

CLAUSE COMPLEXITY IN GÍKŪYŪ: A FUNCTIONAL ACCOUNT

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to all my teachers across all levels of my academic journey.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Bound binder | a binder attached to the verb element |
| Clitic | a morpheme with syntactic characteristics of a word but phonologically bound to another. |
| Domain prefix | affixes to the verb element representing the domain |
| Enclitic | a clitic that follows its host |
| Endoclititic | a clitic that splits the root and is inserted between the two parts |
| Free binder | a binder that stands on its own |
| Mesoclititic | a clitic between the stem of the host and other affixes |
| Metafunctional analysis | a simultaneous analysis in the three metafunctions |
| Metafunctional structure | a configuration of elements that carries a certain metafunction |
| Proclitic | a clitic that precedes its host |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|-------------------------------------|
| Adj P | Adjectival Phrase |
| CC | Clause Complex |
| Gal | Galatians |
| Gen | Genesis |
| GCC | Gĩkũyũ Clause Complex |
| Ex | Exodus |
| FG | Functional Grammar |
| FGT | Functional Grammar Theory |
| FSR | Functional-semantic Relations |
| Jn | John |
| KNBS | Kenya National Bureau of Statistics |
| LSR | Logico-semantic Relations |
| NBS | National Bureau of Statistics |
| NP | Noun Phrase |
| Ps | Psalms |
| Rev | Revelation |
| SFL | Systemic Functional Linguistics |
| SVO | Subject-verb-object |
| Tim | Timothy |

V Verb

VP Verb Phrase

SYMBOLS

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | initiating clause |
| 2 | continuing clause |
| α | dominant clause |
| β | dependent clause |
| \wedge | follows |
| << >> | enclosed |
| \emptyset | empty realisation |
| “ | quoted locution |
| ‘ | quoted idea |

ABSTRACT

This work is a response to a call by various scholars on the native speakers of African languages to undertake researches aimed at preserving, developing and popularising the African languages. The main aim of the study was to understand the complexity of Gĩkũyũ clauses. Specifically, within the frame of Functional Grammar Theory, the study focused on the functional-semantic relations in Gĩkũyũ clause complexes, the different relation markers in the clauses and the analysis of the clause complexes in the three metafunctions identified by the theory. Therefore, the specific objectives of the study were: to establish the functional-semantic relations in Gĩkũyũ clause complexes; to categorize the relation markers in the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes; and, to analyze the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes metafunctionally. Guided by these objectives, the study adopted a descriptive research design to enable a detailed description of its data and the emerging patterns from data analysis. The data, Gĩkũyũ clause complexes, was sampled purposively from both written and spoken sources. The written sources were selected fictional and non-fictional Gĩkũyũ texts while the spoken sources were two talk shows: one from a Gĩkũyũ television station and the other from a Gĩkũyũ radio station. Introspection was also employed to fill gaps in the data collected from the written and the spoken sources. A total of a hundred and seventy eight (178) Gĩkũyũ clause complexes were sampled. The data revealed that Gĩkũyũ clause complexes manifest functional-semantic relations in the two broad logico-semantic relations of *expansion* and *projection*, the categories identified by Halliday and Matthiessen. The relations observed under *expansion* were *elaboration*, *extension* and *enhancement* while both *locution* and *idea* were observed under *projection*. The relations were found to be realised both *paratactically* and *hypotactically*, each means employing different relation markers. Metafunctional analyses of the data revealed that Gĩkũyũ clause complexes simultaneously serve the three basic functions of language when in use: *textual*, *interpersonal* and *experiential*. This is because it proved possible to analyse the complexes in the *thematic*, *mood* and *transitivity* structures, which respectively carry the three functions. The analyses further revealed some unique characteristics of the Gĩkũyũ clause that Functional Grammar does not account for. These features, which include redundancy of constituents in the metafunctional structures, are mainly due to the agglutinative nature of Gĩkũyũ. The findings have implications in the field of linguistics, more specifically to studies on African languages, as it bridges a linguistic gap on clause complexity in Gĩkũyũ. The findings would also go a long way in increasing proficiency in Gĩkũyũ, hence significant to the users of the language. The study recommends, among other things, that the users of Gĩkũyũ familiarise themselves with the findings to improve their proficiency in the language and that institutions teaching African languages and the developers of Gĩkũyũ curriculum adopt the findings. Further, it calls for more related studies, such as phonological study on the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes and studies on complexes at the levels below and above the clause.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

“Multilingualism is normal and monolingualism exceptional.” This is one universal of linguistic diversity according to Chumbow (2008, p. 5). Noting that all African states are multilingual, he observes that Africa is a continent rich in linguistic diversity since it has over 2,086 of the world’s over 6,600 languages. This diversity is a positive aspect and studies on diverse African languages can greatly contribute to the unification of the peoples of the continent, a call made almost every day by leaders. Scholars have engaged in studying the various aspects of the African languages and sharing the information on how the languages compare and contrast.

Different scholars have noted the importance of African languages. The languages are instrumental in the preservation of knowledge and culture (Momanyi, 2007; Prah, 2007) as well as traditions, art and ideas (Njoroge, 2012). They are the languages of enculturation and socialization in the intra-ethnic African setting (Momanyi, 2007) and give Africans identity and a sense of belonging (Smith, 2010).

Consequently, the scholars have called for research, documentation and preservation of African languages by African scholars and researchers. Thiong’o (1986a) says that Africans need to develop their own languages by writing and publishing in them and conducting theory-governed studies to

analyse the different aspects of the languages. Njoroge (2012) adds his voice to the matter, decrying the scarcity of materials published in Kenyan local languages.

This study, which focuses on Gĩkũyũ, is a response to the call. Gĩkũyũ is an African language spoken in Kenya, a linguistically heterogeneous country with over 40 indigenous languages (Webb & Kembo, 2000). Its speakers are concentrated in the central region of the country in Nyeri, Kĩambu, Nyandarũa, Mũrang'a and Kĩrĩnyaga counties. It is also spoken in some counties in the Rift Valley region such as Nakuru.

It is a Bantu language, a member of the Narrow Bantu languages subgroup. Wawerũ (2011) notes that Bantu languages represent a large percentage of the world's language diversity. He notes that of the world's 6,909 languages, 1,532 (22%) fall in the Niger-Congo Family, in which 522 languages are in the narrow Bantu class. Gahutu (2012) observes that the Narrow Bantu subgroup is the largest in the Niger-Congo subgroup with at least 60 million speakers in the Sub Saharan Africa.

Guthrie (1967) classifies Gĩkũyũ as the first in group 5 of zone E languages, hence language number E51. Languages in the same zone have a number of common linguistic features while a group is a unit that is purely linguistically distinct from other groups in the zone. Zone E comprises Kenyan Bantu languages while group 5, whose other members are Embu (E52), Meru (E53) and Tharaka (E54), has members around the Mt Kenya region.

The concern of this study is Gĩkũyũ syntax, and in particular, the clause. Focus is on structures with linked or joined clauses, which involve either coordination or subordination. This is an area that scholars of Gĩkũyũ have relatively given a wide berth. Coordination and subordination result into compound and complex sentences respectively in terms of traditional formal grammar (Aaarts & Aarts, 1988). Examples 1.1 and 1.2 below illustrate Gĩkũyũ compound and complex sentences respectively. The conjunctions are in bold.

1.1. Kamau nĩ mwĩnyihia **na** andũ nĩmamwendete.

*Kamau is humble **and** people like him.*

1.2 . Andũ matiendete Kamau **ona gũtuĩka** nĩ mwĩnyihia.

*People do not like Kamau **even though** he is humble.*

These structures with linked or joined clauses are referred to as clause complexes (CCs henceforth) in Functional Grammar Theory (FGT henceforth) by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). This is the theory on which this study is based. It should be noted that ‘clause’ in Functional Grammar (FG henceforth) is equivalent to ‘sentence’ in formal grammar, hence the term ‘clause complex’. A *sentence* is a group of words expressing a complete thought. It is the highest unit of punctuation (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 371) and in writing, it starts with a capital letter and ends with a period (.), a question mark (?) or an exclamation mark (!). A *clause* in formal grammar is a structure with elements of a sentence (subject and predicate) and is embedded in the structure of a sentence or a phrase (Aaarts & Aarts, 1988). Illustrations 1.1 and 1.2

above are clauses in FG, and more specifically CCs, but in formal grammar, sentences with two clauses each.

FG explains that a CC is ‘formed out of relations that link clauses, typically one pair at a time, dependent on one another’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 367). This study interrogates the kinds of relationships identified by FGT that hold between two members of Gīkūyū clause complex (GCC henceforth) nexuses. The broad categories of the relationships are *taxis* and *logico-semantic relations* (LSRs henceforth). (See theoretical framework)

The study then explores the metafunctional nature of the GCCs. One tenet of FG is that grammar functions to give meaning. The theory explains that once uttered, an utterance serves three functions (by giving three meanings) at the same time. This explains the metafunctional nature of language (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The three metafunctions are *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*. The ideational metafunction has two components, *experiential* and *logical* metafunctions, and the study is interested in the latter because it is realized in CCs.

The review of related literature points to a linguistic gap that exists in relation to coordination and subordination of clauses in Gīkūyū in the light of FG. The study on GCCs is, therefore, an attempt towards addressing the gap.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Syntactic complexity is a significant indicator of proficiency in the use of a language. While acknowledging that commendable work has been done in the

study of Gĩkũyũ, a linguistic gap on syntactic complexity of Gĩkũyũ clauses exists, necessitating investigation. The gap is on the semantic resources that the Gĩkũyũ system avails to express different meanings in the different LSRs (paradigmatic level) in its clause complex and how the language exploits these resources to achieve the different taxic relations in the complexes (syntagmatic level). This would in turn reveal the different metafunctions the language serves. This study, consequently, is an attempt to fill the gap. The thrust of the study then is: how is clause complexity achieved in Gĩkũyũ?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

1. To establish the functional-semantic relations in Gĩkũyũ clause complexes.
2. To categorise the relation markers in the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes.
3. To analyse the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes metafunctionally.

1.4 Research Questions

The study, therefore, seeks to answer the following questions.

1. What functional-semantic relations hold in Gĩkũyũ clause complexes?
2. What are the categories of the relation markers in the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes?
3. How can Gĩkũyũ clause complexes be analysed metafunctionally?

1.5 Research Assumption

The study is guided by the following assumptions:

1. Different functional-semantic relations hold in the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes.
2. There are different categories of the relation markers in the Gĩkũyũ clause complexes.
3. Gĩkũyũ clause complexes can be analysed metafunctionally.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

This study is a worthy cause due to its significance as outlined below. First, African languages, and therefore, the continent's linguistic diversity, need to be saved from extinction. One way of ensuring this is by carrying out studies that will generate data on the language. Prah (2007) notes that across the continent, the languages are under threat as they continue to be dominated by the colonial languages in different fields, such as the print media. The study is a contribution towards Africa's linguistic diversity.

The study ventures into an area largely neglected in previous Gĩkũyũ studies—the area of clause complexity. As pointed out above (cf. 1.1), there exists a linguistic gap on Gĩkũyũ structures with linked or joined clauses, whether coordinated or subordinated. The study, therefore, addresses the gap and also complements the already existing data on Gĩkũyũ, and African languages in general.

Many institutes of African languages continue to emerge the world over, especially in the universities. Such include Kenyatta University's Institute for African Languages, and, further afield, African Studies Centre in the University of Pennsylvania among others. There is therefore need for a rich repertoire of data on African languages to assist the centres achieve their goals. The data from the study on Gĩkũyũ may come in handy as a resource for these institutes in general, and for the researchers of Gĩkũyũ and other related languages in the institutes.

The study describes a range of relation markers the speakers of Gĩkũyũ can use in construction of CCs for certain functions, hence increasing their proficiency, both in speaking and writing. Therefore, the data could be useful in the field of mass media, especially with the emergence of Gĩkũyũ radio and television stations as well as Gĩkũyũ periodicals in Kenya. Gĩkũyũ literary artists too may find the data useful.

The language policy in Kenya states that the languages of the catchment areas should be taught and also used as the medium of instruction at the lower primary school (Mbaabu, 1996). The findings of this study could, therefore, be invaluable to the teachers of Gĩkũyũ and also the developers of Gĩkũyũ pedagogic materials, including textbooks. As Fillmore and Fillmore (2012) observe, exposing learners of a language to complex text would reveal to them how language functions in academic discourse (cf. Section 2.1.1).

Legal documents in Kenya, such as the Kenyan Constitution, are mainly written in English, one of the country's official languages. Such documents

ought to be translated into the local languages to enable the citizens who are not conversant with English understand the content. Such a task could benefit from the data of this study since the constitution is written in complex structures.

In terms of theory, Gikūyū studies applying FGTs, as noted earlier, are quite scarce. Most of those on Gikūyū syntax have applied the formal grammar approach. This study is guided by FGT, and hence provides an alternative perspective to the study of the language.

Finally, the study has identified other areas of dearth that need investigation and, therefore, provides direction for further related studies.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study analyses its data syntactically from a functional as opposed to formal approach. The former takes into account general constituents of a clause—subject and predicate—while the latter analyses the clause in terms of constituents specific to different metafunctions. FGT identifies three metafunctions of the clause—experiential, interpersonal and textual. The study analyses its data, the GCC, in the three meta-functions since a clause carries the three meanings concurrently once produced.

Further, the study employs FGT to investigate the various relationships holding between members of the GCC. The theory identifies two main systems of relations in a CC—system of interdependency (taxi) and systems of logico semantics (expansion and projection). The study describes both systems as

evident in the GCCs since the two systems intersect to provide the functional framework for describing the CCs, the basic clause nexus. Further, GCCs can be in both written and spoken forms of language and, therefore, the data for this study is collected from both written and spoken sources.

CCs frequently involve more than one type of taxis, more than one type of LSR or both. Involvement with such kinds of CCs would be too wide a scope and, therefore, the study has limited itself to GCCs with only one type of LSR combining with either parataxis or hypotaxis. Consequently, the data involves GCCs with only two clauses.

FSRs hold at different levels of language analysis, including the group (phrase) and clause levels. The study has confined itself to the clause level since it is the central processing unit in grammar, the mainspring of grammatical energy (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

1.8 Chapter Summary

The purpose of the first chapter of this thesis has been to introduce the study. The chapter started by describing the background on which the study is anchored. The chapter has then demonstrated need for the study in the statement of the problem before laying down the study's objectives, questions and assumptions. These are followed by the rationale and, finally, the scope and limitations of the study. The next chapter focuses on literature related to the study and the theory on which it is based.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter has two parts. In the first, an overview of works consulted in relation to the study is given. The theory that guided the study is described in the second part.

2.1 Literature Review

Guided by the objectives of the study, the literature consulted is presented in three parts—studies on clause complexes and clause relations, studies on relation markers and studies in the different metafunctions of FGT.

2.1.1 Studies on Clause Complexes and Clause Relations

A number of studies such as Fillmore and Fillmore (2012), Srinon and White (2007) and Firdiana (2013) have focused on clause complexes and clause relations.

Fillmore and Fillmore (2012) focus on the language of academic texts in a paper exploring the implication of text complexity to English learners and language-minority students. They observe that from fourth grade onwards, academic texts have to be richer, deeper and more complex as they communicate complex ideas and information. However, English learners and language-minority students are exposed to simple texts with the aim of preventing failure, which in turn bars them from discovering how language

works in academic discourse. The paper recommends that the students should be exposed to complex structures and patterns in the school reading material developed for them.

This recommendation relates the paper to this study since the latter explores the different possible complex structures in *Gīkūyū* and the different ways in which they are formed. Nevertheless, the studies differ in terms of orientation and the language of study. Fillmore and Fillmore's is pedagogic and on English while the current one is descriptive and on *Gīkūyū*.

Whereas Fillmore and Fillmore take a more general approach to CCs, some studies have been more specific in terms of the FSRs they focus on. Srinon and White (2007) focus on both logico-semantic and taxis relations in an investigation of clause complexity in English essays of Thai University students who are on a longitudinal genre based course. The study, which is both qualitative and quantitative, aims at establishing whether students' later texts (compared to earlier ones) could demonstrate positive development in the use of semantic relations as outlined by Halliday (1994), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Martin (1992).

The study reveals a positive trend. The students demonstrate greater usage of LSRs towards the end of the course than at the commencement of it. As the students increasingly use the relations, their communication range extends, with their writing becoming more fluent. This is attributed to the fact that their writing becomes less disjointed as a result of reduced number of simple sentences.

The study is quite relevant to the present one. In studying the clause relations, Srinon and White (2007) first categorize the clauses according to whether they involve projection, extension, elaboration or enhancement before determining the nature of taxis relation in them. The present study subjects the GCCs to the same analysis. The language of study and the fact that Srinon and White limit themselves to the students' use of language are the main distinguishing elements of the two studies.

Both Firdiana (2013) and Cribb (2004) are specifically concerned with taxis. Firdiana (2013) studies the structures in the tourism brochure of Qantas Holidays Magazine and one of her objectives is to describe the paratactic and hypotactic CCs used in the brochure. The brochure was found to contain both paratactic (8) and hypotactic (3) clauses, alongside clause simplexes (38).

To investigate syntactic complexity in the extended discourse of non-native speakers of English, Cribb (2004) also looks at hypotaxis and parataxis. He focuses quantitatively on the length of utterances students produce and qualitatively on the type of verbal constructions they employ, both subordinate and embedded. The non-natives are discovered to be unable to fully utilize the features of subordination and embedding, upon which syntactic complexity is built. Their discourse mainly contains paratactic units juxtaposed to each other, making their speech flat.

The studies by Firdiana (2013) and Cribb (2004) inform the present study in terms of theory: both use FGT, the framework adopted by the present study. They, however, focus on taxis relations only while this study combines both

taxis and the LSRs in its analysis. The nature of data for the three studies is the same, the CCs, but Firdiana's and Cribb's data is in English while that of the present study is in Gĩkũyũ.

In addition, the present study does not, like Cribb's, compare the syntactic complexity in the language of the non-natives to that of the natives but rather reveals the resources for clause complexity that any user of Gĩkũyũ can employ in using the language.

2.1.2 Studies on Relation Markers

Holting (n.d) explores, in the light of SFL, German grammatical resources for projection that can be employed to attribute an utterance to someone else other than the present speaker. Among the resources found is the projection clause in a CC consisting of a projected and a projecting clause such as *The parents said that Peter was ill*. Such CCs form part of the data investigated by the current study.

Another resource identified was the Angle, which is a circumstantial element in the experiential metafunction. It is typically a prepositional phrase introduced by prepositions equivalent to *according to* and they include *nach*, *laut* and *zufolge*. Other resources identified include modal adjuncts such as *angeblich* (reportedly) and *volgeblich* (allegedly) which are Interpersonal resources. Though Holting informs the current study in terms of theoretical approach and concern, the language of study is different. In addition, the current study is much wider as it also investigates expansion.

O'Hallaron's (2014) study on English argumentative writing of second and fourth grade students compares how learners in the two grades make choices from the categories of English conjunctive resources. She notes that the choices made are influenced by the language users' knowledge of the conjunctive patterns. The findings inform this study in relation to the paradigmatic nature of language as explained by FGT—that a language offers its users several resources to select from. Further, the comparison is made in relation to the Logic metafunction of FGT, a metafunction that deals with the joining of clauses to form CCs and is within the Ideational metafunction. CCs are the thrust of the current study.

O'Hallaron's findings confirm a hypothesis posited by SFL to the effect that the linguistic choices made by language users are influenced by the users' knowledge of patterns in the immediate situational and cultural context. Probably stemming from the greater exposure to English of the fourth graders compared to that of the second graders, the former's use of conjunctive resources was found to be double the latter's, making the fourth graders' texts longer and more complex. They need to link a large number of ideas, and so, a greater usage of the additive connectors *and* and *also*. Their usage of the connector marking contrast, *but*, is also higher.

The current study explores the Gĩkũyũ relation markers of addition and contrast among others but it does not restrict itself to a particular genre or the users' stage of advancement in language.

A more closely related study to the present one is a study on cohesion in Gĩkũyũ by Chege (2009). It is guided by Halliday and Hassan's (1976) model of cohesion. Chege's concern is the linguistic features that mark cohesion in Gĩkũyũ texts. She explains how the linguistic features relate to the rest of the text to achieve cohesive effect. Among the markers she identifies are conjunctions that contribute to cohesion in a text by expressing certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in a discourse. The conjunctions include *ĩndĩ* (but) and *handũ ha* (instead of) which she places under adversative conjunctions. Others are additive conjunctions which include *na* (and) and *ningĩ* (also), temporal conjunctions like *rĩu* (now) and *ũndũ wa mbere* (the first thing) and causal conjunctions such as *tondũ* (because) and *kwa ũguo* (because of that).

Such conjunctions are also identified by Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) FGT, the theory that guided the present study on clause relations. For instance, the model of cohesion used by Chege (2009) would classify the conjunction *na* (and) as an additive conjunction while in terms of clause relations under Halliday and Mathiessen's (2004) FGT, the conjunction is a paratactic relation marker which indicates a positive addition. This is an indication that cohesion could also be observed in GCCs. This makes Chege's (2009) study quite relevant to the present one despite the difference in the theoretical approaches. In addition, Chege's concern is texts, which could include larger texts such as paragraphs. Our concern is limited to clause nexuses.

2.1.3 Studies in Different Metafunctions

Some studies have used only one of the three metafunctions while others have combined them. Ligawa (2012) has used the experiential metafunction in a study on the newspapers reporting on the 2010 Draft Constitution of Kenya. He applies the system of Transitivity together with Multidisciplinary Theory of Ideology by Dijk (2000) to describe the patterns of processes in the lead stories on the draft constitution in three mainstream English newspapers in Kenya.

Ligawa identifies different patterns of transitivity in the reportings—material, mental, transitive and intransitive processes. He discovers material processes to be the majority in the reportings with 84%. Transitive, intransitive and mental processes follow in the order with 80.8%, 19.12% and 15.2% respectively. With material processes being the majority, the study concludes that the reports have more actions than ideas.

Ligawa's study and the current one relate in terms of theoretical approach but differ in three ways. First, this study is on Gĩkũyũ while Ligawa's is on English. Secondly, unlike Ligawa's, the concern of this study is the relations that hold in CCs. In addition, he has applied only the Transitivity system in his study, leaving out the Mood and Theme systems. The present study features the three and is therefore much broader.

Nyarige (2002) analyses clauses in form three students' English compositions to establish the grammatical categories appearing in the Theme position. The categories identified are nominal groups, prepositional phrases, adverbial

groups, conjunctive adjuncts, conjunctions, CCs and predicated Themes. In terms of frequency, nominal groups are the majority, an indication that students are more comfortable using them in organizing information. CCs, on the other hand, are the least frequent. Nyarige enlightens the present study on the grammatical elements to expect at the Theme position in its Textual analysis of the Gīkūyū clause. However, the study has applied FGT by Halliday (1985) alongside Principles of Thematic Progression (Danes, 1974) to analyse the Theme-Rheme relations in the essays. The present study is guided by FGT by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004).

The most informative studies to the present one in terms of the theory are those that have combined all the three metafunctions. Such guide the present study in analysing data metafunctionally. A case in print is Plaza and Alvarez (2013). They apply Halliday's (1994, 2004) SFG to explore the discourse strategies that lecturers in Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English used in their lectures.

The analysis of the lectures by Plaza and Alvarez (2013) in the three metafunctions reveals that university lectures are a complex genre. Other than containing Ideational context, they also evaluate the subject matter and reflect on the lecturers' tenor (or general character) with the students. For example, Ideational analysis shows that Material clauses are frequently used by the lecturers when discussing their experiences in the material world. Mental and Relational clauses are also identified.

Analysis of CCs in the lectures shows how the lecturers organize their knowledge in presentation of certain parts to be more noticeable than others. For instance, they greatly use extension and cohesive connectors to reinforce these meanings. Interpersonal analysis shows that lecturers use questions a lot to enhance their relationship with the students. They could, for example, ask questions to obtain information they believe students could have and in the process foster the participation of the students in the lecture. Polite expressions like *would* are also identified.

The analysis of the data in the three metafunctions motivates the current study as it has shown it is possible for a particular datum, clause in relation to the current study, to be analysed in the three metafunctions. Nevertheless, though Plaza and Alvarez (2013) have analysed clause relations (a task the present study engages in) for the Textual metafunction, the study's guide for the clause relation analysis differentiates it from the present one since Plaza and Alvarez used Winter's (1977) model.

The section above has presented the different studies related to this study that have been reviewed. Focus now changes to the theory that guided the study, the Functional Grammar Theory.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

As mentioned earlier, this study is guided by Functional Grammar Theory (FGT). FGT was initially developed by Halliday (1985) but Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) later revised it. The revision is particularly evident in the

area of clause complexing, which is the key focus of the present study. For instance, Halliday (1985) discusses CCs in the same chapter with group complexes, approaching the two in more or less the same way. A group complex is a word complex with a head word and modifiers. Therefore, CC is taken as a Head clause with other clauses modifying it. Consider: *We completed the task in time and then went out to relax before assisting our friends*. This is a CC with three clauses, with *We completed the task in time* being the head modified by the other two clauses, *and then went out to relax* and *before assisting our friends*.

On the other hand, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) treat group complexes and CCs independently in different chapters. They introduce the CCs by clearly demonstrating how they form texts at the level of semantics through relational organisation. This, aided by elaborate illustrations provided, make the notion of CC clearer. For instance, *We completed the task in time and then went out to relax before assisting our friends* is an example of a narrative text showing a flow of events. It is a sequence of Figures linked by temporal relators *and*, *then* and *before*.

The revised version has also added more material in addition to revising other sections, making them less complex. An example is in the section on Transitivity, an area that also guided the current study. Among the additions is a subsection distinguishing between transitive and intransitive material processes: the former represent processes of doing, such as *beat* while the latter

represent processes of happening such as *melt*. Another distinction made is between *transformative* and *creative* material processes.

In addition, Halliday (1985) gives as participants in the material clauses Actor and Goal. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) introduce additional ones: Scope, Recipient, Client and Attribute. It is for such reasons that the current study adopted the FGT version by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) as it is more elaborate, and hence, more informative.

FGT explores how language functions when being used. It explains how language makes use of “meaning making resources”, which include various elements such as words and phrases, to make meaning. The theory is for this reason semiotic, meaning that it has to do with making and understanding of meaning.

Various meaning making resources combine in meaningful contexts to form *texts* which express certain kinds of meanings. This is in line with the principle of *constituency*, the compositional nature of language in which smaller units combine to form larger units. Constituency helps in explaining how language is organized. FGT’s concern, therefore, is how texts are organized to produce meaning, indicating that it is syntagmatic. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 3) define *text* as “any meaningful instance of language in any medium that makes sense to someone who knows the language”.

The nature of text that the theory focuses on is the *clause*, in which language organises grammatical classes (meaning-making resources) of groups such as

nominal and adverbial groups, which are the functional categories, into *structures* to *make* meaning. The term ‘clause’ in the theory is used in the sense of what traditional grammar refers to as sentence. A *structure* is an organic configuration of elements of the same kind, and in which each constituent plays a distinctive function with respect to the whole.

Three basic meanings, referred to as *lines of meaning*, are carried by a clause: *clause as message*, *clause as exchange* and *clause as representation*. These are linked to three basic functions language serves (in relation to ecological and social environment). One interesting tenet of FGT is that once uttered, a clause serves three functions simultaneously: *ideational*, *interpersonal* and *textual*. They are referred to as metafunctions.

Under the *ideational* metafunction are the *experiential* and *logical* metafunctions. In the experiential metafunction, language serves to construe or to explain human experience, naming things, analysing them into categories and further into taxonomies. The meaning associated with experiential metafunction is *clause as representation*. The logical metafunction comes to play in linked clauses.

Concurrently, language serves to enact our personal and social relationships with other people around us, the interpersonal metafunction. The meaning carried by this metafunction is that of *clause as exchange*.

The textual metafunction relates to the construction of text. It enables or facilitates the other two metafunctions in building up a sequence of discourse,

organising the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity in the text.

The meaning linked to this is *clause as message*.

Each line of meaning is realized in a structure comprising specific functional elements. *Clause as message* is realized in a structure referred to as thematic structure. In the structure, the clause is divided into two parts, *Theme* and *Rheme*. *Theme* is the element the speaker selects for ‘grounding’ what he is going on to say, the point of departure for the message. The Theme could be a nominal group, an adverbial group or prepositional phrase (PP). *Rheme* on the other hand is everything that comes after Theme, the comment on Theme. Consider the text *The former president led the country for over ten years*. This is a clause in terms of FGT. In the Thematic structure, it comprises the elements Theme and Rheme. It would be analysed as follows:

Figure 2.1: The Thematic structure

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| The former president | led the country for over ten years |
| Theme | Rheme |

Clause as exchange is realized in the **mood structure**. This organises the clause as an interactive event with a speaker/writer and the audience. The Mood structure has two parts, *Mood* and *Residue*, which occur in that order in a typical English declarative clause.

Figure 2.2: The Mood structure

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| The former president | led | | the country | for over ten years |
| <i>Subject</i> | <i>Finite (past)</i> | <i>Predicator (lead)</i> | <i>Complement</i> | <i>Adjunct</i> |
| Mood | | Residue | | |

Each of the two has its constituents. The *Mood* part has two elements, *Subject* and *Finite* while the *Residue* part has three elements, *Predicator*, *Complement* and *Adjunct*.

Subject ('the former president' in the above analysis) as the grammatical subject. It determines various other grammatical features such as the case of the noun or pronoun functioning as the subject, and its agreement of person and number with the verb.

Finite on the other hand is a verbal element responsible for primary tense (for example has), modality (for example may), polarity and contrast. *Finite* is realized by modals but in a clause without modals (as in the example above), *Finite* is fused with the lexical verb ('led' in this case).

In the *Residue*, *Predicator* ('lead' in the clause above) is the verbal group minus *Finite* (temporal or modal operator). It is present in all major clauses but lacks in clauses with 'have' or 'be', either in the simple past or simple present tense, as the main verb. *Complement* (the country) is the element within the residue, a nominal group, with the potential of becoming Subject. *Adjunct* is an

adverbial group or a PP and it is an element without the potential of becoming Subject.

Clause as representation is realized in the **transitivity structure**. The structure presents the clause as a process involving participants and any attendant circumstances. Therefore, it consists of three elements: *Process* (unfolding through time), *Participants* and *Circumstances* of time and space. The latter is optional.

FGT identifies three main types of processes: *material* processes (which include processes of doing and happening), *mental* processes (processes of sensing) and *relational* processes (processes of having).

Figure 2.3: The Transitivity structure

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| The former president | led | the country | for over ten years |
| Actor | Process (doing) | Goal | Circumstances |

The analysis of the same clause in three different lines of meaning indicates that FGT is a systemic theory as it is seen to have different systems from which choices can be made. It is therefore paradigmatic in nature.

In addition to experiential, interpersonal and textual as the basic metafunctions, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) introduce a fourth one which they call **logical**. This is a metafunction embodied in the clause complex (CC henceforth), which is defined as clauses linked together by logico-semantic relations to form

sequences. A CC, therefore, exhibits grammatical constituency since it is made up of a number of clauses linked together grammatically.

CCs are formed out of relations that link clauses, typically one pair at a time (clause nexus), as interdependent on each other. A clause nexus is, therefore, the basis for the study of clause relations. Consider the following text *The meeting ended but we could not leave since we had not taken lunch.*

This is a CC made up of three logically linked clauses: the *meeting ended*, *we could not leave* and *we had not taken lunch*. The CC consists of two clause nexuses: *the meeting ended but we could not leave* and *we could not leave since we had not taken lunch*.

Halliday and Matthiessen identify two basic kinds of functional relations, the *functional semantic relations* (FSRs henceforth). These are: *taxis* and *logico-semantic relations* (LSRs).

Taxis is the kind of relationship between clauses dependent on the degree of interdependency. Halliday and Matthiessen identify two degrees of interdependency: *parataxis* and *hypotaxis*. **Parataxis** is the relationship that holds between two like elements (clauses for the sake of this study) of equal status. The primary (first) clause is the initiating while the secondary (second) clause is the continuing. For example, in the CC *The meeting ended but we could not leave*, the initiating clause is *The meeting ended* and the continuing clause is *we could not leave*. Both the initiating and the continuing clauses in *taxis* are free and each could stand as a functioning whole. They are said to be

linked and the conjunctions used to do this are *linkers*. The linker in the above clause is *but*. The paratactic structure is equivalent to a compound sentence in formal grammar.

Hypotaxis, on the other hand, is the relation between two elements (clauses) of unequal status, one being dominant and the other dependent. The dominant clause can stand on its own and is complete in meaning while the dependent one cannot; it depends on the dominant one. The two clauses are joined by *binders*. *We could not leave since we had not taken lunch* is a hypotactic structure. *We could not leave* is the primary clause, the dominant one, and *since we had not taken lunch* is the secondary clause, the dependent one. The binder is *since*. A hypotactic structure is equivalent to a complex sentence in the formal grammar.

Under the **LSRs** are two fundamental relationships: *expansion* and *projection*.

Expansion relates phenomena as being of the same order or experience. The logic here is that one clause, the secondary one, expands the other, the primary one. Under expansion are three kinds of relations, the means by which expansion occurs: *elaborating*, *extending* and *enhancing*.

With *elaboration*, the secondary clause elaborates on the meaning of the primary clause by further specifying or describing it. Consider the CC: *It was a great loss for him; he lost a lot of wealth*. This is a paratactic CC in which the secondary clause *he lost a lot of wealth* simply restates the idea in the primary clause *it was a great loss for him*.

In **extension**, the secondary clause introduces a new element, hence extending the primary clause. An example here is *He prepared snacks and the children carried them to school.*

Enhancing qualifies the primary clause by giving some circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition. This can be exemplified by the CC *We will sing but before that we will rehearse.* The CC indicates that the time the singing will take place will be after the rehearsal.

Whereas expansion relates phenomena as being of the same order, **projection** relates a phenomenon to another one of a higher order of experience. The logic is that one clause is projected through the other by means of locution or idea. It is a semiotic phenomenon, indicating what people say or think. Consequently, under projection are two subtypes of relations: *locution* and *idea*.

Locution presents the clause as a construction of wording and therefore giving what is said. An example of this is when one says: *The man said, "My money has been stolen"*. *Idea* presents the clause as phenomenon in the mind (an idea), in the form of thinking, knowing or assuming, for example, *The man thought, 'My money has been stolen'*.

The two types of FSRs do not occur in isolation. Taxis and LSRs combine to form a basic set of clause relations. For this reason then, any clause nexus portraying any kind of LSR, either expansion or projection, is either paratactic or hypotactic. In the basic set of relations then, under expansion are paratactic and hypotactic elaborations, extensions and enhancements. Likewise, under

projections are paratactic and hypotactic locutions and ideas. Consider the following texts:

2.1 John was to walk to work **but** Fred drove him.

2.2 John **either** walked to work **or** Fred drove him.

2.3 John walked fast **whereas** Fred drove daily.

Each of the three CCs above exhibit both the LSR of extension, which falls under expansion, and a tactic relation. The pairs of clauses in texts 2.1 and 2.2 are joined paratactically. Therefore, the two CCs are *paratactic extensions*. On the other hand, the pairs in 2.3 are hypotactically joined and the CC, thus, is a *hypotactic extension*.

The different relations are realised through different relation markers. These are categorised in terms of the manner in which they further specify the relationship between the two members of a clause nexus. The relation markers in the CCs 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 above are in bold.

In 2.1, the meaning in the secondary clause ‘Fred drove him’ is a replacement of the meaning in the primary clause ‘John was to walk to work’. This is indicated by **but**, which is, in this sense, a relation marker of *variation*. **Either...or** in 2.2 indicates that ‘Fred drove him’ is an alternative to ‘John walked to work’. **Either...or** is, therefore, a relation marker of *alternation*. In 2.3, **whereas** indicates that the idea in ‘Fred drove daily’ is an addition to that in ‘John walked fast’. It is a relation marker of *addition*. This illustrates the

categories of relation markers of **extension**: *variation, alternation and addition*.

The categories of relation markers of **elaboration** are *exposition, exemplification and clarification* while those of **enhancement** are *temporal, manner, spatial and cause*. Both **locution** and **idea** have *quote and report*.

Subjecting CCs to FGT analysis produces iterative structures, structures in which functional elements repeat themselves. This can be noted in Figure 2.4 below, which presents the analysis of the English CC 2.3 above in the three metafunctions. This study calls this kind of analysis *metafunctional analysis*.

Figure 2.4: Metafunctional analysis of an English CC

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| | John | walked | fast | whereas | Fred | drove | daily | |
| | dominant clause | | | dependent clause | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | Rheme 1 | | | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | structural Theme | topical Theme | Rheme 3 | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite (past) | Predicate (walk) | Adjunct | Subject | Finite (past) | Predicate (drive) | Adjunct |
| | Mood | | Residue | | Mood | | Residue | |
| experiential | Actor | Process: material | | Circumstance | Actor | Process: material | | Circumstance |

The study subjects its data to a similar kind of metafunctional analysis. The GCCs analysed produced unique iterative patterns since Gĩkũyũ is an agglutinating language, a great motivation to the study. English (the language that Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) have used to describe the FGT) is isolating. Free morphemes in such languages typically occur as words while those of agglutinating languages are typically ‘glued’ together (Wawerũ, 2011; Wakarĩndĩ, 2010).

2.3 Chapter Summary

Chapter two has reviewed the literature related to the study, which is presented in three categories—studies on clause complexes and clause relations, studies on relation markers and studies in the different metafunctions of FGT. The chapter closes with a description of the theory guiding the study.

The next chapter describes the methodology the study applies in collecting its data.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In presenting the methodology applied in the study, this chapter first focuses on the research design. This is followed by the sampling procedures adopted by the study and data collection procedures. The mode of data presentation and analysis closes the chapter.

3.1 Research Design

The study sought to describe its data and, consequently, adopted a descriptive research design which falls within the qualitative research paradigm. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) point out that qualitative research is the best for a descriptive study as the researcher is able to more deeply and exhaustively explain a phenomenon through describing observed patterns in the data. It is suitable for data that is in the form of words which are often grouped into categories.

The data for the study is pairs of Gĩkũyũ clauses joined logically by some kind of functional semantic relations. The study describes the nature of these relations and the different metafunctional structures of the paired clauses.

3.2 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

The data were purposively picked. Purposive sampling was adopted since it enables the researcher to hand pick subjects with the desired characteristics as

guided by the objectives of one's study (cf. Mugenda, 2008). The study specifically focused on clause nexuses portraying the FSRs proposed by FGT.

The data was in both written and spoken forms and, therefore, was picked from both written and spoken sources. The study purposively picked sources with prose language since they would provide naturally flowing language, and hence, a variety of CCs.

The written sources were selected from both fiction and non-fiction Gĩkũyũ works. The fiction source was *Matigari ma Njirũĩngi* (Remnant of the Bullet), a novel written by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o. This was picked because the author is a celebrated writer with a number of Gĩkũyũ works. The first non-fiction source was *Coro wa Agĩkũyũ* (The Horn of Kikuyus), a commentary book on the socio-political issues of the Kikuyus. The others were two Gĩkũyũ periodicals, the *Wathiamo Mũkinyu* and the *Mũruna*, and selected books from the Bible. Their selection was influenced by their richness in the data needed for the study.

The spoken sources were two talk shows. The first one was *Reke Twaranĩrie* (Let us Talk to each other) from Inooro TV, a Gĩkũyũ television station, while the second one was *Kĩrĩrĩmbĩ* (Flame) from Inooro FM, a Gĩkũyũ radio station. These were picked because they were discussion programmes which elicited spontaneous language, hence language in a natural flow.

Being a native speaker of Gĩkũyũ with the necessary grammatical competence in the language (Chomsky, 2015), the researcher also used introspection to

draw from his intuitive knowledge. Introspection enables a researcher to fill gaps created in data collected using other means (Gahutu, 2012). It has successfully been used previously in such studies as Gahutu (2012), Wawerũ (2011) and Wakarĩndĩ (2010). The method was employed in cases where the written and the spoken sources failed to produce the desired data.

Based on the different categories of FSRs advanced by FGT, the study, using the data, identified twenty five (25) categories of the relations in Gĩkũyũ and forty six (46) subcategories, based on the subcategories of relation markers. At least three (3) GCCs were sampled for each subcategory of the relations, with the number rising in some to illustrate different relation markers and other aspects. Consequently, the study sampled a hundred and seventy eight (178) GCCs.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

The written sources were read through and GCCs portraying different subcategories of FSRs purposively identified from them. These were copied down to generate a list of four clauses under each subcategory. On the other hand, for the spoken sources, one edition of each talk show was audio recorded. The recordings were then replayed to identify the desired clauses, which were transcribed to generate another list of four clauses under each subcategory of FSR. Introspection was employed to fill the gaps in data from the written and the spoken sources.

One aim of the study was to establish the different relation markers in Gikūyū. To achieve this, the clauses (even those illustrating the same kind of relationship) were purposively picked to get different relation markers.

