A Generative - Transformational Grammar of the Kikuyu Language Based on the Nyeri Dialect.

Harold J. Overton

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A GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR OF THE
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The Louisiana State University and Agricultural
and Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1972
Language and Literature, linguistics

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A GENERATIVE-TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR OF THE KIKUYU
LANGUAGE BASED ON THE NYERI DIALECT

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics

by

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

There is a large number of individuals to whom I owe a debt of gratitude in connection with the writing of this dissertation. I want to thank Dr. Cornelle Goerner, Secretary for Africa of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and the Baptist Mission of East Africa for enabling me to reside in Kenya during the period of time I was collecting my field data. I wish to thank Earl Stevick, Donald N. Larson, and Charles Taber who urged me to try a transformational treatment of the Kikuyu language. I especially want to extend my sincerest gratitude to my professors at Louisiana State University for their cooperation and encouragement, and especially my thesis advisor, Dr. William W. Evans, and the chairman of the Interdepartmental Program in Linguistics, Dr. James Hintze, for their patience with me and their confidence in me throughout the time of the compilation of this grammar. Finally, I wish to express my sincerest thanks to my parents who, throughout many years of graduate study by their son, have provided him with understanding and support.
The idea of doing a field dissertation first came to me in July, 1968, as a suggestion from Dr. Cornelle Goerner, Secretary for Africa of the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, along with the offer to go as a linguistics consultant to the Nigerian Baptist Mission for a year or so. Owing to the situation of the Nigerian civil war, which prevented me from obtaining a visa for that country, I was invited instead to go as the linguistics consultant to the Baptist Language School at Limuru in Kenya. At the school in Limuru, near Nairobi, I advised the intensive program of Swahili as a foreign language and compiled a similar oral-aural program in basic Kikuyu for the school's use. The suggestion that I consider Kikuyu as the language I should work with, as well as a suggestion that I should do a transformational treatment of it, came from Earl Stevick, who had directed the work which resulted in the Foreign Service Institute's oral-aural course, Swahili Basic Course, which the Baptist Language School was using. That I should consider a transformational approach was likewise suggested by others who are experienced in the area of language analysis on the basis that, to everyone's knowledge, no such treatment had yet been done on any Bantu language. I therefore chose to apply Noam Chomsky's generative-transformational model to the Kikuyu language in order to test the model as a method of language analysis for a Bantu language and to subject the Kikuyu language to a type of analysis it had not heretofore been described by.
Working with the Baptist Language School, the language training center for the Baptist Mission of East Africa, I resided in Kenya for fifteen months in 1970 and 1971. My research efforts took the shape of two related projects. One was to elicit data for the construction of an intensive four and one-half months' oral-aural course in the Kikuyu language for the school to use to give its missionaries a basic use of the language. The other was to collect data for the production of a generative-transformational grammar which would serve as my Ph.D. dissertation. Since the greatest need for the missionaries to use Kikuyu rather than Swahili was for those working in and near Nyeri District, and since almost all of the published materials for Kikuyu seemed to be based on southern Kikuyu, an observation later shared by Professor Patrick R. Bennett of the University of Wisconsin, I chose to use the northern Nyeri dialect as the basis for both enterprises. Although Limuru is located within the southern dialect area, I was able to find several speakers of the Nyeri dialect who had migrated into the nearby area. One of these, Peter Kinyua, who came from the town of Karatina and who also speaks Swahili and English, was employed by the language school to serve as my chief informant for my research. The lessons for the Basic Course in Kikuyu are based primarily on materials elicited from Mr. Kinyua.

The materials for the grammar were collected in part from Nyeri speakers who resided in the Limuru area and in part from residents of Nyeri District. I compiled the grammar from some nine hours of tape recorded discourses composing over 34,000 words in count. For each recording the informant was encouraged to speak extemporaneously on whatever subject he wished. Subjects to talk about sometimes had
to be suggested in order to get the discourse going initially, but then the informants were allowed to change subjects and wander as they wanted. The tape recordings were then transcribed into written Kikuyu by Mr. Kinyua, using the standard Kikuyu alphabet. After that, he and I consulted together on producing a word-for-word translation into English. Then we again translated some of the discourses into free, normal English idiom; Rev. Will J. Roberts enlisted a student from the Arusha Baptist Seminary to make a free translation for the remaining portions. These were later revised by me.

Owing to the complexity of Kikuyu phonology and tone structure, the fact that comparatively little has been done in this area, and the advice received in written correspondence from Professor Bennett, I finally decided to treat phonology and tone as little as possible and to base my description of the language almost entirely on the written, orthographic transcription of the oral material I had tape recorded. Therefore, throughout the grammar orthographic symbols are used; and, in treating sound changes, only those phonemic sound changes which are reflected by spelling in the written form of the language are dealt with. It may be said, however, that the graphemes of the Kikuyu alphabet represent the phonemes of the language fairly well. In cases where they may differ significantly from IPA symbols there are notes in the text indicating the phonetic value of the grapheme symbol in question. In Appendix IV there is a complete listing of the phonemic, and in some situations phonetic, equivalents.

Throughout the grammar, every example of a rule which appears, unless otherwise indicated by a note, has been selected from either the Basic Course in Kikuyu or from one of the tape recorded discourses.
and in both cases can be considered to have been uttered by a speaker of the Nyeri dialect. If a cited example is from the free discourses, it will be followed by a Roman numeral indicating from which appendix it was taken and an Arabic numeral indicating the line number. Examples not so marked may be assumed to have come from elicited material. In each example, the item which serves to illustrate the rule in question is underlined.
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ABSTRACT

Doctor of Philosophy, Summer Commencement, 1972
Major: Linguistics; Minor: Applied Linguistics

A Generative-Transformational Grammar of the Kikuyu Language
Based on the Nyeri Dialect
Dissertation directed by Professor William W. Evans
Pages in Dissertation, 67; Words in Abstract, 131.

A Generative-Transformational Grammar of the Kikuyu Language

Based on the Nyeri Dialect is an effort to describe the Kikuyu language in terms of the theory of Noam Chomsky. The work consists of four chapters: an introduction; the phrase structure; a sample lexicon; and the transformational rules. There are also four appendices; the first three are transcriptions of free discourses in the language with both word-for-word and free translations into English. Most of the examples in the body of the grammar are taken from the materials presented in these appendices and keyed to them for easy reference. The fourth appendix provides a correspondence of graphemic, phonemic, and phonetic symbols list. All examples given throughout the body of the rules, with very rare exceptions which are footnoted, are taken from speakers of the Nyeri dialect, whether elicited or from free discourse.
CHAPTER I

THE LANGUAGE AND THE PEOPLE

The Kikuyu language is spoken predominantly by the Kikuyu tribe of Kenya who were numbered 1,642,065 by the 1962 census out of a total population of 8,295,143.\(^1\) Today most estimates place their number at about two million. The geographic area occupied by them has been fully described as follows:

The southern boundary of Kikuyu is about 6,000 feet above sea level and follows the edge of the Masai plains where they give way to the wooded and well-watered hills of Kiambu. In the east Kikuyu is bounded by the Athi plains, occupied by Masai, the Ulu Hills, occupied by Kamba, and the Tana River, the boundary between Tharaka and Kamba. In the west Kikuyu stretches to the peaks of the Aberdare Range, Kinangop and Settima, which boundary between the Kikuyu and Masai has marked the administrative "reserves" of the colonial period. Only to the north-east do the wooded Kikuyu highlands continue northwards to the Nyombeni Range, and in this north-eastern extension live the Embu and Meru. The slopes of Mount Kenya are occupied up to about 7,000 feet. North of Mount Kenya and the Nyombeni Range are the arid deserts of the Northern Frontier Province, occupied by Samuru, Boran, Somali and other Hamitic-speaking peoples.

