<td>re- / ma-</td>
<td>re- / ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ke- / i- / Ji</td>
<td>ke- /</td>
<td>ke- / i-</td>
<td>ke- / i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n- / n-</td>
<td>ro- / n-</td>
<td>e- / i-</td>
<td>e- / i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ro- / n-</td>
<td>ro- / n-</td>
<td>ro- / i-</td>
<td>ro- / Ji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ka- / to-</td>
<td>ka- / to-</td>
<td>ka- / to-</td>
<td>ka- / to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o- / ma-</td>
<td>mo- / ma</td>
<td>o- / ma-</td>
<td>o- / ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ko- / ma-</td>
<td>ko- / ma-</td>
<td>ko- / ma-</td>
<td>ko- / ma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
3.1 Introduction: Verbal Inflection

As mentioned in chapter one, Gikuyu 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  Gikuyu Verb Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Particle)</td>
<td>S.A</td>
<td>TNS/</td>
<td>O.A</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>TNS/</td>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Root</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Ext.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ne-)</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>h j</td>
<td>a y</td>
<td>er-</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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 Gikuyu verb structure, when it occurs, it is the first prefix. At times, ne- is replaced with no - in the verb form. Johnsons (1977) argues that no- signals that a particularly strong assertion is being made. Thus, no- is an emphatic form of ne-. See examples:

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

(1b) no - a- a- ar- i- e
    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.
3. Although ne- is optional, it is very common in the verb form.
3.1.2 The Agreement Prefixes

There are two agreement prefixes in a Gikuyu 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:

\[(2a) \text{ne- a- re- me- kam- a} \]
\[\text{foc S.A. tns O.A V.rt f.v.} \]
\[(\text{He/ she will milk it})\]

\[(2b) \text{ne- to- ra- ma- høj- er- a} \]
\[\text{foc S.A. tns O.A V.rt App. F.v} \]
\[(\text{We are praying for them})\]

\[(2c) \text{ne- i- a- me- tćen- er- i- a} \]
\[\text{foc S.A Asp. O.A V.rt V. Ext f.v} \]
\[(\text{They are running after it})\]

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

3.1.3 The Tense/Aspect Affixes

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:

\[ (3) \text{ne- e- ra- re- a} \]
\[\text{foc S.A tns/ Asp V.rt f.v} \]
\[(\text{It is eating})\]

---

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- aŋ - 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 Gikuyu 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-
(5b) ari-
(5c) kam-
(5d) in-

The roots cannot be accepted by speakers as complete words. Phonotactic rules (rules governing the sequence of segments) of Gikuyu only permit a sequence of CV. Thus the final vowel is necessary to make the verb meaningful. Therefore the canonical syllable structure of Gikuyu is CV, i.e. verbs must end in a vowel as illustrated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>f.v</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(6a) hɔj-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6b) ari-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>speak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6c) kam-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6d) in-</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Table 2 Various Forms of Gikuyu Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class No.</th>
<th>No. of Syllables in Root</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>k - e</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>hand - a</td>
<td>plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>tungat - a</td>
<td>serve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>romerer - a</td>
<td>follow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>orangerer - a</td>
<td>buy a few more of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>toaratoarerer - a</td>
<td>push closer to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -e, -i, -e and -o are found due to morphophonemic reasons. See examples:

- **V. rt**
  - (7a) giiir-ε: I went (Subjunctive)
  - (7b) ok-a-ι: (You (pl)) come (imperative)
  - (7c) nd-e: I am (stative)
  - (7d) re-ο: 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-hηj-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 Gikuyu 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 affix. It occurs as a prefix attached to the tense morpheme, as illustrated below:

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

(9b) (Ws:) a -ra ṭ̣̄̄m- 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) lau ne- ja- a- tajsr- a  
   subject foc S.A tns V.rt f.v.  
   (The cat has run)

(10b) ne- ja- a- tajsr- 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)* lau ne- a- tajsr- a  
   cat foc tns V.rt f.v.  
   (The cat ran)

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

*In some imperative verb forms it occurs as a suffix after the final vowel
See subsection 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 (I).