From the lists generated, at least three (3) GCCs were picked for each FSR. These were written down for the purpose of presentation, analysis and discussion.

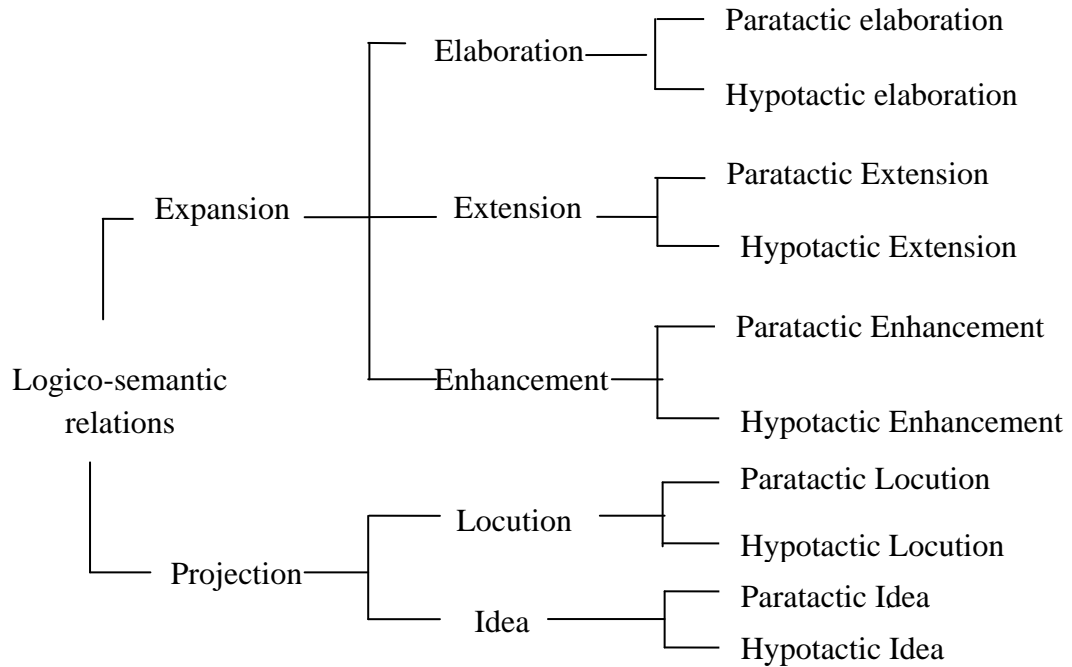
3.4 Data Presentation and Analysis

The data are presented thematically, an appropriate mode of presentation for a qualitative study (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). The study first aimed at establishing the FSRs in GCCs. These are the basic set of relations formed from the intersection between taxis and LSRs. The presentation was guided by the LSRs in the GCCs. Thus, the two broad categories are Expansion and Projection.

Further sub-classification was done depending on the categories of relations under expansion and projection. Under Expansion were elaborating, extending and enhancing CCs while under projection were locution and idea. Under each of these categories, the clauses were grouped according to the nature of the taxis relation they exhibit, either paratactic or hypotactic. For instance, under the broad heading of expansion and the category of elaboration, there was paratactic elaboration and hypotactic elaboration.

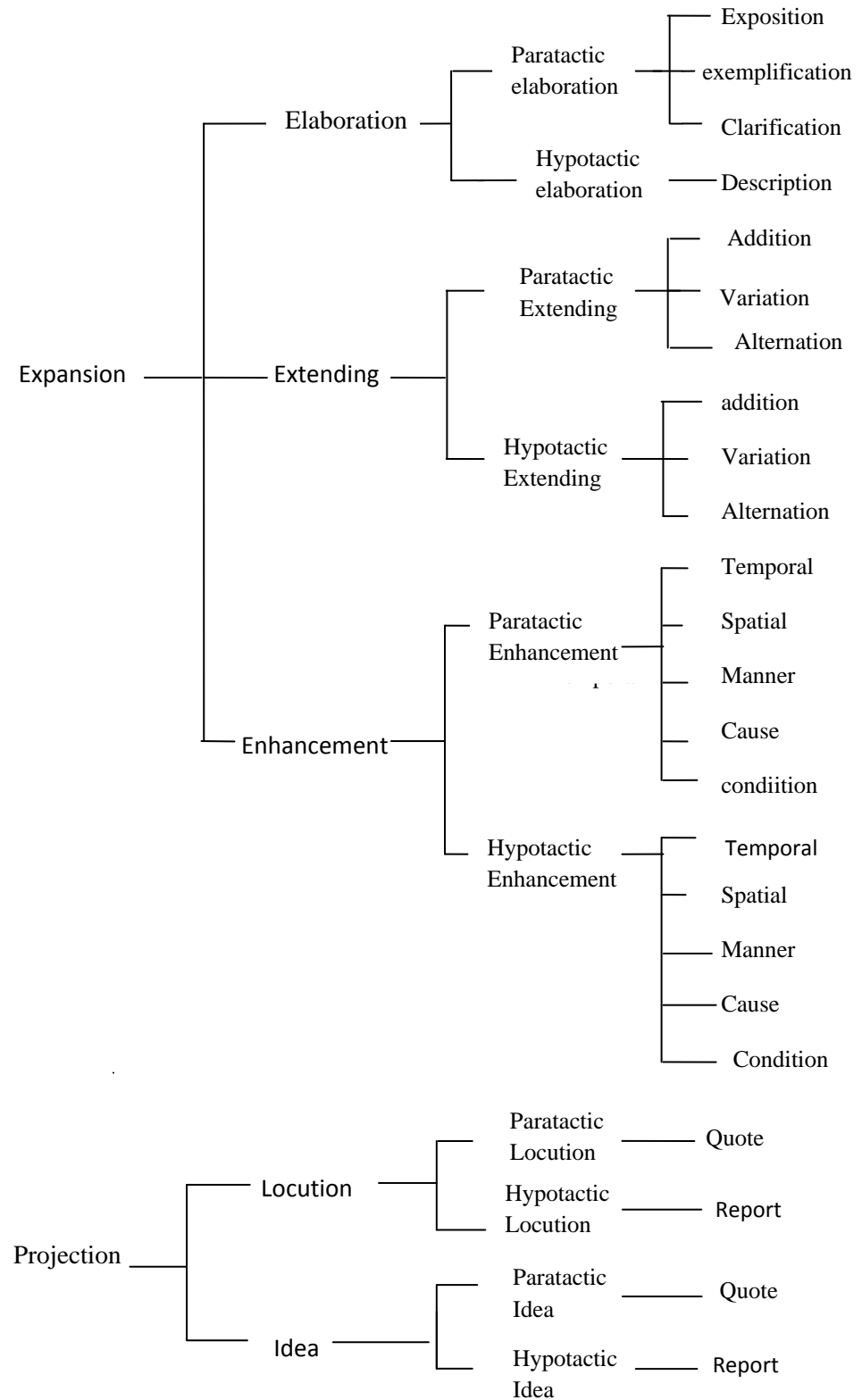
Figure 3.1 below summarises the flow of data presentation described above.

Figure 3.1: Summary of presentation of the GCCs



The second objective was to categorise the relation markers in GCCs. From the GCCs identified, the various relation markers in the different subcategories of FSRs have been identified. The subcategories under **elaboration** are *exposition*, *exemplification* and *clarification*. Under **extension** are *variation*, *alternation* and *addition* while under **enhancement** are *temporal*, *manner*, *spatial* and *cause*. These are under the LSR of expansion. In the LSR of projection, the subcategories under both **locution** and **idea** are *quote* and *report*. In all these subcategories, distinction has been made between the paratactic and hypotactic relation markers. This is summarised in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2: Summary of categories of relation markers presentation



The study finally aimed to analyse the GCCs metafunctionally. From the GCCs identified under each category of relations, some portraying different features in the paratactic and hypotactic sub-categories were purposively picked. These were simultaneously analysed in the three metafunctions (experiential, interpersonal and textual) and their structures and features discussed.

3.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter has presented the methodology of the study. It has presented the design of the research, the sampling and data collection procedures and the mode of data presentation and analysis.

Focus now shifts to presentation and discussion of the data of the study, which is the concern of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

FUNCTIONAL-SEMANTIC RELATIONS IN GĪKŪYŪ CLAUSE COMPLEXES

4.0 Introduction

The presentation and discussion of the data, the GĪkŭyŭ clause complexes (GCCs), is guided by the objectives of the study. This chapter focuses on the first two objectives of the research: to establish the functional-semantic relations (FSRs) in the GCCs and to categorise the relation markers in them. The chapter discusses the various functional-semantic relations identified in GĪkŭyŭ under both expansion and projection. Under each, different categories and their subcategories are presented, distinguishing between their paratactic and hypotactic manifestations. The relation markers are also discussed and the sequence of the clauses making up the GCCs. First, the focus is on the categories of expansion.

It should be noted that in glossing the data, some cases of translation into English is direct such that the lexemes in both GĪkŭyŭ and English match. In such cases, only one line of translation is provided. However, in other cases, a direct (word-to-word) translation into English would produce ungrammatical English structures. Such cases necessitated a two line glossing: a word-to-word and a fine translation.

This glossing leans towards the first rule of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology Department of Linguistics' (2015) Leipzig Glossing Rules. According to the department, one factor that influences the

selection of the details in the rules is the author's purpose. The concern of this study is not morphological but syntactic combination of clauses. Therefore, Morphological segmentation of its data is unnecessary and, consequently, morpheme-by-morpheme glossing is avoided. According to Nau and Arkadiev (2015), the interlinear glossing mainly aims at enabling an understanding of the morphological structure of an unfamiliar language.

4.1 Expansion

The study has established that Gikūyū exhibits relations of expansion in its clause complexes (CCs), both paratactically and hypotactically. In *expansion*, one clause expands the thesis in the other through elaboration, extension or enhancement (cf. Section 2.2). The expanding GCCs are discussed below in that order.

4.1.1 Elaboration

In elaboration, the secondary clause specifies further the meaning of the primary clause as illustrated in the different subcategories of elaboration in the discussion below. The discussion focuses first on paratactic elaboration and then hypotactic elaboration.

4.1.1.1 Paratactic elaboration

Paratactically, the elaborating clause may expand the meaning of the primary one through *exposition*, *exemplification* or *clarification*.

a. Exposition

Exposition yields a structure with two clauses in apposition. The meaning in the primary clause is restated in the secondary clause in different words, reinforcing it. For example, in *It was a great loss for him; he lost a lot of wealth*, the secondary clause *he lost a lot of wealth* just repeats the meaning of the primary clause *it was a great loss for him*.

The relationship occurs in Gĩkũyũ as illustrated below:

4.1 Ūkũrũ ũkoora, wĩthĩ ũkamucoka ũthiũ. (Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 28)

Age disappeared, youth returned on his face.

4.2 No gũkorwo matiĩyũĩ, no gũkorwo nĩmariganĩrwo maarĩ a.

(Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 34).

Maybe they do not know themselves; maybe they forgot they were who.

Maybe they do not know themselves; maybe they forgot who they were.

It should be noted that Example 4.1 is extracted from the text *Matigari nĩ ta ũyũ warĩ mũgarũre: ũkũrũ ũkoora, wĩthĩ ũkamucoka ũthiũ* (Matigari was like one who had been transformed: age disappeared, youth returned on his face). The example explains that the character talked about changes to appear younger. The primary clause *ũkũrũ ũkoora* (age disappeared), implies that the character in question does not look old anymore- that metaphorically age runs away from him. The meaning is repeated in the secondary clause but in different words, *wĩthĩ ũkamucoka ũthiũ* (youth returned to his face). The

speaker employs the strategy of antonymy to restate and reinforce the meaning. The antonyms are *disappeared* and *returned*.

In Example 4.2, the speaker is talking about his people, whom he is searching for. In the primary clause *no gũkorwo matiĩyũĩĩ* (maybe they do not know themselves), the speaker expresses doubt that his people can identify themselves. This meaning is reinforced in the secondary clause *no gũkorwo nĩ mariganĩrwo maarĩ a* (maybe they forgot who they were); the people cannot identify themselves due to, probably, forgetting their roots.

It should be noted that the expression *no gũkorwo* (maybe) is used in both the primary and the elaborating clause in Example 4.2. However, it is possible in Gĩkũyũ to employ ellipsis when elaborating as demonstrated in Example 4.3 below.

4.3 Mwĩtĩkĩre gũkoroga thubu; gũkoroga hakiri. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

Agree to stir the soup; to stir the mind.

Mwĩtĩkĩre ((you) agree) in the primary clause is ellipted in the secondary clause *gũkoroga hakiri*, which could have been uttered as *mwĩtĩkĩre gũkoroga hakiri* (agree to stir the mind).

It has been noted earlier that the speaker in Example 4.1 employs antonymy in elaboration. Gĩkũyũ also employs synonymy for the same purpose as illustrated in Example 4.4 below, the text from which Example 4.3 is extracted.

4.4 Mwĩtĩkĩre gũkoroga thubu; gũkoroga hakiri; gũkoroga tombo. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

Agree to stir the soup; to stir the mind; to stir the brain

Hakiri and *tombo* in the second and third clauses of the CC respectively are synonyms meaning *mind* or *brain*. Though used metaphorically in the first clause, *thubu* (soup) is used as a synonym of *hakiri* and *tombo* in this context as it also refers to *the mind* or *the brain*.

The spoken data elicited instances in which code switching appeared to motivate exposition. They demonstrated that apart from reinforcing the message in the primary clause, exposition in spoken Gĩkũyũ can be applied to restate in Gĩkũyũ a message that has been initially stated in a different language. This is illustrated in Example 4.5 below.

4.5 Nĩ gũ‘support’; nĩ kũnyitĩrĩra mũciĩ ũyũ. (Inooro TV, 2016)

It is to support; it is to support home this.

It is to support; it is to support this home.

In the primary clause, the speaker code-switches from Gĩkũyũ to English in the expression *gũ‘support’*. The meaning of the English expression *support* is repeated in the secondary clause in its Gĩkũyũ equivalent, *nyitĩrĩra*.

It should be noted in the illustration above that *mũciĩ ũyũ* (this home) is ellipted in the primary clause.

Exposition markers

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note that paratactic elaborations are often without markers. This is true in Gĩkũyũ as most of the CCs gathered in the category lacked overt markers as in the illustrations above. Nevertheless, it is possible to have some exposition markers such as *atĩ* (that) as illustrated in Example 4.6 below:

4.6 ...tũkiugaga mwana ti wa mũndũ ũmwe; atĩ mwana nĩ ithaga rĩa rũrĩrĩ.

(Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 43)

...we saying a child is not of person one; that a child is a treasure of the community.

...saying that a child does not belong to an individual; that a child is a treasure of the community.

This text is a case of projection (cf. Section 4.2) in which the projected element is *mwana ti wa mũndũ ũmwe; atĩ mwana nĩ ithaga rĩa rũrĩrĩ* (a child does not belong to an individual; that a child is a treasure of the community). This is a paratactic CC of elaboration. In the CC, *mwana nĩ ithaga rĩa rũrĩrĩ* (a child is a treasure of the community) implies that a child belongs to the community, and it is the same thesis in the primary clause, *mwana ti wa mũndũ ũmwe* (a child is not an individual's). This means that a child does not belong to one person, in this case, the parent.

There are other conjunctive expressions that can be used to mark exposition in Gĩkũyũ although they were not attested in the examples sampled. Such include

na njĩra ãngĩ (in another way/ in other words) which can be used to link the clauses in Example 4.2 above as illustrated in Example 4.7.

4.7 No gũkorwo matiĩyũĩ, na njĩra ãngĩ, no gũkorwo nĩ mariganĩirwo maarĩ
a. (Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 34)

Maybe they do not know themselves, in way another maybe they forgot they were who.

Maybe they do not know themselves, in another way / in other words maybe they forgot who they were.

Other expressions that can substitute *na njĩra ãngĩ* (in another way) include: *kana* (or), *kana tuge* (or we say), *ũguo nĩ kuga* (that is to say) and *kuga (atĩ)* (meaning (that)).

b. Exemplification

In exemplification, the secondary clause becomes more specific about the thesis of the primary clause, often by giving a specific example. This can be illustrated in the CC “*The artist is uncultured; he stepped on The Deputy President’s stool*”. The primary clause (the artist is uncultured) indicates that the artist is ill mannered. The secondary clause (he stepped on the Deputy President’s stool) gives an example of the ill manners of the artist, stepping on the stool of The Deputy President.

Examples 4.8 and 4.9 below are CCs illustrating paratactic exemplification in Gĩkũyũ.

4.8 Nĩ ciana ‘disciplined’ mũno; citingĩhĩtia thukuru wao. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

They are children disciplined very; they cannot misbehave school their.
They are very disciplined children; they cannot misbehave in their school.

4.9 Thĩ ikĩhana ta yaninamana; mwana akĩgarũka ithe. (Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 3).

The world appeared like upside down; child turned against father.
The world appeared upside down; child turned against father.

GCC 4.8 indicates that the children referred to are disciplined, a thesis in the primary clause *nĩ ciana ‘disciplined’ mũno* (They are very disciplined children). The secondary clause *citingĩhĩtia thukuru wao* (they cannot misbehave in their school) gives one of the indicators of the disciplined nature of the children. On the other hand, the primary clause *thĩ ikĩhana ta yaninamana* (the world appeared upside down) in GCC 4.9 implies that things in the world changed for the worse while *mwana akĩgarũka ithe* (child turned against father) gives an example of the changes witnessed in the world.

Exemplification markers

As is characteristic of paratactic elaboration, paratactic exemplification in Gĩkũyũ often has no explicit markers (see examples 4.8 and 4.9). However, some conjunctive expressions can be used as linkers in the GCCs. An example is *na* (and) in Example 4.10 below:

4.10 Fr. Domenico Gillio nĩ amaheire o mũndũ wĩra wake na Sr. Irene akĩtheo wĩra wa gũthomithia. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 11)

Fr. Domenico Gillio gave them each person work his/her and Sr. Irene she was given job of teaching.

Fr. Domenico Gillio gave work to each person and Sr. Irene was given the job of teaching.

Na (and) is followed by the secondary clause *Sr. Irene akĩtheo wĩra wa gũthomithia* (Sr. Irene was given the job of teaching). This comes as an example of the different people who were given various jobs by Fr. Domenico Gillio as indicated in the primary clause *Fr. Domenico Gillio nĩ amaheire o mũndũ wĩra wake* (Fr. Domenico Gillio gave each his/her work). In this context, *na* (and) can be replaced by *ta* (like):

4.11 Fr. Domenico Gillio nĩ amaheire o mũndũ wĩra wake; ta Sr. Irene akĩtheo wĩra wa gũthomithia.

Fr. Domenico Gillio gave them each person work his/her; like Sr. Irene she was given job of teaching.

Fr. Domenico Gillio gave work to each person; like Sr. Irene was given a teaching job.

There are several other linkers that can be used interchangeably with *ta* to mark exemplification. These include *kwa mũhiano/mũhano* (for example), *ta riu* (like now) and *na njira imwe* (in one way).

c. Clarification

In clarification, the secondary clause gives an explanation of the thesis of the primary clause, hence clarifying it. The secondary clause is in this respect an explanatory comment. This is illustrated below.

4.12 Onania wendo waku kūrī athīni; kinyīria arīa matehotete ūteithio.

(County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 2)

Show love your for the poor; extend to those less fortunate assistance.

Show your love for the poor; extend assistance to the less fortunate.

4.13 Amenithania ciana ici, ikagā mbaara gatagatī-inī kao. (Inooro TV, 2016)

She has caused enmity among children these, they develop fights in midst their.

She has caused enmity among these children, they develop fights in their midst.

It should be noted that the context of Example 4.13 is *Mūtumia...agakora nī kūmenithania amenithania ciana ici, ikagā mbaara gatagatī-inī kao* (The woman... finds it is enmity she has caused among these children, they develop fights in their midst).

The primary clause in Example 4.12, *onania wendo waku kūrī athīni* (show your love to the poor) is a call to the addressee to show his/her affection to the needy in the society. In the secondary clause, *Kinyīrīa arīa matehotete uteithio* (extend to the less fortunate assistance), the speaker offers an explanation on

how the addressee is expected to show this love, and that is by helping the less fortunate.

In Example 4.13, the unnamed subject in the primary clause has caused the children mentioned to take each other as enemies, the thesis of the primary clause *amenithania ciana ici* (She has caused enmity among these children). The secondary clause *ikagĩa mbaara gatagatĩ-inĩ kao* (they develop fights in their midst) explains how the enmity is manifested—through infighting among the children.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note that the clarification could be an evaluative comment. This is illustrated in Example 4.14 below:

4.14 Na mũcene nĩ mũrimũ... ũkanagia na andũ magĩkũra; agakũra ee mũndũ nginya mũhĩrĩga no ũmũhe mũhĩrĩga wa mũcene. (Inooro TV, 2016).

And gossip it is a disease.... that comes alongside people as they grow; he/she grows being a person even the clan can give him the clan of gossip.

Gossip is a disease.... that comes with age; (such that) one can be classified as a gossip by the community.

The secondary clause *agakũra ee mũndũ nginya mũhĩrĩga no ũmũhe mũhĩrĩga wa mũcene* (he/she grows as a person that the community can assign the clan of gossip) is a form of evaluation on the kind of gossipers the people mentioned in the primary clause are. The primary clause is *na mũcene nĩ mũrimũ... ũkanagia*

na andũ magĩkũra (and gossip is a disease ... that comes with people as they grow).

Further, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note that clarification may be through change of polarity, from negative to positive or vice versa. Example 4.20 illustrates how Gĩkũyũ can do this. The primary clause is a negative statement while the secondary is positive.

4.15 No ũguo ti kũiganu; ũrĩa mũgũthĩ kũrũta wĩra nĩgũo gũkuonania
nama mũrĩ arũtani akinyanĩrũ. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication,
2015, p. 9)

*But that is not enough; how you will go to work is what will show truly
you are teachers qualified.*

*But that is not enough; the way you work out there is what will show
that truly you are qualified teachers.*

The speaker is addressing some graduands. He tells them in the primary clause, a negative clause, that graduating is not what is important. The polarity changes to positive in the secondary clause as he tells them what he takes to be important, the graduands carrying out their duties diligently as teachers.

Clarification markers

Clarification markers are rare in Gĩkũyũ. The members of the clause nexuses are mainly juxtaposed as illustrated in the examples above. However, Halliday and Mathiessen (2004) note that the colon (:) may be used in the written CCs to

signal the apposition. Example 4.16 below illustrates this kind of punctuation in Gĩkũyũ.

- 4.16 Ngarũro na Mũriũki matiamenyaga magikinya kamũkawa-inĩ:
rũgano rwa Matigari rwamatarĩte bũrũri ungĩ. (Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 20)
*Ngarũro and Mũriũki were not knowing as they reached at the small
hotel: the story of Matigari's had taken them to country another.*
*Ngarũro and Mũriũki hardly realized as they reached the small hotel:
Matigari's story had taken them to another country.*

Nevertheless it is possible to have conjunctive markers such as *na arĩ* (at least) *kwaria ma* (surely speaking/truly speaking/in fact) and *na ma* (truly/surely). Example 4.17 demonstrates how *na arĩ* can be used in GCCs 4.12 above.

- 4.17 Onania wendo waku kũrĩ athĩni; na arĩ, ũkinyĩrie arĩa matehotete
ũteithio.
*Show your love to the poor; at least, extend to the less fortunate
assistance.*
*Show your love to the poor; at least, extend assistance to the less
fortunate.*

Discussed above are the categories of Gĩkũyũ paratactic elaboration and their principal markers. These are summarised in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Categories of Gīkūyū paratactic elaboration and their principal markers

| Category | Relation markers |
|-----------------|---|
| Exposition | <i>na njīra īngī</i> (in other words), <i>kana tuge</i> (or we say), <i>kuga (atī)</i> (meaning (that)) |
| Exemplification | <i>kwa mūhiano/mūhano</i> (for example), |
| Clarification | <i>na arī</i> (at least) <i>kwaria ma</i> (surely speaking/truly speaking/in fact), <i>na ma</i> (truly/surely) |

4.1.1.2 Hypotactic Elaboration

In a hypotactic CC, a dependent clause, (symbolised by β) is joined to a dominant one (symbolised by α) through the use of binders (Cf. Section 2.2).

Hypotactic elaboration involves description. The dependent clause describes the dominant clause, either the whole or part of it. The elaborated part is referred to as *domain*, the domain of the dependent clause. Consider:

- a) We met the leader, which gave us great hope.
- b) We met the leader, who gave us great hope

What gave the speakers hope in (a) was the thesis of meeting the leader. Hence, the whole of the dominant clause (we met the leader) is the domain of the dependent clause (which gave us great hope). Contrastingly, in (b), the speakers were given hope by the leader. Therefore, *who gave us great hope*, the secondary clause, is a comment on *the leader* but not the whole primary clause.

The domain may take varying positions in relation to the elaborating clause as demonstrated shortly in the section below.

And as is clear in the above examples, the elaborating clause in hypotaxis takes the form of a non-defining relative clause. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 399) refer to this form of elaboration as ‘non-restrictive’ or ‘descriptive’.

The elaborating dependent clause can either be finite or non-finite (Halliday and Metthiessen, p. 400). The two examples above have finite clauses. The elaborating clause in (a) can as well be non-finite as illustrated in (c) below.

c) We met the leader, giving us great hope.

As is evident from the following discussion, both finite and non-finite elaborating clauses, elaborating either the whole or part of the primary clause, can be realized in Gĩkũyũ. The binders in the illustrations are underlined.

Finite elaborating clauses

a. The whole primary clause as domain

Finite elaborating clauses with *the whole primary clause as their domain* are not common in daily use of Gĩkũyũ as both the written and the spoken sources did not yield much of these. However, such a case is illustrated in Example 4.18 below:

4.18 Ayinde atuĩrĩrwo kĩoho kũu tarĩki 26 mweri wa Mũgwanja, ũndũ ũrĩa
ũninĩire mwarĩ mĩnyamaro. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 3)

Ayinde was sentenced jail term that date 26 month of July, a thing which/that has finished for his daughter misery.

Ayinde was sentenced on 26th July, which has ended his daughter's misery.

The dependent clause in the example is *ũndũ ũrĩa ũninĩre mwarĩ mĩnyamaro* (a thing which/that has ended his daughter misery). It comments on the thesis in the whole of the dominant clause *Ayinde atuĩrĩrwo kũoho kũu tarĩki 26 mweri wa Mũgwanja* (Ayinde was sentenced on 26th July 2016). This is what brought to an end the misery of his daughter.

b. Part of the primary clause as the domain

When the elaborating clause has *domain as part of the primary clause*, the part elaborated is a constituent of the clause and can be at the initial or non-initial position in the dominant clause as demonstrated below. In the following illustrations, the domain is in bold while the binder is underlined. Examples 4.19 to 4.21 have the *domain in the initial position*. Example 4.20 is a hypothetical case.

4.19 Na **inyuĩ-rĩ**, inyuĩ arĩa angĩ matigarĩte kũu Thuatĩra... ndirĩ mũrigo ũngĩ ngũkĩmũigĩrĩra. (Rev. 2:24)

*And **you**, you who others are remaining there Thyatira,... I do not have burden another I will lay on you.*

*And **you**, who are remaining in Thyatira... I will not burden you further.*

4.20 **Mīgūnda yake, ĩrĩa** ĩrĩ Eldoret, nĩ ĩteithĩtie ciana ciake.

Farms his, which are Eldoret, have helped children his.

His farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children.

4.21 Ningĩ **mwena wa thutha wa gĩikaro kũu, ũrĩa** ũrorete ithũiro,
ũkaũthondekera mbaũ ithathatũ. (Ex. 26:22)

*And then **the side of rear of dwelling that, which faces west, you will**
ake for it frames six.*

*And then for **the rear side of the dwelling, which faces the west, you**
will make six frames.*

In Example 4.19, the elaborating clause is *inyuĩ arĩa angĩ matigarĩte kũu Thuatĩra* (who are remaining in Thyira). Its domain is *inyuĩ* (you), which is a nominal expression in the primary clause *Na inyuĩ-rĩ, ndirĩ mũrigo ũngĩ ngũkĩmũigĩrĩra* (And you, I will not burden you further). The domain in Example 4.21, *mwena wa thutha wa gĩikaro kũu* (the rear side of that dwelling), is a nominal group and is elaborated by *ũrĩa ũrorete ithũiro* (which faces West).

Examples 4.22 and 4.23 illustrate *domains in non-initial positions*.

4.22 Ithe nĩaheire **ciana ciake, iria** ciamũrigicĩirie, mũgambo wake wa
mũthia.

*The father gave **children his, who had surrounded him, word his of**
last.*

*The father gave **his children, who had surrounded him, his last word.***

In this hypothetical CC, the domain *ciana ciake* (his children) takes a mid position in the primary clause *ithe n̄aheire ciana ciake m̄gambo wake wa m̄thia* (the father gave his children his last word) and is elaborated by the secondary clause *iria ciam̄rigic̄irie* (who had surrounded him). This clause is just giving some additional information on *ciana ciake*, that the children were around their father.

On the other hand, example 4.23 below illustrates a domain in the *final* position.

4.23 N̄ikwarĩ **m̄ndũ wetagwo Jusuf**, ũrĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba.

(Acts. 4:36)

There was a person called Joseph, whom the disciples had named Barnabas.

The domain is *m̄ndũ wetagwo Jusufu* (a person called Joseph) and it is at the end of the primary clause *n̄ikwarĩ m̄ndũ wetagwo Jusuf* (There was a person called Joseph). Its elaborating clause is *ũrĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba* (whom the disciples had named Barnabas).

It is important to observe at this point that the elaborating clause normally follows its domain. Nevertheless, Gĩkũyũ allows for detachment of the two as shown in Example 4.24 below.

4.24 N̄ingũcokeria **Kristo Jesu Mwathani** ngatho, o we wahotithirie gwĩka ũguo. (1 Tim 1: 12)

I give Christ Jesus the Lord thanks, just He enabled me to do that.

I thank The Lord Jesus Christ, He (who) enabled me to do that.

In the GCC, the domain of the clause *o we wahotithirie gwika ũguo* (he (who) enabled me to do that) is *Kristo Jesu Mwathani* (Christ Jesus Lord). The two are separated by the nominal element *ngatho* (thanks).

Different *clause sequences* are realised in hypotaxis depending on the arrangement of the dominant and the dependent clauses. The sequence is either *progressive* or *regressive*. The *progressive sequence* is notated as $\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 393), indicating that the dominant clause precedes the dependent clause. On the other hand, the dependent clause precedes the dominant one in the *regressive sequence* and, therefore, notated as $\beta^{\wedge}\alpha$.

Hypotactic elaboration yields a progressive sequence since the primary clause is always the dominant one. When the domain is the *whole of the primary clause*, the structure of the sequence is always $\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$ and is the case in Example 4.18: *Ayinde atuĩrĩrwo kĩoho kũ tarĩki 26 mweri wa Mũgwanja, ũndũ ũrĩa ũninĩre mwarĩ mũnyamaro* (Ayinde was handed that jail term on 26th July, a thing which/that has ended his daughter misery).

However, this study has established that in Gĩkũyũ, two kinds of sequences are possible when the *domain is part of the primary clause*. The structure is determined by the position of the domain in the clause. The first is one in which the elaborating clause is enclosed within the primary clause, notated as

$\alpha \ll \beta \gg$. The angle brackets denote enclosures. This is the case when the domain is in the initial and mid position, which dictates that some part of the primary clause will come after the elaboration. An example with this kind of structure is 4.20—*Mĩgũnda yake, ĩrĩa ĩrĩ Eldoret, nĩ ĩteithĩtie ciana ciake*. (His farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children). The parenthetical elaborating clause is *ĩrĩa ĩrĩ Eldoret* (which are in Eldoret). It elaborates *mĩgũnda yake* (his farms), an element in the initial position.

The second kind of structure is $\alpha^{\wedge} \beta$, similar to that of GCCs with the domain as the whole of the primary clause. It is realised in GCCs in which the domain is in the final position of the primary clause. Such a GCC is Example 4.23—*Nĩkwarĩ mũndũ wetagwo Jusuf, ĩrĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba* (There was a person called Joseph, whom the disciples had named Barnabas). *Mũndũ wetagwo Jusuf* (a person called Joseph) is the domain elaborated by the clause *ĩrĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba* (whom the disciples had named Barnabas).

The sequence is also realised in GCCs in which the elaborating clause is detached from the domain, such as Example 4.24 above—*Nĩngũcokeria Kristo Jesu Mwathani ngatho, o we wahotithirie gwĩka ũguo* (I thank the Lord Jesus Christ, He (who) enabled me to do that). The structure occurs because the elaborating clause is delayed until the completion of the primary clause. The detached clause in this example is *o we wahotithirie gwĩka ũguo* (He (who) enabled me to do that).

Elaboration markers in finite clauses

The relation markers for hypotactic elaboration in finite clauses are relative pronouns introducing the dependent clause. In Gikũyũ, the choice of the relative pronoun is influenced by several factors. To begin with, the choice could depend on whether or not the domain of the dependent clause is nominal.

For a nominal domain, whether human or non-human, its *number* and *size* intercept to influence the choice. Number here is *singular* and *plural* while the different sizes are *normal*, *diminutive* and *augmentative*. Focus will first be on human domains.

The first consideration is the *human domains of 'normal' size*. The *singular* ones take the pronoun *ũrĩa* (who/whom). This has been encountered in Example 4.23 above - *Nĩkwarĩ mũndũ wetagwo Jusuf, ũrĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba* (There was a person called Joseph, whom the disciples had named Barnabas). The domain here is *mũndũ wetagwo Jusuf* (a person called Joseph), hence the relative pronoun *ũrĩa*.

But when the domain is *diminutive*, the pronoun changes. The pronoun for a *singular diminutive* domain is *karĩa* (who/whom). For instance, the diminutive form for *mũndũ wetagwo Jusufu* (a person called Joseph) is *kamũndũ getagwo Jusufu* (a small person called Joseph). Replacing *mũndũ wetagwo Jusufu* in the illustration above with *kamũndũ getagwo Jusufu* will yield GCC 4.25 below:

4.25 Nĩkwarĩ **kamũndũ getagwo Jusufu, karĩa** arutwo matuĩte Baranaba.

There was a small person called Joseph, whom the disciples had named Barnabas.

For *augmentative size*, the pronoun is *kĩrĩa* (who/whom). For instance, augmentative size for domain above is *kĩmũndũ gĩetagwo Jusufu* (a huge person called Joseph). Contextualised in the GCC, it would appear as ... ***kĩmũndũ gĩetagwo Jusufu, kĩrĩa***...

The pattern is the same with the *plural human domain*. *Normal size* plural human domain takes the pronoun *arĩa* (who/whom). This appears in Example 4.19—*Na **inyuĩ-rĩ**, inyuĩ arĩa angĩ matigarĩte kũu Thuatĩra... ndirĩ mũrigo ũngĩ ngũkĩmũigĩrĩra* (And **you**, you others who are remaining in Thyatira... no other burden I will lay on you). The domain is *inyuĩ* (you), referring to the people being addressed.

The *augmentative size* takes the pronoun *iria* (who/whom). Consider example 4.22 above—*Ithe nĩaheire **ciana ciake**, iria ciamũrigicĩrie, mũgambo wake wa mũthia* (The father gave **his children**, who had surrounded him, his last word). The domain in the GCC is *ciana ciake* (his children), taking the pronoun *iria* (who). *Ciana* is augmentative, denoting *big children*. This is as opposed to *twana*, its diminutive form denoting *small/little children*. The latter takes the pronoun *tũrĩa* (who/whom), which is the typical relative pronoun for diminutive domains in GCCs. Consider example 4.26 below, an adaptation of example 4.22.

4.26 Ithe n̄iaheire **twana twake**, t̄ur̄ia twam̄ur̄igic̄ir̄ie, m̄ugambo wake wa m̄uthia.

*The father gave **little children his**, who had surrounded him, word his of last.*

*The father gave **his little children**, who had surrounded him, his last word.*

When it comes to *non-human nominal domains* of the *normal size*, there are a number of relative pronouns for *singular domains*. These are *ĩr̄ia*, *ũr̄ia*, *r̄ur̄ia* and *r̄ĩr̄ia*. All these are equivalent to the English pronoun *which/that*. An example is in GCC 4.19–*Ayinde atuĩr̄ĩr̄wo k̄ioho k̄iu tar̄iki 26 mweri wa M̄ugwanja, ũndũ ũr̄ia ũnin̄ire mwar̄i m̄ĩnyamaro* (Ayinde was sentenced on 26th July, a thing which/that has ended his daughter misery). The singular domain is the clause *Ayinde atuĩr̄ĩr̄wo k̄ioho k̄iu tar̄iki 26 mweri wa M̄ugwanja* (Ayinde was sentenced on 26th July). Consequently, its corresponding relative pronoun in the elaborating clause is *ũr̄ia* (which).

However, the *diminutive domain* takes only one form of the pronoun, *kar̄ia*, while the *augmentative size* takes *k̄ir̄ia*. These two are equivalent to the English relative pronoun *which/that*. Example 4.21 illustrates a singular normal size domain taking the pronoun *ũr̄ia*: ... **mwena wa thutha wa ḡĩkaro k̄iu, ũr̄ia** ... (... *the rear side of that dwelling, which* ...)

Changing *mwena* (side) to the augmentative expression *k̄imwena* will attract the pronoun *k̄ir̄ia*, and hence ... **kimwena ḡia thutha ḡia ḡĩkaro k̄iu, k̄ir̄ia** ...

The diminutive form of the domain is *kamwena ga thutha ga gũikaro kũu*. This will take *karĩa* for the marker.

Three pronouns are available for *normal size plural non-human nominal domain*. These are *iria*, *ĩrĩa* and *marĩa*. They are all equivalent to *which/that*. Such is the case in Example 4.20- ***Mĩgũnda yake, ĩrĩa ĩrĩ Eldoret, nĩ ĩteithĩtie ciana ciake*** (**His farms, which** are in Eldoret, have helped his children). In the CC, the domain is *mĩgũnda yake* (his farms) and it attracts the pronoun *ĩrĩa* (which).

All the *diminutive domains* in the category will take the pronoun *tũrĩa* while the *augmentative domain* will take the pronoun *marĩa*. Both pronouns are equivalent to *which/that*. For instance, in the diminutive form, the domain above will be *tumĩgũnda twake* (his small farms). In context, it would appear as in Example 4.27 below:

4.27 ***Tũmĩgũnda twake, tũrĩa tũrĩ Eldoret, nĩ tũteithĩtie ciana ciake.***

Small farms his, which are Eldoret, have helped children his.

His small farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children.

The augmentative size of the domain can be *mamĩgũnda make* (his large farms). This will appear in context as in Example 4.28 below:

4.28 ***Mamĩgũnda make, marĩa marĩ Eldoret, nĩ mateithĩtie ciana ciake.***

Large farms his, which are Eldoret, have helped children his.

His large farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children.

Besides being nominal, the domain could as well be an expression of place or time. Expressions of place take the relative pronoun *kūrĩa* or *harĩa* which are equivalent to *where* in English. Consider:

4.29 Agigikinya rĩngĩ **Kana ya Galili**, kūrĩa atũmire maĩ matuĩke ndibei.

(John 4:46)

*He arrived again **Cana of Galilee**, where he made water become wine.*

*He arrived again at **Cana of Galilee**, where he turned water into wine.*

The relative pronoun *kūrĩa* (where) relates to its domain *Kana ya Galili* (Cana of Galilee), which is an expression of place, the place where the subject *a* (he) arrived.

Expressions of time as domain take the relative pronoun *rĩrĩa*, equivalent to *when*, or *hĩndĩ ĩrĩa* or *hingo ĩrĩa*, equivalent to *the time when*. Consider example 4.30 below.

4.30 Nĩkwagĩire kĩruka gĩetago Anafeli gũkũ thĩ **matukũ macio ona**

thutha wamo, o rĩrĩa ariũ a Ngai matonyaga kũrĩ airĩtu a andu. (Gen.

6:4)

*There came a kind of people called Nephilim here on earth **days those and also after them**, when the sons of God came into the daughters of men.*

*There came on earth a people called Nephilim **those days and also later**, when the sons of God came into the daughters of men.*

The domain of the elaborating clause in the GCC is *matukũ macio ona thutha wamo* (those days and even after them), an expression stating the time that the Nephilim were on the earth. The relative pronoun that refers to it in the dependent clause is *rĩrĩa* (when). This pronoun can be substituted with *ihinda rĩrĩa*, *mahinda marĩa*, *hĩndĩ ĩrĩa* or *hingo ĩrĩa*, all meaning *the time when*.

It should be noted, however, that there are cases when the relative pronoun can be omitted in the dependent clause as in Example 4.31 below.

4.31 Nĩkũrĩ **andũ maramũtanga**, mendete gũthũkia ũhoru ũrĩa mwega wa Kristo. (Gal.1:7)

There are people troubling you, they like to distort news that is good of Christ.

There are people troubling you, who like to distort the gospel of Christ.