The land occupied by the Kikuyu tribes is thus a geographically distinct region, consisting of the high plateau, dominated by the massifs of Mount Kenya and the Aberdares, which form that part of the Kenya Highlands to the east of the Rift Valley and the highlands. The plains to the north consist of lavas unsuited for agriculture; east, north-west and south the plains are suitable only for cattle-keeping and over 7,000 feet the slopes of Mount Kenya and the Aberdares are too high to support crops.

---

It is important to note that there has been a high degree of movement of Kikuyu, both between Kikuyu districts and between the previous Kikuyu "reserves" and Nairobi, and other districts (in particular the Rift Valley areas).  

The three major dialects are situated roughly north to south with the Nyeri dialect the northernmost, in and near Nyeri District; the Murang'a dialect the central, in and near Fort Hall; and Kiambu, the southern dialect near Nairobi which has received the most intensive study. Nyeri speakers are readily distinguishable from those of the other dialect groups by the total absence of the nasal quality in the prenasalized phonemes /nd/, /ng/, /nj/, and /mb/. These are pronounced by the Nyeri respectively as [d̠], [g̠], [j̠], and [b̠], i.e., voiced stops without prenasalization.

This present grammar is based primarily on the free utterances of seventeen different speakers of the Nyeri dialect. Eight are students of the Nyeri Baptist High School, four male and four female. Six are males of varying degrees of education and occupations from age twenty-one to the mid-thirties. Three are quite elderly persons who live in an outlying village near Nyeri town, one male and two female. Secondary sources which were used for consultation and comparison purposes consisted of the following: Studies in Kikuyu Grammar and Idiom by A. Ruffell Barlow, first edition 1914, revised by the author in 1950; A Kikuyu-English Dictionary edited by T. G. Benson, 1960; The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu by Lilias E. Armstrong, 1940; A Short

Grammar of Kikuyu by B. Mareka Gecaga and W. H. Kirkaldy-Willis, 1953, which is now out of print; and First Lessons in Kikuyu by L. S. B. Leakey, 1959. The last two grammars mentioned above were especially helpful.

As is true of many of the peoples of Africa below the Sahara, not much is known of the early history of the tribe. Folklore attributes the tribe's origin to one called Gekuyu who had seven daughters from which the seven mbare or "branches" of the Kikuyu tribe descended and that they started out with a polyandrous type of family arrangement; this later was changed to polygamy, with the men asserting themselves over the women. Today they are questioning whether or not polygyny should continue. This is being subjected to the logic of economics and education in a world where much change is occurring. The Kikuyu people have traditionally been agrarian, placing a great importance on small scale farming and the production of food crops. However, today they are becoming more urbanized, taking jobs in the towns and cities as shop keepers, clerks, businessmen, and so on. They participate in large numbers in the political processes of independent Kenya. Many of the men speak Swahili and quite a number know English as well, especially in the cities. They feel a strong sense of tribal identity and possess great pride in their language, having an extensive oral literature.

TRANSFORMATIONAL MODEL

This grammar is, to my knowledge, the first attempt to apply Noam Chomsky's generative-transformational model for language.
description to any of the Bantu languages. While the considerations of this dissertation are not primarily theoretical, and many of the rules can be defended only on the grounds of observational adequacy, it is hoped that some data from it may illustrate some universals of deep structure which will contribute to the general theory of the transformational method. In writing this grammar, I have referred to two other grammars of African languages which have used Chomsky's model: A Grammar of the Kolokuma Dialect Igbo by Kay Williamson, 1965; and A Transformational Grammar of Igbo by Patricia L. Carrell, 1970. Therefore, the model for this treatment of the Kikuyu language is based on Chomsky's Syntactic Structures, 1957, with some of the modifications suggested by his later Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, 1965. Rules which consist of one symbol which is expanded into two or more symbols have been assigned to the phrase structure; the others have been expressed as transformational rules.
CHAPTER II

PHRASE STRUCTURE

Examples which are given to illustrate rules are accompanied by a Roman numeral which indicates which appendix the fuller text in which they appear may be found and an Arabic numeral which gives the line number. Examples so marked are taken from free discourse; examples not so marked may be considered to be from elicited materials.

1. $S \rightarrow NP + VP$

Kikuyu has the basic syntax of the order of noun phrase plus verb phrase.

Examples: Mwana níekwenda kíndú.  II.9
child wants something

Múngúndu agúríte mútúumia.  II.15
person has married wife

Múngúnda ní îka ithatú.  III.3
garden is three acres

Ní úhoró múru múno.  III.5
It is news bad very

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Mbeca nĭikaga.

money is lacking

2. NP ——> Cl-Nu + \( N (\text{Adj(Adv)}) \)
\[
\begin{cases}
\text{Name} \\
\text{Pron emph}
\end{cases}
\]

Cl = class prefix

emph = emphatic

As is common to the members of the Bantu language group, the nouns of Kikuyu show what has been called alliterative concord by means of prefixes which must agree in concord class and number with the verb and adjective prefixes. Personal pronouns show zero class prefixes and undergo complete or partial suppletion to exhibit number.


Some traditional grammars of Kikuyu assign as many as fifteen distinct class prefixes to the noun (e.g., Benson, Kikuyu-English Dictionary, 1964, p. x) giving separate numerical designations to the singular and plural forms of related pairs (i.e., how does one know that 2 is the plural of 1 or that 14 is the plural of 6?). No correlation of singular-plural combinations are self-evident in such a system. It seems more productive to adopt the method used in the Gecaga-Kirkaldy-Willis grammar which permits ten classes, each of which has a singular and plural morpheme. In the surface presentation

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of the prefix, class and number are unitized in the same morpheme.

4. \( \text{Nu} \rightarrow \{ \text{Sg} \} \)
\( \{ \text{Pl} \} \)

Number in Kikuyu is binary, either one or more than one. There are, however, certain non-count or mass nouns which do not normally or do not ever show plurality.

5. \( \text{Adj} \rightarrow \text{Ad}_{\text{des}}, \text{Ad}_{\text{poss}}, \text{Ad}_{\text{dem}} \)

des = descriptive
poss = possessive
dem = demonstrative

The adjective falls into three sub-groups, all of which must agree with the noun they modify by means of class prefix. The largest sub-group is, of course, that of the simple, descriptive adjective. The smallest sub-group is that which some call the possessive pronoun; but, since in form, syntax, and function, they all relate to the adjective category, in this grammar they are called possessive adjectives. The third is that of the demonstrative adjectives which are the most complicated in form, as explained in P-rules 9-12. All three sub-groups are formed basically by means of class prefix plus stem.
6. $Ađ_{des} \rightarrow Cl-Nu + Ađ_{st}$

$st =$ stem

Examples: mūtūmia ūmwe II.23
wife one

mūciī...mūthaka II.47
home clean

7. $Ađ_{poss} \rightarrow Cl-Nu + Per-A_{st\ poss}$

8. $Per-A_{st\ poss} \rightarrow \{\text{akwa /Fir, Sg}\}$
   \{itū\}
   \{aku /Sec, Sg\}
   \{anyu\}
   \{ake /Thi, Sg\}
   \{ao\}

Examples: mūciī waku II.17
home your

woni wakwa II.22
thought my
woni wake thought her

9. $A_{\text{dem}} \rightarrow \text{Dem}_1, \text{Dem}_2, \text{Dem}_3$

10. $\text{Dem}_1 \rightarrow \text{Cl-Nu} + \begin{cases} y + \text{Cl-Nu} /\text{I Sg, Pl} \\ no /\text{II Sg, Pl} \\ ya /\text{III, VIII, IX-Pl} \\ \emptyset \quad \text{Cl-Nu} /Z \end{cases}$

$Z = \text{all Cl-Nu not contextualized above}$

$\text{Dem}_1$ is the demonstrative that translates as the nearby this or these of English.