(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- département) 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 Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>Nominal Prefixes</th>
<th>S.A.M.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominal Prefixes</td>
<td>S.A.M.</td>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>Sing</td>
<td>Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mo-/ a-</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ma- a- ok- a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo-/ me-</td>
<td>-wa-</td>
<td>-ja-</td>
<td>wa- a- tem- w-Ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>re-, ri-, i-/ ma-</td>
<td>-re-</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>re- ra- tur- a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ke-/ ñi-, ñi-</td>
<td>-ke-</td>
<td>ñi-</td>
<td>ke- ra- tur- a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n-/ n-</td>
<td>-ja-</td>
<td>ñi-</td>
<td>ja- a- re- a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ro-/ n-</td>
<td>-ro-</td>
<td>ñi-</td>
<td>ro- a- in-w-Ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ka-/ to-</td>
<td>-ka-</td>
<td>ño-</td>
<td>to- ra- in-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o-/ ma-</td>
<td>-mo-</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ne- ma- a ar-Ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ko-/ ma-</td>
<td>-ko-</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ne-ko-ra-im-b-Ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (a)</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>-ko-</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ne-ko-ra-øn-øk-Ç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>-ha-</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ne-ha-ra-øn-øk-Ç</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[(15a)^* (\text{Teresa na Kui}) \quad \text{ne-} \quad \text{a-} \quad \text{ra-} \quad \text{ha}=j- \quad \text{a} \]
\[\text{foc} \quad \text{S.A (IPS)} \quad \text{tns} \quad \text{V}\rt \quad \text{f.v.} \]

\([\text{[Teresa and Kui] is praying}].\)

\[(15b)^* (\text{Ngui na au}) \quad \text{ne-} \quad \text{e-} \quad \text{ra-} \quad \text{ro-} \quad \text{a} \]
\[\text{foc} \quad \text{S.A (3PS)} \quad \text{tns} \quad \text{V}\rt \quad \text{f.v.} \]

\([\text{[The dog and cat] is fighting}].\)

3.3 Pronominal S.A.M.

Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu personal pronouns and then look at their agreement prefixes. These are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(16a)</td>
<td>nie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16b)</td>
<td>iʃue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16c)</td>
<td>ʃwe:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16d)</td>
<td>iʃue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16e)</td>
<td>ʃwe:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16f)</td>
<td>ʃu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
(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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Agreement Prefix</th>
<th>Example in the Verb Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nie</td>
<td>-n-</td>
<td>ne- n- de- aγ - a</td>
<td>I eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iγue</td>
<td>-to-</td>
<td>ne- to- re- aγ - a</td>
<td>We eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we:</td>
<td>-o-</td>
<td>ne- o- re- aγ - a</td>
<td>You eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iγue</td>
<td>-mo-</td>
<td>ne- mo- re- aγ - a</td>
<td>You (pl) eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we:</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>ne- a- re- aγ - a</td>
<td>She/ He eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ο</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ne- ma- re- aγ - a</td>
<td>They eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 'ο'. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Nominal pref.</th>
<th>Pronoun pref.</th>
<th>Example: prefix in the V. form</th>
<th>Gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sing. pl</td>
<td>sing. pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo - / me -</td>
<td>ụ / ọ -</td>
<td>wa-a / ọ o-a</td>
<td>It has fallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>re - , ri - , i- / ma-</td>
<td>re / m -</td>
<td>ma-a / ọ o-a</td>
<td>They have fallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ke - / ụi -</td>
<td>ke / ụi -</td>
<td>ke-a / ọ o-a</td>
<td>It has fallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n - / n -</td>
<td>j - / ụi -</td>
<td>ja-a / ọ o-a</td>
<td>It has fallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ro - / n -</td>
<td>ru - / ụi -</td>
<td>roa-a / ọ ir-a</td>
<td>It has ended</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ka - / to -</td>
<td>k - / tu -</td>
<td>toa-a / ọ o-a</td>
<td>They have fallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o - / ma -</td>
<td>ụ - / m -</td>
<td>ma-a-ar-w - o</td>
<td>They (beds) have been made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ko - / ma -</td>
<td>ku - / m -</td>
<td>ko-a / ọ o-a</td>
<td>It has fallen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>ko -</td>
<td>ku -</td>
<td>ko-a-hing-w - o</td>
<td>It has been closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>ha -</td>
<td>h -</td>
<td>ha-a hing-w - o</td>
<td>It has been closed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ọ is maintained in all classes.