The dependent clause here is *mendete gũthũkia ũhoru ũrĩa mwega wa Kristo* (who like to distort the gospel of Christ) and its domain is *andũ maramũtanga* (people troubling you). The relative pronoun *arĩa* (who) is left out. Otherwise, the dependent clause would read: *arĩa mendete gũthũkia ũhoru ũrĩa mwega wa Kristo* (who like to distort the gospel of Christ).

Non-Finite Elaborating Clauses

Non-Finite Elaborating Clauses also occur in GCCs, albeit rarely. And like their finite counterparts, non-finite elaborating clauses could have as their domain the whole of the primary clause or part of it. As is evident from the

discussion below the non-finite element could be equivalent to the English *to-infinitive*, the *-ing infinitive* or the *-ed/-en infinitive*.

a. The whole primary clause as the domain

Example 4.32 below, an hypothetical GCC, has the *domain as the whole primary clause*

4.32 **Mwarĩ wa nyina aikaraga gwakwa, kũnyongerera mũrigo wa ũtũũro.**

Daughter of his/her mother lives my place, adding me the burden of life.

His/her sister lives at my home, adding unto me the burden of life.

Kũnyongerera mũrigo wa ũtũũro (adding unto me the burden of life) is the non-finite elaborating clause. What is adding the burden to the speaker is someone else's sister living at the speaker's place. This is the thesis of the primary clause *mwarĩ wa nyina aikaraga gwakwa* (His/her sister lives at my home) which happens then to be the domain of the dependent clause. The non-finite element here is *kũnyongerera*, which translates to *adding*, an –ing infinitive.

The domain can also be *part of the primary clause*, in which case it could occupy the initial or non-initial position in the host clause. It should be noted that in such a case, the domain in the GCC is reflected in the non-finite verb in the elaborating clause by a pro-form, a feature lacking in English CCs. This

study refers to such pro-forms as *domain prefixes* and are underlined in the examples below.

b. Part of the primary clause as the domain

The domain in illustration 4.33 below, also a hypothetical illustration, is in the *initial position*:

4.33 **Mwana ũcio** anyitĩte gĩkombe agĩkũngũiya ũhotani wake.

Child that, holding the trophy, celebrated victory his/her.

That child, holding the trophy, celebrated his/her victory.

The primary clause in the CC is *Mwana ũcio agĩkũngũiya ũhotani wake* (That child celebrated his/her victory). *Anyitĩte gĩkombe* (holding the trophy) is the dependent clause, its domain being *Mwana ũcio* (that child). *Anyitĩte* is the non-finite element, equivalent to *holding*, an –ing infinitive.

Both examples 4.34 and 4.35 below, which are hypothetical scenarios, have domains in *non-initial position*:

4.34 Ahũrirwo nĩ **kĩrĩndĩ kĩnene** kĩrakarĩtio nĩ mĩtugo yake na mahiga.

He was beaten by a crowd huge, (the crowd) annoyed by behaviours his, with stones.

He was beaten by a huge crowd, (the crowd) annoyed by his behaviours, with stones.

4.35 Nĩrarĩirie **arũmĩrĩri ake**, maćanjamũkĩte mũno nĩ kũmuona.

He addressed followers his, (the followers) thrilled greatly for seeing

him.

He addressed his followers, (the followers) greatly thrilled to see him.

In Example 4.34, the domain is in the mid position of the host clause. The domain is *kĩrĩndĩ kĩnene* (a huge crowd), a constituent in the dominant clause *Ahũrirwo nĩ kĩrĩndĩ kĩnene na mahiga* (He was beaten by a huge crowd with stones). It is elaborated by the clause *kĩrakarĩtio nĩ mĩtugo yake* ((the crowd) annoyed by his behaviours). The non-finite element in the elaborating clause is *kĩrakarĩtio*, which is equivalent to the -ed infinitive, *annoyed*. On the other hand, the domain in Example 4.35 occurs at the end of the primary clause. The domain is *arũmĩrĩri ake* (his followers), hosted by the primary clause *nĩrarũirie arũmĩrĩri ake* (he addressed his followers). The elaborating clause is *macanjamũkĩte mũno nĩ kũmuona* ((the followers) greatly thrilled to see him), which has the non-finite element *macanjamũkĩte*. The element is equivalent to *thrilled*, also an -ed infinitive.

Non-finite elaboration produces **clause sequences** similar to those of finite elaboration in Gĩkũyũ. When elaboration is on the whole dominant clause, the dependent clause always proceeds the dominant clause, its domain. This arrangement yields the progressive sequence, α^{β} as is the case in Example 4.32—*Mwarĩ wa nyina aikaraga gwakwa, kũnyongerera mũriro wa ũtũũro* (His/her sister lives at my home, adding unto me the burden of life). The dominant clause is *Mwarĩ wa nyina aikaraga gwakwa* (His/her sister lives at my home) while the dependent one is *kũnyongerera mũriro wa ũtũũro* (adding unto me the burden of life).

The same sequence emanates from GCCs with the domain in the final position of the primary clause. An example here is example 4.35- *Nīrarārīrie arūmīrīri ake, macanjamūkīte mūno nī kūmuona* (He addressed his followers, (the followers) greatly thrilled to see him). The domain is *arūmīrīri ake* (his followers). It is elaborated by the dependent clause *macanjamūkīte mūno nī kūmuona* (greatly thrilled to see him), which follows the dominant clause, *nīrarārīrie arūmīrīri ake* (he addressed his followers).

However, when the domain is in the mid position, the dependent clause is inevitably enclosed within the primary clause, hence the structure $\alpha\langle\langle\beta\rangle\rangle$. This is the structure in Example 4.34—*Ahūrīrwo nī kīrīndī kīnene kīrakarītio nī mītugo yake na mahiga* (He was beaten by a huge crowd, (the crowd) annoyed by his behaviours, with stones). The enclosed clause is *kīrakarītio nī mītugo yake* (annoyed by his behaviours). It elaborates *kīrīndī kīnene* (a huge crowd), which comes in the mid of the dominant clause *Ahūrīrwo nī kīrīndī kīnene na mahiga* (He was beaten by a huge crowd with stones).

Elaboration markers in non-finite clauses

Whereas the relation makers in finite elaborating clauses are relative pronouns, the markers in non-finite ones are what this study has referred to as *domain prefixes*. These are affixes fused to the verb element of the dependent clause, which is a non-finite verb, to reflect the domain. For example, in *Ahūrīrwo nī kīrīndī kīnene kīrakarītio nī mītugo yake na mahiga* (He was beaten by a huge crowd, (the crowd) annoyed by his behaviours, with stones), the domain *kīrīndī*

kīnene (a huge crowd) is reflected by the prefix *kĩ-* in *kĩrakarĩtio* (annoyed), the non-finite verb of the dependent clause.

And as with the relative pronouns in the finite elaborating clauses, the domain prefix mirrors the domain in terms of number and size. The prefix for a *singular human domain* of the *normal size* is *a-*. Such a domain is seen in Example 4.33—*Mwana ũcio anyitĩte gĩkombe agĩkũngũiya ũhotani wake* (**That child**, holding the trophy, celebrated his/her victory). In the CC, the domain is *mwana ũcio* (that child) and it is reflected by prefix *a-* in the verb *anyitĩte* (holding).

The augmentative form of *mwana ũcio* is *kĩana kũu* (that huge child). This would take the prefix *gĩ-/kĩ-* and it would appear as ... *kĩana kũu, kĩnyitĩte gĩkombe, ...* . Its diminutive form is *kaana kau* (that small child). This would take the prefix *ka-*, hence, ... *kaana kau, kanyitĩte gĩkombe*. The prefix here is thus *ga-/ka-*.

The *plural human domains* are reflected by different prefixes. Two prefixes apply for normal size. The first one is *ci-*, or its free variant *i-*. The plural of *mwana ũcio* is *ciana icio* (those children). In context of the above illustration, it would appear as ...*ciana icio cinyitĩte/innyitĩte gĩkombe ...* (**those children**, holding the trophy,...). The second prefix is *ma-* as seen in Example 4.35—*Nĩrarĩirie arũmĩrĩri ake, maćanjamũkĩte mũno nĩ kũmuona* (He addressed **his followers**, (the followers) *greatly thrilled to see him*). The prefix *ma-* in *maćanjamũkĩte* reflects the plural domain *arũmĩrĩri ake* (his followers).

The prefix for augmentative size plural domain is *ci-/i-*. Its application is demonstrated in ... *ciana icio* *cinyitĩte/inyitĩte gĩkombe* ... (**those children**, holding the trophy,...). This is because the noun *ciana* (children) indicates augmentation in addition to plural. On the other hand, the diminutive form of the domain is *twana tũu* (those small/little children). This would be reflected by the prefix *tũ-*, the prefix for plural diminutive domains. It would thus appear as ... *twana tũu, tũnyitĩte gĩkombe...* .

Examples of domain prefixes for *normal size singular non-human* are *rĩ-*, *ũ-* and *rũ-*. Consider the cases in the created examples 4.36 and 4.37 below:

4.36 Tũramatwarĩire **itunda** *rĩthaitwo* na karatathi kairũ.

We took them a fruit, (the fruit) wrapped in paper black.

We took them a fruit, (the fruit) wrapped in a black paper.

4.37 Ndamahaire **mĩgate** *ĩigĩrĩrwo* thani-inĩ.

I gave them bread, (the bread) placed plate on.

I gave them loafs of bread, (the loafs) placed on a plate.

The domain in Example 4.36 *itunda* (a fruit) attracts the domain prefix *rĩ-*, resulting in ...***itunda***, *rĩthaitwo*... (...a fruit, (the fruit) wrapped...). A domain like *mũgate* (loaf of bread) would attract the prefix *ũ-*, as would be the case if *mĩgate* (loafs of breads) in Example 4.37 was in singular. The GCC would then have *ndamahaire* ***mũgate*** *ũigĩrĩrwo*... (I gave them a loaf of bread (the loaf) placed). *Rũ-* would reflect domains such as *rũrĩrĩ* *rwake* (his people). This

will be the case if *rūrūrī rwake* replaced *arūmūrūrī ake* (his followers) in Example 4.35. The GCC would appear as in Example 4.38:

4.38 Nīrararīirie **rūrūrī rwake** rūcanjamūkīte mūno nī kūmuona.

*He addressed **people his**, (the people) thrilled greatly for seeing him.*

*He addressed **his people**, (the people) greatly thrilled to see him.*

Plural domain prefixes here are *ma-*, *ĩ-* and *ci-/i-*. For example, the domain in Example 4.37, *mĩgate* (loafs of bread), is in plural. It is reflected by the prefix *ĩ-* and, therefore, the expression *ndamaheire **mĩgate**, ĩgĩrūrwo...* (I gave them loafs of bread, (the loafs) placed on ...). The plural for *itunda* (a fruit), the domain in Example 4.36, is *matunda* (fruits). Such would call for *ma-* as its prefix and would, therefore, appear as *tūramatwarĩire **matunda** mathaĩtwo ...* (we took them **fruits**, (the fruits) wrapped in ...). Further, if the same domain was replaced with *ikombe* (cups), which too is in plural, the domain prefix would be *i-/ci-*. It would thus appear, as *tūramatwarĩire **ikombe**, ithaĩtwo/cithaĩtwo na...* (we took them **cups**, (the cups) wrapped in ...).

Just like with the prefix of the human *augmentative singular domains*, the prefix for non-human domains of the same category is *gĩ-/kĩ-*. Consider:

4.39 Mūgendi aroragirwo nī **gĩcogu** kĩrakarĩtio nī inegene.

*The tourist was killed by **a huge elephant**, (the huge elephant) annoyed by noise.*

The dependent clause is *kīrakarītio nĩ inegene* (annoyed by noise). Its domain is *gĩcogu* (a huge elephant). Therefore, it is reflected in the non-finite verb by the prefix *kĩ-*.

The prefix denoting *plural augmentative* size domain is *ma-*. The plural of the domain in Example 4.39 above would be *macogu* (huge elephants) and in a GCC, it would produce ... ***macogu***, *marakarītio*.... . it should be noted, however, that *macogu* is a marked example since the form *njogu*, the unmarked Gĩkũyũ form for *elephant*, typically does not change. On the other hand, the *diminutive* prefixes are the same as those of the human domains of the same category. The prefix for the *singular* domain, for instance, is *ga-/ka-*. Therefore, if the domain in Example 4.39 was diminutive, it would be *gacogu* (small elephant) and would produce in the GCC ... ***gacogu***, *karakarītio nĩ* If the domain was *plural* and diminutive, it would take *tũ-*, the prefix for such a domain. The plural for *gacogu* is *tũcogu* (small elephants) and would produce ... ***tũcogu***, *tũrakarītio nĩ*....

Categories of Gĩkũyũ hypotactic elaboration and markers of elaboration are summarised in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Categories of Gīkūyū hypotactic elaboration relation markers

| Nature of domain | | | Finite (relative pronouns) | | Non-finite (domain prefixes) | |
|------------------|-----------|--------------|--|---|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | | | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| nominal | human | normal size | <i>ūrīa</i> (who/whom) | <i>arīa</i> (who/whom) | <i>a-</i> | <i>ci-/i-</i> , <i>ma-</i> |
| | | diminutive | <i>karīa</i> (who/whom) | <i>tūrīa</i> (who/whom) | <i>ga-/ka--</i> | <i>tū-</i> |
| | | augmentative | <i>kīrīa</i> (who/whom) | <i>iria</i> (who/whom) | <i>gī-/kī-</i> | <i>ci-/i-</i> |
| | non-human | normal size | <i>īrīa, ūrīa, rūrīa rīrīa</i> (which/that) | <i>iria, īrīa marīa</i> (which/that) | <i>rī-, ū-, rū</i> | <i>ma-, ī-</i> , <i>ci-/i</i> |
| | | diminutive | <i>karīa</i> (which/that), | <i>tūrīa</i> (which/that) | <i>ga-</i> | <i>tū-</i> |
| | | augmentative | <i>kīrīa</i> (which/that) | <i>marīa</i> (which/that) | <i>gī-/kī-</i> | <i>ma-</i> |
| Circumstantial | place | | <i>kūrīa, harīa</i> (where) | | | |
| | time | | <i>rīrīa</i> (when), <i>hīndī īrīa</i> and <i>hingo īrīa</i> (the time when) | | | |

4.1.2 Extension

Elaboration involves characterization of a thing already mentioned in the primary clause by the secondary clause, without introducing a new element. In *extension*, the secondary clause introduces a new thing as it extends the meaning in the primary clause. This can be illustrated in the CC *The boys slashed grass and the girls mopped the classrooms.*

In the sentence, the primary clause is *the boys slashed grass*. Its meaning is extended by the secondary clause *the girls mopped the classrooms*. This introduces a new thing, the process of mopping the classrooms which involves another participant, the girls.

There are three modes of extension, and hence, three categories of extension. These are *addition*, *variation* and *alternation*. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note that there is a closer parallel between parataxis and hypotaxis in extension, which is not the case in elaboration. It is therefore important to first distinguish between paratactic extension and hypotactic extension.

In paratactic extension, the primary (initiating) and the secondary (continuing) clauses are linked through coordination. The typical linkers in English include *and*, *nor*, *or* and *but*. *The boys slashed grass and the girls mopped the classrooms* is an example of paratactic extension. The initiating clause is '*the boys slashed grass*' and the continuing clause, which is the extending clause, is *the girls mopped the classrooms*. The two are linked by *and*. The two clauses in paratactic extension are independent.

Replacing the linker *and* with the binder *while* will lead to hypotactic extension: *The boys slashed grass while the girls mopped the classrooms*. The primary clause is still *the boys slashed grass* while the extending clause is *while the girls mopped the classrooms*. The former is a dominant clause while the latter is a dependent clause.

Focus is first on paratactic and then hypotactic extension.

4.1.2.1 Paratactic Extension

The discussion on paratactic extension first focuses on the manifestations under addition. This is followed by those under variation and, finally, alternation.

a) Addition

The extending clause of addition gives another thing in addition to the one in the primary clause. In other words, it develops the meaning of the primary clause through addition. *The boys slashed grass and the girls mopped the classrooms* and *the boys slashed the grass while the girls mopped the classrooms* are examples here.

Addition has three subcategories: additive positive, additive negative and adversative.

i) Paratactic Additive Positive

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) notate the meaning as ‘X and Y’. It implies inclusion of both the processes in the initiating and the continuing clauses as illustrated by *the boys slashed grass and the girls mopped the classrooms*.

The basic linking element in Gĩkũyũ for paratactic positive addition is *na* (and) but there are others as shown in the following illustrations. The linkers in the illustrations are underlined.

4.40 Athakaga mĩthako-inĩ ya ngerekano na akoragwo arĩ emcee magongona-inĩ. (Inooro TV, 2016)

He plays in plays of acting and he is emcee in events.

He acts in plays and he is an emcee in events.

4.41 Igongona rĩu nĩrĩgũtũgĩria ũndũire witũ ona rĩhote kũrehe ũigananu kũrĩ andũ. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2)

Celebration that will promote culture our and even be able to bring equality to people.

That celebration will promote our culture and even bring equality to the people.

4.42 Ti atĩ nĩmagĩcokire ũnene-inĩ tu, ta atĩ ona rĩu maroneka ta matangĩhereka. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 11)

Not that they returned to power only, but that even now they seem as if they cannot be removed.

Not only did they return to power, but even now they seem as if they cannot be removed.

In Example 4.40, two things are said about the subject of the clause. First, he is an actor in plays, and this is stated in the initiating clause *athakaga mĩthako-inĩ ya ngerekano* (he acts in plays). Secondly, he doubles up as a master of ceremonies in events as indicated in the continuing clause *akoragwo arĩ emcee magongona-inĩ* (he is an emcee in events).

The explanation is the same for example 4.42. The member clauses of the GCC are different comments on the subject, stating different things associated to it. The initiating clause *atĩ nĩ magĩcokire unene-inĩ* (that they returned to power)

implies the subject was in leadership before clinching the power again. The continuing clause, *atĩ rĩu maroneka ta matangĩehereka* (that now they seem as if they cannot be removed), implies that there is little likelihood of these people being removed from the position.

Relation Markers

Several things can be noted about the relation makers in this category in relation to their form. First, the marker can be a single word. Examples identified here are *na* (and) as used in Example 4.40 and *ona* (and even) in Example 4.41.

To create greater emphasis, *na* and *ona* can also cooccur with *nginya/kinya* to produce *na/ona nginya* or *na/ona kinya*. These have the basic meaning of *and even*. For example, *ona nginya* can replace *ona* in Example 4.41- *Igongona rĩu nĩrĩgũtũgĩria ũndũire witũ ona rĩhote kũrehe ũigananu kũrĩ andũ* (That celebration will promote our culture and even bring equality to the people). The resultant GCC will be as follows:

4.43 *Igongona rĩu nĩrĩgũtũgĩria ũndũire witũ ona nginya rĩhote kũrehe ũigananu kũrĩ andũ.* (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2)

Celebration that will promote culture our and even be able to bring equality to people.

That celebration will promote our culture and even bring equality to the people.

Secondly, the marker can be a conflation of *na* (and) and a pro-form of the first nominal expression in secondary clause, normally the subject. This is common when the referents of the subjects in the primary and the secondary clauses are different. Consider the conjunction *nake* in the following example, an own creation:

4.44 Mũthuri agethaga mbembe nake mũtumia agaciĩkira ikũnia-inĩ.

The man was harvesting the maize and the woman was putting it into the sack.

To form *nake*, *na* (and) conflates with *-ke*. The latter is a pro-form of *mũtumia* (the woman), the subject of the secondary clause *mũtumia agaciĩkira ikũnia-inĩ* (the woman was putting it into the sack). The subject of the primary clause is *mũthuri* (the man).

The pro-form *-ke* stands in for a *normal size singular human nominal expression*. A *plural* expression would be represented by *-o*. For instance, the plural of *mũtumia* is *atumia* (women). Using it in Example 4.44 would call for the conflated linker *nao*, hence ... *agethaga mbembe nao atumia...* (...was harvesting the maize and the women ...).

For the *non-human nominal expressions*, the pro-forms for *singular* ones are *-yo*, *-guo*, *-rĩo* and *-ruo*. These would conflate with *na* to form *nayo*, *naguo*, *narĩo* and *naruo* respectively. Consider *narĩo*, which is motivated by *riũa* (the sun), in Example 4.45 below:

4.45 Itu itune rĩathiũrũrũkĩirie riũa narĩo riũa rĩkaratha mĩguĩ ya mwaki na mĩena yothe. (Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 37)

Red cloud encircled sun and sun shot arrows of fire in directions all.
A red cloud encircled the sun and the sun shot arrows of fire in all directions.

The *plural* subject would be represented by the pro-forms *-cio*, *-yo* and *-mo*, hence linkers *nacio*, *nayo* and *namo*. If *riũa* in Example 4.45 were to be in plural (suns), it would appear in the GCC as ... *namo mariũa* ... (... and the suns ...).

Both the *augmentative* and the *diminutive* pro-forms are the same for both human and non-human expressions. The *augmentative singular* expression will be represented by *-kĩo* and *plural* by *-cio*, hence the linkers *nakĩo* and *nacio*. The augmentative form of *riũa* is *kĩriũa* (huge sun) and it would take *nakĩo* and hence ... *nakĩo* *kĩriũa* ... (...and the huge sun...). The plural form will be *mariũa*, hence ... *namo mariũa* The diminutive form of the subject is *kariũa* (small sun), which would take the linker *nako* hence ‘...*nako* *kariũa* ... (...and the small sun...). On the other hand, the *diminutive plural* form is *tũriũa* (small suns) which would attract the linker *natuo*. It would thus appear as ... *natuo* *tũriũa* ... (...and the small suns...).

It is imperative to note at this juncture that unlike the *na* and *ona*, these kinds of conflated linkers can be enclosed within the secondary clause, appearing after the first expression in the clause. *Na* and *ona* only occur between the primary and the secondary clauses as demonstrated in Example 4.40 and

example 4.41 above. Example 4.45–*Itu itune rĩathiũrũrũkĩirie riũa narĩo riũa rĩkaratha mĩguĩ ya mwaki na mĩena yothe* (Red cloud encircled the sun and the sun shot arrows of fire in all directions) can be rewritten as example 4.46 below, in which the linker *narĩo* is enclosed within the clause *riũa rĩkaratha mĩguĩ ya mwaki na mĩena yothe* (the sun shot arrows of fire to all directions):

4.46 *Itu itune rĩathiũrũrũkĩirie riũa; riũa narĩo rĩkaratha mĩguĩ ya mwaki na mĩena yothe.*

Red cloud encircled sun; sun and it shot arrows of fire in directions all.

A red cloud encircled the sun and the sun shot arrows of fire in all directions.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) observe that some relation markers can portray more than one kind of relationship. The conflated linkers illustrated above indicate concession in addition to positive addition. For instance, example 4.44 also contrasts what the man was doing (harvesting maize) to what the woman was doing (putting the maize into sacks) (cf. Section 4.1.3.5)

Thirdly, there are correlative linkers. An example is *ti...tu, ta...ona* in Example 4.42 above. This is equivalent to the English correlative linker *not only... but also*. Such a correlative linker has a sense of emphasis.

Fourthly, paratactic additive positive can be marked implicitly. In such a case, however, a semi colon separates the initiating and the continuing clauses.

4.47 *Agoka e mũndũ mũgima; mbaara ãgathiĩ ãnenehete.* (Inooro TV, 2016)

He/she comes being an adult; conflict continues to escalate.

The GCC above has no explicit marker but it is possible to use one, such as *nayo* without affecting its sense: *agoka e mündũ mũgima nayo mbaara ãgathiĩ ãnenehete* (he comes being an adult and conflict continues to escalate).

That Gĩkũyũ has different relation makers in the GCCs of extension (also true of other FSRs identified by this study), some of which are more emphatic than others, is significant. It shows that Gĩkũyũ is paradigmatic, offering its users a range of choices to select from. The same observation is made by O'Hallaron (2014) in relation to conjunctive resources in English.

ii) Paratactic Additive Negative

The meaning of additive negative is noted as 'not X and not Y' (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). This can be interpreted to denote exclusion of both the processes in the primary and secondary clauses, which are both negative, as in *the boys did not slash the grass nor did the girls mop the classrooms*. In this nexus, neither of the activities in the member clauses took place.

The following are Gĩkũyũ examples:

4.48 Borithi ndĩamenyire aarĩ ã kana kũrĩa arutĩte ãrũme ãcio. (Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 28)

Police did not know he was who or where he had got courage that.

The police did not know who he was or where he had got that courage from.

4.49 Ti tondũ wa ũrĩa ũĩ kana ũrĩa wĩra ũhana. (Inooro TV, 2016)

It is not because of what you know or how the work is like.

It is not because of what you know or how the work is.

It is indicated in Example 4.48 that the police were ignorant about two things. The first one is the identity of the person in question, which is expressed in the primary clause *borithi ndĩamenyire aarĩ ũ* (the police did not know who he was). The second is the source of the courage the said person had as expressed in the secondary clause *kũrĩa arutĩte ũrũme ũcio* (where he had got that courage from). The GCC could as well have been translated as *the police neither knew who he was nor where he had got that courage from*.

Likewise, two things are excluded in Example 4.49 as reasons for a certain explanation: what the addressee knows and the nature of the work. These are expressed in the initiating and continuing clauses respectively: *ti tondũ wa ũrĩa ũĩ* (it is not because of what you know) and *ũrĩa wĩra ũhana* (how the work is). The GCC could also have been translated with ‘neither...nor’, to be: *it is neither because of what you know nor how the work is*.

Relation markers

Gĩkũyũ marks paratactic negative addition in its CCs with a correlative linker *ti...kana* (not...or). The linker is a result of the negator, *ti* (not), co-occurring with the linker *kana* (or).

Owing to the agglutinative nature of the language, the negator is fused in the verb, the one of the initiating clause in this case. It is realised differently when

conflated with the subject. In Example 4.48, for instance, it is realised as *-dĩ-* in *ndĩamenyire* (it did not know). Its other realisation is *-da-* as would be the case if the subject *borithi* was replaced with *mũborithi* (the police officer). It would thus appear as *mũborithi ndamenyire ...* (the police officer did not know ...). In Example 4.49, the negator is fused in the expression *ti*, which is equivalent to *it is not*.

iii) Paratactic Adversative

The adversative relation carries the meaning ‘X and conversely Y’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 405). The addition in the secondary clause carries a meaning of opposition to the thesis in the primary clause. Consider the English CC *The government pleaded but the union was adamant.*

The primary clause (the government pleaded) expresses an action done by the government, pleading with the union. The secondary clause (the union was adamant) develops the thesis of the primary clause with a meaning that contrasts the expectation. The adversative meaning is carried by the linker *but*.

Following are Gĩkũyũ illustrations:

4.50 Ũmũthĩ nĩmwegwatĩra ũhotani thĩini wa mathomo manyu no ũguo ti kũiganu. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015)

Today you have achieved victory in studies your but that is not enough.

Today you have achieved victory in your studies but that is not enough.

4.51 Ithe wa thĩ ndaatĩiraga kanitha no niingĩ arĩ muumandũ. (Thing’o, 1986, p. 31)

Her father of earth was not missing church however he was outgoing.

Her earthly father never missed church however he was outgoing.

4.52 Thiĩ na ndũgeke ũguo rūciũ. (Inooro Radio, 2016).

Go and do not do that tomorrow.

The initiating clause in Example 4.50 indicates that the addressees have triumphed in their studies: *ũmũthĩ nĩmwegwatĩra ũhotani thĩini wa mathomo manyu* (today you have achieved victory in your studies). The continuing clause, however, introduces a new element that contradicts the thesis in the primary clause; that the achievement is not all that is required after all: *ũguo ti kũiganu* (that is not enough). The adversative relation is evident in Example 4.51 and example 4.52 too. In Example 4.52, for instance, the addressee is set free in the primary clauses *thiĩ* (go). However, the granted freedom is curtailed in the secondary clause *ndũgeke ũguo rūciũ* (do not do that tomorrow) as it forbids the person from repeating an action done earlier.

Relation markers

Primarily, the linker for the adversative meaning is *no*, the Gĩkũyũ equivalent of *but*. It appears in both Examples 4.50 and 4.51. Whereas it works alone in Example 4.50, it works in conjunction with *niingĩ* in Example 4.51 in the linker *no niingĩ*, which still carries the basic meaning of *but* but could as well translate to *however*. *Niingĩ* can be replaced with *ĩndĩ* to produce *no ĩndĩ*, which can be used interchangeably with *no niingĩ*. *Niingĩ* and *ĩndĩ* are optional in this context.

However, *ĩndĩ* can carry the adversative meaning alone as in the following GCC, which is an adaptation of example 4.50.

4.53 *Ũmũthĩ nĩmwegwatĩra ũhotani thĩini wa mathomo manyu ĩndĩ ũguo ti kũiganu.*

Today you have achieved victory in studies your but that is not enough.

Today you have achieved victory in your studies but that is not enough.

In Example 4.52, the linker is *na* (and). But to express the adversative meaning, *na* has to cooccur with a negator. The negator in the present case is *ndũ* (do not) in the verb expression *ndũgeke* (do not do). It should be noted that the use of *na* with the adversative sense is in line with the stipulation by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 407) that the linker *but* (*no* in Gĩkũyũ) carries with it the semantic feature *and* (*na* in Gĩkũyũ). They add that it would be inappropriate to use the two together as ‘and but’ (*na no*). It would, therefore, be inappropriate to have example 4.52 as *Thiĩ na no ndũgeke ũguo rũciũ* (*Go and but do not do that tomorrow*).

b) Variation

In variation, extension is achieved by providing a replacement for something else, either partially or in totality. Consequently, variation has two sub categories, replacive and subtractive.

i) Paratactic Replacive

The replacive subcategory involves replacement of the whole thesis of primary clause by the secondary clause. Its general meaning is given as ‘not X but Y’.

Put in other words, the meaning is ‘it is Y instead of X’. This can be illustrated in *He did not attend classes but went for campaigns*. In the CC, the secondary clause *he went for campaigns* gives what the subject did instead of going for classes. The latter is the thesis of the primary clause *he did not attend classes*.

Examples of paratactic GCCs are provided below.

4.54 Muoyo Mũtheru ndatũraga thĩinĩ wa mĩako no atũraga gatagatĩ-inĩ ka andũ. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 15)

Spirit Holy does not live inside of buildings but he lives in the midst of people.

The Holy Spirit does not live in buildings but he lives in the midst of people.

4.55 Tigai kureka ciana cianyu ithomithio mĩrũgamo mĩrũrũ ya kĩndini no nĩ wega mũciitare. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2)

Do not allow children your to be taught principles tough of religion but it is right you advise them.

Do not allow your children to be indoctrinated but it is right you advise them.

4.56 Nyamu ĩyo ndĩarĩ na guoya mwĩrĩ ũyũ ũngĩ no handũ haguo, yarĩ na mwĩrĩ mũnyoroku ta wa mũndũ. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 3)

Animal that did not have fur body this other but instead of that it had body smooth like of human being 's.

That animal did not have fur on this other body but instead it had a smooth body like a human being's.

4.57 Tiga kũmwarĩrĩra; thiĩ ũmwĩre. (Inooro TV, 2016)

Do not gossip about him/her; go tell him/her.

In Example 4.54, the secondary clause *atũraga gatagatĩ-inĩ ka andu* (he lives in the midst of people) states where the Holy Spirit lives, among the people. This replaces the meaning of the primary clause, *Muoyo Mũtheru ndatũraga thĩinĩ wa mĩako* (the Holy Spirit does not live in buildings), which tells where the Holy Spirit does not dwell.

Example 4.55 highlights two possibilities: allowing the children to be indoctrinated and advising them. The speaker advocates the latter instead of the former. The latter is given in the secondary clause *nĩ wega mũciitare* (it is good you advise them) and it replaces the former, which is stated in the primary clause *tigai kureka ciana cianyu ithomithio mĩrũgamo mĩrũrũ ya kĩndini* (do not allow your children to be indoctrinated).

Relation Markers

There is often a change of polarity across the clauses in this category, one being negative and the other positive. This is the case in the GCCs above, in which all the initiating clauses are negative while the continuing ones are positive. It follows, then, that to mark paratactic replacement, a negator co-occurs with *no* (but). The Gĩkũyũ negator is *ti* but has different realisations on the surface depending on its context. For instance, its form is *-da-* in Example

4.54 in the verb *ndatûraga* and *tiga* in Example 4.55 and example 4.57. The combination of the negator and *no* produces a correlative linker, *ti/tiga ...no*, which carries the meaning of *not...but*.

Though all the GCCs above have the primary clause as negative and the secondary as positive, the reverse is also possible in Gĩkũyũ. For instance, example 4.54 could be rephrased as follows:

4.58 Muoyo Mũtheru atûraga gatagatĩ-inĩ ka andũ no ndatûraga thĩinĩ wa mĩako.

Spirit Holy lives in the midst of people but does not live inside of buildings.

The Holy Spirit lives in the midst of people but does not dwell in buildings.

With such an arrangement, the relation marker becomes *no...ti/tiga* (but...not).

The relationship can be made more explicit by the expression *handũ ha (ũguo)*, the equivalent of *instead of*, being used jointly with *no* (but), hence the correlative linker *ti/tiga ...no handũ ha (ũguo)*. This is illustrated in Example 4.56 above—*Nyamu ãyo ndĩarĩ na guoya mwĩrĩ ũyũ ũngĩ no handũ haguo, yarĩ na mwĩrĩ mũnyoroku ta wa mũndũ*. (That animal did not have fur on this other body but instead it had a smooth body like a human being's).

Finally, the replacive marker *no* can be omitted, leaving the initiating and continuing clauses in apposition as illustrated in Example 4.57—*Tiga kũmwarĩrĩrĩra; thĩ ũmwĩre* (Do not gossip about him/her; go tell him/her). The

adversative meaning of the secondary clause *thiĩ ũmwĩre* (go tell him/her) is clear, and the GCC can be rewritten with the linker *no* (but) without changing its meaning:

4.59 Tiga kũmwarĩrĩrĩra no thiĩ ũmwĩre.

Do not gossip about him/her but go tell him/her.

ii) Paratactic Subtractive

The general meaning of variation subtractive is given as ‘X but not all X’. This implies that unlike in the replacive category in which the whole thesis of the primary clause is replaced, only a part of it is replaced here. The secondary clause provides an exception of what has been stated in the primary clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 407). Therefore, the CC carries the meaning of ‘except’.

Consider the CC *The compound is neat, only you need to trim the hedge*. The CC above indicates that the compound looks well kept as asserted in the primary clause, *the compound is neat*. The secondary clause ‘you need to trim the hedge’ introduces a new aspect, which excludes some part of the compound from the neatness. It indicates that though all other elements of the compound are fine, the hedge is not.

Similar structures occur in Gĩkũyũ as exemplified below:

4.60 Makoragwo o marĩ ahoreri mũno, ñĩ, tiga hatikĩagaga ũmwe waao mbeũ njũru. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 51)

They are cool very, yes, only/except there does not lack one of them (who is) a bad seed.

They are very cool, yes, only/except there does not lack a bad seed among them.

4.61 Kūrĩ na mĩthemba mĩingĩ ya mbaara ya mĩario no he na ũndũ ũmwe ngũkararania na Ann. (Inooro TV, 2016)

There are kinds many of wars-of-words but there is thing one I will disagree with Ann.

There are many kinds of wars-of-words but I will disagree with Ann on one thing.

In Example 4.60, the initiating clause *makoragwo o marĩ ahoreri mũno* (they are very cool) indicates that the people talked about are peaceful people. But the continuing clause *hatikĩagaga ũmwe waa mbeũ njũru* (there does not lack one of them (who is) a bad seed) introduces an exception, that among those peaceful people you will find one who is not. The speaker refers to such metaphorically as *a bad seed*.

The case is similar in Example 4.61. In the first clause *kūrĩ na mĩthemba mĩingĩ ya mbaara ya mĩario* (there are many kinds of wars-of words), the speaker agrees with what has been said before by another speaker, Ann, that there exists many kinds of war-of-words. However, in the second clause *he na ũndũ ũmwe ngũkararania na Ann* (there is one thing I will disagree with Ann) the speaker exempts one thing from what he initially agrees with.

Relation markers

Two markers have been identified for this relation, the first one being *tiga* as used in Example 4.60. *Tiga* is the equivalent of *only* or *except* as can be seen in the translation. The second linker is *no* the equivalent of *but* as used in Example 4.61.

c) Paratactic Alternation

Alternation is a type of relationship of extension that provides an alternative, one clause being an alternative ‘option’ to the other. The general meaning is given as ‘X or Y’. This can be illustrated by the CC *You need to arrive early or else you will miss a seat*. In the CC, the continuing clause ‘you will miss a seat’ is extending the meaning of the primary clause ‘you need to arrive early’ as an alternative. The implication indicated by the linker ‘or else’ is that only one process in either of the clauses can occur- that missing a seat will occur only if the thesis in the primary clause, arriving early, is not met.

4.62 Manyuanagīra nĩ ũndũ wa gũkorwo kũrĩ na mambura kana

magĩkenera ũndũ mũna. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 1)

They drink together because of there being festivities or as they celebrate thing certain.

They drink together because of festivities or as they celebrate a certain thing.

4.63 Ũremi ũrĩa ũrĩ kuo anga matiraũmenya kana makĩrĩ thĩinĩ wa ũremi

ũyũ. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

The crime that is there maybe they do not know or they are part of this crime.

Maybe they are not familiar with the present day crime or they are part of it.

In Example 4.62, two alternatives are given in the two clauses, of which only one should be true. The first is given in the initiating clause *manyuanagĩra nĩ ũndũ wa gũkorwo kũrĩ na mambura* (they drink together because of there being festivities). The alternative to this is provided by the continuing clause *magĩkenera ũndũ mũna* (as they celebrate a certain thing). In Example 4.63, reference is being made to the police as the speaker guesses the reason for crimes being witnessed. The speaker feels that the reason is either the police are not familiar with the nature of the crime or they are involved in it. The first suggestion is provided by the first clause *uremi ũrĩa ũrĩ kuo anga matiraũmenya* (the crime that is there maybe they do not know), while the second is provided as an alternative possibility by the second clause *makĩrĩ thĩni wa ũremi ũyũ* (they are part of this crime).

Relation Markers

Paratactic alternation in the GCCs above is embodied in the linker *kana*, an equivalent of *or* in English, as used in both example 4.62 and example 4.63 above. However, it is not uncommon to find, especially in spoken language, the English word *either* being borrowed to be used together with *kana* to give the meaning of *either... or*. Consider example 4.64 below:

4.64 Mbaara ĩyo nĩ yumanaga na mũgambo *either* ũkwaria kana ona gũkira.

(Inooro TV, 2016)

War that emanates from a word either you say or even keeping quiet.

That war emanates either from a spoken word or even keeping quiet.

4.1.2.2 Hypotactic Extension

As earlier noted, a hypotactic CC of extension has one member of the clause nexus independent and the other dependent. It has also been noted that the expanding clause, which is the dependent clause, is either finite or non-finite. This is true of hypotactic GCCs of extension (cf. 4.1.2).

a) Hypotactic addition

The subcategories of addition that can be extended hypotactically are *additive positive* and *additive adversative*. Both finite and non-finite cases are discussed below.

i) Finite additive positive

4.65 Rĩrĩa andũ acio makũnyuanĩra njohi, manyuaga nginya mũguĩ hamwe.

(County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 1)

When those people drink together beer, they drink even arrow together.

When those people take beer together, they take the arrow together.

4.66 Rĩrĩa makũhĩtũka na magakorana na mũndũ, mamũgeithagia na kiugo

gĩa Gĩthweri. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 1)

While/as they pass and meet with person, they greet him in word of

Swahili.

While/as they pass and meet a person, they greet them in a Swahili word.

The dominant clause in Example 4.65 is *manyuaga nginya mūguĩ hamwe* (they take even the arrow together), which implies that the people talked about die together. This is in addition to the thesis in the dependent clause, *rĩrĩa andũ acio makũnyuanĩra njohi* (when those people drink beer together) that the people pass time together taking beer. In Example 4.66, the secondary clause *rĩrĩa makũhĩtũka na magakorana na mũndũ* (when they pass and meet a person) adds to the primary clause *mamũgeithagia na kiugo gĩa Gĩthweri* (they greet him in Swahili word)

ii) Finite additive adversative

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 408) observe that finite clauses of positive addition may carry the adversative meaning too, hence a thin line between adversative and additive subcategories. Consider example 4.67 below, an own creation:

4.67 *Aciari magethaga mbembe ĩrĩa ciana ciathakaga.*

The parents were harvesting maize when/as the children were playing.

The parents were harvesting maize when/as the children played.

The element of children playing in the secondary clause *ĩrĩa ciana ciathakaga* (when the children were playing) is added to that of parents carrying out the job of harvesting in the primary clause *aciari magethaga mbembe* (the parents

were harvesting maize). Besides addition, the GCC also indicates that the children were doing something different from the parents. It therefore carries both additive and adversative relations.