Examples: būrūri ūyū country this

nyūmba ìno house this

matukū maya days these
indo ici
things these

kahindaini gaka
towards time this

11. Dem$_2$ $\rightarrow$ Cl-Nu $+$ \{cio $/$ I Sg, Pl \}
   \{ \{ III \}
   \{ IV \}
   \{ V \}
   \{ VI \}
   \{ VIII \}
   \{ IX \}
\}
\}
ocio $/$ II-Pl, V-Sg
\}
u $/$ Z

Z = all Cl-Nu not contextualized above

Examples: mūciī ūcio
home that

ūhorō to cio
affair like that

kītu nī kīndū
that is a thing

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12. Dem₂ ---→ Cl-Nu + rīa

Dem₂ points to a distance farther than that of Dem₂ from the speaker but also translates as that and those.

Examples: indo irīa  
things those

kīndū kīrīa  
things that

maūndū marīa  
affairs those

13. Pron_emph ---→ \{Fir\}  
\{Sec + Nu\}  
\{Thi\}

The personal pronoun is not necessary in Kikuyu because of the pronominal prefix expressed in the verb form; however, for emphasis or clarity (in cases of possible ambiguity), there are unbound forms which can be used.

Examples: Niį njītagwo Karūri.  
I (I)am called Karuri

Niį hari woni wakwa nonyīte mūndū. II.22  
I, as for thinking my, (I) could go along

with the person
It is quite common for the Kikuyu verb to have several prefixes (or prefix plus several infixes) preceding the stem. As P-rule 16 will explain, there is either the pronominal prefix or, if the sentence has a noun serving as the subject of the verb, a verb class prefix which matches the prefix of the noun subject. Often, the verb is preceded by an enclitic which is untranslatable and serves as a kind of positivizer for the verb. This enclitic, *ni*, is mutually exclusive with the negative morpheme, which happens to be a form of the pronoun affix.
17. $V_b_{\text{pron nom}} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \text{n}d\dot{i} & /Fir, Sg \\ \text{t}u & \\ \text{u} & /\text{Sec, Sg} \\ \text{m}u & \\ a & /\text{Thi, Sg} \\ \text{ma} & \end{cases}$

Examples: $\text{nd}i\text{kie}$

I may prepare

$n\text{f}t\text{u}k\text{w}o\text{n}a$

we shall see

$\text{u}k\text{g}a\text{y}a\text{n}a$

you will divide

$n\text{i}\text{m}u\text{rend}a$

you want

$ag\text{u}r\text{a}n\text{a}g\text{a}$

he was marrying

$ma\text{r}a\text{ti}f$

they are going
18. Afx_{obj} \rightarrow \{ \text{Vb}_{cl} \}
   \{ \text{Vb}_{pron\ obj} \}

19. \text{Vb}_{pron\ obj} \rightarrow \{ n \ /\text{Fir, Sg} \}
    \{ tū \}
    \{ kū \ /\text{Sec, Sg} \}
    \{ mū \}
    \{ mū \ /\text{Thi, Sg} \}
    \{ ma \}

Examples: aranjīrire

he told me

atūrehere marūa

she sent us a letter

nīa makamūrūgamfrīra

who will stand up for you

nīramūtwarire thibitari

did you take her to the hospital
and he may marry them

20. Tense ---→ Past, Present, Future

21. Past ---→ $P_{a_1}$, $P_{a_2}$, $P_{a_3}$, $P_{a_4}$

The four past tenses represented by P-rule 21 with numbers 1-4 represent four different relationships in reference to the present. 1 represents the most remote relationship and 4 the nearest. Generally speaking, as the Gecaga-Kirkaldy-Willis grammar points out, 1 is earlier than yesterday, 2 is yesterday, 3 is earlier today, and 4 is just now.

22. Present ----- $Pr_{1}$, $Pr_{2}$

There are two present tenses. $Pr_{1}$ is customarily translated by Kikuyu speakers of English by the English present progressive form, a form that they often use when speaking English on occasions when English would prefer or require the use of the simple present. $Pr_{2}$ is, in a sense, later than what is now going on at the very present moment but with a mixture of the present and the immediate future. For example, if one asks a person where he is going, he
may reply with a $Pr_1$ ("I am going to town.") if he is actually 
engaged in the act of going, i.e., walking or riding towards town; 
however, if not, at that very moment, actually walking or riding 
towards his destination, but perhaps has stopped and engaged in 
conversation with the questioner, he may use $Pr_2$, in much the same 
way an English speaker may employ the so-called futuristic present. 
Then, again, the future quality of the form may be emphasized when 
it is apparent that the speaker is referring to a time later within 
the same day.

23. Future $\rightarrow$ $Fu_1, Fu_2$

$Fu_1$ can overlap with $Pr_2$ in that it can be used to refer to a 
time later in the same day, but it can also point to a time soon 
after the same day.

$Fu_2$ generally refers to a time after the period of today.

Not always, however, does the use of $Fu_1$ and $Fu_2$ correspond 
with the idea of future time in relation to the present; sometimes 
it reflects instead the idea of subsequent action in reference to 
some other period of time, as illustrated in the following quotation 
from the story of the hare and the elephant:

Riu nǐmakIrūgangire oroūguo. MakIrūganga.

now they jumped some more, slowly they jumped some more

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Kabükü gakarūgaga múno maingí
the hare jumped very many times

Two verbs are used in the above. The one which is twice repeated, makfrūgangire, has the tense form (m)a...ire, Pa₁ (some unmarked time in the remote past), plus the past narrative consecutive infix -ki-. The second verb, gakarugaga, has the tense sign -ka- which gives it the form of F₁; however, in a language like English, it must be translated as a past tense.

Kikuyu utilizes three moods in its verbs, although the frequency of the optative is severely limited in comparison to the other two moods, being used mostly in ejaculatory statements of blessings and cursings.

24. Sufx ---→ (Indicative)
   { Subjunctive }
   { Optative }

25. ADV ---→ (Place)
   { Time }
   { Manner }

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The adverbial element may be expressed by either a single word adverb or by an adverbial prepositional phrase, both of which normally follow the item modified.

26. Place ---\(\rightarrow\) \(\left\{\text{Adv}_p\right\}\)
\(\left\{\text{Prep Phr}_p\right\}\)

Examples: gathirira hau III.17
it ends here

nīmagūthif na njīra II.20
they go on way

27. Time ---\(\rightarrow\) \(\left\{\text{Adv}_t\right\}\)
\(\left\{\text{Prep Phr}_t\right\}\)

Examples: Rīu tūrīkaga II.7
now we shall do

ngūg̱ūtūika wa tena III.18
if I were of long ago
28. Manner \[\rightarrow \{ \text{Adv}_m \} \{ \text{Prep Phr}_m \}\]

Example: akīhitūkio hau ha marimū III.21
and he was taken there by giants

29. Agent \[\rightarrow \text{Prep Phr}_ag\]

Example: njogu no ikūrio nī nyamū I.12
elephant was eaten by animals

30. Asp \[\rightarrow \{ \text{Reciprocal} \}
\{ \text{Causative} \}
\{ \text{Habitual} \}
\{ \text{Continuous} \}
\{ \text{Incremental} \}
\{ \text{Applicative} \}
\{ \text{Potential} \}\]
31. Reciprocal \( ightarrow \) an

Example: Kūhe means 'to give'; kuheana means literally 'to give to one another' but by extension, 'to share information' or 'to inform' or 'to explain.'