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

The O.A.M. is the second agreement prefix in the Gikuyu verb structure. It is the nominal or pronominal 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 - tu'1 - a
S.A. Tns/Asp O.A Vrt f.v.
(It (cl.5) has snatched (it) from him / her)

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))

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 - tɔŋɔ r- a ə - 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 tɔŋɔ r- a ə - 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class</th>
<th>Nominal ref. sing. pl</th>
<th>O.A.M. sing. pl</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GROSS 1</td>
<td>mo-/a-</td>
<td>-mo-/ma-</td>
<td>a-a-mahor-a</td>
<td>He has beaten them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>mo-/me-</td>
<td>-o-/me-</td>
<td>a-a-o-tem-a</td>
<td>She has cut it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>re-/r-i/-ma-</td>
<td>-re-/ma-</td>
<td>a-a-re-iki-a</td>
<td>She has thrown it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ke-/i-</td>
<td>-ke-(e-)/i-</td>
<td>a-a-ke-tini-a</td>
<td>He has cut it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>n-/n-</td>
<td>-me-/i-</td>
<td>a-a-me-hor-a</td>
<td>He has lashed it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ro-/n-</td>
<td>-ro-/i-</td>
<td>a-a-ro- an-a</td>
<td>She has narrated it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ka/-to-</td>
<td>-ka/-to-</td>
<td>a-a-to-hor-a</td>
<td>He has beaten them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>o/-ma-</td>
<td>-o/-ma-</td>
<td>a-a-o-ar-a</td>
<td>She has made it (bed).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ko/-ma-</td>
<td>-ko-(-ku-)/ma-</td>
<td>a-a-ku-ti-a</td>
<td>She has dressed it (bed).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10a</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>-ko-(ku-)</td>
<td>a-a-ku-2n-a</td>
<td>She has seen it (leg).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10b</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>-ha-</td>
<td>a-a-ha-2n-a</td>
<td>He has seen it (place).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
3.4.1 ID Object Agreement in a Ditransitive Verb

In Gikuyu 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- tu^f - a ngoko jafui
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- tu^f - a jafui
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- tu^f - 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.
3.4.1 ID Object Agreement in a Ditransitive Verb

In Gikuyu 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- tujët - a ngoko ay juui
    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- tujët - a ay juui
    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- tujët - 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 Gikuyû the applicative is morphological in the verb form and it comprises the benefactive suffix {-er}. Gathenji (1981) identifies some of its allomorphs such as: -er- and -ir-. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing pref.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>pl. pref</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(24a) -a-</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>(25d)</td>
<td>-to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24b) -ko-</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>(25e)</td>
<td>-mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24c) -mo-</td>
<td>him/ her</td>
<td>(25f)</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Pronominal O.A.M</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nie</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i /6 ue</td>
<td>-to-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we.</td>
<td>-ko-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i j' ue</td>
<td>-mo-14</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we.</td>
<td>-mo-14</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-ma-</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ra-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -e- in the verb structure. But the two must agree in number, person and class. See examples below:

(25a) ne- to- ra- -e- itang- a
   foc  S.A. Tns O.A. (Rfl) V.rt f.v.
   (We are 'ruining' ourselves(lit.))

(25) ne- o- ra- -e- itang- a
   foc  S.A. Tns O.A. (Rfl) V.rt f.v.
   (You are 'ruining' yourself(lit.))

(25c) ne- e- ra- -e- 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 Gikuyu 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
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negation Prefix as the First Morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