The *relation marker* for both finite addition and adversative is *rĩrĩa* equivalent to *when*, *as* or *while* as used in Examples 4.65 to 4.67.

iii) Non-Finite additive positive

4.68 Kahĩ kamwe gakĩanĩrĩra, karũgarũgĩte nĩ gĩkeno. (Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 11)

Boy one shouted, jumping because of joy.

One boy shouted, jumping for joy.

4.69 Thengia ya kũgacĩrithia mathomo nĩtuongereire mĩeke ya mawĩra.

Apart from improving education, we have increased opportunities of jobs.

Apart from improving education, we have increased job opportunities.

4.70 Makaga nyũmba gũkũ makĩnaga nyĩmbo cia wĩyathi.

They constructed houses while singing songs of freedom.

They constructed houses while singing freedom songs.

GCCs 4.69 and 4.70 are hypothetical situations. The boy in Example 4.68 is doing two things: *kahĩ kamwe gakĩanĩrĩra* (one boy shouted) gives the first thing, shouting. The second thing is added in the non-finite secondary clause *karũgarũgĩte nĩ gĩkeno* (jumping for joy), indicating that the boy also jumped. In Example 4.69, the non-finite secondary clause is *kũgacĩrithia mathomo*

(improving education), which adds onto the thesis in the primary clause *nĩtuongereire mĩeke ya mawĩra* (we have increased job opportunities). The two clauses highlight different things the speaker feels they have achieved. On the other hand example 4.70 indicates two things that the workers were doing concurrently, constructing the houses and singing freedom songs.

Relation markers

GCCs 4.69 and 4.70 illustrate two binders that introduce the Gĩkũyũ non-finite additive clause. These are the conjunctions *thengia ya* and *gũkũ*. They are equivalents of *a part from* and *while* respectively. *Thengia ya* can be replaced in this context by *o hamwe na*, which is an equivalent of *in addition to* or *as well as*.

Ya in *thengia ya* and *o* in *o hamwe na* are optional, such that the binders can appear as *thengia* and *hamwe na* respectively, without affecting the meaning. Example 4.69 could, therefore, read as, *thengia kũgacĩrithia mathomo ...* (a part from improving education ...).

However, example 4.68 illustrates that it is possible for the Gĩkũyũ non-finite additive relation to be marked implicitly. The non-finite clause *karũgarũgĩte nĩ gĩkeno* is not introduced by any binder.

iv) Non-finite Adversative

4.71 Nĩamũkĩre maĩ marĩa ma muoyo atekũgũra. (Rev. 22.17)

Let him/her receive the water of life without buying.

4.72 Aitangire indo ciake hatarĩ gwĩciria ũhoro wa rūciũ.

He/she squandered property his there not being thinking issues of tomorrow.

He/she squandered his property without minding the future.

The non-finite clause in Example 4.71 is *atekũgũra* (without buying). Its sense contrasts what would be expected with the information in the dominant clause *nĩaamũkĩre maĩ marĩa ma muoyo* (let him/her receive the water of life). The GCC implies that to get the said water in normal circumstances, one would be expected to pay and, therefore, the thesis in the secondary clause is not the norm. Example 4.72, an hypothetical example, implies that the norm is being mindful about the future when using ones resources but the subject of the primary clause, *a* (he/she), was not. This is the sense carried by the dependent clause *hatarĩ gwĩciria ũhoro wa rūciũ* (without thinking of tomorrow).

Relation markers

The adversative relation here is achieved through negation in the non-finite clause through the use of the negator *ti*. In Example 4.71, the negator is realised as a clitic, *-te-*, in the verbal expression *atekũgũra* (without buying), the negative form of *akĩgũraga* (while buying). In 4.72, the negator is realised as *-ta-* in the word *hatarĩ*. This carries the meaning *without*, though it loosely translates to *there not being*. It is the negative form of *harĩ*, which would loosely translate to *there being*. In Example *Hatarĩ* can freely vary with the word *gũtarĩ*, the negative form of *kũrĩ* (there being). **Hypotactic Variation**

Both finite and non-finite variation clauses occur in Gikũyũ. However, the language lacks finite variation clauses for replacement, and therefore, it is only the subtraction relation that can be marked in this manner.

i) Finite subtraction

Examples of finite subtraction are:

4.73 Tiga atĩ kwarĩ kũnene, nĩtwakenirio nĩ ũthaka wa kũndũ kũu.

Except that it was far, we were pleased by the beauty of place that.

Except that it was far, we were pleased by the beauty of that place.

4.74 Nĩtwĩkĩte maũndũ manene tiga atĩ tũtinĩte ũkĩa biũ.

We have done things great, only that we have not finished poverty completely.

We have done great things, only that we have not eradicated poverty.

The two illustrations are hypothetical. The dominant clause in Example 4.73, *nĩtwakenirio nĩ ũthaka wa kũndũ kũu* (we were pleased by the beauty of that place), indicates a positive aspect of the place being talked about. However, the dependent clause *tiga atĩ kwarĩ kũnene* (except that it was far) extends the meaning of the dominant clause with a variation, a negative aspect of the place: the place was a long distance away. The dependent clause is finite. Similarly the extending clauses in Example 4.74, *tiga atĩ tũtinĩte ũkĩa biũ* (only that we have not eradicated poverty completely), is finite. It introduces a variation- the speakers have achieved a lot despite poverty still being experienced

Whereas finite variation occurs with the replacive relation only, non-finite variation occurs with both replacive and subtractive relations.

ii) Non-Finite Replacive

4.75 Mũciari mũgĩ arathimaga ciana ciake handũ ha gũciruma.

Wise parent blesses children his/her instead of cursing them.

A wise parent blesses his/her children instead of cursing them.

4.76 Kaba gũtũũra bũrũri ũrĩ werũ mũtheri, gwĩ gũtũũrania na mũtumia wa kĩmbĩmbĩ. (Prov. 21:19)

Better to live in land with desert only, than to live with woman of contentious.

It is better to live in a desert, (rather) than to live with a contentious woman.

GCC 4.75, which is an own creation, states two things parents can do to their children: they can bless them as indicated in the dominant clause *mũciari mũgĩ arathimaga ciana ciake* (a wise parent blesses his children), or curse them as in the dependent clause *handũ ha gũciruma* (instead of cursing them). The binder *handũ ha* (instead of) implies that the process in the dependent clause replaces in totality the process in the dominant one; that a wise parent does not curse children but blesses them. *Gwĩ gũtũũrania na mũtumia wa kĩmbĩmbĩ* (rather than to live with a contentious woman) in Example 4.76 replaces *kaba gũtũũra bũrũri ũrĩ werũ mũtheri* (it is better to live in a desert land).

iii) Non-Finite Subtraction

Consider the following hypothetical illustrations:

4.77 Nītūrīkītīe wīra wothe tiga kūhura icicio cia ndirica.

We have cleared work all except wiping panes of window.

We have cleared all the work except for wiping the windowpanes.

4.78 Tiga kūrūmīrīra kīrīndī, gūtīrī ūndū eciragia.

Except following crowd, there is no anything he/she thinks.

Except for following the crowd, he/she thinks about nothing.

Example 4.77 indicates exception of the process in the secondary clause. The clause, *tiga kūhura icicio cia ndirica* (except for wiping the windowpanes), exempts the activity of wiping the panes from completion of all activities as claimed in the primary clause *nītūrīkītīe wīra wothe* (we have completed all the work). On the other hand, example 4.78 gives the exception in the primary clause. Though the secondary clause says that the subject does not think of anything, the primary clause gives one thing he thinks of, and that is following the multitudes.

Relation markers

Three subcategories of relations under hypotactic variation have been identified in Gīkūyū: finite subtraction, non-finite replacive and non-finite subtraction. The three have different relation markers.

As is illustrated in examples 4.73 and 4.74, the *finite subtracting* clause is introduced by the binder *tiga atĩ*, which is an equivalent of the English *except that* or *only that*. It is the only marker identified for the relation. However, *atĩ* is optional in this context.

Examples 4.75 and 4.76 present different markers for *non-finite replacement*, the first being *handũ ha*, equivalent to *instead of*. It can be used interchangeably with *ithenya-inĩ rĩa*, which loosely translates to *in place of*. The second linker is *kũrĩ*, meaning *rather than*. It is realised in Example 4.76 as *gwĩ*, its phonological variant.

It should be noted that *gwĩ* has been used in Example 4.76 together with *kaba*, a conflation meaning *it is better*. This gives it an additional meaning of comparison, that between living in a desert (*gũtũũra bũrũrĩ ũrĩ werũ mũtheri*) and living with a contentious woman (*gũtũũrania na mũtumia wa kĩmbĩmbĩ*), the better option is the former.

For the *non-finite subtraction*, the relation marker is *tiga* as used in examples 4.77 and 4.78. The binder is equivalent to *except (for)* or *other than*. The exception meaning of *tiga* can be enhanced by its co-occurrence with *no* or *tu*. The binder would thus appear as *tiga no* or *tiga ... tu*, loosely translating to *except only* and *except ... only* respectively. Consequently, the binder could alternatively appear in Example 4.78, for instances, as *tiga no kũrũmĩrĩra kĩrĩndĩ ...*, *tiga tu kũrũmĩrĩra kĩrĩndĩ ...* or *tiga kũrũmĩrĩra kĩrĩndĩ tu*.

b) Hypotactic Alternation

Hypotactic alternation in Gĩkũyũ is realised through finite clauses only and it involves a change of polarity across the members of the clause nexus. Consider hypothetical examples 4.79 and 4.80 below.

4.79 Akorwo Wanjikũ ndagũthiĩ wĩra, agũtinda agĩthoma.

If Wanjikũ will not go work, she will spend the day reading.

If Wanjikũ will not go to work, (then) she will spend the day reading.

4.80 Tũtigũtwarwo kwona nyamũ cia gĩthaka akorwo nĩ tũgũtwaro monanio ma ũrĩmi.

We will not be taken to watch animals of wild if we will be taken show of Agriculture.

We will not be taken to watch wild animals if we are taken to the Agricultural show.

The dominant clause in Example 4.79 is positive while the dependent one is negative. However, it is the vice versa in Example 4.80.

In Example 4.79, the two alternatives given are the possibilities of what the subject might do—going to work or reading all day long. The former is given in the dependent member, *akorwo Wanjikũ ndagũthiĩ wĩra* (if Wanjikũ will not go to work) while the latter is given in the dominant one *agũtinda agĩthoma* (she will spend the day reading).

The extending clause *akorwo nĩ tũgũtwaro monanio ma ũrĩmi* (if we will be taken to the Agricultural show) in Example 4.94 introduces the alternative of

where the subject might be taken, the Agricultural show, an alternative of being taken to the game park. The latter is indicated in the dominant clause *tūtīgūtwarwo kwona nyamũ cia gĩthaka* (we will not be taken to watch wild animals).

Relation markers

As can be seen in the examples above, hypotactic alternation is marked by *akorwo* (if), co-occurring with the negator. The negator is realised as an endoclititic, *-da-* in the verb *ndagũthĩĩ* (she will not go) in Example 4.79 and *-ti-* in *tūtīgūtwarwo* in Example 4.80. The combination of *akorwo* and *ti* gives the meaning *if not*.

Some of the extension relation markers identified by this study correspond to elements identified by Chege (2009) as cohesive devices in Gĩkũyũ texts. Chege identifies additive conjunctions such as *na* (and) and *ningĩ* (also) and adversative markers such as *ĩndĩ* (but) and *handũ ha* (instead of). This confirms that as the relation markers identified by this study mark their respective FSRs, they at the same time contribute to cohesion in the GCCs as well as in the texts in which they are used.

Table 4.3 below summarises the categories of extension relations in Gĩkũyũ alongside the paratactic and hypotactic relation markers.

Table 4.3: Categories of Gĩkũyũ extension and their principal markers

| | | Paratactic | Hypotactic | |
|-------------|--------------------------|--|---|---|
| | | | finite | non-finite |
| addition | <i>additive positive</i> | <i>na</i> (and), <i>ona</i> (and even), <i>nake, nao</i> <i>ti...tu, ta...ona</i> (not only... but also) | <i>rĩrĩa</i> (when) | <i>thengia (ya)</i> (a part from), <i>gũkũ</i> (while), <i>(o) hamwe na</i> (in addition to/as well as) |
| | <i>additive negative</i> | <i>ti...kana</i> (not...or) | – | – |
| | <i>adversative</i> | <i>no, no niingĩ, no ãndĩ,</i> and <i>ĩndĩ</i> (but) | <i>rĩrĩa</i> (when) | <i>-ti-</i> , (without) |
| variation | <i>replacive</i> | <i>ti/tiga ...no</i> (not...but), <i>ti/tiga ...no handũ ha (ũguo)</i> (not ...but instead of (that)) | – | <i>handũ ha</i> (instead of) <i>kũrĩ</i> (rather than) <i>tiga no</i> (except only), |
| | <i>subtractive</i> | <i>tiga</i> (only/except), <i>no</i> (but) | <i>tiga (atĩ)</i> , (except/only (that)) | <i>tiga</i> (except (for)), <i>tiga no</i> (except only), <i>tiga...tu</i> (except... only) |
| alternation | | <i>kana</i> (or), 'either'... <i>kana</i> (either...or) | <i>akorwo ti</i> (if not), <i>ti...akorwo</i> (not ... if) | |

Sequence of Clauses

Whether finite or non-finite, the dependent extending clause may either follow or precede the dominant one. This, then, gives the two sequences of the hypotactic GCCs of extension: the progressive ($\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$) and the regressive ($\beta^{\wedge}\alpha$). This is in all the three categories of extension (addition, variation and alternation).

An example of a GCC with finite extension of the progressive order is 4.74, *Nĩtwĩkĩte maĩndũ manene tiga atĩ tũtinĩte ũkĩa biũ* (We have done great things, only that we have not eradicated poverty completely). An example of non-finite extension of the same order is 4.72, *Aitangire indo ciake hatarĩ gwĩciria ũhoro wa rũciũ* (He/she squandered his property without thinking of tomorrow).

On the other hand, examples 4.73 and 4.78 respectively illustrate finite and non-finite extensions of the regressive order. These are, in that order, *Tiga atĩ kwarĩ kũnene, nĩtwakenirio nĩ ũthaka wa kũndũ kũu* (Except that it was far, we were pleased by the beauty of that place), and *Tiga kũrũmĩrĩra kĩrĩndĩ, gũtirĩ ũndũ eciragia* (Except for following the crowd, there is nothing he thinks about).

4.1.3 Enhancement

It has been noted that one clause in elaboration characterizes or describes the other clause, either in whole or in part (cf. 4.1.1) while, in expansion, one clause introduces something new in developing the other, hence expanding its

meaning (cf. 4.1.2). In *enhancement*, one clause qualifies the thesis of another by giving a circumstantial feature of time, place, manner or condition (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 410). This can be exemplified by the CC *The dancers took position and then the entertainment began*. This is a paratactic CC with the circumstantial feature of time. The linker *and then* relates the processes in the two member clauses in terms of time. The linker indicates that the time the process of the continuing clause, *the entertainment began*, took place was after the process of the initiating clause, *the dancers took position*. The CC would therefore be classified under the temporal category of enhancement.

The principal categories of enhancement are identified as temporal, spatial, manner and causal–conditional. Each of these has different sub categories, which are manifested both paratactically and hypotactically. The following discussion shows how the categories are manifested in Gikūyū.

4.1.3.1 Temporal Enhancement

Temporal enhancement refers to qualification of a thesis in terms of time. It has three subcategories: same time, different time-later and different time-earlier.

Same time enhancement indicates that the processes in the two members of the CC take place concurrently. The meaning is ‘A meanwhile B’. For example in *The mechanic repaired the brakes and meanwhile the electrician fixed the lights*, the binder *and meanwhile* indicates that the mechanic and the electrician were working at the same time.

Different time–‘later’ indicates that one process occurs after the other. Adapting the illustration above here, the CC will appear as *The mechanic repaired the brakes and afterwards the electrician fixed the lights*. The meaning is ‘A subsequently B’.

The meaning of *same time-‘earlier’* is ‘A previously B’. This means that the process in one clause takes place before the process in the other clause as can be seen in *The mechanic repaired the brakes but first the electrician fixed the lights*.

a) Paratactic Temporal Enhancement

i) Same Time

Below are examples of Gĩkũyũ paratactic clauses showing *same time* enhancement:

4.81 Cardinal Pengo agĩtigwo aikarĩte thĩ na akiuga... . (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 3)

Cardinal Pengo was left seated and he said... .

4.82 Mũcemanio ũgũthiaga nambere wabici-inĩ, na hĩndĩ o ĩo arũrũngani makũng’ethanagira na thigari nja.

The meeting was going on in office and at that time the protestors were facing the police outside.

The meeting was going on in the office and meanwhile the protestors faced the police outside.

4.83 Ndamĩgucagia na hinya wakwa wothe na mũthia ikĩhota kũdunya
kamera kaimana. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 13)

*I was pulling it with energy my all and finally it managed to wrest from
me camera forever.*

*I was pulling the camera with all my energy and finally it managed to
wrest it from me.*

In Example 4.81, the Cardinal spoke the time he was seated while, in Example 4.82, a hypothetical scenario, the meeting in the office and the clash between the protestors and the police were going on simultaneously. The sitting of the cardinal in Example 4.81 is expressed in the initiating clause *Cardinal Pengo agĩtigwo aikarĩte thĩ* (cardinal Pengo was left seated) while the speaking is expressed in the continuing clause *akiuga* (he said). On the other hand, in Example 4.82, the initiating clause *mũcemanio ũgũthiaga na mbere wabici-inĩ* (the meeting was going on inside the office) expresses the progress of the meeting while the continuing clause *arũrũngani makũng'ethanagira na thigari nja* (the protestors were facing the police outside) indicates the clash between the protestors and the police.

In Example 4.83, the camera was wrested from the speaker as he was pulling it. However, the speaker had struggled to keep hold on the camera for some time before it was finally wrested away.

ii) Different Time-‘Later’

4.84 Endaga kũmĩtwarithia acooke amĩcokie. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 2)

He wanted to drive it and then return it.

4.85 Athũkũmaga mbeca nyingĩ no thutha agacithũkangia mĩagoi-inĩ.

He/she earns money much but afterwards he/she squanders it in pleasures.

He/she earns a lot of money but afterwards he/she squanders it in pleasures.

The theses in the continuing clauses in the illustrations above take place after those in their respective initiating counterparts. In Example 4.84, for instance, the continuing clause *amĩcokie* (he return it) indicateds the returning of what was to be driven by the subject, a police vehicle in the context of the clause. But this would have been after driving the car as indicated in the initiating clause *endaga kũmĩtwarithia* (he wanted to drive it). The thesis in the continuing clause in the created example 4.85, *agacithũkangia mĩagoi-inĩ* (*he/she squanders it in pleasures*), occurs after the subject earning the money being squandered, the content of the initiating partner *athũkũmaga mbeca nyingĩ* (*he/she earns a lot of money*).

Different Time-‘Earlier’

4.86 Kaba maambe magacarie gwa kūrara makaarokera ūtūiria rūciū.

Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 37)

Better they first look for of to spend the night, they embark in the morning on investigation tomorrow.

They would better first look for a place to spend the night and proceed with investigation tomorrow early in the morning.

4.87 Mūkarīhwo rūciū no mbere mūkonania wīra wanyu.

You will be paid tomorrow but first you will show work your.

You will be paid tomorrow but first you will show your work.

The speaker in Example 4.86 suggests that the subject begin with getting a place to sleep, the assertion in the initiating clause *kaba maambe magacarie gwa kūrara* (they better first look for a place to spend the night). Investigation should follow the following day. In the created example 4.87, *mūkonania wira wanyu* (you will show your work) coming after the expression *no mbere* (but first) indicates that showing the work will be the first thing, before the payment mentioned in *mūkarīhwo rūciū* (you will be paid tomorrow).

Paratactic Temporal Relation Markers

The difference in time—same, later or earlier—is indicated by the linker used in the GCC.

The markers for *same time* include the conjunction *na* (and) as it appears in Example 4.81—*Cardinal Pengo agītigwo aikarīte thī na akiuga...* (Cardinal

Pengo was left seated and he said...). In Example 4.82, *na* combines with *hĩndĩ o ĩo* (at that time/meanwhile) to form the linker *na hĩndĩ o ĩo* (and at that time/and meanwhile). The GCC is *Mũcemanio ũgũthiaga na mbere wabici-inĩ, na hĩndĩ o ĩo arũrũngani makũng'ethanagira na thigari nja* (The meeting was going on inside the office and at that time the protestors were facing the police outside). *Hĩndĩ o ĩo* can alternatively appear as *hĩndĩ ĩo*. Further, *hĩndĩ* can be substituted with *hingo* to have *na hingo o ĩo* or *na hingo ĩo*. The meaning is not affected.

Example 4.83–*Ndamĩgucagia na hinya wakwa wothe na mũthia ikĩhota kũndunya kamera kaimana* (I was pulling it with all my energy and finally it managed to wrest from me the camera completely) carries the marker *na mũthia* (and finally). This indicates that the process in the secondary clause occurs at the tail end of the process in the primary clause. In the example, it is actually the wresting of the camera that ends the speaker's effort to hold onto it. *Mũthia* can be interchanged here with *mũico* and both can take the suffix *-inĩ* to appear as *mũthia-inĩ* and *mũico-inĩ* respectively.

Later time is marked in Example 4.84 by the connective expression *cooka*, whose meaning is equivalent to *and then*. In the example, *Endaga kũmĩtwarithia acooke amĩcokie* (He wanted to drive it and then return it), its surface realisation is *-cooke* in the expression *acooke*. Example 4.85 has the marker *no thutha*, which translates to *but afterwards* or *but later*. The GCC is *Athũkũmaga mbece nyingĩ no thutha agacithũkangia mĩagoi-inĩ* (He/she earns a lot of money but afterwards he/she squanders it in pleasures). *Thutha* can take

the words *mũtheri*, *ũcio* or the suffix *-inĩ* to form *no thutha mũtheri*, *no thutha ũcio* and *no thutha-inĩ* respectively. The meaning would not be affected. Used in the context, the linkers would then appear as *no thutha mũtheri*, *no thutha ũcio* and *no thutha-inĩ*.

Earlier time can be marked by the connective *amba*, which implies *first* or *before*. In Example 4.86–*Kaba maambe magacarie gwa kūrara makaarokera ũtuĩria rūciũ* (They better first look for place to spend the night, they proceed with investigation tomorrow), *amba* is realised as *-ambe* in the word *maambe*. *Amba* can combine with *no* (but) to produce *no amba* (but first). For instance example 4.86 can be paraphrased as in Example 4.88 below:

4.88 Makaarokera ũtuĩria rūciũ no maambe magacarie gwa kūrara.

They will embark in the morning on investigation tomorrow but they first look for of to spend the night.

They will embark on investigation tomorrow in the morning but they first look for a place to spend the night.

The other marker for earlier time is *no mbere* (but first) as used in example 4.87–*Mũkarĩhwo rūciũ no mbere mũkonania wĩra wanyu* (You will be paid tomorrow but first you will show your work). The linker could alternatively appear as *no mbere ĩo* or *no mbere ya ũguo*, translating to *but before that*. In addition, *no* (but) in the forms above can be replaced by *na* (and) to yield, for example, *na mbere ya ũguo* (and before that). With *na*, the linker will carry the additive meaning as well.

b) Hypotactic Temporal Enhancement

Before exploring the finite and non-finite enhancement of time, one thing should be noted about the *hypotactic same time* category that lacks in the *hypotactic different time* categories. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) observe that *same time* enhancement can indicate one of the following ‘types’ of time: extent, point and spread.

Extent refers to time as a period, as in the CC: *As the choir was singing, I recorded the songs.* *Point* refers to time as an instant as in: *When the choir sang, I recorded the songs.* On the other hand, *spread* indicates that the processes in the clauses take place repeatedly as is the case in *Every time the choir sang, I recorded the songs.*

i) Finite Same Time

Extent:

4.89 Ona rĩrĩa Mũgĩkũyũ aarĩ thirikari-inĩ ya Kanu ũtongoria-inĩ wa Rais

Moi no ahacagwo. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 12)

Even when Kikuyu was in government of Kanu in the leadership of President Moi’s, he/she was still being short-changed.

Even when the Kikuyus were in the Kanu government under President Moi’s leadership, they were still short-changed.

Point:

4.90 Hĩndĩ ĩrĩa maĩ ma mineral water mokire Nairobi nĩkwarwarirwo korera na nĩĩra nene mũno. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

Time when water of mineral came Nairobi it was contracted cholera in way great a lot.

When mineral water came to Nairobi, people contracted cholera greatly.

Spread:

4.91 Rĩrĩa rĩothe twaikara twendaine, Ngai aikaraga thĩĩnĩ witũ. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 19)

Whenever we stay in love, God stays inside us.

Whenever we stay in love, God is in us.

Example 4.89 illustrates extent. The short-changing of the Kikuyu people, the meaning carried in the primary clause *no ahacagwo* (he was still being short-changed), was during the period in which he was serving in Kanu's government. This is carried in the clause *Ona rĩrĩa Mũgikũyũ aarĩ thirikari-inĩ ya Kanu ũtongoria-inĩ wa Rais Moi* (even when/as the Kikuyu was in the Kanu government under President Moi's leadership).

Illustrating *point*, example 4.90 indicates that cholera increased on the introduction of mineral water in Nairobi. *Rĩrĩa rĩothe* (whenever) in Example 4.91 implies that God is among his people every time there is love among them. This indicates *spread*.

ii) Finite Different Time-‘Later’

4.92 Mbaara ĩyo nĩ ĩkoragwo ĩhinyĩrĩrie ‘especially’ mwana wa kahĩ mũno kuma arĩ mũnini. (Inooro TV, 2016).

Fight that oppresses especially child of boy a lot since he is young.

That fight oppresses especially the boy child a lot since young age.

4.93 Nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa ndonyire nyũmba yaku, ndarĩ aratigithia kũmumunya nyariĩrĩ. (Lk. 7:45)

Since time which I entered house your, she has not stopped kissing me feet.

Since I entered your house, she has not stopped kissing my feet.

In examples 4.92 and 4.93 above, the implication is that what is mentioned in the primary clause is applicable or is true at and after the time indicated in the secondary clause. For instance, in Example 4.92 the effect of *Mbaara ĩyo* (that fight) on the boy child is experienced at the time the boy is young and afterwards (*kuma arĩ o mũnini*—from when he is young). *Nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa ndonyire nyũmba yaku* (since I entered your house) in Example 4.93 implies that the referent of the subject started kissing the feet of the speaker the moment the latter entered the house and continued doing the same after that.

iii) Finite Different Time-‘Earlier’

In this sub-category the thesis of the primary clause is applicable to the time indicated in the secondary clause, and before. The following illustrate this:

4.94 Thirikari ya Kanu ndĩngĩhota kũrũmbũiya maũndũ megĩ Mũgĩkũyũ
ĩtarĩ ĩramba kũrũmbũiya maũndũ makoniĩ ndũrĩrĩ iria ciamĩkĩirie
 kura. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 6)

*Government of Kanu cannot take care of the issues concerning Kikuyu
before it has taken care of the issues concerning tribes that gave it
 votes.*

*The Kanu government cannot take care of the Kikuyu's interests before
 those of the tribes that voted for it.*

4.95 Wakĩoi akĩrũgama ameroreire o nginya makĩbuĩria. (Archdiocese of
 Nyeri Communication, 2015 p. 14)

Wakĩoi stood looking at them until they vanished.

Example 4.94 means that the issues affecting the Kikuyu community cannot be considered by the government and the situation will prevail up to the point at which the issues of the communities that voted the government are dealt with. This is indicated in the secondary clause *ĩtarĩ ĩramba kũrũmbũiya maũndũ makoniĩ ndũrĩrĩ iria ciamĩkĩirie kura* (before it has taken care of the interests of the tribes that voted for it). In Example 4.95, Wakĩoi remained standing for the period before the vanishing of the people he was looking at and the situation changed the moment they vanished.

Finite Temporal Relation Markers

Gĩkũyũ finite clauses of *same time* are chiefly introduced by conjunctions *rĩrĩa* (when/as). It can be seen in the different ‘types’ of *same time* identified above,

namely extent, point and spread. However, some variations that help in distinguishing the three types can be observed.

To indicate *extent*, at least one predicator in the GCC is in the progressive aspect in addition to the application of *rĩrĩa*. This is the form of the predicator *ahacagwo* (he/she was being short-changed) in Example 4.89. Another explicit marker for *extent* is *rĩrĩ*, which can be used interchangeably with *rĩrĩa*. Example 4.89 could, thus, be rewritten as *ona rĩrĩ Mugĩkũyũ ari... .*

Conversely, to show *point*, the predicators in both clauses making up the clause nexus are in either the simple past or present tense or simple future time. This is the case with the verbs *mokire* (it (water) came) and *kwarwarirwo* (people became sick) in Example 4.90, which are in the simple past tense. In the example, the binder used is *hĩndĩ ĩrĩa* (when/the time when). This can be used interchangeably with *hingo ĩrĩa*, *ihinda rĩrĩa* or *mahinda marĩa*.

On the other hand, *rĩrĩa* co-occurs with *rĩothe* to indicate *spread*. The resultant conjunction is *rĩrĩa rĩothe* (whenever) as illustrated in Example 4.91.

For *different time-‘later’*, the conjunctions identified are *kuma* (since) as in Example 4.92 and *nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa* example 4.93. *Kuma* can alternatively occur as *kuma rĩrĩa*. Another binder that can replace the two is *gwata/gwata rĩrĩa*. They all carry the meaning *since*, though *nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa* is a prepositional phrase that loosely translates to *from the time (when)*. *Hĩndĩ ĩrĩa* can be used interchangeably with *rĩrĩa* in this context to form another conjunction, *nginya rĩrĩa*.

To indicate *different time- 'earlier'*, *nginya* is also used but with the meaning *until*. It becomes more emphatic when it co-occurs with *o* so as to appear as *o nginya* as it appears in Example 4.95. *Amba* can also be used appropriately here, indicating *before*. For instance, it has been used with other expressions in Example 4.94 to form *ĩtarĩ ĩramba*. This translates to *before it has*.

iv) Non-Finite Same Time

Extent

4.96 O akĩmarathimaga, agĩtigana nao. (Lk. 24:51)

While still blessing them, He parted with them.

Point

4.97 Wakĩoi kũigua 'tear gas' akĩmaka. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 15)

Wakĩoi hearing 'tear gas' he got shocked.

On hearing the word 'tear gas', Wakĩoi got shocked.

The subject in Example 4.96, *a* (he), left the people during the time he was blessing them as indicated by the subordinate clause *o akĩmarathimaga* (while still blessing them). The clause, therefore indicates the *extent* type of temporal enhancement. In Example 4.97, the subject, *Wakĩoi*, got the shock the moment he heard somebody mention the word *tear gas*, hence indicating the *point* type of temporal enhancement. This is indicated by the subordinate clause *Wakĩoi kũigua 'tear gas'* (*Wakĩoi on hearing 'tear gas'*).

The *spread* type is not expressed non-finitely in Gĩkũyũ.

v) **Non-Finite Different Time-‘Later’**

4.98 Nĩtwathire na mbere na ũtũro thutha wa kũheo mataaro.

We went ahead with life after being given advice.

4.99 Baba Mũtheru arĩkia kũruta marũa macio, mũndũ ũcio nĩ etagwo

‘venerable’. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 5)

Father Holy finish producing letter that, person that is called ‘venerable’.

After The Holy Father produces the letter, that person is referred to as ‘venerable’.

4.100 Eruta Gĩkũyũ agĩtũmwo nĩ Bishop Phillip Perlo Miceni ya Gĩkondi.

(Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2)

After teaching herself Gĩkũyũ, she was sent by Bishop Philip Perlo Parish of Gĩkondi.

After learning Gĩkũyũ, she was sent by Bishop Philip Perlo to Gĩkondi Parish.

Example 4.98 is an hypothetical illustration. In it, the subject *-tw-* (we)–in the verb *Nĩtwathire* (we went)–first receive advice, after which they carry on with life. The subject is *tũ* (we), though its surface realisation is *tw* in the verb. In Example 4.100, the subject *a* (she), Sr. Irene, first learns Gĩkũyũ and then the bishop sends her to Gĩkondi Parish.

In Example 4.99, *mũndũ ũcio* (that person) in the dominant clause *mũndũ ũcio nĩ etagwo* ‘venerable’ (that person is referred to as venerable) acquires the title ‘venerable’ only after the Holy Father releases the letter that declares him or her so.

vi) Non-Finite Different Time-‘Earlier’

4.101 Mwana nĩ akoragwo oĩ ũrĩa andũ a mũciĩ wao maragia mbere ya gũciarwo. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 4)

Child knows how people of home its speak before being born.

A child knows how people of its home speak before being born.

4.102 No Kamũira ka ngariũre matharaita, ũcio, nĩathire. (Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 19)

But before I turn weapons, that one, he is gone.

But before I prepare the weapons, he is gone.

4.103 Ūtanamba kuongerera-rĩ, ndĩrenda... tũheane kĩhonia. (Inooro TV, 2016)

Before you adding, I want ... we give solution.

Before you add, I want ... us to give a solution.

The non-finite clause in Example 4.101 is *mbere ya gũciarwo* (before being born). The GCC implies that a child can tell the way his people speak way before the time of birth. Example 4.103 is uttered by the moderator of the TV show. By using the non-finite clause *ũtanamba kuongerera-rĩ* (before adding)

the moderator wants that they first offer a solution to the problem of discussion after which the addressee can give a further contribution.

It should be noted that the non-finite verbs in Example 4.101 and example 4.103 are equivalent to the –ing infinitives. For instance, the verb in Example 4.101 is *gũciarwo*, which translates to *being born*. However, the verb in Example 4.102 is a bare infinitive. This is the verb *gariũra* (prepare), whose surface realisation is –*gariũre* in the expression *ngariũre* (I prepare).

Non-Finite Temporal Relation Markers

The non-finite clause indicating *same time* is not introduced by an overt binder. However, its verb is in the progressive aspect, and so are the verbs *akĩmarathimaga*, (while blessing them) in Example 4.96 and *kũigua* (hearing) in Example 4.97.

The case is different for the *different time* subcategories. For *different time later*, the complex preposition *thutha wa* and the conjunctive expression *-rĩkia*, both meaning *after*, have been identified as in Example 4.98 and example 4.99 respectively. Both are followed by a non-finite verb. *Thutha wa* is followed by the verb *kũheo* (being given) while *arĩkia* is followed by *kũruta* (producing).

In addition the relation can be marked without an explicit binder as exemplified by example 4.125. In the GCC, the sense of *later* is embodied in the verb *eruta* which means ‘after teaching herself’.

Earlier time has the preposition *mbere ya* (before) as the unmarked binder as exemplified in Example 4.101. Example 4.102 presents an example of a

marked binder, *kamũira ka*, which also means *before*. However, it additionally indicates immediacy, and therefore can translate to shortly/just before.

Further, example 4.103 demonstrates the use of the clitic *tana*, still with the meaning *before*. It occurs in the GCC as a proclitic to *-amba*, consequently *ũtanamba*. Alternatively, *-tana-* can be contracted with the verb of the clause. If applied in CC example 4.103 *ũtanamba kuongerera* (before you add) would contract to *ũtanongerera* .

4.1.3.2 Spatial Enhancement

In spatial enhancement, the meaning is ‘C there D’- that D happens at the same place as C. One clause, therefore, develops the meaning of the other with information regarding place. This is exemplified in the CC *We sat under the tree and there we took our snack*.

The word ‘there’ in the continuing clause *there we took our snack* is an anaphoric reference to *under the tree*, a place mentioned in the initiating clause ‘we sat under the tree’. The word gives the meaning that the process in the continuing clause occurs at the same place as the process in the initiating clause.

The spatial enhancement identified in Gĩkũyũ indicates *same place* and it is realised both paratactically and hypotactically.

a) Paratactic ‘Same Place’

4.104 Hakuhi wira wake wothe wa umiconari arutire thini wa Diocese ya Nyiri, na nokuo akuire. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 3)

Almost work her all of missionary she did in Diocese of Nyeri, and it is where she died.

She did almost all of her missionary work in the Diocese of Nyeri, and it is where she died.

4.105 Igaikio na nja nduma-ini na kuu nikuo gukagia kiriro na kuharagania magego. (Mat 8:12)

They will be thrown out in darkness, and there is where there will occur crying and gnashing of teeth.

They will be thrown out in the darkness, and there will occur crying and gnashing of teeth.

4.106 Na makinya handu hetagwo Kibuuri, hau niho mamwambire muti iguru. (Lk. 23:5)

And when they arrived place called The Skull, there is where they crucified him tree atop.

And when they arrived at a place called The Skull, there they crucified him atop a tree.

Hau in Example 4.106 anaphorically refers to *handu hetagwo Kibuuri* (a place called The Skull) where the subject in the initiating clause is said to have arrived. It is the same place the crucifixion was done. In Example 4.104 the

subject did her missionary work and died in the same place, the Diocese of Nyeri, while in Example 4.105, the subject of the primary clause will be put in a certain place as mentioned in the primary clause, and in that place people will be crying and gnashing their teeth.

Relation Markers

To mark *same place* paratactically in examples 4.104 and 4.105, the conjunction *na* (and) has been used, but together with *nokuo* in Example 4.104 and *kũu* in Example 4.105. *No nokuo* is an equivalent to the expression *and it is there/and it is where* while *na kũu* translates to *and there* or *and that place*. *Kũu* as used in Example 4.105 can be replaced with *hau* to result in *na hau*. Used in the GCC, the secondary clause would consequently appear as *hau nĩho hakagĩa kĩrĩro na kũharagania magego*. The meaning will not be affected.

But it is also possible to omit the conjunction *na*. In Example 4.106, *hau* is used alone, translating to ‘there’ or ‘that place’.

b) Hypotactic ‘Same Place’

Hypotactically, *same place* enhancement is achieved through finite clauses only.. In addition, just like the hypotactic ‘same time’ relation, hypotactically marked ‘same place’ relation can distinguish among the *extent*, *point* and *spread* ‘types’ of places as exemplified below. The first two illustrations are own imaginations.

Extent

4.107 Mūtumia ũcio ateng'erire nginya haria atigĩte mwana wake.

Woman that ran up to where she had left child her.

The woman ran up to where she had left her child.

4.108 Twakuire mathandũkũ kuma harĩa ngari yathũkiĩre.

We carried the boxes from where the vehicle had broken down.

Point

4.109 Mūsamaria ũmwe agĩthiĩ ũgeni agĩkinya o hau aarĩ. (Lk. 10:33)

Samaritan one going new land arrived just where he was.

One Samaritan, as he journeyed, arrived where he was.

Spread

4.110 Harĩa hothe etigĩri Ngai makoragwo, hakoragwo haihũrĩte gĩkeno.

(Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015 p. 12)

Wherever people who fear God are, it is full of joy.

Wherever God-fearing people are, that place is full of joy.

To show extent, example 4.107, for instance, indicates that the woman covered a range of distance running, beginning from some point and ending at the point she had left a child. Example 4.108 indicates a particular place. The subject of its dependent clause *o hau aarĩ* (where he was) was stationed at a certain point, and it is the point where the Samaritan arrived. In Example 4.109, on the other hand, the dependent clause *harĩa hothe etigĩri Ngai makoragwo* (wherever people who fear God are) implies that God-fearing people are at several places.

It thus implies *spread*. The secondary clause shows that at these same places, God is present.

Relation Markers

To mark *extent* hypotactically, the preposition *nginya* (to /up to) has been used in Example 4.107. The preposition is followed by the conjunctive adverb *harĩa* (where), hence the expressions, *nginya harĩa* (to/up to where). The place introduced by *nginya* marks the end of the extent. In the example, the woman ran for a distance that ended at the point where she had left the child (*harĩa atigĩte mwana wake*).

Harĩa (where) combines with *kuma* (from) to form the *kuma harĩa* (from where) as used in Example 4.108. *Kuma* introduces the beginning of the extent. *Harĩa ngari yathũkĩire* (where the vehicle broke down) in Example 4.108 is the point where carrying of the boxes began. This is the thesis of the primary clause *twakuire mathandũkũ* (we carried the boxes).

Point and *spread* are marked by a conjunctive adverb without a preposition. The form used to mark *point* in Example 4.109 is *hau* (where) and can be used interchangeably with *harĩa* and *kũrĩa*, which also translate to *where*. *Spread* is marked by *harĩa hothe* as used in Example 4.110 or, alternatively, *kũrĩa guothe*. Both mean *wherever*.

4.1.3.3 Manner Enhancement

One clause may give information on ‘the how’ of the other, telling the manner in which the thesis of the clause being enhanced is realized. There are two subcategories of manner: means and comparison.

i) Means Enhancement

The meaning expressed under *means enhancement* is ‘N is via/by means of M’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 411).

In terms of *means*, one clause indicates the way through which the process of the other is realized. This is exemplified in *We can achieve great success through working together*. The enhancing clause in the CC is *through working together*. It gives the means of acquiring success, which is the meaning of the primary clause *we can achieve great success*.

a) Paratactic Means Enhancement

4.111 Itumbĩ rĩa ũciari nĩrĩtigaga gũthondekwo nĩ mwĩrĩ wake na ũguo mũthiũrũrũko wake wa kahinda ka mweri ũgathira. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 18)

Ovum stops being made by body her and that way cycle her of month ends.