Nitükūheana mawoni. II.6
we are going to explain the facts

32. Causative \( ightarrow \) ith

Example: Kūgūka means 'to become ripe'; kūgūkithia, 'to cause to become ripe.'

33. Habitual \( ightarrow \) ag

Example: Kūgūra means 'to marry'; kūgūraga means 'be in the habit or custom of marrying.'
	agūranaga II.4
they used to marry

34. Continuous \( ightarrow \) ag
35. Increment ----> ang

Example: Kūrūga means 'to jump about'; kūgūranga, 'to jump about some more.'

Nîmakîrûngire I.3
And they jumped about some more.

36. Applicative ----> ìr, ek

Example: Kūrūga means 'to cook'; kūrūgíra, 'to cook for someone.'

37. Potential ----> ìk, ek

38. Reversive ----> ūr, ūk

Example: Gūaka means 'to build'; gūakūra, 'to tear down', i.e., 'to un-build.'

39. Indicative ----> a

40. Subjunctive ----> e

41. Optative ----> ro

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The optative does not occur as a suffix in the surface structure. Therefore, T-rule 15 will later permute it to a position between the $Afx_{nom}$ and the Tense verb affix.

42. Encl $\rightarrow$ n$\ddot{i}$

As stated earlier in remarks on P-rule 15, n$\ddot{i}^1$ is a sort of positive marker that is often prefixed to a verb form. In this grammar n$\ddot{i}^1$ will be treated as a separate bound morpheme in contradistinction to the free morpheme n$\ddot{i}^2$, which acts as a kind of copular verb in the present.

Examples: andu n$\ddot{i}$magūraga  
people were marrying

n$\ddot{i}$tūkūheana  
we are going to explain

maündū n$\ddot{i}$marathī  
affairs are going(along)
The verb 'to be' in Kikuyu is extremely involved, employing several stems, as seen above, in different tense environments.

Examples: Kinyua **suma** kanithani. Pa₃

Kinyua was at church.

Kamau **nėrarī** ndũnyũ. Pa₂

Kamau was at the market.

Andũ (a)gũtuĩka nĩmaragĩthiĩ. Pr₂ III.23

People are progressing.
MauNDů ni manene. Pr₁
Matters are important.

44. Pa₁ --→ a ... ire / Vₚ₃#

As pointed out in P-rule 21, this tense indicates a past time earlier than yesterday and is thus spoken of as the remote or the indefinite past.

Example: Irio iria wamarehere itingiigana.
The food that you brought her is not enough.

45. Pa₂ --→ ra ... ire / Vₚ₃#

Examples: Njůrathire ndúnyů.
you went to the market

Mũrĩmi ũyu niarihendire mĩanga ira.
farmer this planted cassava yesterday

46. P₃ --→ ∅ ... ire / Vₚ₃#

Examples: Baba nĩagũrĩre mananathi.
father bought (some)pineapples

Nĩwonire Wambũi ũmũthũ?
you saw Wambũi today

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47. \( P_{a_4} \rightarrow a \ldots \emptyset /_{\text{st}_a} \)

Example: Kabereini andū nīmagūraga.

long ago people married

Note in the first example for F-rule 47 that \( P_{a_4} \), the 'just now' tense, is very obviously being used to indicate the remote past.

Ndāgūra múgate ūmwe.

I just bought loaf of bread one

48. \( P_{r_2} \rightarrow \text{ku} \)

\( \text{ku} \) may appear in the surface structure as either \( \text{ku} \) or \( \text{gū} \) when the original \( K \) is influenced by the presence or absence of a nasal.

Examples: Mūtumia ūcio ūmwe nīakūhota kūgia na indo.  II.29

wife that one is able to have things

Okiria mūtumia akwenda  III.24

what woman wants

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49. \( Fr_1 \rightarrow ra \)

Examples: Bürūri ūrathif ūgicenjagia. II.4
country is going on changing

Nīmūrenda(mū-ra-endə) ūkūgə na mūtūmia.
you want to have a wife

50. \( Fu_1 \rightarrow ka \)

Examples: Ciana igakūra wega. II.51
children will grow well

Makahota gūciona itarī na gūthinika. II.52
they will be able to find it without difficulty

51. \( Fu_2 \rightarrow rī \)

Examples: Arienda mūtūmia wake onwo no atheretio. II.47
He will want wife his be seen clean

Tūigue ūria rīu tūrikaga. II.7
let us hear what now we are going to do
CHAPTER III

SAMPLE LEXICON

In *Aspects*, 1964, Noam Chomsky proposes a system of giving selectional features to items in the lexicon which would tend to minimize the necessity of many of the sub-categorization rules in the phrase structure. Since the Kikuyu language is a highly inflected language, many of the features which otherwise might be relegated to the lexicon are easily fitted into the phrase structure. Nevertheless, there do exist some features of behavior for lexical items which are not overtly marked in the phrase structure; for these the following sample lexicon is included.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mündū</td>
<td>'person'</td>
<td>[+Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bürüri</td>
<td>'country'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maündū</td>
<td>'matters'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, -Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwana</td>
<td>'child'</td>
<td>[+Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguo</td>
<td>'clothes'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mútūmia</td>
<td>'wife, woman'</td>
<td>[+Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>múciĩ</td>
<td>'home'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kĩIndū</td>
<td>'thing'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūteithĩkũ</td>
<td>'help'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, -Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūracio</td>
<td>'doorway'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, -Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tũindo</td>
<td>'little thing'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handū</td>
<td>'place'</td>
<td>[-Animate, +Count, +Concrete]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guccenjia</td>
<td>'to change'</td>
<td>[+Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kugega</td>
<td>'to be surprised'</td>
<td>[-Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kugura</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
<td>[+Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhana</td>
<td>'to be like'</td>
<td>[-Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuheana</td>
<td>'to explain'</td>
<td>[+Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuhikia</td>
<td>'to marry'</td>
<td>[+Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guikara</td>
<td>'to stay, sit'</td>
<td>[-Transitive, +Animate]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni²</td>
<td>'is, are'</td>
<td>[-Transitive, +Animate, +Copular]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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CHAPTER IV

TRANSFORMATIONAL RULES

Two things should be kept in mind as this part of the grammar is viewed. The first is that only those sound changes which are reflected by the Kikuyu orthography are treated. The second is that the symbols used are graphemic symbols, but even they generally correspond closely to what the phonemic symbol would be; in cases where this may not be clear, notes are provided which give the phonetic equivalent of the grapheme.