However, the negation prefix changes to -ti-, 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. Johnson (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 *-t*.
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1.</th>
<th>2.</th>
<th>3.</th>
<th>4.</th>
<th>5.</th>
<th>6.</th>
<th>7.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>Neg</td>
<td>Tns/ Asp</td>
<td>O A.</td>
<td>V rt</td>
<td>V. Ext</td>
<td>f.v.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>ti-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
| Noun Class | Nominal Prefixes | Example | Gloss
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 sing</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>nd*-o-na-tɛm-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It was not cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>me-</td>
<td>nd*-e-na-tɛm-w-ɔ</td>
<td>They were not cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 sing</td>
<td>re-, ri-, ri-</td>
<td>re-ti*-na-i ki-ɔ</td>
<td>It was not thrown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-ti*-na-i ki-ɔ</td>
<td>They were not thrown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 sing</td>
<td>ke-(ŋe-)</td>
<td>ŋ-e-ti*-na-ɛnj-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It was shaved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ji-</td>
<td>j-i-ti*-na-ɛnj-w-ɔ</td>
<td>They were not shaved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 sing</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>nd*-e-na-ɛnj-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It was not slaughtered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>n-</td>
<td>ji-ti*-na-ɛnj-w-ɔ</td>
<td>They were not slaughtered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 sing</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td>ro-ti*-na-in-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It was not sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>j i-</td>
<td>j-i-ti*-na-in-w-ɔ</td>
<td>They were not sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 sing</td>
<td>ka(ŋa)</td>
<td>ŋ-a-ti*-nge-tini-ɔ</td>
<td>It can’t cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>to-ti*-nge-tini-ɔ</td>
<td>They can’t cut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sing</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>nd*-o-ko-ar-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It (bed) won’t be made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-ti*-ko-ar-w-ɔ</td>
<td>They won’t be made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sing</td>
<td>ko-(ŋo-)</td>
<td>ŋ-o-ti*-ra-tur-ɔ</td>
<td>It is not paining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>ma-ti*-ra-tur-ɔ</td>
<td>They are not paining</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10(a)</td>
<td>ko-(ŋo-)</td>
<td>ŋ-o-ti*-nge-jɛ-r-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It cannot be visited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>ha-</td>
<td>ha-ti*-nge-jɛ-r-w-ɔ</td>
<td>It cannot be visited</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Gikuyu is -ti- and that in singular it is realized as -di-.

18. Direct Translations
3.6 Agreement Prefixes in a Passive Verb Form

The English passivization rules also apply to Gikuyu 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...

Gikuyu agrees with this, see examples below:

(28a) ne- ma- a- mo- amb- ir- £
     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 Gikuyu is formed by morphological processes that suffixes -o- in the verb form and changes the final vowel from -a- to -o-.

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- oh- o-
     INF V.rt PAS f.v
     (to be tied)

This becomes:

(29b) ko- oh- 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)
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- heni- S.A. TNS/ ASP V.rt PAS/ f.v. (She/ he has been cheated)

(31b) ja- a- ku- S.A. TNS/ ASP V.rt PAS (f.v.) (It has been carried)

(31c) ka- a- re- S.A. TNS/ ASP V.rt PAS (f.v.) (Its (cl. 7) has been eaten)

3.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have found out that the Gikuyu verb structure is highly agglutivative. 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 Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu

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)

```
AGRsP
    SPEC
       AGRS
          (ne) arandeka TNS
              tv
                  V
                      tv
```

### 4.1.2 Agreement Object Phrase (AGRoP) in Gikuyu

The agreement object phrase position is created because in Gikuyu the agreement object is a morpheme in the verb form. The AGRoP is placed between the tense (TNS$^1$) and the verb root in a Gikuyu 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 AGRo\(^1\) to check agreement features, in the TNS of TNS\(^1\) to check tense features and in the AGRs position of AGRs\(^1\) 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.

Gikuyū 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 Gikuyū. We will also see case-marking in Gikuyū.

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 (Chomosky 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 Gikuyu 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.

Gikuyu 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 irii
NP subject S.A. TNS1 V.rt f.v. NP Object
(My auntie is mashing'iri idol))

(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.
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 Gikuyu 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 'iriɔ' and also overt. The noun (Tata) will move from the SPEC of VP to SPEC of AGRsP to check its nominative case. The object 'iriɔ' moves from the NP of V1 to AGRs of AGRs1 to SPEC of AGRoP to check its accusative case. See structure dependent morpheme

structure dependent morpheme
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 in non-overt, see the example below:

(4) a-ra- kirn- 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 Gikũyu 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- e?
    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:

```
       QUE
       |    /---
       |   AGRs
       | /   /---
       |   Noo  
       |  /    
       |  AGRs
       | /      
       | TNS'
       | /   
       |  okoandeketc
       |  /      
       |  TNS
       |  /       
       |  tv
       |  /       
       |  V
       |  /     
       |  tv
```

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

To conclude this section on the basic sentence structure of Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu

Gikuyu has a nominative-accusative case and marks case by argument structure. Thus 
the 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) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teresa</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>keend-</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>n-dari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Teresa has plaited the doll's hair)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7b) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teresa</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>kuu-</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>n-dari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. subj.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>TNS</td>
<td>V.rt</td>
<td>f.v.</td>
<td>Acc. Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Teresa has carried the doll)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Gikuyu 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 AGRo^1 to check its object agreement features then to TNS/ TNS^1 position to check its tense features and to AGRs/ AGRs^1 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 V^1 position to SPEC of AGRoP to check its accusative features.