The production of the ovum by her body stops and that way her monthly cycle ends.

4.112 Andũ amwe matifāga aciari ao, na njira ūyo makagwata kīrumi.

People some do not respect parents their, and way that they get a curse.

Some people disrespect their parents, and that way they get cursed.

4.113 Ciana-rĩ, irĩithagio nĩ aciari, ikaheo mĩtugo mĩega. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

Children are looked after by parents, they are given manners good.

Children are looked after by parents, they are trained in good manners.

The enhancing clause in Example 4.111 is *ũguo mũthiũrũrũko wake wa kahinda ka mweri ūgathira* (that way her monthly cycle ends). The manner in which its thesis, ending of the monthly cycle, is achieved is given in the initiating clause *itumbĩ rĩa ūciari nĩrĩtigaga gũthondekwo nĩ mwĩrĩ wake* (the ovum stops being produced by her body). The *manner* is stopping of the production of the ovum. Meanwhile, the hypothetical example 4.112 informs that some people get cursed and states how this happens. They earn the curse by disrespecting their parents as indicated by the clause *andũ amwe matifāga aciari ao* (some people do not respect their parents).

b) Hypotactic Means Enhancement

Hypotactically, clauses of *means* in Gĩkũyũ are non-finite as exemplified below:

4.114 Ūmenyekaga na kũnyota mũno. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 1)

It is known through getting thirsty a lot.

It is known through great thirst.

4.115 Kũhĩtũkĩra/kũgerera gũikara kũndũ gũtheru no tũnyihie mĩrimũ gatagatĩ-inĩ gaitũ.

Through staying in environment clean, we can reduce diseases among us.

Through staying in a clean environment, we can reduce diseases among us.

The non-finite clause *kũnyota mũno* (getting thirsty a lot) in Example 4.114 gives the way through which *ũ* (it), the subject of the primary clause *ũmenyekaga* (it is known), is diagnosed in a person. The pro-form *ũ* (it) in context refers to diabetes. in Example Similarly, *gũikara kũndũ gũtheru* (staying in a clean environment) in the hypothetical example 4.115 is given as one way of reducing diseases, which is mentioned in the primary clause *no tũnyihie mĩrimũ gatagatĩ-inĩ gaitũ* (we can reduce diseases amongst us).

Relation markers of means enhancement

To mark means *paratactically*, the conjunction *na* (and) is used concurrently with different expressions. Example 4.111 has *na* in conjunction with *ũguo*, hence *na ũguo*, an expression equivalent to *and that way*. In such a context, however, *ũguo* can be used alone. Consequently, example 4.139 could read *...gũthondekwo nĩ mwĩrĩ wake, ũguo mũthiũrũrũko wake ...* (..... being produced by her body, that way her monthly cycle ...). The other combination in Example 4.112 is *na njĩra ĩyo*, meaning *and in that way/manner*.

In addition, the relation can be marked asyndetically as demonstrated by example 4.113. The meaning of the secondary clause *ikaheo mītugo mīega* (they are given good manners) is realized through the process of the primary clause *ciana-rĩ, irĩithagio nĩ aciari* (children are looked after by parents).

As already noted in the examples, *means* is realized *hypotactically* through non-finite clauses. The conjunction *na* still works here to introduce the non-finite clause as illustrated in Example 4.114. However, the conjunction can combine with *njĩra ya* to form the expression *na njĩra ya*, a binder that can be used interchangeably with *na* to express the *means*. It translates to *by way/means of*. The other markers identified are *kũhĩtũkĩra* and *kũgerera*. Both mean *through*, and can be used interchangeably as exemplified in Example 4.115.

ii) Comparison Enhancement

Comparison carries the meaning ‘N is like M’ (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 411). In other words, the process of one clause is likened to the process of the other. An example of this is *My elder sister sponsored my education and, similarly, I saw to my younger sister’s*. In the example, the speaker is comparing the way he/she took charge of the education of his/her younger sister to the way his/her own was taken care of by his/her elder sister. The example implies that the two did similar things.

a) Paratactic Comparison Enhancement

4.116 Njoroge athomire arĩ mūnini, na o ũguo akĩambĩrĩria gũthũkũma o tene.

Njoroge studied being young, and similarly he started earning still early.

Njoroge studied young, and similarly started earning early.

4.117 Mwana mwathĩki nĩakenagia mūciari, na o ũndũ ũmwe mũthomi mũũgĩ nĩarehagĩra mūrutani gĩkeno.

Child obedient pleases parent, and the same way student bright brings teacher joy.

An obedient child pleases the parent, and similarly a bright student brings the teacher joy.

In Example 4.116, the process in the continuing clause, *akĩambĩrĩria gũthũkũma o tene* (he started earning early) is likened to the way the subject, Njoroge, completed his education early in life. So, just as he cleared school early, he started to earn early. Similarly, in Example 4.117, the implication is that just as a bright learner makes the teacher happy, so does an obedient child to a parent. The two examples are own creations.

b) Hypotactic Comparison Enhancement

Examples of **finite comparison** are:

4.118 Īka ũguo na kĩo ta ũrarĩhwo (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 2)

Do that with zest like/as if you are being paid.

4.119 O ta ũrĩa tawa mwakanu ũnyuaga maguta ũgathira, Sr. Irene nĩ akuire mathaa ma hwaĩ-inĩ. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 11)

Just like the way/as lamp lit consumes oil to the end, Sr. Irene died in the hours of evening.

Just like the way/as a lit lamp consumes oil to the end, Sr. Irene died in the evening hours.

4.120 Maũndũ make matirathiĩ ũrĩa kwagĩrĩire. (Inooro TV, 2016)

Affairs his are not moving how they are supposed to.

His affairs are not moving as expected.

4.121 O uguo akũhete, o nawe nĩũkũhe angĩ. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2)

Just the way/as he has given you, even you you will give others.

Just the way/as he has given you, give to others.

The comparison in Example 4.118 is between the way the subject is being urged to carry out the unspecified action in the primary clause *ĩka ũguo na kio* (do that with effort) with the knowledge that he is not being paid and the way he would do it if he is to be paid (*ta ũrarĩhwo*—like you are being paid). In Example 4.119, death of Sr. Irene in the evening (*Sr. Irene nĩ akuire mathaa ma hwaĩ-inĩ*—Sr. Irene died in the evening hours) is likened to the consumption of oil by a lamp to the last drop (*o ta ũrĩa tawa mwakanu ũnyuaga maguta ũgathira*—just like the way a lit lamp consumes oil to the end). Finally, in Example 4.120 the likening is between the way the issues of the referent of the

possessive *make* (his) in the primary clause are progressing and the way they should be progressing as implied by *ūrīa kwagīrīre* (how it is supposed to).

Examples of **non-finite comparison** are:

4.122 Mahuti maingī makīinyitīrīra nguo-inī ciake ta arī kūmūkūngūira.

(Thiong'o, 1986, p. 5)

Leaves many stuck on clothes his as if celebrating him.

Many leaves stuck onto his clothes as if celebrating him.

4.123 Ta arī gūkenera ūūru, arutwo maacinaga nyūmba cia toro o mūthenya.

As if enjoying evil, students were burning houses for sleeping every day.

As if enjoying evil, the students were burning dormitories daily.

Ta arī kūmūkūngūira (as if celebrating him) is the non-finite clause in Example 4.122 and it implies the comparison of celebrating the subject of the clause to the way the leaves stuck onto his clothes as mentioned in *mahuti maingī makīinyitīrīra nguo-inī ciake* (many leaves stuck onto his clothes). In Example 4.123, an own creation, the act of students torching their dormitories is seen as an act of enjoying evil deeds.

Relation markers of comparison enhancement

Paratactic comparison can be marked by *na* in conjunction with *o ūguo*, forming as linker *na o ūguo* as used in Example 4.116 with the meaning *and similarly*. The meaning is also carried by *na o ta ūguo*. The two binders are,

therefore, interchangeable. Example 4.117 introduces *na o ãndũ ãmwe*, which means *and the same way*. However, *na* can be omitted in these binders without affecting the meaning.

In *Hypotactic comparison*, *finite clauses* can be introduced by *ta* (like/as if) as used in Example 4.118. In such a context, however, *ta* can combine with *gũkũ* to produce *ta gũkũ* without affecting the meaning. The linker could thus appear in Example 4.118 as ... *na kũo ta gũkũ ãrarĩhwo*.

In addition, *ta* can combine with *ũrĩa*, hence *ta ãrĩa* as used in Example 4.119. This translates to *like the way* or *as*. In Example 4.120, *ũrĩa* occurs alone, its meaning being equivalent to *the way* or *how*. The final binder identified here is *ũguo* meaning *the way* as used in Example 4.121.

It should be noted that the binders *ta ãrĩa* in Example 4.119 and *ũguo* in Example 4.121 are preceded by *o* which makes them more emphatic. It translates in the context to *just* or *exactly*. *O ta ãrĩa*, therefore, translates to *just/exactly the way*.

Ta arĩ (as if) is used to introduce the *non-finite comparison clauses*. This is the case in Example 4.122 and example 4.123. However, *arĩ* can be dropped in such clauses, leaving *ta* to carry the meaning on its own.

4.1.3.4 Causal Enhancement

FGT presents *causal-conditional* enhancement as one category of relation with two forms of enhancement: enhancement of *cause* and enhancement of *condition*. However, due to their distinctive features, they are discussed here as

different categories: *casual enhancement* and *conditional enhancement*. Each has its own subcategories.

In *casual enhancement*, one clause presents the cause of the process in the other. An example here is *I arrived at the airport late, so I missed the flight*. Missing the flight, as indicated by the secondary clause, is caused by late arrival at the airport as given in the primary clause ‘I arrived at the airport late’.

Causal enhancement has three sub categories: reason, purpose and result. These are discussed below.

i) Causal-‘Reason’ Enhancement

The meaning in *reason enhancement* is given by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) as ‘because P so result Q’. One clause gives the reason (the cause) for the process of the counterpart, which gives the effect. ‘I arrived at the airport late so I missed the flight’ is such an example. The initiating clause is the reason for the speaker missing the flight. It, therefore, carries the cause while the secondary carries the effect.

a) Paratactic ‘Reason’ Enhancement

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) demonstrate that in a paratactic CC, the cause could begin, followed by effect (cause[^]effect) or vice versa (effect[^]cause). This is true in Gĩkũyũ as demonstrated below.

Cause^effect

- 4.124 Mwarimũ Julius eriragĩria gũtũĩka mwarimũ mũnene wa Gĩkondi na uguo akĩoya mweke ucio. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015 p. 16)

Teacher Julius desired to become the head teacher of Gĩkondi and so/therefore he took chance that.

Teacher Julius desired to become the head teacher of Gĩkondi and so/therefore he took that chance.

Effect^Cause

- 4.125 Ikaraga ũkenete hingo ciothe, gĩtumi wĩ mwana mwende.

Stay happy always, reason/for you are child loved.

Stay happy always, reason/for you are a loved child.

The thesis of *Mwarimũ Julius eriragĩria gũtũĩka mwarimũ mũnene na Gĩkondi* (teacher Julius desired to be the head teacher of Gĩkondi), which is the initiating clause in Example 4.124, is given as the cause for Teacher Julius taking the chance. This effect, taking the chance, is provided in the continuing clause *akĩoya mweke ũcio* (he took that chance). The order is reversed in the hypothetical example 4.125- the initiating clause carries the effect of the continuing clause. *Ikaraga ũkenete hingo ciothe* (stay happy all the time), the initiating clause, urges the addressee to be jovial all the time. This is because the addressee is a dear child, the reason as given in the continuing clause *wĩ mwana mwende* (you are a loved child).

b) Hypotactic ‘Reason’ Enhancement

The dependent clause carries the cause while the dominant carries the effect.

The dependent clause here can be either finite or non-finite.

Finite ‘reason’ enhancement is exemplified as follows:

4.126 Mũgĩkũyũ ametaga o chomba nĩ amu gĩkonde kĩa kĩaĩ kĩaĩ o ta Ahĩndĩ. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 2).

Kikuyu was calling them just ‘chomba’ because/since skin their was white just like Indians.

The Kikuyus were calling them ‘chomba’ because/since their skin was as white as the Indian’s.

4.127 Toondũ nyũmba rĩu nĩ thiũrũrũkĩrie, ndeeciria ũũ. (Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 41)

Since house now is surrounded, I have thought this.

Since the house is now surrounded, I have made this decision.

In Example 4.126, the primary clause is *Mũgĩkũyũ ametaga o Chomba* (the Kikuyu was calling them Chomba. Its meaning carries the effect of the finite secondary clause *nĩ ũndũ gĩkonde kĩa kĩaĩ kĩaĩ ta Ahĩndĩ* (since their skin was white just like Indians). The GCC, therefore, implies that it is the white complexion of the referent of *kĩa* (their) in the secondary clause, which in context is the Europeans, that made the Kikuyu call them *chomba*. The arrangement is, therefore, effect^cause. It is the arrangement when the dependent clause comes as the secondary clause.

Conversely, when the dependent clause is the primary one, the arrangement is cause[^]effect as is the case in Example 4.127. The primary clause in the GCC is *toondũ nyũmba rĩu nĩ thiũrũrũkĩrie* (since the house now is surrounded). This carries the cause for the speaker thinking as he says in the secondary clause, the dominant one, *ndeeciiria ũũ* (I have thought this).

Examples of ***non-finite*** *reason enhancement* are:

4.128 Ararĩhwo nĩ gwĩka ũguo. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 2)

He is being paid for doing that.

4.129 Nĩ ũndũ wa kũgĩa mĩtugo mĩega, Wanjirũ naĩhambirio ngathĩ.

Because of having conduct good, Wanjirũ was taken up ladder.

Because of good conduct, Wanjirũ was promoted.

GCC 4.129 is an own creation. In Example 4.128, *nĩ gwĩka ũguo* (for doing that) is the non finite clause, coming as a secondary clause. It is the cause for *ararĩhwo* (he is being paid), the dominant primary clause, hence the arrangement effect[^]cause. In Example 4.129, on the other hand, the organization is cause[^]effect since the dependent non-finite clause comes first. This is *nĩ ũndũ wa kũgĩa mĩtugo mĩega* (because of having good conduct). The effect of this is promotion of Wanjirũ as indicated in the secondary clause.

Relation Markers

Paratactic reason enhancement is marked in Example 4.124 by co-occurrence of *na* (and) with *ũguo* (so/therefore), forming the linker *na ũguo* (and so/and therefore). *Na ũguo* can alternatively appear as *na kwa ũguo*, loosely

translating to *and for that (reason)*. This meaning is also carried by *na nĩ ũndũ ũcio*, *na nĩ ũndũ wa gĩtũmi kũu* and *na nĩ gĩtũmi kũu*. The linkers can also be used without the conjunction *na*. Thus, example 4.124 could be rephrased as ... *wa Gĩkondi, ũguo akĩoya ...* (... of Gĩkondi , so/therefore he took....).

Using the above linkers produces the order ‘cause^effect’. For the ‘effect^cause’ order, *gĩtũmi* (reason) is used alone as exemplified in Example 4.125.

In *hypotactic reason enhancement*, the binders are normally introduced by *nĩ*, which can be used on its own to mean *for*. However, it becomes an expletive without an English equivalent when it combines with conjunctives such as *amu* (because). The binders that introduce *finite* clauses include *nĩ amu* as used in Example 4.126 and *toondũ* in Example 4.127, both meaning *because* or *since*. The latter, though, can also be preceded by *nĩ* so as to appear as *nĩ toondũ*. Other binders that could work here include *nĩ gũkorwo* (because/since), *nĩ kuona (atĩ)* (for seeing (that)), and also *nĩ gĩtuĩka* (because).

The *non-finite* clauses here are introduced by *nĩ* (for) in Example 4.128 and *nĩ ũndũ wa* (because of) in Example 4.129. In addition, *nĩ tondũ* can take the preposition *wa* (of) to form *nĩ tondũ wa* (because of) for the same purpose.

It should be noted that *nĩ* is non-obligatory in binders introducing finite clauses but obligatory in non-finite clauses.

ii) Cause-‘Purpose’ Enhancement

This is the relation in CCs in which something is done with the aim of achieving something else. Here the meaning of one clause gives the purpose for the thesis of the other clause. Its meaning is noted as ‘because intention Q so action P’. This can be illustrated by *In order to convince the panel, the interviewee carried all his certificates*. The intention is carried in the primary clause *in order to convince the panel*. The action carried out by the interviewer for that purpose is carrying along all his certificates. The intention, then, becomes the cause while the action becomes the effect.

Interestingly, the relation is not marked paratactically in Gĩkũyũ unlike all the other relations discussed this far.

Finite ‘Purpose’ Enhancement

4.130 O mwana arutaga mbeca cigana ũna getha etĩkĩrio kũingĩra kĩara-inĩ.

(Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 11)

Each child was producing money amount some so that he is allowed to enter rubbish dump.

Each child was producing some money so that he is allowed into the rubbish dump.

4.131 Ndereba arũgamĩte nĩguo ngaari ãthondekwo. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 3)

The driver had stopped so that the vehicle is repaired.

4.132 Waragia werekereirie mündũ ũmũturithie. (Inooro TV, 2016)

You speak targeting a person you hurt him/her.

You speak directing your words to somebody so that you hurt him/her.

The dependent clause gives the purpose/intention, hence the cause, while the dominant one gives the action, hence the effect. In Example 4.130, for instance, the children's intention was to access the rubbish site. This meaning is carried in the dependent clause *getha etĩkĩrio kũingĩra kĩara-inĩ* (so that he is allowed to get into the rubbish dump). The effect of this desire is carried in the dominant clause *o mwana arutaga mbeca cigana ũna* (each child was producing some amount of money). In context, the children were giving the money to the people guarding the dump, a sort of bribe.

Non-finite 'Purpose' Enhancement

4.133 Arutwo a yunibaacĩĩ nĩ marabangĩte maandamano ũmũthĩ mathingira-inĩ ma barũũthi ma Amerika na mburĩti kuonania aĩ marakara mao. (Thion'go, 1986, p. 6)

Students of university had organized demonstrations today houses of embassies of America and British to show that their anger.

The University students had organized demonstrations today at the American and British embassies to show their anger.

4.134 Na mworoto wa kũgucĩrĩria onjoria aingĩ, thirikari nĩgacĩrithĩtie ũgitĩri.

With the aim of attracting investors many, government has enhanced security.

With the aim of attracting many investors, the government has enhanced security.

4.135 Borithi nīciahūrire birigiceni gīcagi gīothe cirongoreirie kūhithūria ahūrani a mau mau.

Police carried out operation village all intending to unearth fighters of Mau mau.

The police carried out an operation in the village intending to unearth Mau mau fighters.

The action of the students in Example 4.133 is demonstrating at the American and British embassies, which is the thesis of dominant clause. The intention of the demonstration is given in the dependent non-finite clause *kuonania atī marakara mao* (to show their anger). In Example 4.134, the government wishes to attract many investors, hence improving security while in Example 4.135, an operation, the action, is carried out and its goal is to bring out the Mau mau fighters from their hideouts. Examples 4.134 and 4.135 are hypothetical situations.

Relation markers

The binders that work with *finite clauses* include *getha*, equivalent to *so that* as in Example 4.130, though it alternatively and more commonly appears as *nī getha*. Also meaning the same is *nīguo* as used in Example 4.131. However, example 4.132 shows it is possible to mark the relation without an explicit

marker. A binder like *nĩguo* can join the clauses in the GCC without changing the meaning so that it would appear as:

4.136 Waragia werekeirie mũndũ nĩguo ũmũtũrithie.

You speak targeting a person so that you hurt him/her.

You direct your words to a person so that you hurt him/her.

The markers for the *non-finite* clauses are different. Example 4.134 gives the conjunctive *na muoroto wa* (with the aim of) which occurs before the non-finite verb. In Example 4.135, on the other hand, the marker is *-rongoreirie* (intending/aiming). This happens to be the Predicator of the clause.

Two things should, however, be noted at this point. First, *-rongoreirie* does not occur in isolation. Instead, being part of the verb of the clause, it takes an appropriate pro-form of the subject of the clause as a proclitic. The proclitic in the present case is *ci-*, which represents the subject *borithi* (the police), to form *cirongoreirie*. This would loosely translate to *they intending*.

Secondly, *-rongoreirie* is followed by an equivalent of a ‘to’ infinitive. This is the verb *kũhithũria* in Example 4.135, which translates to *unearth*. On the other hand, *na muoroto wa*, is followed by an equivalent of the ‘-ing’ infinitive. Thus, *kũgucĩrĩria* in Example 4.134 translates to *attracting*.

Example 4.133 further demonstrates that the non-finite clause can be bound implicitly to the dominant one; the GCC has no binder.

iii) Cause–‘Result’ enhancement

One clause presents result (effect) of a process of the other. And like enhancement of purpose, the relation is seen only in hypotactic CCs in Gĩkũyũ. The result is carried in the dependent clause while the independent carries the cause. Only finite clauses have been identified as demonstrated below:

4.137 Magandirio nĩ maĩ ũũ atĩ gũtirĩ waiguaga kahiũ mwĩrĩ. (Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 4)

They were numbed by water such that none could feel knife body.

They were numbed by the water such that none could feel the pain from the knife.

4.138 Akũnyaraire nginya ciugo ndonaga cia kuuga. (Inooro TV, 2016)

He despises you until words he does not find for saying.

He despises you to an extent that he has no words.

4.139 Rami yahenagia mũndũ onage tũria mbere yake. (Thiong’o, 1986b, p. 35)

Tarmac was shining a person could see small pools ahead of him.

The tarmac shone such that a person could see small pools ahead.

In Example 4.137, the primary clause, *magandirio nĩ maĩ* says what happened to the subjects, in context, young boys when they got into the water of the chilly river during circumcision. The result of being numbed is given in the secondary dependent clause, *ũũ atĩ gũtirĩ waiguaga kahiũ mwĩrĩ* (such that non could feel the knife in the body); they never felt the pain of the cut.

The result of the subject despising the addressee in Example 4.138 is that the former lack words. In Example 4.139, the hot sun shone on the tarmac road resulting in mirage, referred to as small pools (*tũria*) in the dependent clause.

Relation markers

The two binders marking result identified are as presented in Example 4.137 and example 4.138. These, in the order, are *ũũ ati* (such that) and *nginya* (until).

The two members of the correlative binder *ũũ ati* in Example 4.137 can, however, be used independently. This way, they carry the meaning *that*. Consequently, adapting example 4.137, the GCC could appear as *magandirio nĩ maĩ ũũ gũtirĩ ...* or *magandirio nĩ maĩ ati gũtirĩ... .*

In Example 4.139, result is marked implicitly. The dominant clause is *rami yahenagia* (the tarmac was shining) while the dependent is *mũndũ onage tũria mbere yake* (a person could see small pools ahead). The two could be joined by a conjunction such as *nginya*, as in *rami yahenagia nginya mũndũ onage tũria mbere yake*.

Alongside marking result, the binders also mark degree, hence the meaning ‘to the degree that.’ For instance, example 4.137 could translate to *They were numbed by water to the degree that none could feel the knife in the body* and example 4.138 to *He despises you to the degree that he has no words*.

4.1.3.5 Conditional Enhancement

The final category of enhancement is conditional enhancement. It is a relation in which one clause gives a condition for the process of the other. There are three sub-categories of conditional enhancement: positive condition, negative condition and concessive condition.

i) Positive Condition Enhancement

The meaning for positive condition is given to be ‘if P then Q’. The implication is that for a certain effect (Q), a certain condition (P) is necessary. For instance, in the CC *Give me a chance and (then) I will prove I can do it*, the speaker indicates he/she can show the addressee that he/she (speaker) is able to do something. But there is a condition to this—that he is given a chance. This is given in the primary clause *give me a chance*.

a) Paratactic Positive Condition Enhancement

4.140 Hoyai na nīmūkūheo. (Mt. 7:7)

Pray and you will be given.

4.141 Wee hinga ñno amba ũrute mūgogo ũcio wĩ riitho rĩaku na hĩndĩ ño
nĩũkuona wega. (Mt.7:5)

*You hypocrite this first remove log that in eye your and time that you
will see well.*

*You hypocrite, remove that log in your eye first and then you will see
well.*

4.142 Inamĩrĩria gūtũ ũtaũku ũyũ wakwa ũkĩũigue. (Ps. 5:1)

Incline ear understanding this mine you hear it.

Incline your ear so that you hear my understanding.

In Example 4.140, the effect desired is ‘being given’, and it is given in the continuing clause, *nĩmũkũheo* (you will be given). The condition of receiving is given in the initiating clause *hoyai* (pray). The case is the same in the subsequent examples in which the initiating clause gives the condition to be met and the continuing clause gives the effect. In Example 4.141, for instance, the primary clause giving the condition is *wee hinga ñno amba ãrute mũgogo ãcio wĩ riitho rĩaku* (you hypocrite, first remove that log in your eye). And should the log be removed, the hypocrite will have a clear sight as given in the secondary clause, *nĩũkuona wega* (you will see clearly). In Example 4.142, the addressee has to incline the ear so as to hear the counsel of the speaker.

b) Hypotactic Positive Condition Enhancement

Hypotactically, the condition is given in the dependent clause, which is basically a finite clause in Gĩkũyũ. The dominant one gives the effect. For example,

4.143 Korwo Mũgĩkũyũ no athure anjumbe (MPs) ta atano ãguo na tigiti ya Kanu-rĩ, othe nĩ ãhũthũ mangĩrĩ mamĩñcita thirikari-inĩ ya Kanu ãmũthĩ ãyũ. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 10)

If Kikuyu can elect MPs about five so on ticket of Kanu, all it is likely they could be ministers government of Kanu today this.

If the Kikuyus could elect about five MPs on the Kanu ticket, they could all be ministers in the Kanu government.

4.144 Ngai angĩkũrathima gayanaga kĩrathimo giaku na arĩa angĩ. (County Media Ltd, 2013, p. 2).

If God blesses you, be sharing blessing your with those others.

If God blesses you, share your blessings with others.

4.145 No mũhingie maũndũ manene, bata mũikare na ũrũmwe.

You can achieve things great, provided/only you stay in unity.

You can achieve great things, provided/only you remain united.

In Example 4.143, the condition given is the Kikuyus electing some MPs on a Kanu ticket. The dependent clause giving this is *korwo Mũgĩkũyũ no athure anjumbe (MPs) ta atano ũguo na tigiti ya Kanu-ri*. The effect of this would be the elected Kikuyu MPs being appointed ministers. This is given in the dominant clause *othe nĩ ũhũthũ mangĩrĩ mamĩnĩcita thirikari-inĩ ya Kanu ũmũthi ũyũ* (it is likely that all could be ministers in the Kanu government today). The condition in Example 4.144 is being blessed but the effect is sharing with other people.

Relation markers

As with many paratactic enhancement GCCs, *na* (and) marks *paratactic positive condition*. In Example 4.140, it occurs alone while in Example 4.141 it cooccurs with *hĩndĩ ão* to produce *na hĩndĩ ão*, equivalent to *and then*. But in

Example 4.142, the marking is implicit, though the relation is still clear from the content of the two clauses.

For *hypotactic positive condition* a common binder is *korwo*, which basically carries the meaning *if*. In Example 4.143, it occurs alone. It can be replaced here by *angĩkorwo*. Though its meaning is still *if*, *angĩkorwo* is a conflation of *korwo*, the subject pro-form (*a*) and a mesoclitic (*-ngĩ-*). In relation to GCC 4.143, *a* is equivalent to ‘he’. It is a pro-form of the subject of the dependent clause and is repeated in the conflated verb *athure* (he elect). The referent in context is *Mũgĩkũyũ*.

It should, however, be noted that the mesoclitic *-ngĩ-* is optional in such a conflation and could be dropped without affecting the meaning. *Angĩkorwo* could, therefore, occur alternatively as *akorwo*.

In Example 4.144, *korwo* is dropped. The meaning *if* is carried by the mesoclitic *-ngĩ-*, which is directly fused to the verb of the clause, *angĩkũrathima*. A loose translation of the expression *angĩkũrathima* is ‘he if blesses you’.

Another possible marker is *wona*. This can be used in place of *-ngĩ-* in such a conflation as *angĩkũrathima*, albeit in a different position. *Wona* occurs as a free morpheme before the verb. So, in the place of *angĩkũrathima* in Example 4.144 would be *wona akũrathima*, hence *Ngai wona akũrathima....* or *wona Ngai akũrathima... .*

The final binder identified is *bata* as used in Example 4.145, which is equivalent to *only (that)* or *provided (that)*.

Still, the relation can be indicated hypotactically without an explicit binder. Consider example 4.146 below:

4.146 Inyuĩ mwaŧũũra o mwĩŧĩkĩtie uge wakwa, mũrĩ arutwo akwa kũna
(Jn. 8:31)

You live just believing say mine, you are disciples mine truly.

If you believe my word, you are truly my disciples.

ii) Negative Condition Enhancement

In this category, the meaning carried is ‘if not P then Q’. The initiating clause gives the condition while the continuing gives the effect, an effect that needs to be avoided. An example here is *Unless you follow me, you will get lost*. According to this hypotactic CC, the desire is that the addressee does not lose the way. The condition given is the addressee following the speaker.

a) Paratactic Negative Condition Enhancement

4.147 Ikaragai mwĩhũgite kana mũgwe magerio-inĩ.

Stay watching or else you fall into temptations.

Be alert or else you fall into temptations.

4.148 Nyũmba ya Awa kwĩ na itũũro nyingĩ; gũtangĩrĩ ũguo ingĩrĩ
kũmwĩra. (Jn. 14:2)

House of my Father’s there are dwellings many; if it were not so I could have told you.

In my Father's house are many dwellings; otherwise/if it were not so, I could have told you.

The addressees in the hypothetical example 4.147 are at risk of yielding to temptations. This is the thesis of the continuing clause *mũgwe magerio-inĩ* (you fall into temptations). It is an effect that would be avoided on fulfilling the condition of remaining alert, according to the initiating clause, *ikaragai mwĩhũgĩte* (stay alert). The speaker in Example 4.148 is informing the addressees of availability of many rooms in His Father's house. This condition is given in the primary clause *Nyũmba ya Awa kwĩ na itũũro nyingĩ* (In my Father's house are many rooms). He adds that He would have told them if that was not the case- *ingĩrĩ kũmwĩra* (I could have told you).

b) Hypotactic Negative Condition Enhancement

Following are *finite* examples, 4.151 being an own creation:

4.149 Tiga nyũmba yakirwo nĩ Jehova-rĩ, amĩaki marutaga wĩra wa tũhũ.

(Ps. 127:1)

Unless house is build by Jehovah, its builders do work of useless.

Unless the house is built by the Lord, its builders labour in vain.

4.150 Tũtirĩ ũndũ tũngĩmekaka no matwarirwo *referendum*. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

We have nothing we can do them, unless they are taken to a referendum.

4.151 Mũtĩ ũtangĩrũngwo wĩ mũnini ndũngĩrũngĩka thutha-inĩ.

A tree unless it is straightened being young, it cannot be straightened later.

Unless a tree is straightened while still young, it cannot be straightened later.

Tiga nyũmba yakirwo nĩ Jehova-rĩ (unless a house is built by the Lord) carries the condition in Example 4.149. It implies that a house has to be constructed by the Lord if the labourers' work is to be fruitful. This effect is carried in the clause *amĩaki marutaga wĩra wa tũhũ* (its builders do useless work). In Example 4.150 the speaker is talking of some laws. He implies that something can be done about the laws; they can be amended. However, this can only be done in a referendum (*no matwarirwo 'referendum'*—unless they are taken to a referendum).

Non-finite negative condition is illustrated in the following hypothetical examples:

4.152 Kwaga kũgitĩra mĩtitũ bũrũri witũ ũgũtuĩka werũ.

Failure to protect forests, our country will become a desert.

Failure to protect forests, our country will become a desert.

4.153 Wĩyathi ndũngĩonekire hatarĩ/gũtarĩ gũita thakame.

Freedom could not have been gotten without shedding blood.

In Example 4.152 the dependent clause *bũrũri witũ ũgũtuĩka weerũ* (our country will become a desert) gives a possible effect, desertification, should the forests not be conserved. This condition is given by the non-finite clause *kwaga kũgitĩra mĩtitũ* (failure to protect forests). In Example 4.153, shedding of blood is given as the condition that was necessary to acquire freedom. The condition is given in *hatarĩ/gũtarĩ gũita thakame* (without shedding blood)

while the effect is given in *wīyathi ndūngĩonekire* (freedom could not have been gotten).

Relation Markers

The negative condition is marked by a form of negation in the conjunctive element in the GCC. The *paratactic* negative condition markers identified include *kana* (or else) as in Example 4.147 and *gūtangĩrĩ ũguo* in Example 4.148. The latter is clausal in nature, carrying the meaning *if it were not so*, or simply, *otherwise*. The negator in the expression is the clitic *-ta-*, the surface realisation of the negator *ti* (not). *-Ta-* in this case negates the expression *kūngĩrĩ ũguo* (if it were so). *Gūtangĩrĩ ũguo* is interchangeable in this context with the expression *korwo tigwo* or *korwo ti ũguo*, in which negation is carried by *ti* (not).

In *hypotactic* negative condition, the negation is in the dependent clause. In the *finite* enhancement the binder is equivalent to *unless* in English and it is realized in different forms. The first form identified is *tiga* as in Example 4.149. *Tiga* is interchangeable with *guca*. In 4.150, the meaning of *unless* is carried by *no* cooccurring with the negator *-ti-* that is in the in the verb *tūtĩrĩ* (we do not have). The negated verb is *tūrĩ* (we have). in Example In Example 4.151, the expression equivalent to *unless* is *tangĩ*, which carries the meaning *if not*. In this expression, the negator is realised as *-ta-*. It negates *-ngĩ-* (if), hence the expression *ūtangĩrũngwo*, which equally means *if it is not straightened*. In effect, the verbal expression negated is *ũngĩrũngwo* (if straightened).

It should be noted that *-ngĩ-* in *ũtangĩrũngwo* can be dropped such that the relation is marked by the negator *ta* only. *Ũtangĩrũngwo* would consequently read as *ũtarũngwo* to express the same meaning.

The markers identified for *non-finite* enhancement are *kwaga* (failure to) and *hatarĩ/gũtarĩ* (without). These are illustrated in examples 4.152 and 4.153 in that order. In *kwaga*, the negator is *-aga-* (fail) and it negates *kũ-* (to-). *Kwaga* (failure to) is followed by an equivalent of ‘to-infinitive’ such as *kũgitĩra* (to protect) in the present illustration. On the other hand, in *hatarĩ/gũtarĩ* (without), the negator is *-ta-*, which negates *harĩ/kũrĩ* (with). *Hatarĩ/gũtarĩ* attracts an equivalent of ‘-ing infinitive’ such as *gũita* (shedding) as demonstrated in the present cases.

iii) Concessive Condition

The concessive condition carries, the meaning ‘if P then contrary to expectation Q’—that despite fulfilment of the condition stated, the effect is the opposite of what would be expected. An example is *Paul controls a large business empire yet he lives miserably*. A condition (the concession) has been met here—Paul manages a huge business and hence, a lot of wealth. The expected consequence is that his life would be comfortable but the opposite is the case; he does not lead a happy life.

a) Paratactic Concessive Condition Enhancement

In a paratactic GCC, the concession may follow the consequence (concession[^]consequence) or vice versa (consequence[^]concession).

Concession^consequence

4.154 Mahinda mangĩ na mangĩ to mũhaka kuoneke kĩaama no Baba Mũtheru no andike marũa macio. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 5)

Times others and others it is not necessary is witnessed miracle but Father Holy can write letter that.

It is not necessarily that a miracle is witnessed but the Holy Father can write the letter.

Consequence^concession

4.155 Tũrimũ twa cukuru ĩrĩa-rĩ, tũracinire-ĩ, na cukuru ĩyo noyo yathomithirie nyina. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

Little fools of that school burned it and yet school that is the one that educated their mother.

The little fools of that school burned it down and yet it educated their mothers.

In Example 4.154, the initiating clause carries the concession while the continuing clause carries the consequence. The GCC implies that for the Holy Father to write the said letter, a miracle should be witnessed. However, The Holy Father can write the letter without the witnessing of the miracle. The initiating clause carrying the condition is *mahinda mangĩ na mangĩ to mũhaka kuoneke kĩaama* (sometimes it is not a must that a miracle is witnessed) while the continuing clause carrying the consequence is *Baba Mũtheru no andike marũa macio* (The Holy Father can write the letter).

Conversely, the concession in Example 4.155 is contained in the initiating clause while the consequence is in the continuing clause. The concession is that the burnt school provided education to the mothers of the students burning the school, referred to as little fools in the initiating clause. The continuing clause carrying this is *cukuru iyo noyo yathomithirie nyina* (that school is the one that educated their mother).

The consequence is the burning of the school by the little fools as expressed in the clause *t̄irimũ twa cukuru ãrĩa-rĩ, t̄iracinire-ĩ* (the little fools from that school burned). This is contrary to expectation, considering the mentioned positive aspect of the school. The students ought to appreciate and take care of the school.

b) Hypotactic Concessive Condition Enhancement

Illustrations of **finite** concession are:

4.156 Ona twaria ũtukũ, kwa Mũheshimiwa Jacob nĩ kũracinirwo. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

Even after we talked night, of Honourable Jacob's was burned.

Even after we talked at night, there was arson at Honourable Jacob's place.

4.157 Ona akorwo matirauga, marakuonia 'ndwagĩkuĩrwo rĩu'. (Inooro TV 2016)

Even if they are not saying, they are showing you 'hasn't you been died for now'.

Even if they are not saying it, they are showing you that your close one has died.

An example of **non-finite** concession is:

4.158 Wee ũkuma nyũmba ñyo ũkĩendaga na ũtekwenda. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. ..)

You will get out of house that willing and without willing.

You will get out of that house whether you like it or not.

In Example 4.156, the speaker, referring to schools, indicates that there are some that were set ablaze in Honourable Jacob's constituency in *kwa Mũheshimiwa Jacob nĩ kũracinirwo* (Honourable Jacob's place was burned). This, however, is despite that the speaker and others had earlier talked about the issue of burning schools, given in *ona twaria ũtukũ* (even after we talked at night). In Example 4.157, the subject, *ma* (they), of the GCC want the addressee to realise that a his/her loved one has died. However, they do not tell the addressee directly as indicated in *ona akorwo matirauga* (even if they are not saying it).

Relation markers

Two basic linkers have been identified for the *paratactic concession*, *no* (but) and *na* ((and) yet). The choice of either is determined by whether or not the initiating clause preceding it carries the concession or the consequences. *No* (but) is preceded by concession while *na* ((and) yet) is preceded by consequence. In Example 4.154, for example *no* is preceded by *mahinda mangĩ*

na mangĩ to mũhaka kuonekane kĩama, which gives the concession, while in Example 4.155 *na* is preceded by *tũrimũ twa cukuru ĩrĩa-rĩ, tũracinire-ĩ*, which carries the consequence.

In addition, *no* can combine with *ona kũrĩ oũguo* (still/nevertheless) to form *no ona kũrĩ ũguo*, an equivalent of *but still/but nevertheless*. It is also preceded by concession. It can be used interchangeably with *no* (but) as in the context of example 4.154.

Still, paratactic concession can be marked implicitly as in Example 4.159 below.

4.159 Nĩhegũkinya handũ ageta nyina, ‘mum’; ndagũĩfika. (Inooro TV, 2016)

It reaches point he/she calls his/her mother, ‘mum’; she will not respond.

At a point he/she calls the mother, ‘mum’; but she will not respond.

Hypotactically, finite concession is basically indicated by the expression *ona* (even). It can function on its own or in combination with other words. In Example 4.156, it is used alone, carrying the meaning *even*. Therefore, *ona twaria* translates to *even after we talked*. In Example 4.157, *ona* appears in the binder *ona akorwo*, meaning *even though/even if*. It can be replaced in this context by *ona gũtuika*.

At times *ona akorwo* is used in its contracted form *onakorwo* as in Example 4.160 below:

4.160 Iteng'eraga na hamwe onakorwo nahau nĩho ngarĩ ãĩ. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 10)

They run to one place even if there is where leopard is.

They run to the same place even if that is where the leopard is.

Clause sequences in hypotactic GCCs

There is a similarity in the *clause sequences* in hypotactic GCCs across the different relations. The GCCs take both the *progressive* ($\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$) and the *regressive* ($\beta^{\wedge}\alpha$) sequences. Concessive condition enhancement GCCs above can be used as case representation. GCC 4.160 is an example of progressive sequence. The primary clause is *iteng'eraga na hamwe* (they run to one place) while the secondary one is *onakorwo nahau nĩho ngarĩ ãĩ* (even if that is where the leopard is).