1. Tob

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{k} & \rightarrow g / Vw + k, c, t, \text{th} \\
\text{th} & = [\d] \\
\text{c} & = [\j]
\end{align*}
\]

This rule expressing the total suppletion of the voiceless velar stop by the voiced velar fricative is known as Dahl's Law. There is an exception to this law, however, as noted by Barlow: it does not apply when the \(k\) is in the stem of word.\(^2\)

Examples: $i + ka + kūra$ \quad igakūra \quad II.31

$i + kī + kīhotwo$ \quad igīkīhotwo \quad I.14

$kū + ciono$ \quad gūciono \quad II.32

2. Tob

\[
\begin{array}{c}
n + \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \\ th \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \emptyset + \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \\ th \end{bmatrix}
\end{array}
\]

This states that $n$ is totally assimilated before a nasal or the interdental fricative $\text{th}$.

\[
\text{th} = \left[ \text{d} \right]
\]

Examples: $n + \text{mūnyīte} \rightarrow \text{mūnyīte}$

$n + \text{thī} \rightarrow \text{thī}$

3. Tob

\[
n + r \rightarrow \begin{cases} n / \_\_ \text{Ww} + \text{Nasal} \\ nd \end{cases}
\]

It is explained here that the aveolar nasal $n$ when followed
by the Kikuyu flapped \( r \) assimilates the \( r \) when the following
syllable begins with a nasal consonant; otherwise, the \( r \)
asimilates to the voiced stop \( \text{nd} \).

\[ \text{nd} = \left[ d \right] \]

Example: \( n + \text{rehere} \rightarrow \text{nderehere} \)

4. Tob
 \( n + \text{Nasal} \rightarrow \text{ny} \)

Example: \( n + \text{ume} \rightarrow \text{nyume} \)

5. Tob
 \( n + \text{Vw} + X \rightarrow \text{nj} \)

\[ \text{nj} = \left[ j \right] \text{voiced alveo-palatal stop} \]
\[ X = \text{any non-nasal consonant} \]

Example: \( n + \text{Ike} \rightarrow \text{njike} \)
6. Tob

\[
\begin{array}{c}
n + \left[ \begin{array}{c}
mb \\
h \\
c \\
t \\
\{ k \} \\
g \\
\end{array} \right] \\
\rightarrow \\
\left[ \begin{array}{c}
mb \\
h \\
nj \\
nd \\
g \\
\end{array} \right]
\end{array}
\]

\begin{align*}
mb &= [b] \\
nj &= [j] \\
nd &= [d]
\end{align*}

Examples:
\begin{align*}
n + baare & \rightarrow mbaare \\
n + hinge & \rightarrow hinge \\
n + cine & \rightarrow njine \\
n + tume & \rightarrow ndume \\
n + kore & \rightarrow ngore \\
n + gür & \rightarrow ngüre
\end{align*}

It may be mentioned again here at the beginning of the rules for vowel changes that in the rules graphemic symbols are employed. The graphemes may be considered to bear a good one-to-one relationship to the vowel phonemes, whose phonetic equivalents are listed in Appendix IV and in the accompanying notes.

Examples: \( ma + ega \rightarrow mega \)
\( a + ra + enda \rightarrow arenda \)
\( a + \text{iři} \rightarrow \text{eri} \)

8. Tob

\[ a + \begin{cases} o \\ ũ \end{cases} \rightarrow o \]

\( o = [\text{o}] \)
\( ũ = [\text{ʊ}] \)

Examples: \( ga + oko \rightarrow \underline{goko} \)
9. Tob

\[ \text{i} + \text{u} \rightarrow \text{iu} \]

Example: \text{makī} + \text{uma} \rightarrow \text{makiuma}^{5}

10. Tob

\[ \text{ū} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{o} \\ \text{u} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ū} \\ \text{u} \end{bmatrix} \]

Examples: \text{kū} + \text{oya} \rightarrow \text{kuoya}
\text{tū} + \text{uge} \rightarrow \text{tuge}^{6}

\[ ^{4}\text{Ibid.}, \text{Gecaga and Kirkaldy-Willis, p. 2.} \]
\[ ^{5}\text{Ibid.} \]
\[ ^{6}\text{Ibid.} \]
11. Tob Concord agreement

\[ N_{cl} + \text{Pron}_{nom} + Adj_{cl} + Vb_{cl} + Sg \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{mū} & \text{ū} & \text{mū} & \text{a} \\
\text{nū} & \text{ī} & \text{nū} & \text{u} \\
\text{kī} & \text{kī} & \text{kī} & \text{kī} \\
\text{rū} & \text{rū} & \text{rū} & \text{rū} \\
\text{ū} & \text{ū} & \text{mū} & \text{ū} \\
\text{kū} & \text{kū} & \text{kū} & \text{kū} \\
\text{ka} & \text{ka} & \text{ka} & \text{ka} \\
\text{ha} & \text{ha} & \text{ha} & \text{ha}
\end{array} \]

12. Tob Concord agreement

\[ N_{cl} + \text{Pron}_{nom} + Adj_{cl} + Vb_{cl} + Pl \rightarrow \begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
a & a & a & a \\
mī & ī & mī & mī \\
\text{n} & \text{ci} & \text{n} & \text{n} \\
\text{ci} & \text{ci} & \text{ma} & \text{ci} \\
\text{ma} & \text{ma} & \text{ma} & \text{ma} \\
\text{n} & \text{ci} & \text{n} & \text{n} \\
\text{ma} & \text{ma} & \text{ma} & \text{ma} \\
\text{ma} & \text{ma} & \text{ma} & \text{ma} \\
tū & tū & tū & tū \\
kū & kū & kū & kū
\end{array} \]
P-rule 3 introduces the concept of noun class prefixes. Pronouns, adjectives, and verbs also have class prefixes and strict agreement among these parts of the sentence is practiced in the arrangement set forth by T-rules 11 and 12. The ten rows of prefixes correspond to the Roman numerals presented in P-rule 3.

13. Tob

\[
\begin{align*}
\{RI\} + C + X & \rightarrow i + C + X \\
\{KI\} + C + X & \rightarrow i + C + X \\
\end{align*}
\]

C = any consonant

X = all verb elements following C

Examples: RI + the \(\rightarrow\) ithe

KI + higa \(\rightarrow\) ihiga

14. Tob

\[
\begin{align*}
\{RI\} + \{i\} & \rightarrow \{ri\} \\
\{KI\} + \{i\} & \rightarrow \{ki\} \\
\{I\} + \{i\} & \rightarrow \{i\}
\end{align*}
\]
15. Top Optative mood

Encl + Afx_{nom} + Tense + V_{st} + ro

Encl + Afx_{nom} + ro + Tense + V_{st} + a

Examples: Ùrotùra múno.

May you live long.

Ùrogwa ugu ndagua.

May you fall as I have fallen.

16. Top Perfect tense

a. . .
ra. . . ire
∅. . .
a. . . +
ra. . . ∅
kū. . .
a. . .
ra. . .
∅. . .
a. . . + Ìte

17. Top Infinitive

X + V_{st} + Sufx
Kū + V_{st} + a

X = all elements preceding V_{st}
18. Top Imperative

\[ X + V_{st} + \text{Sufx} + \text{Imp} \rightarrow V_{st} + \left\{ \text{a /Sg} \right\} \]

\[ \text{ai} \]

\[ X = \text{all verb elements preceding } V_{st} \]

Examples: ūka \(\rightarrow\) ūkai
come \(\rightarrow\) come

19. Top Passive

\[ Z + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{r} \\ \{(n)y /-\text{Sufx}\} \\ \text{i /a, o} \\ \text{iyo /a} \\ V_w /-\# \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow Z + \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{uo#} \\ \text{io#} \\ \text{iyo#} \\ \text{wo#} \end{array} \right] \]