From the above discussion, we have observed that Gikuyu has a nominative and accusative case system marked by the argument structure of a surface SVO order. Therefore we can conclude that Gikuyu 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 Procastinate, which means that the movement is delayed as late as possible Haegeman (1994:617).

As indicated above, the surface word order in Gikuyu is SVO, thus this study assumes that the subject-object movement conforms to the above explanation— for SVO languages. Verbs in Gikuyu have overt movement (before spell-out). This is so since Gikuyu 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 supported 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 Gikuyu 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 Gikuyu 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 man)
Note that, the NP, since it is headed by a determiner becomes a Determiner Phrase DP. The structures above clearly show how representations are built from the lexicon into a ‘master-plan’ for VPs and NPs.

The structure-building process is driven by necessity and licensed by morpho-syntactic or lexical information of the lexicon.

Partial trees can also be produced by a language with a head and no complement, if case assignment is not necessary under the specifier and the specifier-head relationship. See illustrations of partial trees below:

(9a) VP (imperative) andek- a
    V. rt f.v.
    ((You) write)

The structure for that VP is:

(9b) NP mo- tumia
    cl. l. sing woman
    (a woman)

The head building for the NP is as follows:

Movement occurs for checking purposes only.

When the structure-building process is complete, the computational process spells-out information of the lexicon onto PF an 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.

```
Lexicon
     |                   |
     |   Numeration     |
     |                   |
     |   Spell-out      |
          |               |
LF Representation  PF Representation
```

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 Gikuyu

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

In Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu is more extensively realized morphologically. See the illustrations below:

(10) me- te c:-rcu me- raihu
    cl. 2, pl   tree   those   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 structure 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.
noun. The adjective moves from its position A of N₁ first to AGRCM (agreement class marker) to check its agreement feature and then to A of A₁ to check its adjective feature. The head noun moves from its original place N of N₁ first to AGRCM to check its agreement feature then to N of N₁ 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 D₁ to check its determiner feature.

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

(11) ka- ana ka- mwe ka- nini ka- ṅu

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 Gikuyu

As mentioned in chapter three (3), a typical verb form of Gikuyu 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:

```
AGRs
  |  
AGRs --- TNS
       |  
  to- a- me- hor- a
       |  
       v  
       |  
       v
       |  
       v

```

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:

```
  V^1
   V
  handa
```

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 Gikuyu 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)

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:

```
  AGRs^1
   AGRs
    handai
     V
      V^1
       tv
```

That structure shows the maximal phrase of this type of verb form. The verb moves from V of V^1 to AGRs of AGRs^1 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-\}. \text{nd-} occurs before the subject prefixes while \text{-ti-} occurs after the subject prefix.

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

(15) \text{nd- e- na- rom- a}
    \text{NEG S.A. Tns O.A. V.rt f.v.}

(\text{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 AGRo′ to check its object agreement features, to TNS of TNS′ to check its tense features to AGRs of AGRs′ to check its subject agreement features and finally to NEG of NEG′ to check its negation features.

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

(16) \text{to- ti- na- huti- a}
    \text{S.A NEG TNS O.A V.rt f.v}

(\text{We did not touch you})

The structure for (16) is as follows:
The above negative verb structure is headed by AGRs₁, the NEG head comes after it. In the structure again the verb moves four times upwards. It moves to AGR₀ of AGR₀₁ to check its agreement features. Then to TNS of TNS₁ to check its tense features and to NEG of NEG₁ to check its negation features and to AGRs of AGRs₁ to check its agreement features.

4.3.2.3 The Reflexive Verb Form

The reflexive in Gikũũ is morphologically marked in the verb form. The reflexive affix {-£-} (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- £- itang- a 
   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- £- rom- 
   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 AGR₀ 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 it 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 Gikuyu (the language being studied in this work) which is marked using some special morphemes in the NP’s and VP’s. This AGRP in Gikuyu can be split into AGRsP and AGRoP.

We have also seen that the structure-building process is morphologically driven and it is licensed by mopho-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 MP.
- 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 IIN agreement with its modifiers/determiners. There are also clausal NPs in Gikuyu, 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 Gikuyu complex sentences under the Minimalist Program.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