On the other hand, GCCs 4.156 and 4.157 represent the regressive order. In Example 4.156, for example, the primary clause is *ona twaria ũtukũ* (even after we talked at night) while the secondary clause is *kwa Mũheshimiwa Jacob no kũracinirwo* (Honourable Jacob's place was burnt).

A summary of categories of enhancement relations and those of enhancement markers in Gĩkũyũ, both paratactic and hypotactic, are presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Categories of Gĩkũyũ enhancement and their principal markers

| | | Paratactic | Hypotactic | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| | | | finite | non-finite |
| temporal | same time | <i>na</i> (and), <i>na hĩndĩ/hingo (o) ĩo</i> (and at that time/), <i>na mũthia(-inĩ)/na mũico(-inĩ)</i> (and finally) | [extent] <i>rĩrĩa, rĩrĩ</i> (when/as) | (no overt marker) |
| | | | [point] <i>hĩndĩ ĩrĩa, hingo ĩrĩa, ihinda rĩrĩa, mahinda marĩa</i> (when/the time when) | |
| | | | [spread] <i>rĩrĩa rĩothe</i> (whenever) | – |
| | different time ‘later’ | <i>cooka (and then), no thutha</i> (but afterwards/but later) | <i>kuma (rĩrĩa), gwata (rĩrĩa), nginya (rĩrĩa)</i> (since (when)), <i>nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa</i> (from the time (when | <i>thutha wa, -rĩkia,</i> (after) |
| different time ‘earlier’ | <i>amba</i> (first/before), <i>no amba</i> (but first), <i>no mbere</i> (but first) <i>no mbere ya ũguo,</i> (but before that), <i>na mbere ya ũguo</i> (and before that) | <i>(o) nginya</i> (until), <i>amba</i> (before) | <i>mbere ya,</i> (before), <i>kamũira ka</i> (before/just before), <i>-tana-</i> (before) | |
| spatial | same place | <i>kũu/hau</i> (there), <i>na nokuo/noho</i> (and it is there/where), <i>na kũu/hau</i> (and there) | [extent] <i>nginya harĩa</i> (to/up to where), <i>kuma harĩa</i> (from | – |

| | | | | |
|--------|------------|--|---|--|
| | | | where) | |
| | | | [point] <i>hau, harĩa, kũrĩa</i> (where) | |
| | | | [spread] <i>harĩa hothe, kũrĩa guothe</i> (wherever). | |
| manner | means | <i>(na) ũguo</i> ((and) that way), <i>na njĩra ĩyo</i> (and in that way/manner) | – | <i>na</i> (through), <i>na njĩra ya</i> (by way/means of), <i>kũhĩtũkĩra, kũgerera</i> (through) |
| | comparison | <i>na o (ta) ũguo</i> (and similarly/and the same way), <i>na o ũndũ ũmwe</i> (and the same way) | <i>ta, ta gũkũ</i> (like/as if), <i>ta ũrĩa</i> (like the way/as), <i>ũrĩa</i> (the way/how), <i>ũguo</i> (the way) | <i>ta arĩ, ta</i> (as if) |
| causal | reason | (cause^effect) <i>na ũguo</i> (and therefore), <i>na kwa ũguo, na nĩ ũndũ ũcio, na nĩ ũndũ wa gĩtũmi kũ, na nĩ gĩtũmi kũ</i> (and for that (reason)) | (<i>nĩ</i>) <i>amu, (nĩ) toondũ, (nĩ) gũkorwo, (nĩ) gĩtuĩka</i> (because/since) <i>nĩ kuona (atĩ)</i> (for seeing (that)) | <i>-nĩ (for), nĩ ũndũ wa, nĩ tondũ wa</i> (because of) |
| | | (effect^cause) <i>gĩtũmi</i> (reason) | | |
| | purpose | – | <i>nĩ getha, nĩguo</i> (so that) | <i>na muoroto wa</i> (with aim of), <i>-rongoreirie</i> (intending/aiming) |
| | result | – | <i>ũũ ati</i> (such that), <i>nginya</i> (until), <i>ũũ, ati</i> (both-that) | – |

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|--|
| condi- tional | Positive condition | <i>na</i> (and), <i>na hĩndĩ ão</i> (and then) | <i>korwo</i> , <i>wona</i> (if), <i>bata</i> (only (that)/provided (that) | – |
| | negative condition | <i>kana</i> (or else), <i>gũtangĩrĩ ãguo</i> , <i>korwo</i> <i>tigwo</i> , <i>korwo ti ãguo</i> . (if it were not so/otherwise) | <i>tiga</i> , <i>guca</i> , <i>no</i> , - <i>tangĩ-</i> (all- unless/if not) | <i>kwaga</i> (failure to), <i>hatarĩ/gũtarĩ</i> (without) |
| | concessiv e condition | (concession^consequen ce) <i>no</i> (but), <i>no ona</i> <i>kũrĩ ãguo</i> (but still/but nevertheless) (consequence^concessi on) <i>na</i> ((and) yet) | <i>ona</i> (even), <i>ona</i> <i>akorwo/onakor</i> <i>wo</i> (even though/even if) | (no overt marker) |

4.2 Projection

The second LSR after expansion is projection. This is the LSR in which one clause is projected through another, either by *locution* or *idea*, the two categories or levels of projection (Cf. Section 2.2). Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 44) explain that one clause presents linguistic content of the other.

On the one hand, *locution* gives what is spoken verbally. Its content, therefore, is that of a saying in a verbal clause. On the other hand, *idea* gives what is thought or what goes on in the mind. Its content is of sensing in a mental clause. Each of the two is exemplified in their respective sections in the following discussion.

As with expansion, projection too is achieved both paratactically and hypotactically. These respectively correspond to *quote* and *report*, the two

modes of projection. For instance, *Paul said, "None of us arrived late."* is a quote in the level of locution, while *Paul said that none of them arrived late* is a report in the same level. The former is, therefore paratactic while the latter is hypotactic. The projected element is independent in quote (none of us arrived late) but dependent in report (that none of them arrived late).

Paratactic projection corresponds to direct speech while hypotactic projection corresponds to indirect speech. The projecting clause is referred to as the 'phenomenon' (Paul said) while the projected clause is the 'meta-phenomenon', the content of the projecting clause (*none of us arrived late* and *that none of them arrived late*)

Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) also note that the projected element could be a proposition or a proposal. These they term as the speech functions of projection. Propositions are statements which give information such as (*that none of us arrived late*). Proposals are non-statements. These include questions and commands, for example, *He ordered them to walk out*.

The projected clause here is 'to walk out', which is a command. Questions demand information while commands demand action from the addressee.

In relation to the above, the verb in the projecting clause (for example 'said' and 'ordered' in the illustrations above) indicates two things as will be seen in the discussion below: the level or category of projection (location or idea) and the speech function of the projection (proposition or proposal).

Focus now shifts to projection in Gīkūyū, starting with locution.

4.2.1 Locution

Locution nexuses, as earlier indicated, present what is said. This has been illustrated in *Paul said, “None of us arrived late”* (quote) and *Paul said that none of them arrived late* (report). The former illustrates paratactic locution while the latter illustrates hypotactic locution. The projecting clause is a representation of a verbal process while the projected clause represents a wording (locution).

4.2.1.1 Paratactic Locution

Proposition

4.161 Ithuĩ tūmeraga, “Wee wĩ mūkĩgu ta nyūkwa.” (Inooro TV, 2016)

We tell them, “You are stupid like your mother.”

We normally tell them, “You are as stupid as your mother.”

4.162 “Nĩguo Father,” Sr. Irene akĩmūcokeria. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015 p. 11)

“It is so, Father,” Sr. Irene answered him.

Proposal

4.163 Sr. Christine nĩ oririe Sr. Irene: “Odhiambo auma kũ?”
(Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015)

Sr. Christine asked Sr. Irene: “Odhiambo has been where?”

Sr. Christine asked Sr. Irene: “Where has Odhiambo been?”

The projected clauses, the meta-phenomenon, from example 4.161 to example 4.163 are words spoken by Sayer (such as Sr. Christine in Example 4.163) in the projecting clause, the phenomenon. In Example 4.161 the projected clause

is *wee wĩ mũkĩgu ta nyũkwa* (you are stupid like your mother) and it is a proposition. Its context is a discussion on the bad language people normally use on others. The proposition is given as one of the bad things parents, especially fathers, tell their children. The proposition in Example 4.162 is *nĩguo* (it is so). These propositions are simply giving information. The projecting clauses in the two nexuses respectively are *ithuĩ tũmeraga* (we tell them) and *Sr. Irene akĩmũcokeria* (Sr Irene answered him).

On the other hand, the projected clause in Example 4.163 is a proposal. This is *Odhiambo auma kũ?* (Where has Odhiambo been?). It is a question demanding information. Its projecting clause is *Sr. Christine nĩ oririe Sr. Irene* (Sr. Christine asked Sr. Irene).

4.2.1.2 Hypotactic Locution

This has been exemplified in *Paul said that none of them arrived late*. It involves reporting a verbal process, representing a saying as a meaning. (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 455). Here are Gĩkũyũ examples.

Proposition

4.164 Mwai Kĩbakĩ nĩaugire atĩ ciĩko cia ũcamba nĩcitũmaga thĩ yarahũke.

(Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015 p. 2)

Mwai Kibaki said that deeds of courage make earth revive.

Mwai Kibaki said that courageous deeds revive the earth.

4.165 Matigagwo makĩnyũrũrio atĩ o no kanyamũ kanini tu macokia mũciĩ. (Ngotho, 1997, p. 8)

They are left being taunted that they it is thing small only they have brought back home.

They are taunted that they have brought back home very little.

Proposal

4.166 Ona ciana imwe nĩ iranegena atĩ cĩĩkĩrio ũhoro wa mathako macio.

(Inooro Radio, 2016)

Even children some are demanding that they be allowed issues about games those.

Even some children are demanding to be allowed participation in those games.

4.167 Nĩoririe aciari mahĩmbĩrie ũigĩrĩrĩku ũria mahetwo. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2).

He asked parents they embrace responsibility which they have been given.

He asked the parents to embrace their responsibility.

Example 4.164 is a report on what the subject, Mwai Kibaki, said. It should be noted that in report, what is said is what is projected, and it is in the dependent clause. In that case, what is projected in Example 4.164 is *atĩ cĩĩko cia ũcamba nĩcitũmaga thĩ yarahũke* (that courageous deeds revive the earth). *Mwai Kĩbaki nĩaugire* (Mwaki Kibaki said) is the projecting clause. The projected clause is a proposition since it serves to inform (on the effect of deeds of courage). The same function is served by the dependent clause in Example 4.165, *atĩ o no kanyamũ kanini tu macokia mũciĩ* (that it is only a small thing they have

brought back home). It gives information on the amount of resources, the subject ‘they’ (some elected leaders, in its context) bring back to the electorate. It is projected by *matigagwo makĩnyũrũrio* (they are left being taunted).

Examples 4.166 and 4.167 have proposals being projected. 4.166 reports a demand by students hence, the projected clause *atĩ ciĩtĩkĩrio ũhoru wa mathako macio* (that they be allowed issues about those games). In context, the students are demanding to be allowed to engage in betting. The clause is projected by *ona ciana imwe nĩiranegenana* (even some students are complaining). 4.167, on the other hand, reports a request to the parents to take serious their responsibilities. The projected proposal, therefore, is *mahĩmbĩrie ũgĩrĩrĩku ũrĩa mahetwo* (to embrace the responsibility that they have been given). It is projected by *nĩoririe aciari* (he asked the parents).

Relation markers

As earlier mentioned, it is the predicator in the projecting clause that distinguishes between locution and idea. It is important to note at this point that since Gĩkũyũ is an agglutinating language, the predicator fuses with other elements in forming the Gĩkũyũ verb. For instance, in Example 4.161 the verb in the projecting clause is *tũmeraga*. The elements fused in it are the subject marker *tũ* (we), the object marker *ma* (them) and the predicator *ĩraga* (tells).

The predicators for locution are predicators of saying and in Gĩkũyũ, largely the same forms feature in both paratactic and hypotactic nexuses. For instance, *ũria* (ask) has been used in the two modes in the illustrations above. It is fused

in *n̄oririe* (she asked) in Example 4.163 under parataxis and in Example 4.167 under hypotaxis.

The other predicators illustrated in the examples above include *ĩra* (tell) as used in *tũmeraga* (we tell them) in Example 4.161 and *cokia* (answer) as in *akimũcokeria* (she answered him) in 4.162. These have been illustrated in the paratactic nexuses. The others in the hypotactic nexuses are *nyũrũria* in *makĩnyũrũrio* (being jeered) in Example 4.165 and *negena* in *iranegena* (are demanding) in Example 4.166.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 448) identify three classes of verbs used in locution: the general verb, verbs specific to speech function and verbs with additional circumstantial feature. This classification also applies in Gĩkũyũ.

The *general verb* is neither restricted to a specific speech function nor does it carry additional circumstantial feature. The Gĩkũyũ general verb is *uga* (say), as used in Example 4.164. The general verb can replace virtually any other non general verb only that the specification of the speech function and/or the circumstantial meaning will be lost. For instance, the projecting clause in Example 4.162 can read as *Sr. Irene akiuga* (Sr. Irene said) instead of *Sr. Irene akimũcokeria* (Sr. Irene answered him). Similarly, *nĩ iranegena* in Example 4.166 can be rewritten as *nĩ irauga* ((they) are saying).

Verbs specific to speech function are those that function in ‘giving’ or ‘demanding’, either to give information in propositions or demand information or action in proposals. An example of a predicator that projects to *give*

information is *ĩra* (tell) as featured in *tũmeraga* (we tell them) in Example 4.161. Others include *ĩĩkĩra* (agree) which implies offering in response, *ĩĩra* (promise) which implies a desirable offer and *menyithia* (inform).

Predicators for *demanding information* include *ũria* (ask) as used in examples 4.163 and 4.167 and *ĩra* (tell) as would be used in *njĩĩra* (tell me) or *meere* (tell them). Such verbs have to be used in a context with a receiver, the one being given the information. For example the receiver in Example 4.161–*Ithuĩ tũmeraga*, “*Wee wĩ mũkĩgu ta nyũkwa.*” (We normally tell them, “You are as stupid as your mother.”) is *me* (them) in *tũmeraga* (We normally tell them), referring to children.

Verbs with additional circumstantial features carry with them additional information to just saying. An example in the illustrations given is *cokia* (answer/reply) as in *akĩmacokeria* in Example 4.162. *Cokia* or *cokeria* means ‘saying in response’. Others that would fit here include *tarĩria* (explain) which is ‘say in explanation’, *kararia* (oppose) which is ‘say in objection’ and *tinia* (cut short/interrupt) which is ‘say out of turn’.

Others specify connotation by the speaker. Examples encountered in the illustrations are *nyũrũria* (taunt) in *makĩnyũrũrio* (being taunted) in Example 4.165 and *negená* (make noise) in *iranegená* (they are making noise) in 4.166. *Nyũrũria* could be interpreted to mean ‘say detestfully’ and *negená* to mean ‘say in an unruly manner’. Other examples here include *anĩrĩra* (shout) which

implies ‘say loudly’, *tītīrithia* (insist) which implies saying with emphasis and *thaiitha* (plead) which implies ‘saying emphatically and seriously’.

Atīrī/atīrīrī is an expletive commonly incorporated in the projecting clause in paratactic nexuses. It introduces the quote and it occurs when the projecting clause comes first. For example, it could be used in GCC 4.161 above as illustrated in Example 4.168 below:

4.168 Ithuĩ tūmeraga *atīrī/atīrīrī*, “Wee wĩ mūkĩgu ta nyūkwa.”

We tell them, “You are stupid like your mother.”

We normally tell them, “You are as stupid as your mother.”

The expletive also features in Example 4.171 under paratactic idea.

The Gikūyũ locution relation markers are summarised in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Sub-categories of Gikūyũ locution relation markers

| category | | relation markers |
|---|-----------------------|---|
| general verb | | <i>uga</i> (say) |
| verbs specific to speech function | giving information | <i>īra</i> (tell), <i>ītīkīra</i> (agree), <i>īrīra</i> (promise), <i>menyithia</i> (inform) |
| | demanding information | <i>ūrīa</i> (ask), <i>īra</i> (tell) |
| verbs with additional circumstantial features | | <i>cokia</i> (answer/reply), <i>tarīria</i> (explain), <i>negena</i> (make noise), <i>anīrīra</i> (shout), <i>tinia</i> (cut short/interrupt), <i>nyūrūrīa</i> (taunt), |

4.2.2 Idea

Projection of idea involves projection of thinking or what is thought. The projecting clause is a representation of a mental process while the projected clause represents a meaning (idea). In other words, the projected clause contains what is thought. Consider *Paul thought, 'None of us arrived late'*. This nexus is a report of idea. The projecting clause is *Paul thought*, which is a mental process with Paul as Senser. The projected clause is *none of us arrived late*, which is the meaning or the idea of *thought*. It is the Process of the projecting clause.

4.2.2.1 Paratactic Idea

A thought is represented as if it was a wording (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004 p. 456). The example above illustrates a paratactic idea. Following are Gĩkũyũ examples.

4.169 'Nĩngũmũtirithia o kahora nginya one andũ aake,' Gũthera agĩtua
itua ngoro-inĩ. (Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 35)

*'I will assist him just patiently till he finds people his,' Gũthera decided
decision at heart.*

'I will assist him patiently till he finds his people,' Gũthera decided.

4.170 Mwana ucio ... akamenya, 'Wee mwarimũ aria, no mami nĩ mũira.'
(Inooro TV, 2016).

The child....knows, 'You teacher, speak, but my mother is witness.'

*The child....thinks, 'Continue speaking, teacher, but my mother is a
witness.'*

4.171 Akeeyũria atĩrĩ: Kaĩ mũndũ ũyũ arĩ wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ?

(Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 36).

He would ask himself: Person this is of type which?

He would ask himself: What kind of a person is this?

4.172 Kweri ũyũ mũthuri atũire mũtitũ, Gũthera akĩra na ngoro.

(Thiong'o, 1986b, p. 36)

Surely man this has been living forest, Guthera told herself by heart.

Surely this man has been living in the forest, Guthera thought.

Ningũmũtirithia o kahora nginya one andũ aake (I will assist him till he finds his people) is the projected clause in Example 4.169. It presents a thought in the mind of Gũthera, the subject of the projecting clause *Gũthera agĩtua itua ngoro-inĩ* (Gũthera decided). In Example 4.170, on the other hand, *wee mwarimũ aria, no mami nĩ mũira* (you, teacher, speak but my mother is a witness) gives the content of the mind of the *mwana ũcio* (that child), the subject of the projecting clause *mwana ũcio...akamenya*. This metaphephenomenon is itself a clause nexus.

The explanation is the same for example 4.171, in which the meta-phenomenon is *kaĩ mũndũ ũyũ arĩ wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ?* (what kind of a person is this?). It is a question in the mind of the subjects 'he' (represented by *a* in *akeeyũria*) in the phenomenon *akeeyũria atĩrĩ*. In (4.172) the meta-phenomenon is *kweri ũyũ mũthuri atũire mũtitũ* (surely this man has been living in the forest) while the phenomenon is *gũthera akĩra na ngoro* (Gũthera thought).

4.2.2.2 Hypotactic Idea

4.173 ‘Ni ũrona ta I.G. angĩhota maũndũ maya?’ Inooro Radio, 2016)

Do you see as if the I.G. can manage issues these?

Do you think the I.G. can manage these issues?

4.174 Ndigwĩcīria nĩtũgakorwo kuo. (Inooro Radio, 2016)

I don’t think we will be there.

4.175 Ngai nĩoĩ atĩ ti mũndũ wothe ugaciarwo na ũtonga thĩnĩ wa kanua

gake. (Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 2).

God knew that not person every would be born with riches in mouth his/hers.

God knew that not everybody would be born rich.

4.176 Nĩ arĩkirie kũgutũka atĩ kothi ĩyo ekaga yarĩ ya kĩrathi gĩa thĩ.

(Archdiocese of Nyeri Communication, 2015, p. 3)

He came to realize that course that he was taking was of class of low.

He came to realize that that course he was taking was of low class.

The meta-phenomenon in Example 4.173 is *ta I.G. angĩhota maũndũ maya?* (as if the I.G. can manage these issues?) and it is a proposal. It is a representation of meaning of the phenomenon *nĩ ũrona* (do you think).

The meta-phenomena in Examples 4.174 to 4.176 are, on the other hand, propositions. These are, respectively, *nĩtũgakorwo kuo* (we will be there), *atĩ ti mũndũ wothe ũgaciarwo na ũtonga thĩnĩ wa kanua gake* (that not everybody would be born rich) and *atĩ kothi ĩyo ekaga yarĩ ya kĩrathi gĩa thĩ* (that that course he was taking was of low class). The phenomena in the same order are:

ndigwĩcīria (I don't think) *nĩ ũrona* (do you think) and *nĩ arĩkirie kũgutũka* (he came to realize).

The four GCCs represent four of the different uses of reporting mental processes identified by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004, p. 449). One use is to probe for information, hence representing the thinking of the addressee in dialogue. This is illustrated by Example 4.173. The speaker poses a question to the addressee to find out what the latter thinks on the ability of I.G, the Inspector General of Police, in handling the matter that were being discussed.

Example 4.174 illustrates the second function, representation of the speaker's thinking in dialogue. The speaker gives his mind in the nexus—that he and another person will have died at some time in future.

Example 4.175 represents an expert's opinion. The speaker is speaking as an authority in religious matters, telling the addressee what he, the speaker, knows about God: that God knows not all people will be born rich.

Finally, example 4.176 shows yet another function, representation of a character's consciousness in a narrative. The GCC gives a realization that came into the mind of the subject of the projecting clause.

Relation markers

Focus is first on *paratactic idea relation markers*. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note that the projected clause is either a question or a statement and that different sets of verbs are associated with these two. This is so in Gĩkũyũ though some verbs can be used in a general way.

The general verbs here project both statements and questions. One such is *kwĩra*. In GCC 4.172–*Kweri ũyũ mũthuuri atũire mũtitũ, Gũthera akĩra na ngoro*, (Surely this man has been living in the forest, Gũthera thought) the verb projects a statement–*Kweri ũyũ mũthuuri atũire mũtitũ* (Surely this man has been living in the forest). However, it can also project a question. For example, *akeeyũria atĩrĩ* (he could ask himself) in Example 4.171 can as well be replaced by *akeĩra atĩrĩ* (he could tell himself). The projected clause in the GCC is a question.

Other verbs in this category are *uga* (say), *gwĩcĩria* (think) and *gwĩcokeria* (answer oneself). *Uga* is used most commonly with *na ngoro* hence *uga na ngoro* (say in the heart). *Gwĩcĩria* (think) can substitute any verb used to project thinking. For instance, *akeyũria atĩrĩ* in Example 4.171 can still read *agecĩria atĩrĩ*.

Those verbs that can only introduce statements include *tua* (decide) as used in Example 4.169–*Gũthera agĩtua...* (Gũthera decided...). *ĩtikĩra* (agree) also falls in this category as in *Agĩtikĩra, ‘Nĩdahotwo’* (he agreed, ‘I have been defeated.’), and also *ririkana* (remember) as in ‘*Njĩrirwo nyinũke,*’ *akĩririkana* (‘I was told to go home,’ he/she remembered).

Verbs that project questions only include *kwĩyũria* (ask oneself) and *cũrania* (wonder). *Kwĩyũria* is illustrated in Example 4.171 in *akeeyũria atĩrĩ* (He asked himself). It projects questions in general. However, *cũrania* carries the connotation of doubt or wonder. The meta-phenomenon in Example 4.171 indicates that the Senser in the phenomenon is in a state of wonder. This state

can be brought out more explicitly by *cũrania*. Therefore, *akeyũria* in the GCC can be substituted by *agecũrania*, hence *agecũrania atĩrĩ* (he wondered).

The use of the term *atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ* in projecting idea is highlighted in Example 4.171 in *akeeyũria atĩrĩ* (he asked himself).

Two observations should be made here. First, the findings have shown that Gĩkũyũ has a special category of reflexive verbs that are used in projecting *ideas*. Examples of these are *kwĩĩra* and *kwĩyuria*, which mean *telling oneself* and *asking oneself* respectively. These demonstrate an observation by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), that the clause projecting idea implies the subject talking to self. For instance, *Gũthera akĩĩra* as it appears in *Gũthera akĩĩra na ngoro* (Guthera told herself by the heart), the projecting clause in GCC 4.172, implies ‘Gũthera (the subject) told herself’.

Secondly, using the expression *na ngoro* (by the heart) makes the idea of the projected clause being a process in the mind, and not something spoken, even more explicit. Other expressions that can serve this purpose are *na kĩongo* (by head) or *na meciria* (by mind).

A similar distinction can be made for the projecting verbs in *hypotactic* GCCs. Though the same verbs of paratactic projections can be used here, some variations can be noted.

An example of verbs used for general purposes is *gwĩciria*. It has been used in Example 4.174 to project the statement *nitũgakorwo kuo* (we will be there). It is used to introduce a question, which in this case is indirect, and can be

demonstrated by reporting example 4.171–*Akeeyũria atĩrĩ: Kaĩ mũndũ ũyũ arĩ wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ?* (He would ask himself: What kind of a person is this?) to produce the following:

4.177 *Agecĩria kaĩ mũndũ ũcio aari wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ.*

He could think/wonder man that was of type which .

He could wonder what kind of person that man was.

The list of the verbs that project statements only is more elaborate. It includes *oĩ* (know) as in Example 4.175, *ona* (see/think) in Example 4.173 and *gutũka* (realize) in Example 4.176. Other examples are *ĩrĩgĩrĩra* (hope), *ririkana* (remember) and *kuũkirwo* (dawn on one).

When projecting a statement hypotactically, the expression *atĩ* (*that*) is optionally used after the projecting verb. (This applies for both locution and idea). Exemplifications of these include example 4.175 in *Ngai nĩoĩ atĩ ...* (God knows that...) and example 4.176 in *nĩ arĩkirie kũgutũka atĩ ...* (he came to realize that...).

Ta (as if) can also be used as in Example 4.173 in *niũrona ta...* (do you see as if...). It suggests uncertainty in the mind.

The verbs used to project indirect questions are *ũria* (ask) and *cũrania*, (wonder). The use of *ũria* has earlier been illustrated in *akeeyũria kaĩ mũndũ ũcio aarĩ wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ*. *ũria* can in this context be replaced with *cũrania* to yield to *agecũrania*, and hence the nexus *agecũrania kaĩ mũndũ ũcio aarĩ we mũthemba ũrĩkũ* (he wondered what kind of man that was).

The *sequence of clauses in projection* is the same in both the categories of *locution* and *idea*, either in paratactic projection or hypotactic projection. Therefore, GCCs of *idea* are used in the discussion below to illustrate the sequences in both paratactic and hypotactic projection.

Paratactic projection yields three structural forms of the nexus. In the first order, the projecting clause introduces the nexus, followed by the projected member. This is represented as 1[^]‘2 for locution and 1[^]2 for idea. The double question mark represents locution while the single quotation mark represents idea. On the other hand, 1 represents the initiating clause and 2 the continuing clause.

An example of paratactic projection with this order (1[^]2) is Example 4.171–*Akeeyūria atīrī: kaĩ mūndũ ũyũ arĩ wa mūthemba ũrīkũ?* (He would ask himself: what kind of a person is this?) 1 is *akeeyūria atīrī* (He would ask himself) while ‘2 is *kaĩ mūndũ ũyũ arĩ wa mūthemba ũrīkũ?* (what kind of a person is this?).

In the second order, the nexus begins with the projected clause, hence ‘1[^]2 for locution and ‘1[^]2 for idea. This is the order in the idea GCC 4.172–*Kweri ũyũ mūthuri atũire mūtītũ, Gũthera akĩra na ngoro* (Surely this man has been living in the forest, Guthera thought). ‘1 is ‘*Kweri ũyũ mūthuri atũire mūtītũ*’ (Surely this man has been living in the forest) and 2 is *Gũthera akĩra na ngoro* (Guthera thought).

In the third order, the projecting clause is sandwiched within the quote. This gives rise to “1<<2>> for locution and ‘1<<2>> for idea. None of the illustrations encountered gives this structure. However, Example 4.169–*‘Nĩngũmũtirithia o kahora nginya one andũ aake,’ Gũthera agĩtua itua ngoro-inĩ.* (‘I will assist him patiently till he finds his people,’ Gũthera decided) can be generated to illustrate the structure. The GCC would appear as 4.178 below.

4.178 *‘Nĩngũmũtirithia o kahora,’ Gũthera agĩtua itua ngoro-inĩ, ‘nginya one andũ aake.’*

‘I will assist him just patiently,’ Gũthera made decision at heart, ‘till he finds people his.’

‘I will assist him patiently,’ Gũthera decided, ‘till he finds his people.’

The split quote, ‘1, is *‘Nĩngũmũtirithia o kahora nginya one andũ aake’* (‘I will assist him patiently till he finds his people’) while the enclosed projecting clause, 2, is *Gũthera agĩtua itua na ngoro* (Gũthera decided).

Hypotactic projection produces only the progressive sequence, in which the projecting clause initiates the nexus followed by the projected clause. The order is presented as $\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$ for locution and $\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$ for idea. The structure is seen in Example 4.176–*Nĩ arĩkirie kũgutũka atĩ kothi ãyo ekaga yarĩ ya kĩrathi gĩa thĩ* (He came to realize that that course he was taking was of low class). In the example, α is *niarĩkirie kũgutũka* (he came to realize) while β is *atĩ kothi ãyo ekaga yarĩ ya kĩrathi gĩa thĩ* (that that course he was taking was of low class).

Table 4.6. below presents a summary of the Gĩkũyũ relation markers of idea.

Table 4.6: Sub-categories of Gikũyũ relation markers of idea

| category | paratactic | hypotactic |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| General verbs | <i>kwĩĩra</i> (tell oneself), <i>uga</i> (say), <i>gwĩcĩria</i> (think), <i>gwĩcokeria</i> (answer oneself) | <i>gwĩcĩria</i> (think) |
| Verbs introducing statements | <i>tua</i> (decide), <i>ĩtĩkĩra</i> (agree), <i>ririkana</i> (remember) | <i>menya/oĩ</i> (know), <i>ona</i> (see/think), <i>gutũka</i> (realize), <i>ĩrĩgĩrĩra</i> (hope), <i>ririkana</i> (remember), <i>kuũkirwo</i> (dawn on one) |
| Verbs introducing questions | <i>kwĩyũria</i> (ask oneself), <i>cũrania</i> (wonder) | <i>ũria</i> (ask), <i>cũrania</i> , (wonder) |

4.3 Chapter Summary

Chapter Four has presented the various FSRs under both expansion and projection manifested in the GCCs and also the relation markers for both their paratactic and hypotactic manifestations. The chapter, therefore, addresses the first two objectives of the study.

The next chapter analyses the GCCs metafunctionally, addressing the study's third objective.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE METAFUNCTIONS OF THE GĪKŪYŪ CLAUSE COMPLEX

5.0 Introduction

The third question of this research focuses on determining how GĪkūyū clause complexes can be analysed metafunctionally. This chapter answers this question. It does this by sampling the GĪkūyū clause complexes (GCCs) identified in Chapter 4 and analysing them metafunctionally while at the same time discussing their salient features.

The chapter is divided into two sections—expansion and projection. Under each, both the paratactic and hypotactic GCCs are explored. Generally, the analysis of the GCCs produces univariate structures due to iteration of functional relationship of elements in the two members of the clause nexuses. Focus is on expansion first.

5.1 Expansion

In discussing the metafunctional analysis of expansion, this section analyses both paratactic and hypotactic GCCs of expansion. Paratactic GCCs are presented first before shifting the focus on the hypotactic ones.

5.1.1 Paratactic Expansion

Paratactic GCCs of expansion may have linkers and, therefore, this section starts by exploring the implication of the linker in the analysis of the paratactic GCCs. The section then addresses the implication of ellipsis in the analysis.

5.1.1.1 The Linker in the GCC

There are two ways of joining the members of a clause nexus to form paratactic expansion GCCs. The clauses may be joined explicitly, in which case a linker is used, or implicitly, a case in which no linker is used (cf. Chapter 4). The implication of a linker in the metafunctional structures of the GCC is demonstrated in Figure 5.1 below. The figure is compared to Figure 5.2, which is an analysis of a GCC without a linker.

In the figures (and all other subsequent metafunctional analyses), clause 1 is the initiating clause while 2 is the continuing clause. The initiating clause is given the thematic choice, hence functioning as the Theme of the GCC, labelled Theme 1. The continuing clause functions as the Rheme of the GCC and is labelled Rheme 1. The two clauses are separated by a double vertical line. On the other hand, bold lines separate the different metafunctions of the GCC. The first line of analysis is the clause as message line of meaning and hence the textual metafunction. The second line is the clause as exchange line and, therefore, the interpersonal metafunction while the third line stands for clause as representation, which gives that experiential metafunction. The metafunctional structures associated with the three metafunctions are thematic, mood and transitivity structures respectively.

In addition, the figures concurrently analyse the GCCs and their English equivalents. It should be noted that the words in brackets in the English translation do not necessarily form part of the English clause in the fine translation version.

Figure 5.1 is a metafunctional analysis of the explicitly expanded GCC 4.111 *Itumbĩ rĩa ũciari nĩrĩtigaga gũthondekwo nĩ mwĩrĩ wake na ũguo mũthiũrũrũko wake wa kahinda ka mweri ũgathira*, whose English translation is *the ovum stops being produced by her body and, that way/so, her monthly cycle ends*. The linker in the GCC is *na uguo* (and that way/and so). Figure 5.2, on the other hand, analyses the implicitly expanded GCC 4.13, *Amenithania ciana ici, ikagĩa mbaara gatagatĩ-inĩ kao* (She has caused enmity among these children, they develop fights in their midst).

Figure 5.1: Explicit paratactic expansion

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|------------------|------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------|
| Itumbĩ rĩa ũciari <i>The ovum</i> | nĩ <i>(focus marker)</i> | rĩ <i>(it)</i> | tigaga <i>stops</i> | Gũthondekwo <i>being produced</i> | nĩ mwĩrĩ wake <i>by her body</i> | <u>na ũguo</u> <i>and that way/so</i> | mũthiūrũrũko wake wa kahinda ka mweri <i>her monthly cycle</i> | ũ <i>(it)</i> | gathira <i>ends</i> | | | |
| 1- initiating clause | | | | | | 2- continuing clause | | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | |
| | topical | textual | topical | Rheme 2 | | | textual | topical | topical | Rheme 3 | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | | | | Theme 3 | | | | | |
| Interpersonal | Subject | | Subject prefix | Finite (∅): <i>present</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Complement | Adjunct | | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>present</i> | Predicator |
| | Mood 1 | | | | Residue 1 | | | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 |
| Experiential | Goal | | Goal | Process: material | Scope: process | Actor | | Actor | Actor | Process: material | | |

Figure 5.2: Implicit paratactic expansion

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| | A menithania | | | ciana ici | i ka gĩa | mbaara | gatagatĩ-inĩ kao | | |
| | <i>He</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>caused enmity among</i> | <i>these children</i> | <i>they</i> | <i>develop</i> | <i> fights</i> | <i>in their midst</i> | |
| | 1-initiating clause | | | | 2-continuing clause | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | | Theme 3 | Rheme 3 | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite: (\emptyset) | Predicator | Complement | Subject | Finite: <i>present</i> | Predicator | Complement | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 | | |
| experiential | Actor | Process: material | | Goal | Actor | Process: circumstantial | | Goal | Circumstance |

When used, a conjunction marks the secondary clause (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004) and is, therefore, part of the clause. The conjunction (linker in parataxis) introduces constituents that distinguish the continuing clause from the initiating clause in the different metafunctions. The linker *na uguo* (and that way/and so) in Figure 5.1 demonstrates this.

In the textual metafunction, the linker introduces a textual Theme, which results in a multiple Theme in the continuing clause. On the other hand, it brings about syntactically empty slots in the interpersonal and experiential metafunctions. This is so because conjunctions, as well as conjunctive adjuncts, do not contribute to the mood and the transitivity structures: they are not elements in the Mood or Residue, hence fall outside the mood structure, and neither are they Participants, Process nor Circumstantial elements, which constitute the transitivity structure (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The situation is different in Figure 5.2: textually, the secondary clause has only one element *i-* (they) in the thematic position, hence topical Theme only. Consequently, there are no empty slots in the interpersonal and experiential metafunctions.

The observations in Figure 5.1 above apply to both the Gĩkũyũ and the English CCs. However, a closer look at the Gĩkũyũ CC reveals some features that make it unique. These features can occur in both expansion and projection, be it in paratactic or hypotactic CCs, and they emanate from the agglutinative nature of Gĩkũyũ.

Consider the analysis of the initiating clause in Figure 5.1—*itumbĩ rĩa ũciari nĩrĩtigaga gũthondekwo nĩ mwĩrĩ wake* (the ovum stops being produced by her body). This is a typical declarative Gĩkũyũ clause whose subject, in terms of formal analysis, is *itumbĩ rĩa ũciari* (the ovum). It is a freely standing nominal expression. Due to agglutination, the subject function is repeated in the verb *nĩrĩtigaga* by the pro-form *-rĩ-* (it) in form of a mesoclitic.

The effect of this is redundancy in the three metafunctions. At the textual level, such a clause will always have at least two elements representing the topical Theme in the multiple theme of the clause. The first element is the free nominal expressions and the second is the procliticised pro-forms. In the present case, the two respectively are *itumbĩ rĩa ũciari* and the mesoclitic *-rĩ-*. The English equivalent will have only one topical Theme, the ovum. *Itumbĩ rĩa ũciari nĩrĩtigaga...* translates to *the ovum stops...*, the Theme comprising *the ovum* only.

At the interpersonal level, the Subject function is repeated since Mood will always have both Subject and Subject prefix. *Subject* will correspond to the first topical Theme, the free nominal element, while the *Subject prefix* will correspond to the second topical Theme, the pro-form. The English equivalent will have Subject only. It is *the ovum* in the present illustration.

The repeated element at the experiential level is the first Participant, represented by the free nominal element and the pro-form. The first Participant in the present case is a Goal, which is represented in both *itumbĩ rĩa ũciari* and

its proform in the verb, *-rĩ-*. The Participant in the English equivalent will only be *the ovum*, the free nominal element.

It should be noted that the free subject such as *itumbĩ rĩa ũciari* (ovum) and its respective bound pro-form such as *-rĩ-* in *nĩrĩtigaga* in the example above are in unilateral dependency: whereas the pro-form is obligatory, the free subject is not.

Another element common in the Gĩkũyũ verb is the proclitic focus marker such as *nĩ-* in *nĩrĩtigaga* (it stops). This gives the GCC, at the textual metafunction, a textual Theme. This is absent in the English equivalent since it does not have a focus marker. However, at the interpersonal level, the focus marker will cause a syntactically empty slot as it does not constitute the mood structure. It is also not part of the transitivity structure at the experiential metafunction and, therefore, the line has an empty syntactic slot too. Consequently, in a typical Gĩkũyũ declarative clause, the first Participant will have its two representatives separated by an empty slot created by the focus marker.

This notwithstanding, there are Gĩkũyũ clauses that lack either or both the free subject and the focus marker. The two clauses forming the GCC analysed in Figure 5.2, for example, demonstrates a case in which the two are missing. The analysis of such a GCC has no redundancy and it rhymes with that of its English equivalent. For instance, in the secondary clause *ikagĩa mbaara gatagatĩ-inĩ kao* (they develop fights in their midst), there is only one topical Theme represented by the proclitic pro-form *i-* (they). The Mood has only one element for the Subject function, while the first Participant in the experiential

metafunction, Actor, is only in one part. The redundancy is missing due to lack of an independent subject in the clause. In addition, there are no empty slots in the interpersonal and experiential analyses that would have resulted from a focus marker.

Nevertheless, redundancy is still evident in a clause lacking the focus marker but with an independent subject. This is illustrated by the analysis of the clause *na ũguo mũthiũrũrũko wake wa kahinda ka mweri ũgathira* (and, that way, her monthly cycle ends). This is the continuing clause in Figure 5.1. The analysis produces two topical Themes in Theme 3, two Subject elements in Mood 2 and two initial Participants, the Actor.

5.1.1.2 Ellipsis in Paratactic Expansion

Cases of ellipsis arise in paratactic expansion in Gĩkũyũ (cf. Section 4.1). The ellipsed part may be a whole element or part of an element in either or both of the members of the clause nexus. In effect, some structural elements may miss in the metafunctional structures though they are recoverable from the semantic or linguistic content of the GCC.

i) Ellipsis in Imperatives

Figure 5.3 below illustrates the ellipsis in an imperative, in which a full element is ellipsed. It is the analysis of GCC 4.12–*Onania wendo waku kũrĩ athĩni, kinyĩria arĩa matehotete ũteithio* (Show your love to the poor; extend to the less fortunate assistance). These are two imperatives joined implicitly. The two have the subject, *wee* (you-singular), as the omitted element..