Examples: ikeruo

it was told

niarario ni mütwe

he was hurting by his head
nlatihiyo magurū
was hurt in his foot

nifarionwo
it can be seen

20. Relative pronoun

\[
\text{Pron}_{rel} + \begin{cases} \text{Fir} \\ \text{Sec} \\ \text{Thi} \end{cases} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{N}_{cl} + rìa
\]

Example: Mundū ūrìa ūkûhota nîakûragwo. I.2
person who is defeated will be eaten

21. Top Emphatic pronoun

\[
\begin{bmatrix} \text{Fir} \\ \text{Sec} \\ \text{Thi} \end{bmatrix} + \text{Pron}_{emph} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{bmatrix} \{ \text{niì } /3g \} \\ \text{ithui} \\ \{ \text{wee } /3g \} \\ \text{inyui} \\ \{ \text{we } /3g \} \\ \text{o} \end{bmatrix} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Vb}
\]

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22. Top NDI (defective verb 'to be')

\[
\text{NDI} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Fir} \\ \text{Sec} \\ \text{Thi} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \{ \text{ndi} / \text{Sg} \} \\ \{ \text{twi} \} \\ \{ \text{turi} \} \\ \{ \text{wI} / \text{Sg} \} \\ \{ \text{urI} \} \\ \{ \text{mwi} \} \\ \{ \text{murI} \} \\ \{ \text{e} / \text{Sg} \} \\ \{ \text{arI} \} \\ \{ \text{me} \} \\ \{ \text{marI} \} \end{bmatrix}
\]

23. Top Negative pronoun affix

\[
\begin{bmatrix} \text{ndi} \\ \text{u} \\ \text{a} \\ \text{tu} \\ \text{mu} \\ \text{ma} \end{bmatrix} + \text{Present} + \text{Neg} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{ndi} \\ \text{nda} \\ \text{tu} \text{ti} \\ \text{mu} \text{ti} \\ \text{ma} \text{ti} \end{bmatrix} + \text{Pr}_1 + X
\]

\[X = \text{all verb elements following the Tense affix}\]
Examples: ndangĩhota
he is not able

matĩngĩgĩa
they cannot have

24. Top Negative pronoun affix

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ndǐ} & \quad \text{ndī} \\
\text{ū} & \quad \text{ndū} \\
a & \quad \text{nda} \\
tū & \quad \text{tūti} \\
mū & \quad \text{mūti} \\
ma & \quad \text{mati}
\end{align*} \]

\( \emptyset \) = no appearance of Tense affix
\( X \) = all verb elements following the Tense affix

25. Top Negative pronoun affix

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ndǐ} & \quad \text{ndī} \\
\text{ū} & \quad \text{ndū} \\
a & \quad \text{nda} \\
tū & \quad \text{tūti} \\
mū & \quad \text{mūti} \\
ma & \quad \text{mati}
\end{align*} \]

\( X \) = all verb elements following the
Tense affix

26. Top Coordination

\[
S \rightarrow S + \text{Conj}_\text{cor} + S'
\]

Example: Matuka maingĩ mendagio ngu o maingĩ mendagio irio.

\[
\text{NP} \quad \text{VP}
\]

\[
\text{N} \quad \text{Adj}
\]

\[
\text{N}_{cl} \quad \text{N}_{st}
\]

\[
\text{A}_{cl} \quad \text{A}_{st}
\]

\[
\text{matuka} \quad \text{maingĩ}
\]

\[
\text{me} \quad \text{∅} \quad \text{nd} \quad \text{ag} \quad \text{io}
\]

\[
+ \text{na} +
\]

\[
\text{NP} \quad \text{VP}
\]

\[
\text{N} \quad \text{Adj}
\]

\[
\text{A}_{cl} \quad \text{A}_{st}
\]

\[
\text{V}_{cl} \quad \text{Tense} \quad \text{V}_{st} \quad \text{Habitual Sufx}
\]

\[
\text{∅} \quad \text{maingĩ} \quad \text{me} \quad \text{∅} \quad \text{nd} \quad \text{ag} \quad \text{io} \quad \text{∅} \quad \text{irio}
\]

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27. Top Coordination (consecutive narrative)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP} - \text{VP} \quad &\rightarrow \quad \text{NP} - \text{VP} + \text{Cl-Nu} + \text{KI} + V_{st}^+ \\
\text{NP}' - \text{VP}' \quad &\rightarrow \quad \text{Sufx}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{NP} = \text{NP}'\]

\[\text{VP} \neq \text{VP}'\]

---

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28. Top Dependent clause

NP - VP  

NP' - VP'

\[ \text{NP} \rightarrow \text{NP} - \text{Vb} + \text{Phr}_{\text{inf}} \]

\[ \text{NP} = \text{NP}' \]

\[ \text{VP} \neq \text{VP}' \]

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29. Top Dependent clause introduced by atī or subordination

\[
\begin{align*}
S & 
\quad \Rightarrow S + \{ \text{atī} \} + S' \\
S' & 
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Conj}_{\text{subor}} & 
\end{align*}
\]

30. Top Dependent clause introduced by relative pronoun

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{NP - VP} \} & 
\quad \Rightarrow \text{NP - VP + Conj}_{\text{rel}} - \text{VP}' \\
\{ \text{NP' - VP}' \} & 
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{NP} & \neq \text{NP}' \\
\text{VP} & \neq \text{VP}'
\end{align*}
\]

31. Top Dependent clause, embedding of relative clause

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{NP - VP+ Pron}_{\text{rel}} - \text{VP}' \} & 
\quad \Rightarrow \text{NP + Pron}_{\text{rel}} - \text{VP}' + \text{VP} \\
\text{VP} & \neq \text{VP}'
\end{align*}
\]
Spoken Kikuyu is a language which utilizes three tones: high tone, mid tone, and low tone. In addition, in phrases, especially, the phenomenon of tone bending occurs which is referred to as rises and falls. The use of tone in this language is extremely complex, as amply documented by Armstrong, 1940, owing to the fact that tone patterns of words change under the influence of phrase tone patterns. However, except to differentiate a few lexical items, treatment of tone can be eliminated from a grammatical and syntactical analysis of the language without serious consequences except for the question transformation which depends totally on the tone pattern.
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APPENDIX I

KIKUYU TEXT 1: THE HARE AND THE ELEPHANT

The following is a written transcription of a tape recorded narrative told by Mr. Peter Kĩnyua, age twenty-one, home town Karatina, at Limuru, March, 1970. The story was told without prior preparation.

Kabũkũ na njogu nĩcióathire irũgu nagwaũfkũte
a hare and elephant went jumping and it is said

mündũ ūrĩa ūkũhotwo nĩakũragwo ario nĩ nymũ
a person who will be defeated will be killed eaten by animals

irĩa ingĩ. Rũu nĩmakũrũgangire orũGUO. Kabũkũ gakarũgaga
those others now they jumped slowly hare jumped

mũno mainĩ gakaga kũguithia ngũrwa. Njogũ yathiĩ kũrũga
very many not failing the jump elephant went to jump

ĩkaremwo ĩkerwo nĩ wa mathia. Reke ngũthorathore nĩgetha
he was told he could not by gazelle let me take some of your flesh so you

ũhota kũrũga. ĩgathorathorwo. ĩkarũga rĩngĩ. ĩkĩaga
can jump some flesh was taken he jumped again he was

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kūhota. Kabūkū gakarūga. Īkerwo njogū noīgūthorathorwo. 7
not able hare jumped was told elephant more flesh must be
taken
īgathorathorwo. Īkarūga. Rīu magīthīī ūguo. Kabūkū gakirūga 8
More flesh was taken he jumped now they went on thus hare jumped
mūno. Njogū īkīrakara mūno. Īkiuga nthorathorwo. Īgūthorathorwo 9
much elephant became angry very he said take more flesh more flesh
as taken
rīngī. Rīu noīratīī īkīnyihaga oūrīā īrathorwo. Magīkīrūga 10
again now he was getting to be small as flesh was taken he jumped
and jumped now until hare defeated elephant when he defeated
him
gūgītuīka njogū noīkūrīo nī nyamū irīa īngī. Harī mirūthī 12
it happened elephant was to be eaten by animals whose others
there were lions
na nyamū ingī ta ngarī ūguo nyingī mūno irīa njūra irīa 13
and animals others like leopard those many very evil who eat
nyama. Rīu nīyakīrīrīwo mūno. Njogū īgīkīnīto; īkihenio. 14
meat now was taken flesh much elephant was defeated was cheated
īkīrūga yathīī kūrūga Ḣīkīnyitwo na ūgī īkīrīo nī nyamū 15
jumping he went to jump he was caught by cunning was eaten by
animals

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One day the hare and the elephant went to have a jumping contest and there was a sign which said that if a person were beaten he would be killed and eaten by the other animals. So, they were not all that quick to begin. As they began to jump, the hare jumped many times without missing the mark. The elephant, as he tried, found he could not. He was told by the gazelle, "Let me take off some of your weight(flesh) and then you will be able to make the jump." So, some of his weight was removed; he jumped again but still could not succeed. The hare just kept on jumping. The elephant was told, "Some more of your weight must be removed." Thus, some more was taken off. He jumped again. Now this went on like this for a while. The hare continued jumping a lot; the elephant became very angry. He said, "Take off some more of my weight!" Some more of his flesh was taken. They jumped and they jumped. Finally the hare defeated the elephant. When defeated him, the elephant was eaten by the other animals. There were the lions and other animals like the leopards, very evil animals who eat meat, and very much meat was eaten that day. The elephant had lost; he had been tricked. When he had come to jump, he had been cleverly caught and eaten by those animals.
APPENDIX II

KIKUYU TEXT 2: DISCUSSION ON POLYGAMY

The material below is a written transcription of an unrehearsed discussion in which the old custom of polygamy is being compared to the modern trend towards monogamy. It was tape recorded in Nyeri, September, 1971, without interruption. There are four participants: Karũri Wagakure, Mũrithi Mathenge, Wagaki Wágithae, and Pirrity Wamũyũ. All four are students of Nyeri Baptist High School, two male and two female.

Karũri: Thĩinũ wa aģikũyũ, hau kabereinũ andũ nĩmagũraga 1

Among the Kikuyu there long ago people used to marry

atumia oariũ mũndũ angĩenda kũringana na ũrĩa mũndũ aiguaga 2

women as a person wanted according to how a person esteemed

ahuana notonga na indo iria arĩ. Ńgo uĩguo mũndũ 3
to liken wealth with things which he has that why is a person

agũranaga. Noningi oũrĩa bũrũri ũrathĩũ ũgĩcenjagia noguо andũ 4

used to marry. But now as country moves on changing are people

marathĩũ makionaga tiwega kũgũra atumia aingũ na rĩu 5

progressing seeing it is not good to marry wives many and now

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In earlier times the Kikuyu people used to marry the number of wives they wished, according to one's riches. That is the way people were accustomed to marrying. Now, however, because the country is changing and people are progressing, they see that it is not good to marry many wives. Now, we are going to share suggestions about this so that we can see what we are doing.

Mūrīithi: Hari ēhororo wīgifū ēgūrānī ngāmbīrīria kūnyita oroūguo

About matter like that starting to follow as that

nondīkie kuga atī tāriū tūgīthianganga oroūguo māundū nīmarathīf

I could say that like now we are moving so that matters go

tasangīthāka būrūri ēyū nītwagīrīrwo nī mūndū kūgūra mútumia

such that it could be bad for country this we should a person marry wife oroūmwe. Tondū tūindo tūria tūrakorwo tūgīthīf gūthūkūma

only one because things that we shall find and work for

tūrakorwo twī tūnini na ningī o mūndū o mwana ēuria ūngīkorwo

are very few and again person or child who would be
home who needs a thing of to eat and needs clothes and

needs even blanket of covering and things all and such

when a person has married wife only one it is good fortune because

which he may bring even though it is small I think it is enough instead of

getting things like a hundred you will divide twice again home your

will need things many that hundred will not suffice food that you brought

will not suffice some perhaps can be blamed because they see like

they can steal some others go on ways those are not good and again
at the end you will have people of sorts bad now I ask

Wagaki nahe woni wake; tükɪgue ұrіа ұngіkoro ұrі.

Wagaki her thought hers let us hear what it may be

TRANSLATION

Starting to speak about marriage, I can first of all say that because of life in this country, it is better to have one wife. The reason why I say this is because our salary is small and our people, children and others, need many things like food and clothes and even a better life at home. Therefore it will be wise to have one wife. If a man comes along with a few things only, they will be sufficient at home. When people are many it becomes just the opposite. For example, if one has a hundred things to use, if they must be shared among many people, they will not be enough. At home there will be hatred among people when they think that you favor some. In the end there will develop hatred. And now I am going to ask Wagaki to give her suggestions and we will hear what she has to say.

Wagaki: Nіf ұrі wоnі wаkwa nоnyіtе mündu tі Mūrіthі mbaru

As for me there is thought my I could support Mr. Mūrіthі's limbs

atіkіgуrа mутumіа ұмwе nіkuо kwegа gukіra kugura аtumіа еrі

that to marry wife one is good instead of marrying wives two
kana atatū tarīrīa athuri atene magūraga atumia ta atano

or three like when ancients used to marry wives like five

ūguo ikūmi na ndari na kīndū giakūmahe na magīa na cīana

or ten and had not a thing to give them and had children

nacio; rīu gūtirī kīndū mangīona ta nguo; matingīgīa

with them; now there is nothing they would see like clothes; they cannot have

na irio cīakūmaigana kana ona mūgūnda; matingīona wa kūrīma

food enough or even garden they cannot see farming

norīu nīkowanekete atī mūndū rīrīa agīte mūtumia ūmwe nīhārī

but now it is seen that person that has wife one there is

na ūteithīka mūnene mūno tondū mūtumia ūcio ūmwe nīkūhota kūgīa

with help big very because wife that one would have

nīmakūgīa na nguo cīana igakūra wega, naningī mbecś cīa

they would have clothes children grow well and again money of

gūthomo mahahota gūciona itarī na gūthinīka kūnene. Hari kūgīa

school they can find it without difficulties big to have

na mūtumia ūmwe nīkwega gūkīra kūgīa na atumia ta atatū

wife one is good instead to have wives like three
57

ūguo kana ana tarīa andū a tene magĩaga na atumia.
as that or four like now people of long ago had wives.

TRANSLATION

On my side, I can support Mr. Mūrĩithi that to have one
wife is better than to have two or three as in the old days.
In the old days the ancients married about five wives and they
did not have anything to give them and their children. They did
did not have enough help and they had no land for them farm. Now it
has been found that when you have one wife you can support her
and her children too. You can provide clothing and educate her
children without struggling too much. Therefore, I conclude that
having one wife is better than having three or four.