Figure 5.3: Ellipsis in imperatives

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|---|--|-------------------------------|------------|
| | Onania <i>Show</i> | wendo waku <i>your love</i> | kũrĩ athĩni <i>to the poor</i> | | kinyĩria <i>extend to</i> | arĩa matehotete <i>the less fortunate</i> | ũteithio <i>assistance</i> | |
| | 1-initiating clause | | | | 2-continuing clause | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | Rheme 1 | | | |
| | Theme 2 | | Rheme 2 | | Theme 3 | | Rheme 3 | |
| interpersonal | Finite (\emptyset): <i>present</i> | Predicator | Complement | Adjunct | Finite (\emptyset): <i>present</i> | Predicator | Complement | Complement |
| | Mood 1 | Residue 1 | | | Mood 2 | Residue 2 | | |
| experiential | Process: material | | Goal | Circumstance | Process: material | | Client | Goal |

When a full element is ellipped, some constituents miss in the structure of the clause. Gīkūyū imperatives demonstrate this observation. In an imperative, the subject is omitted but it is always understood to be *wee* (you-singular) or *inyūĩ* (you-plural), the addressee(s) in the clause.

As seen in Figure 5.3 above, the absence of the subject in the imperative does not necessarily affect the thematic structure; it has its two constituents, Theme and Rheme. However, in the interpersonal metafunction, the analysis lacks Subject. This is because the ellipped part forms the grammatical subject, and this is what Subject stands for. The grammatical subject is what is predicated and determines grammatical features such as concord with the verb (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Therefore, Mood in imperatives (both Mood 1 and 2 in Figure 5.3) consists of finite only.

It also follows that in the experiential metafunction, the structure lacks a Participant preceding the Process, the Actor.

However, the ellipped element, *wee* (you-singular) or *inyūĩ* (you-plural), is the psychological subject—what the speaker has in mind to begin the clause, the concern of the message (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Considering that the psychological subject is the Theme, it is then also possible that the thematic structure consists of the Rheme only. The textual analysis of the GCC could appear as in Figure 5.4 below:

Figure 5.4: Thematic structure without Theme

| | | |
|---------|--|--|
| | Onania wendo waku kũrĩ athĩni <i>Show your love to the poor</i> | kinyĩria arĩa matehotete ũiteithio <i>extend to the less fortunate assistance</i> |
| | 1-initiating clause | 2-continuing clause |
| textual | Theme 1 | Rheme 1 |
| | Rheme 2 | Rheme 3 |

ii) Ellipsis in the Secondary Clause

Ellipsis may occur in the secondary clause only. In such a case, the part cut out is recoverable from the primary clause. Consider the analysis of GCC 4.51, *Ithe wa thĩ ndatĩruga kanitha no niingĩ arĩ muumandũ* (her earthly father never missed church, however, he was outgoing), in Figure 5.5 below. In the GCC, *ithe wa thĩ* (her earthly father) is ellipped in the secondary clause *no niingĩ arĩ muumandũ* (however, he was outgoing). The phrase is represented by the pro-form *a-* in the verbal expression *arĩ* (he was), and it constitutes one element.

Figure 5.5: Ellipsis of one element in the secondary clause

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| | Ithe wa thĩ | n | da | tĩiraga | kanitha | <u>no niingĩ</u> | a | rĩ | muumandũ |
| | <i>Her earthly father</i> | <i>(he)</i> | <i>never</i> | <i>missed</i> | <i>church</i> | <i>however</i> | <i>he</i> | <i>was</i> | <i>outgoing</i> |
| | 1-initiating clause | | | | | 2-continuing clause | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | |
| | topical | topical | Rheme 2 | | | textual | topical | Rheme 3 | |
| | Theme 2 | | | | | Theme 3 | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past negative</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Complement | | Subject | Finite: <i>past</i> | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | | Residue 1 | | | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 |
| experiential | Behavior | Behavior | Process: behavioural | Goal | | Carrier | Process: intensive | Attribute | |

It should be noted that the process involved in joining the two independent clauses in Gīkūyū is different from that of joining the English equivalents. The English CC involves substitution. This can be seen in *her earthly father never missed church, however, he was outgoing. He* in the continuing clause replaces *her earthly father* as used in the primary clause and the two cannot co-occur. In Gīkūyū, however, the pro-form *a-* in the secondary clause would still have to be used even if *ithe wa thĩ* was used. The clause would read as *no niingĩ ithe wa thĩ arĩ muumandũ*, directly translating to *however, her earthly father he was outgoing*. Therefore joining the two clauses in the GCC involves ellipsis while joining the English equivalent involves substitution.

This kind of ellipsis in the GCC results in some differences between the analysis of the secondary and the primary clauses. The Theme of the primary clause, Theme 2, is made up of two topical Themes while Theme 3, the Theme of the secondary clause has only one topical Theme. The expression cut out is one of the topical Themes in the primary clause. This is at the textual level.

At the interpersonal level, the pro-form *a-* in the secondary clause functions as Subject. It does not appear as subject prefix, as it would without ellipsis of *ithe wa thĩ*. At the experiential metafunction, the pro-form *n-* in the verb of the primary clause, *ndatĩĩraga*, repeats the first Participant, Behaver, which is *ithe wa thĩ*. Ellipsis in the secondary clause helps in avoiding repetition of the first Participant, which in this case is Carrier. It is apparent, then, that ellipsis in the GCC functions to eliminate redundancy in the secondary clause.

It is also possible that the part cut out constitutes more than one structural element in the analysis. This is especially so when the part cut out is the verb. For instance, GCC 4.3, *Mwĩtĩkĩre gũkoroga thubu, gũkoroga hakiri* (agree to stir the soup, to stir the mind), involves ellipsis of the verb *mwĩtĩkĩre* in the secondary clause. The GCC would otherwise read as *mwĩtĩkĩre gũkoroga thubu, mwĩtĩkĩre gũkoroga hakiri*, directly translating to *you agree to stir the soup, you agree to stir the mind*. The effect of this kind of ellipsis in the three metafunctions is seen in Figure 5.6 below.

Figure 5.6: Ellipsis of the Gĩkũyũ verb

| | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------|---|---|--|
| | Mw <i>(You-plural)</i> | ĩtĩkĩre <i>agree</i> | gũkoroga thubu <i>to stir the soup</i> | gũkoroga hakiri <i>to stir the mind</i> |
| | 1-initiating clause | | | 2-continuing clause |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | Rheme 1 |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | Rheme 3 |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite (\emptyset): <i>present</i> | Predicator | Complement |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | |
| experiential | Senser | Process: mental | Phenomenon | Phenomenon |

At the textual metafunction, the ellipsis carries away Theme and part of the Rheme. The Theme is the proclitic *mw-* (you-plural) and the part of Rheme cut

out is *-ĩĩkĩre* (agree). The secondary clause in the analysis, then, consists only of a part of Rheme (Rheme 3).

Ellipsis of the verb effectively cuts out the whole of Mood and part of Residue in the interpersonal metafunction. This in effect leaves the secondary clause with Complement only, which is part of Residue (Residue 2). The elided verb carries Subject (*mw-*) and the Finite, both of which would constitute Mood. The part of Residue cut out is Predicator. Both Finite and Predicator are carried by the expression *-ĩĩkĩre* (agree), though the finite has zero realisation.

At the experiential metafunction, the elements of the transitivity structure cut out are the first Participant and Process. The Participant is Sensor (*mw-*) and the Process is carried by *-ĩĩkĩre*. It is a mental process. Consequently, the secondary clause is left with only the second Participant, Phenomenon.

Figure 5.6 highlights further the uniqueness of the Gĩkũyũ imperative in comparison to its English equivalent. The expression *mwĩĩkĩre* translates to *agree*. Unlike *agree* (and all English verbs), *mwĩĩkĩre* has a subject component, *mw-*. For this reason, analysis of *mwĩĩkĩre* would not involve ellipsis of Subject in the interpersonal metafunction or the first Participant in the experiential metafunction.

iii) Ellipses of Part of a Constituent

Gĩkũyũ also allows ellipsis of part of a constituent rather than the whole of it in its CCs. In such a case, the metafunctional structures are not affected. This is illustrated in Figure 5.7 below. The Figure analyses the GCC 4.5, *Nĩ*

gũ 'support', *nĩ kũnyitĩrĩra mũciĩ ũyũ* (it is to support, it is to support this home). Uniquely, the ellipsis is in the primary clause and the part cut out is recoverable from the secondary clause.

Figure 5.7: Ellipsis of part of a constituent

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Nĩ | | <i>gũ</i> 'support' | nĩ | | <i>kũnyitĩrĩra mũciĩ ũyũ</i> |
| | <i>It</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>to support</i> | <i>it</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>to support this home</i> |
| | 1-initiating clause | | | 2-continuing clause | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | Rheme 1 | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | Theme 3 | Rheme 3 | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite: <i>present</i> | Adjunct | Subject | Finite: <i>present</i> | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 |
| experiential | Identified | Process: intensive | Identifier | Identified | Process: intensive | Identifier |

The GCC is a case of exposition and, therefore, produces a symmetrical analysis. The part cut out is *mũciĩ ũyũ* (this home), which is part of the Participant after Process in the primary clause. The part is recoverable from the last Participant in the secondary clause, *kũnyitĩrĩra mũciĩ ũyũ* (to support this home). Without ellipsis, the primary clause would appear as *nĩ gũ* 'support' *mũciĩ ũyũ* (it is to support this home).

Consequently, the primary clause has complete structures as are in the secondary clause despite the ellipsis. The part cut out is part of Rheme in

clause as message, Adjunct in clause as exchange and Identifier, which is a Participant in clause as representation.

5.1.2 Hypotactic Expansion

This section first explores the effect of the binder in the analysis of the hypotactic GCC before comparing the analysis of the progressive and the regressive GCCs. It then compares the finite to the non-finite expanding clauses and, finally, discusses ellipsis in hypotactic GCCs.

5.1.2.1 The Binder in the GCC

The analysis of a hypotactic GCC with or without a binder produces more or less similar structures to those produced by their paratactic counterparts (cf. Section 5.1.1.1). The binder introduces the subordinate clause in a hypotactic CC and, therefore, becomes a constituent of the same. Figure 5.8 below analyses GCC 4.67–*Aciari magethaga mbembe rĩrĩa ciana ciathakaga* (the parents were harvesting maize as the children were playing). The binder in the CC is *riĩrĩa* (as). In the Figure (and all the cases of hypotactic analysis), α stands for dominant clause and β stands for dependent clause.

Figure 5.8: Explicit hypotactic expansion

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| | Aciari | ma | gethaga | mbembe | <u>rĩrĩa</u> | ciana | ci | a | thakaga | | |
| | <i>The parents</i> | <i>(they)</i> | <i>were</i> | <i>harvesting</i> | <i>maize</i> | <i>as</i> | <i>the children</i> | <i>(they)</i> | <i>were</i> | <i>playing</i> | |
| | α - dominant clause | | | | | β - dependent clause | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | |
| | topical | topical | Rheme 2 | | | textual | topical | topical | Rheme 3 | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | | | Theme 3 | | | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Complement | | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | |
| | Mood 1 | | | Residue 1 | | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | Actor | Actor | Process: material | | Goal | | Actor | Actor | Process: behavioural | | |

Just like the linker, the binder contributes to the multiple Theme in the textual metafunction by introducing a textual Theme. It also leads to syntactically empty slots in the other two metafunctions, interpersonal and experiential (cf. Figure 5.1).

On the other hand, the features brought about by the binder in the analysis will be missing out in GCC without one. This is illustrated in the analysis of GCC 4.132, *Waragia werekereirie mündũ ãmũturithie* (you speak targeting a person (so that) you hurt him/her) in Figure 5.9 below. The metafunctional analysis lacks the textual Theme and the empty slots (cf. Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.9 Implicit hypotactic expansion

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| | W | aragia | | | werekereirie mündū | ũ | mũ | | turithie |
| | <i>You</i> | <i>speak</i> | | | <i>targeting a person</i> | <i>you</i> | <i>him</i> | | <i>hurt</i> |
| | α- dominant clause | | | | | β- dependent clause | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | | Theme 3 | Rheme 3 | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite: <i>present</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Adjunct | Subject | Complement | Finite (∅): <i>present</i> | Predicator | |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | | | Mo- | <i>Resi-</i> | -od 2 | <i>-due 2</i> |
| experiential | Behaver | Process: behavioural | | Scope: process | Actor | Goal | Process: material | | |

Free and Bound Binders

Binders in the English CC always occur as independent elements. Contrastingly, the binder in Gĩkũyũ can be either free or bound within the verb. *Rĩrĩa* (as) as featured in Figure 5.8 above is an example of a free Gĩkũyũ binder.

An example of a bound binder is *-tangĩ-*, equivalent to *unless*, in the finite GCC 4.151: *Mũtĩ ũtangĩrũngwo wĩ mũnini ndũngĩrũngĩka thutha-inĩ* (unless a tree is straightened when young, it cannot be straightened later). *-Tangĩ-* occurs as a mesoclitic in the verb between the pro-form *ũ* and the *rũngwo*. Its effect in the metafunctional analysis is seen in Figure 5.10 below, which highlights other unique features of the GCC.

Figure 5.10 Bound binder in a finite clause

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------|--|------------------------|--------------|
| | Mũtĩ | ũ | <u>tangĩ</u> | rũngwo | wĩ mũnini | n | dũngĩ | rũngĩka | thutha-inĩ | | |
| | <i>A tree</i> | <i>(it)</i> | <i>unless</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>straightened</i> | <i>when it is</i> | <i>young</i> | <i>it</i> | <i>cannot</i> | <i>be straightened</i> | <i>later</i> |
| | β- dependent clause | | | | | | α- dominant clause | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | |
| | topical | topical | textual | Rheme 2 | | | Theme 3 | | Rheme 3 | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite (∅): <i>present</i> | | | Predicator | Adjunct | Subject | Finite: <i>present,</i> <i>passive,</i> <i>negative</i> | Predicator | Adjunct |
| | Mo- | | - od 1 | | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | Goal | Goal | Process: material | | | Circumstance | | Goal | Process: material | | Circumstance |

The textual analysis reveals that the mesocliticised binder makes a textual Theme the last element of the multiple Theme of the host clause, Theme 2 in the Figure above. This contradicts the claim in FGT that a multiple Theme ends with a topical Theme, which is either a Participant, Circumstance or Process (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004).

In the interpersonal analysis, the binder splits the Mood, Mood 1, by coming in between the Subject prefix and Finite. It yields a syntactically empty slot. This would not be the case in the English clause since the binder (unless) would occur as the first element in the clause. Finally, the binder creates a syntactic gap between the Participant (Goal) and Process. The gap in English would appear at the beginning of the clause, the binder being the initial element.

It is also possible to have a bound binder in a non-finite clause. Such a binder is *-rĩkia* in the expression *arĩkia* in the clause *Baba Mũtheru arĩkia kũruta marũa macio* (after The Holy Father producing the letter). This is the extending clause in GCC 4.99, *Baba Mũtheru arĩkia kũruta marũa macio, mũndũ ũcio nĩetagwo* ‘venerable’. (after The Holy Father produces that letter, that person is called venerable). The metafunctional analysis of such a clause differs from the analysis of a finite one only at the interpersonal level: the Mood is not split due to the absence of the Finite element. Figure 5.11 below illustrates this.

Figure 5.11: Bound binder in a non-finite clause

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--|------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|
| | Baba Mũtheru <i>The Holy Father</i> | a <i>(he)</i> | rĩkia <i>finish</i> | kũruta <i>to produce</i> | marũa macio <i>that letter</i> | mũndũ ũcio <i>that person</i> | nĩ <i>(focus marker)</i> | e <i>(he)</i> | tagwo <i>is called</i> | ‘venerable’ <i>venerable</i> | |
| | β- dependent clause | | | | | α- dominant clause | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | |
| | topical | topical | textual | | | topical | textual | topical | | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | Rheme 2 | | Theme 3 | | | Rheme 3 | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | | Predicator | Complement | Subject | | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>passive habitual</i> | Predicator | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 | | |
| experiential | Actor | Actor | | Process: material | Goal | Identified | | Identified | Process: intensive | Identifier | |

5.1.2.2 Progressive and Regressive Sequences

As noted in chapter 4, hypotactic GCCs could have either progressive or regressive sequence depending on which clause is the primary one.

In **the progressive sequence**, the dominant clause appears first followed by the dependent clause. Hence, the two respectively are the primary and the secondary clauses. Figure 5.8 above, repeated as Figure 5.12 below, is a case of progressive sequence.

Figure 5.12: The progressive sequence

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| | Aciari | ma | gethaga | mbembe | <u>rĩrĩa</u> | ciana | ci | a | thakaga | |
| | <i>The parents</i> | <i>(they)</i> | <i>were</i> | <i>harvesting</i> | <i>maize</i> | <i>as</i> | <i>the children</i> | <i>(they)</i> | <i>were</i> | <i>playing</i> |
| | α- dominant clause | | | | | β- dependent clause | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | |
| | topical | topical | | | | textual | topical | topical | | |
| | Theme 2 | | Rheme 2 | | | Theme 3 | | | Rheme 3 | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Complement | | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> |
| | Mood 1 | | | Residue 1 | | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 |
| experiential | Actor | Actor | Process: material | Goal | | Actor | Actor | Process: behavioural | | |

The Figure reveals that the dominant clause (such as *aciari magethaga mbembe*—the parents were harvesting maize) becomes the Theme of the CC, and is hence labelled Theme 1. The dependent clause (*rĩrĩa ciana ciathakaga*—as the children were playing) becomes the Rheme, and is labelled Rheme 1. Consequently, where a binder (such as *ĩrĩa*—as in the Figure) is used, the features associated with it across the three metafunctions become evident in the secondary clause. (This is always the case whenever a linker is used in paratactic CCs since it only appears in the secondary clause.)

In **the regressive sequence**, on the other hand, the clause given the thematic position in the CC is the dependent clause. It is, in this case, the primary clause. This is illustrated in Figure 5.13 below, which is an analysis of GCC 4.93—*Nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa ndonyire nyũmba yaku, ndarĩ aratigithia kũmumunya nyariĩrĩ* (since I entered your house, she has not stopped kissing my feet). Other examples include Figures 5.10 and 5.11 above.

Figure 5.13: The regressive sequence

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---|----------------|------------------------|------------|
| | Nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa | n | donyire | nyũmba yaku | n | darĩ | a | ratigithia | kũmumunya nyariĩrĩ | |
| | <i>Since</i> | <i>I</i> | <i>entered</i> | <i>your house</i> | <i>she</i> | <i>has not</i> | <i>(she)</i> | <i>stopped</i> | <i>kissing my feet</i> | |
| | β- dependent clause | | | | α- dominant clause | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | |
| | textual | topical | | | topical | | topical | | | |
| | Theme 2 | | Rheme 2 | | The- | Rhe- | -me 3 | -me 3 | | |
| interpersonal | | Subject | Finite (∅): <i>past</i> | Predicator | Complement | Subject | Finite: <i>present, negative</i> | Subject | Predicator | Complement |
| | | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 | | |
| experiential | | Actor | Process: material | Goal | Actor | | Actor | | Scope: process | |
| | | | | | | Process: material | | | | |

The effects of the binder in the three metafunctions are realized in the primary clause, in which it (the binder) appears in the regressive CC. This contrasts the progressive sequence, in which the binder is in the secondary clause. These effects are the textual Theme in the thematic structure and the empty slots in both mood and transitivity structures.

The analysis in Figure 5.13 above can be used to illustrate another unique characteristic of the GCC in relation to the metafunctional analysis, though not unique to regressive or hypotactic clauses. The secondary clause in the figure has two elements representing each of the following constituents: topical Theme, Subject and Actor. They correspond to different components in the verb *ndarĩ aratigithia*, whose fine translation is *she has not stopped*. The first topical Theme, Subject and Actor correspond to *n-* in *ndarĩ* while the second of each corresponds to *a-* in *aratigithia*. Similarly, *aciari magethaga mbembe* (the parents were harvesting maize), the primary clause in Figure 5.12, has two representatives for topical Theme, Subject and Actor. However, the first of each corresponds to a freely standing nominal element, *aciari* (the parents) while the other corresponds to a component of the verb, the pro-form *ma-* in the verb *magethaga* (they were harvesting).

The consequences of the double representation of the above mentioned constituents by elements bound in the verb (*ndarĩ aratigithia* in Figure 5.13), which FGT has not accounted for, can be seen across the three metafunctions. The two expressions representing the topical Theme in the thematic structure are the pro-forms *n-* (in *ndarĩ*) and *a-* (in *aratigithia*) since they have the same

third person referent. They are separated by *darĩ* (has not), which is part of the Rheme. In effect, both Theme and Rheme are discontinued. In the mood structure, the two Subjects are separated by the Finite, the role played by *darĩ*. In the transitivity structure, the two Actors are separated by a part of the Process.

It should also be noted that the redundancy in the analysis of *ndarĩ aratigithia kũmumunya nyariĩrĩ* could still increase. This could happen if the clause began with a free nominal element, such as *mũtumia ũyũ* (this woman), so as to read as *mũtumia ũyũ ndarĩ aratigithia kũmumunya nyariĩrĩ* (this woman has not stopped kissing my feet). The new expression would function as a topical Theme, Subject and Actor. It would thus add to the already existing two of each to make them three.

The enclosed elaborating clause

The study identified cases in hypotactic elaboration in which the elaborating clause is enclosed within the dominant clause (cf. Section 4.1.1.2). Such cases have been noted to occur when what is elaborated, the domain, is a constituent of the primary clause positioned either initially or medial. Analysis of such GCCs, whose sequence of clauses is also progressive, produces different kinds of structures.

When a *non-finite elaborating clause* is enclosed, it discontinues the metafunctional structures of the primary clause. Effectively, some structural

elements of the primary clause occur before and others after the structures of the sandwiched clause. This is demonstrated in Figure s 5.14 below.

The Figure illustrates elaboration of a domain in the initial position, which is always a free nominal expression in such a case. The GCC analysed is 4.33—*Mwana ũcio anyitĩte gĩkombe agĩkũngũiya ũhotani wake* (That child, holding the trophy, celebrated his/her victory). The domain is *Mwana ũcio* (that child) and is elaborated by the non-finite clause *anyitĩte gĩkombe* (holding the trophy).

Figure 5.14: Enclosed non-finite elaboration

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|---------------|------------|
| | Mwana ũcio | <u>a</u> nyitĩte | gĩkombe | a | gĩkũngũiya | ũhotani wake | | |
| | <i>That child</i> | <i>(he/she) holding</i> | <i>the trophy</i> | <i>(he/she)</i> | <i>celebrated</i> | <i>his/her victory</i> | | |
| | α - dominant clause (part 1) | β - dependent clause | | α - dominant clause (part 2) | | | | |
| textual | The- | Rheme 1 | | | -me 1 | | | |
| | topical | | | topical | | | | |
| | The- | Theme 3 | Rheme 3 | -me 2 | Rheme 2 | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject | Predicator | Complement | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator | Complement |
| | Mo- | Mood 2 | Residue 2 | | -od 1 | | Residue 1 | |
| experiential | Actor | Actor | Process: material | Goal | Actor | Process: behavioural | Scope: Entity | |

Two observations can be made on the analysis in the textual metafunction line. First, it is the Theme of the CC (Theme 1) that is discontinued. This happens to be the dominant clause as it is the one that is given the thematic choice in a progressive hypotactic CC.

Secondly, the discontinuation occurs in the multiple Theme of the primary clause, Theme 2. The first topical Theme appears before the structure of the secondary or the subordinate clause while the second topical Theme appears after. The second part of the primary clause, then, has a part of its Theme and the whole Rheme (Rheme 2).

This kind of division occurs due to the redundant nature of the Gĩkũyũ clause that is caused by the pro-form *a-* (equivalent to *he/she*) in *agĩkũngũiya*, the verb of the primary clause. The verb loosely translates to *he/she celebrated*. The fine translation of the verb in English would not have the pro-form *he/she* since the language does not permit the co-occurrence of a subject and a subject prefix. Therefore, *mwana ũcio agĩkũngũiya* would translate to *that child celebrated* but not *that child he/she celebrated*. Therefore, the textual analysis of the English translation has only the Rheme part (celebrated his/her victory) after the secondary clause.

At the interpersonal line, the discontinuation occurs in the Mood of the primary clause (Mood 1). It is the Subject that occurs before the elaborating clause since it is the function of the nominal element being elaborated. The part occurring after the elaborating clause includes the second part of the Mood and the whole Residue (Residue 1).

The second part of Mood includes the Subject prefix *a-*, which is responsible for the redundancy of the function of Subject in the Gĩkũyũ clause, and the Finite. This differentiates it from its English counterpart, which would have the finite element only.

In the experiential metafunction, it is only the first Participant in the primary clause that occurs before the elaborating clause. The Participant in the present case is Actor. The part after the elaborating clause includes the repeated Participant, the Process and the other elements present after the Process. The current GCC has Scope, a Participant. This analysis also differs from the expected analysis of the English CC in that the English one would lack the repeated Participant. The part after the secondary clause would consist of the Process and the elements that would follow it.

Whereas an enclosed non-finite elaborating clause discontinues the metafunctional structures of the primary clause, the case is different when a *finite elaborating clause* is enclosed. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) observe that though not specifying in terms of its meaning, a finite elaborating clause has the same form as a *wh-* type defining relative clause, which is rank-shifted in a nominal group as a Qualifier. Therefore, defying the typical univariate nature of CCs (cf. Section 5.0), analysis of a CC with a finite elaborating clause produces a multivariate structure, hence appearing like a clause simplex.

Consider Figure 5.15 below, the analyses GCC 4.22—*Ithe nĩaheire ciana ciake, iria ciamũrigicĩirie, mũgambo wake wa mũthia* (the father gave his children, who had surrounded him, his last word). The enclosed finite

elaborating clause, which is in bold in the figure , is *iria ciamũrigicĩirie* (who had surrounded him), elaborating the expression *ciana ciake* (his children). The dominant clause, within which the finite clause is enclosed, is *Ithe nĩaheire ciana ciake mũgambo wake wa mũthia* (The father gave his children his last word).

Figure 5.15: Enclosed finite elaboration

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| | Ithe | nĩ | a | heire | ciana ciake iria ciamūrigicūrie | mūgambo wake wa mūthia |
| | <i>The father</i> | <i>(focus marker)</i> | <i>(he)</i> | <i>gave</i> | <i>his children who had surrounded him</i> | <i>his last word</i> |
| textual | topical | textual | topical | Rheme | | |
| | Theme | | | Rheme | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | | Subject prefix | Finite (∅): <i>past</i> | Predicator | Complement |
| | Mood 1 | | | | Residue | |
| experiential | Actor | | Actor | Process: verbal | Goal | Goal |

5.1.2.3 Finite and Non-finite Expanding Clauses

The expanding clause in the GCC could be either finite or non-finite (cf. chapter 4). Cases of each have been encountered in the previous metafunctional analyses as seen in the discussion below.

The difference between the finite and non-finite clauses is clearly seen in the interpersonal metafunction. The *finite* clause has the Finite element in the Mood. This is the element that shows features such as the primary tense and modality (cf. Section 2.2). The *non-finite* clause, on the other hand, lacks the finite element.

An example of a *finite* expanding clause is *iria ciamũrigicĩrie* (who had surrounded him) in GCC 4.22. The Finite is the mesoclitic *-a-* in the verb *ciamũrigicĩrie* (they had surrounded him). It carries the past tense and, as seen in the analysis of the clause in part *a* of Figure 5.16 below, its English equivalent is *had*. An example of a *non-finite* clause is the enclosed expanding clause in Figure 5.14 above, *anyitĩte gĩkombe* (holding the trophy). Analysed in isolation, it would appear as *b* in Figure 5.16 below.

Figure 5.16: Finite versus non-finite expanding clauses

a. Finite expanding clause

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| | iria <i>who</i> | ci <i>(they)</i> | a <i>(had)</i> | mũ <i>him</i> | rigicĩirie <i>surrounded</i> |
| textual | topical | topical | Rheme | | |
| | Theme | | Rheme | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Com- plement | Predicator |
| | Mood | | | Residue | |
| experiential | Actor | Actor | Process: material | Goal | |
| | | | | | |

b. Non-finite expanding clause

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| | a <i>(he/she)</i> | nyifĩte <i>holding</i> | gĩkombe <i>the trophy</i> | |
| textual | topical | Rheme | | |
| | Theme | Rheme | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Predicator | Complement | |
| | Mood | Residue | | |
| experiential | Actor | Process: material | Goal | |
| | | | | |

In the analysis of the non-finite expanding clause in Figure 5.16 above, the Mood has no Finite but Subject only, the pro-clitic *a-* (he/she). It then follows that the pro-form functions in the thematic structure as topical Theme and a Participant (Actor) before the Process in the transitivity structure.

Functional Grammar Theory (FGT) stipulates that a non-finite clause may lack both structural (textual) and topical Themes and, therefore, constitute Rheme only (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The fine translation of *anyit̃te g̃kombe* is *holding the trophy*, a clause without Subject. However, this does not apply in Gĩkũyũ. Even though the Gĩkũyũ clause may lack the textual Theme as in analysis *b* of Figure 5.16 above, the clause must have a topical Theme. This would be either in form of a pro-clitic in the verb as in the present case or in form of a free nominal element alongside the pro-clitic.

A clause with Rheme only will, by extension, constitute Residue only in the interpersonal metafunction. In the experiential metafunction, the transitivity structure would lack a Participant before the Process. It would therefore, contain Process only or Process with other elements following it. At these two levels, the Gĩkũyũ non-finite clause agrees with the theory. Consider the analysis of the regressive GCC 4.123, *Ta arĩ gũkenera ũũru, arutwo maacinaga nyũmba cia toro o mũthenya* (as if enjoying evil, the students were burning dormitories every day) in Figure 5.17 below.

Figure 5.17: Non-finite expanding clause without Mood

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| | Ta arĩ | gũkenera | ũũru | arutwo | ma | a | cinaga | nyũmba cia toro | o mũthenya |
| | <i>As if</i> | <i>enjoying</i> | <i>evil</i> | <i>the students</i> | <i>(they)</i> | <i>were</i> | <i>burning</i> | <i>dormitories</i> | <i>every day</i> |
| | β- dependent clause | | | α- dominant clause | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | |
| | textual | Rheme 2 | | topical | topical | Rheme 3 | | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | Theme 3 | | | | | |
| interpersonal | | Predicator | Complement | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Complement | Adjunct |
| | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 | | |
| experiential | | Process: mental | Phenomenon | Actor | Actor | Process: material | Goal | Circumstance | |

The non-finite clause in the Figure 5.18 is *ta arĩ gũkenera ũũru* (as if enjoying evil). The verb of the clause is *gũkenera* (enjoying), which lacks a pro-clitic pro-form (cf. *anyitĩte* in Figure 5.16). And since the verb is not preceded by a free nominal expression that would act as Subject in the mood structure, the structure only has elements of the Residue. It follows that the transitivity structure in the experiential metafunction lacks a Participant before the process.

The situation above results from the fact that *ta arĩ* (as if) is a conjunction and, therefore, has no role in both the mood and the transitivity structures. The conjunction, however, acts as a textual Theme in the thematic structure. It can, therefore, be concluded from Figure 5.17 that such a Gĩkũyũ non-finite clause without a topical Theme will effectively have a mood structure with Residue only and a transitivity structure with the Process only or Process and other elements that may come after it.

Going back to Figure 5.16, a closer look at the analysis of the verb *ciamũrigicĩrie* (they had surrounded him) reveals further distinction between the Gĩkũyũ and English analyses, particularly in the interpersonal and experiential metafunctions. Consider the juxtaposed analyses of both the Gĩkũyũ verb and its fine English translation in Figure 5.18 below as adopted from Figure 5.16.

Figure 5.18: Gikūyū verb versus its fine English translation**a. Gikūyū verb**

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------------|------------|------------|
| | ci | a | mũ | rigicĩirie |
| interpersonal | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Complement | Predicator |
| | Mood | | Residue | |
| experiential | Actor | Process: material | Goal | |
| | | | | |

b. fine English translation

| | | | | |
|---------------|---------|---------------------|------------|------------|
| | they | had | surrounded | him |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator | Complement |
| | Mood | | Residue | |
| experiential | Actor | Process: material | Goal | |

In the interpersonal analysis of the translation (analysis *b*), both the Mood and the Residue are intact. The Mood has Subject and Finite following each other in that order while the Residue starts with Predicator followed by Complement. In the experiential metafunction, the Process (material) separates the two Participants in the clause as it is a transitive clause. This is typical analysis of such an English clause.

However, the order of element differ in the analysis of the Gĩkũyũ verbal expression (analysis *a*), which is clausal owing to the agglutinative nature of the language. In the interpersonal metafunction, the Mood structure is not affected but the Residue is—Complement comes before Predicator, which is a reversal of the typical order in English. This is because the part functioning as Complement, the pro-form *-mũ-*, is mesocliticised before the stem *-rigicĩirie*, the Predicator. In the experiential metafunction, *-mũ-* functions as Goal, a Participant. It splits the Process, which is made up of the elements constituting Finite and Predicator in the interpersonal structure. The Process, therefore, is *arigicĩirie*.

The Gĩkũyũ clause would only produce an analysis similar to the English one if the pro-form is substituted with a free nominal expression as the latter would come at the end. *Ciamũrigicĩirie* would then read as *ciarigicĩirie ithe* (they had surrounded the father).

5.1.2.4 Ellipsis in Hypotactic Expansion

Gĩkũyũ allows for ellipsis in hypotactic clauses too and Figure 5.17 above demonstrates this. The non-finite expanding clause *ta arĩ gũkenera ũũru* (as if enjoying evil) leaves the addressee begging for the identity of the Participant that was enjoying evil. The identity is recoverable from the dominant clause *arutwo maacinaga nyũmba cia toro o mũthenya* (the students were burning dormitories every day). It is *arutwo* (the students) that seemed to enjoy the said evil. Therefore, the ellipsis in this case occurs in the dependent clause. In the thematic structure, the topical Theme is omitted. This corresponds to the

Subject, which would constitute Mood in the mood structure. In the transitivity structure, it corresponds to the Participant responsible for the status indicated by the verb. All these are recovered in the role of *arutwo* in the dominant clause.

It should, however, be noted that in the experiential metafunction, the recovered Participant will have a different status from that in the dominant clause. In the dominant clause, the status of *arutwo* is Actor while in dependent clause it would have the status of Senser. This results from the change of Process type across the two clauses. On the one hand, the Process in the primary clause is *mental*, which calls for Senser. On the other hand, the Process in the secondary clause is *material*, calling for Actor. This demonstrates that it is possible to have a shift of Process types between the members making up a GCC.

5.2 Projection

The two major categories of projection (locution and idea) yield similar kinds of metafunctional analyses in each of the two forms of taxis (parataxis and hypotaxis). For this reason, this section discusses the metafunctional analysis of GCCs of projection in two parts: paratactic projection and hypotactic projection. The discussion is applicable to both locution and idea and, therefore, the GCCs picked for illustration in each part are from both categories. Paratactic projection is discussed first.

5.2.1 Paratactic Projection

Chapter 4 identifies three kinds of structural sequences in GCCs of projection. One is where the projected clause, the meta-phenomenon or quote, is the primary clause. In the second sequence, the projecting clause, the phenomenon, is the primary clause while in the third sequence, the phenomenon splits the meta-phenomenon (cf. section 4.2.2.4). The three are discussed here in that order.

i) Meta-phenomenon as the Primary Clause

Figure 5.19 below presents the analysis of GCC 4.172, *Kweri ũyũ mũthuuri atũire mũtitũ, Gũthera akĩĩra na ngoro* (surely this man has been living in the forest, Gũthera thought). The GCC falls in the category of idea. It reveals that the analysis of the paratactic GCC of projection does not differ from that of its expansion counterpart.

Figure 5.19: Meta-phenomenon as the primary clause

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------|
| Kweri | ūyū mūthuuri | a | tūire | mūtitū | Gūthera | a | kī | ī | īra | na ngoro | | |
| <i>Surely</i> | <i>this man</i> | <i>(he)</i> | <i>has been</i> | <i>living in the forest</i> | <i>Gūthera</i> | <i>(she)</i> | <i>did</i> | <i>herself</i> | <i>tell</i> | <i>by heart</i> | | |
| ‘1- initiating clause, quote | | | | | 2- continuing clause | | | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | | |
| | interpersonal | topical | topical | Rheme 2 | | topical | topical | Rheme 3 | | | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | Rheme 2 | | Theme 3 | | Rheme 3 | | | | |
| interpersonal | Mood Adjunct | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite (∅) | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | Adjunct | Subject | Subject | Finite: <i>past</i> | Comple-ment | Predi-cator | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 | | | |
| experiential | | Actor | Actor | Process: circumstantial | Circums-tance | Senser | Senser | Receiver | Procecc: mental | Circum-stance | | |

The metafunctional analysis above resembles that of paratactic GCC of extension that has no linker. (Cf. Figure 5.2 in section 5.1.1.1). Nevertheless, Figure 5.19 has multiple Themes in both clauses making up the GCC.

One observation should be made here. The meta-phenomenon begins with the word *kweri* (surely). This is not a conjunction but an element in the mood structure, which functions as a Mood Adjunct. Consequently, it serves in the multiple Theme as an interpersonal Theme. But being neither a Participant, a Process nor a Circumstantial element, it has no function in the transitivity structure. Further, the normal order of Predicator and Complement has been reversed in the Residue of the projecting clause due to the mesocliticised pro-form *-ĩ-* (herself) (cf. Section 5.1.2.2).

Another pertinent observation is in relation to the Process in the phenomenon. It is expressed by the expression *kĩ...ĩra* (told). *Ĩra* (tell) is a verb that expresses a verbal Process. However, it should be interpreted in the present context as a mental Process since the meta-phenomenon is not expressed verbally but it is a thought in the mind of the Participant *Gũthera*, the Senser in the projecting clause. This is indicated by the Circumstantial expression *na ngoro* (by heart).

ii) Phenomenon as Primary Clause

In GCC 4.161, *Ithuĩ tũmeraga*, “*Wee wĩ mũkĩgu ta nyũkwa.*” (we tell them, “You are stupid like your mother.”), the phenomenon is *ithuĩ tũmeraga* (we tell them). The analysis of the GCC, which is in the category of Locution, is presented below in Figure 5.20.

Figure 5.20: Phenomenon as the primary clause

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|----------------|------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------|--------------------------|------------|------------------|
| | Ithuĩ | tũ | ma | | ĩraga | Wee | | wĩ | mũkĩgu | ta nyũkwa |
| | (We) | we | them | | <u>tell</u> | (You) | you | are | stupid | like your mother |
| | 1- initiating clause | | | | | “2- continuing clause, quote | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | |
| | topical | topical | | | | interpersonal | topical | | | |
| | Theme 2 | | Rheme 2 | | | Theme 3 | | Rheme 3 | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Complement | Finite (∅): <i>present</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | vocative | Subject | Finite <i>present</i> | Complement | Adjunct |
| | Mo- | | Resi- | -od 1 | <i>due 1</i> | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | Sayer | Sayer | Receiver | Process: verbal | | | Carrier | Process: intensive | Attribute | Circumstance |

Except for the phenomenon receiving thematic prominence in the GCC, the analysis in Figure 5.20 is not significantly different from that in Figure 5.19. However, the element responsible for the interpersonal Theme in Figure 5.20, *wee* (you), is a vocative while that in Figure 5.19 is a Mood Adjunct. Both the vocative and Mood Adjunct are interpersonal in function and form part of the Mood (See Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.79).

It is common to have Gĩkũyũ paratactic projections with the expression *atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ*. This is an expletive without an English equivalent and can occur in either the phenomenon or the meta-phenomenon. When in the phenomenon, the expression appears last. The effect of this position in the metafunctional analysis is illustrated in Figure 5.21. The Figure is the analysis of GCC 4.171, *Akeyũria atĩrĩ: Kaĩ mũndũ ũyũ arĩ wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ?* (He would ask himself: what kind of a person is this?). It should be noted that the GCC has another expletive, *kaĩ*, which is the initial element in the metaphenomenon.

Figure 5.21: *Atĩrĩ/ atĩrĩrĩ* in the phenomenon

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------------|--|------------------------------|---------|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-----------|--|----------------------|--|
| A ka ĩ ũria | | | | | | | | | | <u>atĩrĩ</u> | | Kaĩ | mũndũ ũyũ | | a rĩ | | wa mũthemba ũrĩkũ | |
| <i>He</i> | <i>could</i> | <i>himself</i> | | <i>ask</i> | | <i>(expletive)</i> | | <i>(expletive)</i> | | <i>this person</i> | | <i>(he)</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>of what kind</i> | | | | |
| 1- initiating clause | | | | | | | | '2- continuing clause, quote | | | | | | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | | | | | | textual | topical | | topical | | Rheme 3 | | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite | Complement | | Predicator | | | | | Subject | | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>present</i> | Complement | | | | |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | | | | | | | Mood 2 | | | | Residue 2 | | | | |
| experiential | Senser | | Receiver | | | | | | | Identified | Identified | Process: intensive | Identifier | | | | | |
| | | Process: mental | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

In the textual metafunction, the expletive *atĩrĩ/ atĩrĩrĩ* occurs as part of Rheme (Rheme 2). However, it falls outside the interpersonal and experiential structures: it does not constitute an element in the Mood or Residue in the mood structure and neither is it a Participant, Process or Circumstantial element in the transitivity structure. The result is, therefore, empty slots in these two metafunctions, and uniquely, at the end. FGT does not account for such a scenario.