Wamūyū: Onaniĩ nondi mūnyīte mbaru otoguo mwanga ūhorō
I also I could support the limbs as what you have said

wa kūgīa na mūtumia ūmwe no ningĩ titakuga atī no tūrute
of having wife one but not to say that we correct

athuri a tene mahītia ūrīa magūraga atumia aingĩ
the ancients mistakes which they married wives many

tūngīrora na hau thutha notwone atī tene athuri matiairi
if we would look at there back we can see that long ago the ancients
did not have

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I can support both of you in that having one wife only is good, but this does not mean that we have to say that our forefathers were mistaken. If we refer to the times back there, we can understand that the ancients had no problem of educating their children; there were no clothes that a child could not get. Another thing is that today's life is different from that of the old times. At that time wives were counted as wealth, much as were the cattle; often cattle were a part of the dowry. Now, even if a person wanted to he could not have many wives because he could not afford to provide them with as many children as they would require. And even if he loved his wife dearly, he would still want his home to appear clean and proper and also his wife.
naba Guthomithia mwana ati mbeca niikaga. Gutiari ngu o ici
the use of educating a child that money is lacking there were not
clothes these

cia matukú maya ati mwana niarionwo agíthi njaga onakana
of days these that child is seen going naked or

iken o ici cia rifu ningí ùtonga wa tene warì atumia; múthuri
enjoyment of now and again richness of long ago was wives a man

agatara atumia arìa arínao kana ng'ombe irìa akírínacio nígetha
counted wives he had or cattle that he had so as

oùrí kùngìhìa ng'ombe. Akaingíhìa atumia tondú niakwona kìndù
how he has cattle he increased wives because he realized

something
gia kuracia. Kwoguo tungiona hau notwone ati ona mundu akiendaga
of dowry So, if we understand here we can find that even if a
person wanted

ndangíhota kúiga atumia singí tondú ndagionera cína kíríga giòthe
he would not be able to have wives many because provide children those

all

ikwenda ona kana mútumia ndangíshonera kíríga giòthe akwenda tondú
they wanted or wife would not find those all she wanted because

ningí ona akiendaga mútumia noarienda mucii wake wonëke ni múthaka nano
either even if he loved wife he would want home his be seen clean and

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APPENDIX III

Because the examples shown in some instances to illustrate a rule were located in widely separated parts of a discourse, it was thought wise to select only that part of a discourse which gives the example its immediate environment to present here. The following selections have been gathered from many different individual discourses and arranged here to follow the order in which the examples which necessitate them appear in the body of the dissertation.

Ciana ithatū ihī nīcio igayaga mīgunta ūguo, ihī 1
Children three boys by them shares gardens that boys

ithatū hari mīgunta. Tacokera wauga mīgunta ūigana atīa? 2
three there is a garden Repeat, you heard a garden is enough how

Mīgunta nī īka ithatū na ihī nī kenda. 3
A garden is acres three and boys are nine.

TRANSLATION

Say a father has three acres and he has nine sons, and each son needs a share from his father.

Rīu ona indo icio mūndū ūmwe tu nīmūgaine acinine 4
Now see things those a man one only is sufficient she may undo
and again ruin him and it is news bad very...

TRANSLATION

When an unmarried rich person marries many women he will at once become bankrupt.

The money I am earning is enough for me, Mr. Karuri, to have ten wives and a house furnished for me at no charge.

We can see that one wife is better these days.

And he hears matters those because cases like over eggs
In minor cases of the children fighting for something like an egg, they should not be brought before the husband for something like that.

We can see that many kinds of food come from the gardens.

According to what I have heard, you are in favor of having just one wife.
Ithi to wega akimakikie nigetha ona o aciari ao
is it not good that he marry so that even parents their
makihūthirwo nǐ múrego.
be freed from burden

TRANSLATION

Is it not good that he (a rich man) marry (wives) so that their parents are freed from the burden of keeping them?

Karūgano gakwa gakeri gathirira hau.
story my second finishes here

TRANSLATION

My second story ends here.

Niři ni ngūtūika watene njuge nī ngūgūra atumia
I now I am to be of long ago I say I support wives

aingi tondū otoguo membūririe gwikari ndigwiciria
many because what they have done I do not think

nī mari akīgu mūno.
was foolish very

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TRANSLATION

As for me, I support the old people and say that having many wives is better because the old ones were not foolish in practicing polygamy.

Agikiumagario akihitükio hau ha marimu. 21
And he was taken halfway; and he was taken there by giants.

Ngwinyita mburu njuge tondũ onao andũ 22
I support myself limbs I say because even then people

gutũka nimaragithîl ona mbera makũhigagari. 23
are going even forward they are becoming clever

TRANSLATION

I can support myself since people are going to become educated.

Okiriia mutũnia akwenda ūngĩtara itingĩoneka. 24
what woman wants if you seek it cannot be found

TRANSLATION

What a woman wants cannot be found (in the shops) if you look.

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## APPENDIX IV

### KIKUYU PHONEMICS AND PHONETICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grapheme</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>[b̪]−[b̠] (free allophonic variation) voiced/unvoiced bilabial flat fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>/θ/</td>
<td>[θ] voiced tip-dental flat fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>[s] voiceless alveo-palatal grooved fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>[g] voiced velar flat fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>[h] voiceless glottal flat fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>/mb/</td>
<td>[b] voiced bilabial fortis stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>/nd/</td>
<td>[d] voiced alveolar fortis stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nj</td>
<td>/nj/</td>
<td>[j̃] voiced alveo-palatal fortis stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>[t] voiceless alveolar unasperated stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>[k] voiceless velar unasperated stop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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ng' /ŋ/ \[ŋ\]
voiced velar nasal

ny /n̩/ \[n̩\] and \[ny\]
voiced alveo-palatal nasal sometimes accompanied by a Y glide

m /m/ \[m\]
voiced bilabial nasal

n /n̩/ \[n̩\]
voiced alveolar nasal

r /r/ \[r\] and \[ɨ\] (free allophonic variation)
voiced flapped (cupped tongue) \(\mathcal{R}\);
voiced flapped lateral

y /j/ \[j\]
high front glide

w /w/ \[w\]
high back glide

i /i/ \[i\]
high, front, unrounded vowel

ɪ /e/ high-mid, front, unrounded vowel

e /ɛ/ low-mid, front, unrounded vowel

a /a/ \[a\]
low, central unrounded vowel

o /o/ \[ɔ\]
low-mid, back rounded vowel

ʊ /u/ \[u\]
high-mid, back rounded vowel
u /u/ [u]

high, back, rounded vowel
VITA

The author was born in Greenville, Mississippi, June 24, 1937 and graduated from Greenville High School in 1955. He received his B.A. degree in foreign languages from Mississippi College, Clinton, Mississippi, in 1959. The two years following his graduation from Mississippi College he served on the faculty of Chamberlain-Hunt Academy, Port Gibson, a college preparatory school as the teacher of Latin and English. In 1961 he entered New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary to earn a Bachelor of Divinity degree in theology and biblical languages three years later in 1964. He returned to Chamberlain-Hunt Academy that year to serve as acting chaplain for one year. In 1967 he received the M.A. degree in linguistics from Louisiana State University, the title of his M.A. thesis being *The Semantic History of 'Toller' and 'Quitar' in Spanish*. In 1969 he completed all the requirements for the Ph.D. in linguistics except for the dissertation. To collect field data for this, he served as linguistics consultant to the Baptist Language School in Limuru, Kenya, for fifteen months, returning to this country in May, 1971. In August, 1972 he was awarded the Ph.D. degree in linguistics by Louisiana State University.
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Title of Thesis: A Generative-Transformational Grammar of the Kikuyu Language Based on the Nyeri Dialect

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