However, the case is different when *atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ* occurs in the meta-phenomenon; it always takes the initial position in the clause. This can be illustrated by including it in the GCC analysed in Figure 5.20 above so that it reads: *Ithuĩ tũmeraga, “Atĩrĩ, wee wĩ mũkĩgu ta nyũkwa.”* (We tell them, “You are stupid like your mother.”). It would be analysed as in Figure 5.22 below.

Figure 5.22: *Atĩrĩ/ atĩrĩrĩ* in the metaphenomenon

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|---------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|---------|--------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Ithuĩ | tũ | ma | ĩraga | | | <i>Atĩrĩ</i> | wee | wĩ | | mũkĩgu | ta nyũkwa |
| (We) | we | them | <u>tell</u> | | | (expletive) | you | you | are | stupid | like your mother |
| 1- initiating clause | | | | | | “2- continuing clause, quote | | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | | | |
| | topical | topical | Rheme 2 | | | textual | interpersonal | topical | Rheme 3 | | |
| | Theme 2 | | | | | Theme 3 | | | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Subject prefix | Complement | Finite (ø): <i>present</i> | Predicator <i>habitual</i> | | vocative | Subject | Finite | Adjunct | Adjunct |
| | Mo- | | <i>Resi-</i> | -od 1 | <i>-due 1</i> | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | Sayer | Sayer | Receiver | Process: verbal | | | | Carrier | Process: intensive | Attribute | Circumstance |

In this position, *atĩrĩ* constitutes part of the Theme, becoming a textual Theme in the meta-phenomenon as shown in the Figure above. However, just like in the phenomenon, it has no function in the interpersonal and experiential metafunctions.

The GCCs analysed in Figure 5.21 contain the word *kaĩ* in the meta-phenomenon, another Gĩkũyũ expletive without an English equivalent. As the Figure shows, *kaĩ* functions the same way as *atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ*.

iii) Split Meta-phenomenon

An example of a GCC in which the meta-phenomenon is split is 4.178: *Nĩngũmũtirithia o kahora,* 'Gũthera agĩtua itua ngoro-inĩ, 'nginya one andũ aake.' ('I will assist him patiently,' Gũthera decided, 'till he finds his people.')

The meta-phenomenon is split into two parts: *Nĩngũmũtirithia o kahora* (I will assist him patiently) and *nginya one andũ aake*. (till he finds his people). The GCC is analysed below in Figure 5.23.

The phenomenon, *Gũthera agĩtua itua ngoro-inĩ* (Gũthera decided) detaches *nginya one andũ aake* (till he finds his people), an embedded clause, from the rest of the meta-phenomenon. At the textual level, the Theme of the GCC, Theme 1, is split since this is the role the meta-phenomenon plays in the GCC. Also split is the Rheme of the quote, Rheme 2.

In the interpersonal metafunction, *nginya one andũ aake* (till he finds his people) functions as second Adjunct in the Residue of the meta-phenomenon. Consequently, it is the Residue part in the quote (Residue 1) that is discontinued, with the Predicator and the first Adjunct coming before the phenomenon. In the experiential metafunction, *nginya one andũ aake* (till he finds his people) functions as a second Circumstance.

The implication here is that with the split Gĩkũyũ meta-phenomenon, the metafunctional structures are affected in the split part. However, there are instances where only the thematic structure is affected, with the Theme being split, but the mood and the transitivity structures are left intact. A case in point is when the meta-phenomenon has the expletive *atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ* and the expletive happens to be the detached element. This is quite common in expressing direct quotations in the language. To demonstrate this, let us imagine that Sr. Christine's question in Figure 5.23 above had the continuative and the GCC expressed as follows: "*Atĩrĩrĩ,*" Sr. Christine *akũũria* Sr. Irene, "*Odhiambo auma kũ?*" the GCC would be analysed as follows:

Figure 5.24: *Atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ* as the detached element

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| | Atĩrĩ | Sr. Christine | a | kĩ | ũria | Sr. Irene | Odhiambo | a | uma | kũ | |
| | | <i>Sr. Christine</i> | <i>(she)</i> | <i>did</i> | <i>ask</i> | <i>Sr. Irene</i> | <i>Odhiambo</i> | <i>(he)</i> | <i>has</i> | <i>been</i> | <i>where</i> |
| | “1- initiating clause, quote (part 1) | 2- continuing clause | | | | | “1 initiating clause, quote (part 2) | | | | |
| textual | The- | Rheme 1 | | | | | -me 1 | | | | |
| | textual | topical | topical | | | | topical | topical | | | |
| | The- | Theme 3 | | Rheme 3 | | -me 2 | | Rheme 2 | | | |
| interpersonal | | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>past</i> | Predicator | Complement | Subject | Subject prefix | Finite (∅) | Predicator | Adjunct |
| | | Mood 2 | | | Residue 2 | | Mood 1 | | | Residue 1 | |
| experiential | | Sayer | Sayer | Process: verbal | | Receiver | Carrier | Carrier | Process: circumstantial | | Circumstance |

5.2.2 Hypotactic Projection

Unlike hypotactic extension that has both progressive and regressive sequences, hypotactic projection yields a progressive sequence only. In effect, in a metafunctional analysis of hypotactic projection GCC, the projecting clause (the dominant clause) is always the Theme of the GCC while the projected clause (the report) is always the Rheme. The Analysis of the GCC 4.174, *Ndigwĩciria nĩtũgakorwo kuo* (I don't think we will be there) in Figure 5.25 below demonstrates this.

Figure 5.25: Hypotactic projection

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|--|--------------|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | N | di | gwĩciria | nĩ | tũ | ga | korwo | kuo |
| | <i>I</i> | <i>don't</i> | <i>think</i> | <i>(focus marker)</i> | <i>we</i> | <i>will</i> | <i>be</i> | <i>there</i> |
| | α- dominant clause | | | β- dependent clause | | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | Rheme 1 | | | | |
| | | | | textual | topical | | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | Theme 3 | | Rheme 3 | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite: <i>present</i> <i>negative</i> | Predicator | | Subject | Finite: <i>future</i> | Predicator | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | Senser | Process: mental | | | Actor | Process: circumstantial | | Circumstance |

Another observation here is that the projected clause in this analysis (*nĩtũgakorwo kuo*—we will be there) contains a focus marker, *nĩ-*, introducing the verb. It effectively introduces a textual Theme in the textual metafunctional line and a syntactic empty slot in both the interpersonal and the experiential lines. But it is not always the case that the report has a focus marker. For instance, this projected clause could as well read *tũgakorwo kuo*. In such a case, the structural elements effected by the focus marker would not be present and the GCC would be analysed as in Figure 5.26 below.

Figure 5.26: Hypotactic projection without a focus marker

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|--|--------------|---------------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------|
| | N | di | gwĩciria | tũ | ga | korwo | kuo |
| | <i>I</i> | <i>don't</i> | <i>think</i> | <i>we</i> | <i>will</i> | <i>be</i> | <i>there</i> |
| | α- dominant clause | | | β- dependent clause | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | Rheme 1 | | | |
| | Theme 2 | Rheme 2 | | topical | Rheme 3 | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | Finite: <i>present</i> <i>negative</i> | Predicator | Subject | Finite: <i>future</i> | Predicator | Adjunct |
| | Mood 1 | | Residue 1 | Mood 2 | | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | Senser | Process: mental | | Actor | Process: circumstantial | | Circumstance |

It is also common practice to have the report in Gĩkũyũ introduced by the optional conjunctive, *atĩ* (that). This is exemplified in GCC 4.166—*ona ciana imwe nĩranegena atĩ ciĩtikĩrio ũhoro wa mathako macio* (even some children

are demanding that they be allowed participation in those games). *Att* functions as textual Theme in the dependent clause as seen below in Figure 5.27.

Figure 5.27: Projected clause with *atĩ* (that)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| Ona | ciana imwe | nĩ | i | ra | negena | atĩ | ci | ĩtikĩrio | ũhoro wa mathako macio |
| <i>Even</i> | <i>some children</i> | <i>(focus marker)</i> | <i>(they)</i> | <i>are</i> | <i>demanding</i> | <i>that</i> | <i>they</i> | <i>be allowed</i> | <i>issues about those games</i> |
| α- dominant clause | | | | | | β- dependent clause | | | |
| textual | Theme 1 | | | | | Rheme 1 | | | |
| | textual | topical | textual | topical | Rheme 2 | textual | topical | Rheme 3 | |
| | Theme 2 | | | Theme 3 | | | | | |
| interpersonal | Subject | | Subject prefix | Finite: <i>present</i> | Predicator | | Subject | Predicator | Complement |
| | Mood 1 | | | | Residue 1 | | Mood 2 | Residue 2 | |
| experiential | | Sayer | | Sayer | Process: verbal | | Client | Process: material | Goal |

Unlike all the previous hypotactic analyses, it should be noted that the dominant clause in Figure 5.27 has a textual Theme. It is occasioned by the presence of the connective Adjunct *ona* (even) as the initial element in the clause. Its function is only in the textual metafunction.

5.3 Chapter Summary

Chapter five has presented and discussed the metafunctional analysis of both the expansion and projection GCCs. It has analysed them simultaneously in the textual, interpersonal and experiential metafunctions, answering the final question of the study. Chapter six wraps up the study with a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

Having presented and discussed the findings of the study in the last two chapters, this final chapter summarises these findings. The summary is followed by a conclusion and recommendations based on the findings. Finally, the chapter closes with suggestions on further related areas of research.

6.1 Summary of Findings

This summary is guided by the objectives of the study. The study had three objectives, of which the first two are covered in chapter four. The first objective was to establish the functional semantic relations (FSR) in Gikūyū clause complexes (GCCs) while the second one was to categorise the relation markers in the GCCs. The study has established a total of twenty five (25) categories and forty six (46) subcategories of FSRs in the GCCs under the two broad categories of expansion and projection. The subcategories form the basis of categorisation of the relation markers since each subcategory has its own set of relation markers. However, the study has established that some relation markers feature in more than one subcategory.

Under **expansion**, there are twenty three (23) relations which fall under the three main categories of expansion—*elaboration*, *extension* and *enhancement*.. The sub-categories are forty (40).

The sub-relations under **elaboration** are *exposition*, *exemplification*, *clarification* and *description*. The first three make the meaning of the primary clause more specific through restating, illustrating or explaining it respectively. In the last one, the whole of the primary clause or part of it is described. Elaboration, therefore, has five (5) categories and seven (7) sub-categories of FSRs.

Extension has six (6) categories and eleven (11) sub-categories. These fall under *addition*, *variation* and *alternation*. **Addition** has the subcategories of *additive positive*, *additive negative* and *adversative*. **Variation** has *replacive* and *subtractive* relations while **alternation** has no subcategories. While *additive negative* is only marked paratactically, the rest have both paratactic and hypotactic realisations.

Enhancement, in which one clause gives a circumstantial feature of either *time* (temporal), *place* (spatial), *manner*, *cause* or *condition*, yielded twelve (12) categories and twenty two (22) sub-categories. There are three (3) categories under **temporal enhancement**: *same time*, *different time- 'earlier'* and *different time- 'later'*. **Spatial enhancement** indicates only *same place* while **causal enhancement** may indicate *reason*, *purpose* or *result*. Finally, **conditional enhancement** may give *positive condition*, *negative condition* or *concessive condition*. All the relations are marked both paratactically and hypotactically, with exception of both *causal-purpose* and *causal-result* relations, which are realised hypotactically only.

The second broad category of FSRs in the GCCs is **projection**. Here, one clause is said to project through the other. It has only two (2) categories: *locution* and *idea*. Each has two sub-categories, *paratactic* and *hypotactic*. In locution, the projected words are spoken by the Sayer while those in *idea* are words in the mind of the Senser.

The third objective was to analyse the GCCs meta-functionally. This has been done in the fifth chapter.

In the metafunctional analysis of the GCCs of expansion, the presence or absence of a linker in paratactic GCCs and the binder in the hypotactic ones affect the ‘shape’ of the metafunctional structures. The linker, such as *na* (and), becomes part of the continuing clause in the paratactic expansion. In the hypotactic expansion, on the other hand, the binder, such as *rĩrĩa* (when/as), becomes part of the dominant clause.

In the thematic structure, both the linker and the binder introduce a structural theme, resulting into a multiple theme in the host clause. However, the two do not constitute the mood and the transitivity structures and, therefore, lead to syntactically empty slots in the structures. Without the linker and the binder in the GCC, the thematic structure has only a topical theme while the mood and the transitivity structures have no empty slots.

The binder in hypotactic analysis may either occur as a free element or, due to the agglutinative nature of Gĩkũyũ, appear as a mesoclitic in the verb of the dependent clause. This is a feature that distinguishes the analysis of the GCC

from the English equivalents since the latter is an isolating language. The verb may also begin with the focus maker ‘*nĩ*’. This, like the binder, carries a structural theme in the thematic structure and syntactically empty slots in the mood and the transitivity structures.

In addition, also due to agglutination, the Gikũyũ verb contains a concordial pro-form of the subject of the clause, which could co-occur with a free nominal expression functioning as the subject. The result is redundancy in the three metafunctional structures—the thematic structure gets at least two topical Themes, while the Subject function in the mood structure and the Participant preceding the Process in the transitivity structure are repeated.

The findings on the effects of agglutination in the analysis of the GCCs—both expansion and projection—are of great significance. The agglutinative nature of Gikũyũ was a great motivation to the study as the study hoped to establish how the metafunctional analysis of the agglutinative language compares to that of isolating languages such as English, the language used in describing the Functional Grammar Theory.

The expansion GCCs have also been observed to allow ellipsis. The ellipsis may be of a whole constituent such as the subject in a GCC containing an imperative. In such a case, the thematic structure lacks the Theme while the mood structure lacks the Subject. The transitivity structure lacks the Participant preceding the Process.

Ellipsis of the *Gīkūyū* verb leads to the omission of more than one constituent in the structures. In the Thematic structure, the Theme and part of Rheme are omitted. The mood structure consequently misses all the elements that constitute Mood and also the Predictor in the Residue while the transitivity structure lacks the Process and the Participant preceding it. Finally, the eluded part may be part of a constituent in which case the structures are not affected.

The clauses making up the GCC may have either the progressive or the regressive sequence. In the former, the dominant clause begins the CC while in the latter it is the dependent clause that initiates the CC. In both cases, the structures associated with the two members of the nexus are normally in apposition. The case may be different in non-finite hypotactic elaboration when the domain is part of the dominant clause appearing in the initial or the mid position. The dependent clause breaks the dominant clause and effectively, the structure of the former is enclosed by the structures of the latter. However, in case of finite hypotactic elaboration of an initial or the medial domain, the analysis of the GCC produces a multivariate structure, defying the typical univariate nature of clause complexes in their analysis.

In projection, the ‘shape’ of the metafunctional structures, especially in parataxis, is determined by the position of the phenomenon. The two clauses are normally juxtaposed and so are the structures of each metafunction. However, the phenomenon may break the metaphenomenon, leading to the breaking of the structures of the latter.

The expletives ‘*atĩrĩ/atĩrĩrĩ*’ in the paratactic projection leads to the presence of textual Theme in the thematic structure and empty slots in the mood and transitivity structures. This is the case when the expletive appears in the metaphenomenon as it takes the initial position, mainly in locution. However, if in the phenomenon, it appears as the last element. It therefore becomes part of the Rheme in the thematic structure but still remains outside of the other two metafunctional structures, accounting for the empty slots. This is common in both location and idea.

Hypotactic projection produces structures similar to those of hypotactic expansion. However, projection produces only progressive sequence.

6.2 Implications of the Findings

The findings demonstrate that Gĩkũyũ has a wide range of resources for combining its clauses into clause complexes. These combining elements, both expanding and projecting, bring out different meanings in the clause complexes. Some of the resources were found to be rich in that they can carry more than one semantic role in the GCCs and can, therefore, be used to express more than one LSF. In addition, one LSF can be expressed by different relation markers, revealing that it is possible to express the same meaning in different ways. This has practical implication to the media personalities and playwrights. The players in these fields can familiarize with themselves with the dynamics of the resources so as to create variety and, hence, avoid monotony as they develop their stories.

The findings have also revealed that the relation markers range from simple to complex. This has an implication in development of the Gīkūyū pedagogy. The introduction of the relation markers in the Gīkūyū curriculum should be based on the level of complexity, such that the simple markers are introduced at the lower grades and the complex ones in the higher grades as the learners advance in cognitive abilities.

In relation to the FGT, the study revealed that the theory is applicable in describing Gīkūyū. The language was found to carry the different metafunctions identified by the theory. However, the findings revealed some issues that the theory needs to address. Key among them, it needs to account for the effects of agglutination of the verb in languages such as Gīkūyū in the metafunctional analyses. Such effects include multiple referencing in the CC and, consequently, redundancy in the analyses.

6.3 Conclusion

The findings of this study affirm the assumptions that guided it. The first assumption was that different FSRs hold in the GCCs. This has been established to be true since different relations have been found in the GCCs analysed. The FSRs, majority of which are under expansion, fall under both expansion and projection.

Secondly, different categories of relation markers have been identified under the various FSRs found in the GCCs. This confirms the second assumption of the study—that there are different categories of relation markers in the GCCs.

The markers have been noted to distinguish the different subcategories of the FSRs. Different categories have been identified under both expansion and projection. Under expansion are different subcategories in elaboration, extension and enhancement while under projection are location and idea. Further, different sets of relation markers have been identified to distinguish between paratactic and hypotactic relations in the identified FSRs.

Finally, the findings confirm the last assumption—that GCCs can be analysed metafunctionally. The sampled GCCs have been analysed concurrently in the three metafunctions—textual, interpersonal and experiential—which are, respectively, embodied in the thematic, mood and transitivity structures.

The general conclusion is that Gīkūyū fits within the parameters of FGT. Semantically, it has been possible to describe the GCCs in terms of the different meanings carried by the different metafunctions of the GCCs and the meanings carried by the resources used to develop different relations holding in the complexes. Syntactically, the principle of constituency has proved applicable in the metafunctional analyses of the CCs. Nevertheless, the theory is silent in relation to some features of Gīkūyū. For instance, judging from the resultant analyses, agglutination in Gīkūyū has consequences in the metafunctional structures. For instance, it results in redundancy of the structural elements such as topical Theme in the thematic structure, Subject in the mood structure and Participants in the transitivity structure. FGT has not accounted for this.

6.4 Recommendations

The study has identified different FSRs holding in GCCs, identifying their different relation markers. The study has established that one FSR can be marked by different relation markers, some being emphatic. The study recommends that the users and learners of the language focus on these aspects for, as O'Hallaron (2014) shows, the knowledge of language patterns a language user has influences the choices of the resources one makes. A rich repertoire of Gĩkũyũ relation markers and appropriate selection from the repertoire would improve ones competence and proficiency in the language.

As earlier mentioned, the language policy in Kenya states that languages of the catchment areas should be taught in the lower primary levels (cf. Section 1.6). We recommend that the languages should be taught even at the higher levels and their usage in schools should stop being proscribed. This will go a long way in showing the importance of the languages especially to the young scholars and, therefore, increase the level of interest in them.

Further, in teaching the languages, we recommend that developers of Gĩkũyũ syllabuses adopt the findings of this study so as to expose the learners to complex structures of the languages even at the early stages. This is in agreement with Fillmore and Fillmore (2012) that failing to expose learners to complex structures in academic texts prevents them from discovering how language functions in academic discourse (cf. Section 2.1.1).

We feel that the findings would be relevant to researchers of Gĩkũyũ and related languages and also to institutions teaching African languages, particularly those teaching Gĩkũyũ. We recommend, therefore, that such institutions adopt the findings of the study in developing their curriculum. In addition, the institutions should adopt findings on other African languages, particularly those conducted by the native speakers. Adopting the findings would contribute to the promotion and preservation of the said languages. To enhance the same, we also recommend that these institutions develop journals dedicated to studies on African Languages.

6.5 Areas for Further Studies

The study has confined itself to metafunctional analysis of Gĩkũyũ at the clause complex level. It would be worth carrying out similar studies on the language at the group/phrase level and also on structures above the clause nexus. The latter would involve studying Gĩkũyũ texts with more than two clauses, hence more than one taxis and/or logico-semantic relation. A clause nexus carries only one kind of relation of each of the two types.

The study also confined itself to syntactic analysis of the GCC. We recommend a phonological study on the complexes, studying their tone patterns. For instance, it has been noted that the singular ‘normal’ size pronoun *ũrĩa* represents both human and non-human domains in finite elaborating clauses. However, the pronoun carries the meaning *who* or *whom* in reference to a human domain but *which/that* for a non-human domain. This distinction is not realised grammatically but it is phonologically. *Ũrĩa* is uttered in a lower pitch

in reference to a human domain than a non-human one. The phonological studies are thus necessary, more so that Gĩkũyũ is a tonal language.

Instances of embedding and nesting in Gĩkũyũ were encountered in the process of collecting data for the study. However, in analysing the GCCs, the study has not gone into the details of the two. Embedding involves a clause functioning as constituent in the metafunctional structures while nesting involves linking or binding of a sub-complex, a clause nexus on its own right (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 376). There is need to explore such cases in the GCC.

In the experiential metafunction, circumstantial elements are of different types. Examples of those are Quality and Degree in enhancement and Matter and Angle in projection. The study has not distinguished the types of circumstantial elements in the GCCs. We therefore recommend studies on the different types that feature in Gĩkũyũ.

We also feel it would be important to conduct studies on CCs in other African languages, more so Bantu languages. Such studies would reveal whether features identified in the GCC such as the expletives and the focus markers feature in the other related languages too, or whether the features of size and number determine the relation markers in hypotactic elaboration as is the case in Gĩkũyũ. Moreover, the studies would show whether the languages have additional FSRs to those identified in Gĩkũyũ or whether the relations are realised in the same way. This stems from the fact that though most of the categories of the FSRs in the GCCs are realised both paratactically and hypotactically, exceptions have been identified in which the relations are

marked only hypotactically. Examples are causal-purpose enhancement, achieved through both finite and non-finite clauses, and causal-result enhancement, which is achieved through finite clauses only.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE GĪKŪYŪ CLAUSE COMPLEXES

- 1.1 Kamau nĩ mwĩnyihia na andũ nĩmamwendete.
Kamau is humble and people like him.
- 1.2 Kamau nĩ mwĩnyihia ona gũtuĩka andũ matimwendete.
Kamau is humble even though people do not like him.
- 4.1 Ũkũrũ ũkoora, wĩthĩ ũkamucoka ũthiũ.
Age disappeared, youth returned on his face.
- 4.2 No gũkorwo matiĩyũĩ, no gũkorwo nĩ mariganĩirwo maarĩ a.
Maybe they do not know themselves; maybe they forgot who they were.
- 4.3 Mwĩtikĩre gũkoroga thubu, gũkoroga hakiri.
Agree to stir the soup, to stir the mind.
- 4.4 Mwĩtikĩre gũkoroga thubu, gũkoroga hakiri, gũkoroga tombo.
Agree to stir the soup, to stir the mind, to stir the brain
- 4.5 Nĩ gũ‘support’, nĩ kũnyitĩrĩra mũciĩ ũyũ.
It is to support, it is to support this home.
- 4.6 ...tũkiugaga mwana ti wa mũndũ ũmwe; atĩ mwana nĩ ithaga rĩa rũrĩrĩ.
...saying that a child does not belong to an individual; that a child is a treasure of the community.
- 4.7 No gũkorwo matiĩyũĩ, na njĩra ñngĩ, no gũkorwo nĩ mariganĩirwo maarĩ a.
Maybe they do not know themselves, in another way / in other words maybe they forgot who they were.
- 4.8 Nĩ ciana ‘disciplined’ mũno, citingĩhĩtia thukuru wao.
They are very disciplined children, they cannot misbehave in their
- 4.9 Thĩ ñkĩhana ta yaninamana, mwana akĩgarũka ithe.
The world appeared upside down, child turned against father.
- 4.10 Fr. Domenico Gillio nĩ amaheire o mũndũ wĩra wake na Sr. Irene akĩheo wĩra wa gũthomithia.
Fr. Domenico Gillio gave work to each person and Sr. Irene was given a teaching job.
- 4.11 Fr. Domenico Gillio nĩ amaheire o mũndũ wĩra wake; ta Sr. Irene akĩheo wĩra wa gũthomithia.
Fr. Domenico Gillio gave work to each person; like Sr. Irene was given a teaching job.
- 4.12 Onania wendo waku kũrĩ athĩni, kinyĩria arĩa matehotete ũteithio.
Show your love for the poor, extend assistance to the less fortunate.
- 4.13 Amenithania ciana ici, ikagĩa mbaara gatagatĩ-inĩ kao.
She has caused enmity among these children, they develop fights in their midst.
- 4.14 Na mũcene nĩ mũrimũ... ũkanagia na andũ magĩkũra; agakũra ee mũndũ nginya mũhĩrĩga no ũmũhe mũhĩrĩga wa mũcene.
Gossip is a disease.... that comes with age; (such that) one can be classified as a gossip by the community.
- 4.15 No ũguo ti kũiganu; ũrĩa mũgũthĩĩ kũrũta wĩra nĩgũo gũkuonania nama mũrĩ arũtani akinyanĩrũ.

- But that is not enough; the way you workout there is what will show that truly you are qualified teachers.*
- 4.16 Ngarũro na Mũriũki matiamenyaga magikinya kamũkawa-inĩ: rũgano rwa Matigari rwamatarĩte bũrũri ungĩ.
Ngarũro and Mũriũki hardly realized as they reached the hotel: Matigari's story had taken them to another country.
- 4.17 Onania wendo waku kũrĩ athĩni; na arĩ, ũkinyĩrie arĩa matehotete ũteithio.
Show your love to the poor; at least, extend assistance to the less fortunate.
- 4.18 Ayinde atuĩrĩrwo kĩoho kũu tarĩki 26 mweri wa Mũgwanja, ũndũ ũrĩa ũninĩire mwarĩ mĩnyamaro.
Ayinde was sentenced on 26th July, which has ended his daughter's misery.
- 4.19 Na inyuĩ-rĩ, inyuĩ arĩa angĩ matigarĩte kũu Thuatĩra... ndirĩ mũrigo ũngĩ ngũkĩmũigĩrĩa.
And you, who are remaining in Thyatira... I will not er burden I will lay on you.
- 4.20 Mĩgũnda yake, ĩrĩa ĩrĩ Eldoret, nĩ ĩteithĩtie ciana ciake.
His farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children.
- 4.21 Nĩngĩ mwena wa thutha wa gĩikaro kũu, ũrĩa ũrorete ithũĩro, ũkaũthondekera mbaũ ithathatũ.
And then for the rear side of the dwelling, which faces the west, you will make six frames.
- 4.21. Ithe nĩaheire ciana ciake, iria ciamũrigicĩirie, mũgambo wake wa mũthia
The father gave his children, who had surrounded him, his last word.
- 4.23 Nĩkwarĩ mũndũ wetagwo Jusuf, ũrĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba.
There was a person called Joseph, whom the disciples had named Barnabas.
- 4.24 Nĩngũcokeria Kristo Jesu Mwathani ngatho, o we wahotithirie gwĩka ũguo.
I thank The Lord Jesus Christ, He (who) enabled me to do that.
- 4.25 Nĩkwarĩ kamũndũ getagwo Jusufu, karĩa arutwo matuĩte Baranaba.
There was a small person called Joseph, whom the disciples had named Barnabas.
- 4.26 Ithe nĩaheire twana twake, tũrĩa twamũrigicĩirie, mũgambo wake wa mũthia.
The father gave his little children, who had surrounded him, his last word.
- 4.27 Tũmĩgũnda twake, tũrĩa tũrĩ Eldoret, nĩ tũteithĩtie ciana ciake.
His small farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children.
- 4.28 Mamĩgũnda make, marĩa marĩ Eldoret, nĩ mateithĩtie ciana ciake.
His large farms, which are in Eldoret, have helped his children.
- 4.29 Agigikinya rĩngĩ Kana ya Galili, kũrĩa atumire mai matuĩke ndibei.
He arrived again at Cana of Galilee, where he turned water into wine.

- 4.30 Nīkwagĩire kĩruka gĩetagwo Anafeli gũkũ thĩ matukũ macio ona thutha wamo, o rĩrĩa ariũ a Ngai matonyaga kũrĩ airĩtu a andũ.
There came on earth a people called Nephilim those days and also later, when the sons of God came into the daughters of men.
- 4.31 Nĩkũrĩ andũ maramũtanga, mendete gũthũkia ũhoru ũrĩa mwega wa Kristo.
There are people troubling you, who like to distort the gospel of Christ.
- 4.32 Mwarĩ wa nyina aikaraga gwakwa, kũnyongerera mũrigo wa ũtũũro.
His/her sister lives at my home, adding unto me the burden of life.
- 4.33 Mwana ũcio anyitĩte gĩkombe agĩkũngũiya ũhotani wake.
That child, holding the trophy, celebrated his/her victory.
- 4.34 Ahũrirwo nĩ kĩrĩndĩ kĩnene kĩrakarĩtio nĩ mũtugo yake na mahiga.
He was beaten by a huge crowd, (the crowd) annoyed by his behaviours, with stones.
- 4.35 Nĩrarĩirie arũmĩrĩri ake, macanjamũkĩte mũno nĩ kũmuona.
He addressed his followers, (the followers) greatly thrilled to see him.
- 4.36 Tũramatwarĩire itunda rĩthaitwo na karatathi kairũ.
We took them a fruit, (the fruit) wrapped in a black paper.
- 4.37 Ndamahaire mĩgate ũgĩrĩrwo thani-inĩ.
I gave them loaves bread, placed on a plate.
- 4.38 Nĩrarĩirie rũrĩrĩ rwake, rũcanjamũkĩte mũno nĩ kũmuona.
He addressed his people, (the people) greatly thrilled to see him.
- 4.39 Mũgendi aroragirwo nĩ gĩcogu kĩrakarĩtio nĩ inegene.
The tourist was killed by a huge elephant, (the huge elephant) annoyed by noise.
- 4.40 Athakaga mĩthako-inĩ ya ngerekano na akoragwo arĩ emcee magongona-inĩ.
He acts in plays and he is an emcee in events.
- 4.41 Igongona rĩu nĩrĩgũtũgĩria ũndũire witũ ona rĩhote kũrehe ũigananu kũrĩ andũ.
That celebration will promote our culture and even bring equality to the people.
- 4.42 Ti atĩ nĩmagĩcokire ũnene-inĩ tu, ta atĩ ona rĩu maroneka ta matangĩehereka.
Not only did they returned to power, but even now they seem as if they cannot be removed.
- 4.43 Igongona rĩu nĩrĩgũtũgĩria ũndũire witũ ona nginya rĩhote kũrehe ũigananu kũrĩ andũ.
That celebration will promote our culture and even bring equality to the people.
- 4.44 Mũthuri agethaga mbembe nake mũtumia agaciĩkira ikũnia-inĩ.
The man was harvesting the maize and the woman was putting into the sack.
- 4.45 Itu itune rĩathiũrũrũkĩirie riũa narĩo riũa rĩkaratha mĩguĩ ya mwaki na mĩena yothe.
A red cloud encircled the sun and the sun shot arrows of fire in all directions.

- 4.46 Itu itune rĩathiũrũkĩirie riũa; riũa narĩo rĩkaratha mĩguĩ ya mwaki na mĩena yothe.
A red cloud encircled the sun and the sun shot arrows of fire in all directions.
- 4.47 Agoka e mũndũ mũgima; mbaara ĩgathiĩ ĩnenehete.
He/she comes being an adult; conflict continues to escalate.
- 4.48 Borithi ndĩamenyire aarĩ ũ kana kũrĩa arutĩte ũrũme ũcio.
The police did not know who he was or where he had got that courage from.
- 4.49 Ti tondũ wa ũrĩa ũĩ kana ũrĩa wĩra ũhana.
It is not because of what you know or how the work is.
- 4.50 Ũmũthĩ nĩmwegwatĩra ũhotani thĩini wa mathomo manyu no ũguo ti kũiganu.
Today you have achieved victory in your studies but that is not enough.
- 4.51 Ithe wa thĩ ndaatĩraga kanitha no niingĩ arĩ muumandũ.
Her earthly father never missed church however he was outgoing.
- 4.52 Thĩĩ na ndũgeke ũguo rũciũ.
Go and do not do that tomorrow.
- 4.53 Ũmũthĩ nĩmwegwatĩra ũhotani thĩini wa mathomo manyu ĩndĩ ũguo ti kũiganu.
Today you have achieved victory in your studies but that is not enough.
- 4.54 Muoyo Mũtheru ndatũraga thĩinĩ wa mĩako no atũraga gatagatĩ-inĩ ka andũ.
The Holy Spirit does not live in buildings but he lives in the midst of people.
- 4.55 Tigai kureka ciana cianyu ithomithio mĩrũgamo mĩrũrũ ya kĩndini no nĩ wega mũciitare.
Do not allow your children to be indoctrinated but it is right you advise them.
- 4.56 Nyamu ĩyo ndĩarĩ na guoya mwĩrĩ ũyũ ũngĩ no handũ haguo, yarĩ na mwĩrĩ mũnyoroku ta wa mũndũ.
That animal did not have fur on this other body but instead it had a smooth body like a human being's.
- 4.57 Tiga kũmwarĩrĩra; thĩĩ ũmwĩre.
Do not gossip about him/her; go tell him/her.
- 4.58 Muoyo Mũtheru atũraga gatagatĩ-inĩ ka andũ no ndatũraga thĩinĩ wa mĩako.
The Holy Spirit lives in the midst of people but does not dwell in buildings.
- 4.59 Tiga kũmwarĩrĩra no thĩĩ ũmwĩre.
Do not gossip about him/her but go tell him/her.
- 4.60 Makoragwo o marĩ ahoreri mũno, ĩĩ, tiga hatikĩagaga ũmwe wao mbeũ njũru.
They are very cool, yes, only/except there doesn't lack a bad seed among them.
- 4.61 Kũrĩ na mĩthemba mĩingĩ ya mbaara ya mĩario no he na ũndũ ũmwe ngũkararania na Ann.

- There are many kinds of wars-of-words but I will disagree with Ann on one thing.*
- 4.62 Manyuanagĩra nĩ ũndũ wa gũkorwo kũrĩ na mambura kana magĩkenera ũndũ mũna.
They drink together because of festivities or as they celebrate a certain thing.
- 4.63 Ūremi ũrĩa ũrĩ kuo anga matiraũmenya kana makĩrĩ thĩinĩ wa ũremi ũyũ.
Maybe they are not familiar with the present day crime or they are part of it.
- 4.64 Mbaara ĩyo nĩ yumanaga na mũgambo *either* ũkwaria kana ona gũkira.
That war emanates either from a spoken word or even keeping quiet.
- 4.65 Rĩrĩa andũ acio makũnyuanĩra njohi, manyuaga nginya mũguĩ hamwe.
When those people take bear together, they take the arrow as well.
- 4.66 Rĩrĩa makũhĩtũka na magakorana na mũndũ, mamũgeithagia na kiugo gĩa Gĩthweri.
While/as they pass and meet a person, they greet them in a Swahili word.
- 4.67 Aciari magethaga mbembe rĩrĩa ciana ciathakaga.
The parents were harvesting maize when/as the children played.
- 4.68 Kahĩ kamwe gakĩanĩrĩra, karũgarũgĩte nĩ gĩkeno.
One boy shouted, jumping for joy.
- 4.69 Thengia ya kũgacĩrithia mathomo nĩtuongereire mĩeke ya mawĩra.
Apart from improving education, we have increased job opportunities.
- 4.70 Makaga nyũmba gũkũ makĩinaga nyĩmbo cia wĩyathi.
They constructed houses while singing freedom songs.
- 4.71 Nĩamũkĩre maĩ marĩa ma muoyo atekũgũra.
Let him/her receive the water of life without buying.
- 4.72 Aitangire indo ciake hatarĩ gwĩciria ũhoru wa rũciũ.
He/she squandered his property without minding the future.
- 4.73 Tĩga atĩ kwarĩ kũnene, nĩtwakenirio nĩ ũthaka wa kũndũ kũu.
Except that it was far, we were pleased by the beauty of that place.
- 4.74 Nĩtwĩkĩte maũndũ manene tĩga atĩ tũtinĩte ũkĩa biũ.
We have done great things, only that we have not eradicated poverty.
- 4.75 Mũciari mũgĩ arathimaga ciana ciake handũ ha gũciruma.
A wise parent blesses his/her children instead of cursing them.
- 4.76 Kaba gũtũũra bũrũri ũrĩ werũ mũtheri, gwĩ gũtũrania na mũtumia wa kĩmbĩmbĩ.
It is better to live in a desert land, (rather) than to live with a contentious woman.
- 4.77 Nĩtũrĩkĩtie wĩra wothe tĩga kũhura icicio cia ndirica.
We have cleared all the work except for wiping the window panes.
- 4.78 Tĩga kũrũmĩrĩra kĩrĩndĩ, gũtirĩ ũndũ eciragia.
Except for following the crowd, he/she thinks about nothing.
- 4.79 Akorwo Wanjikũ ndagũthĩ wĩra, agũtinda agĩthoma.
If Wanjikũ will not go to work, (then) she will spend the day reading.

- 4.80 Tūtīgūtwarwo kwona nyamũ cia gĩthaka akorwo nĩ tũgūtwaro monanio ma ũrĩmi.
We will not be taken to watch wild animals if we are taken to the Agricultural show.
- 4.81 Cardinal Pengo agĩtigwo aikarĩte thĩ na akiuga... .
Cardinal Pengo was left seated and he said... .
- 4.82 Mũcemanio ũgũthiaga na mbere wabici-inĩ, na hĩndĩ o ĩo arũrũngani makũng'ethanagira na thigari nja.
The meeting was going on in the office and meanwhile the protestors faced the police outside.
- 4.83 Ndamĩgucagia na hinya wakwa wothe na mũthia ĩkĩhota kũndunya kamera kaimana.
I was pulling the camera with all my energy and finally it managed to wrest it from me.
- 4.84 Endaga kũmĩtwarithia acooke amĩcokie.
He wanted to drive it and then return it.
- 4.85 Athũkũmaga mbeca nyingĩ no thutha agacithũkangia mĩagoi-inĩ.
He/she earns a lot of money but afterwards he/she squanders it in pleasures.
- 4.86 Kaba maambe magacarie gwa kũrara makaarokera ũtuĩria rũciũ.
They would better first look for place to spend the night and proceed with investigation tomorrow early in the morning.
- 4.87 Mũkarĩhwo rũciũ no mbere mũkonania wĩra wanyu.
You will be paid tomorrow but first you will show your work.
- 4.88 Makaarokera ũtuĩria rũciũ no maambe magacarie gwa kũrara.
They will embark on investigation tomorrow in the morning but they first look for a place to spend the night.
- 4.89 Ona rĩrĩa Mũgĩkũyũ aarĩ thirikari-inĩ ya Kanu ũtongoria-inĩ wa Rais Moi no ahacagwo.
Even when the Kikuyus were in the Kanu government under President Moi's leadership, they were still short-changed.
- 4.90 Hĩndĩ ĩrĩa maĩ ma mineral water mokire Nairobi nĩkwarwarirwo Korera na njĩra nene mũno.
When mineral water came to Nairobi, people contracted Cholera in a greatly.
- 4.91 Rĩrĩa rĩothe twaikara twendaine, Ngai aikaraga thĩinĩ witũ.
Whenever we stay in love, God is in us.
- 4.92 Mbaara ĩyo nĩ ĩkoragwo ĩhinyĩrĩrie 'especially' mwana wa kahĩ mũno kuma arĩ mũnini.
That fight oppresses especially the boy child a lot since young age.
- 4.93 Nginya hĩndĩ ĩrĩa ndonyire nyũmba yaku, ndarĩ aratigithia kũmumunya nyariĩrĩ.
Since I entered your house, she has not stopped kissing my feet.
- 4.94 Thirikari ya Kanu ndĩngĩhota kũrũmbũiya maũndũ megĩ Mũgĩkũyũ ĩtarĩ ĩramba kũrũmbũiya maũndũ makoniĩ ndũrĩrĩ iria ciamĩikĩrie kura.
The Kanu government cannot take care of the Kikuyu's interests before those of the tribes that voted for it.

- 4.95 Wakĩoi akĩrũgama ameroreire o nginya makĩbuĩria.
Wakĩoi stood looking at them until they vanished.
- 4.96 O akĩmarathimaga, agĩtigana nao.
While still blessing them, He parted with them.
- 4.97 Wakĩoi kũigua ‘tear gas’ akĩmaka.
On hearing the word ‘tear gas’, Wakĩoi got shocked.
- 4.98 Nĩ twathire na mbere na ũtũro thutha wa kũheo mataaro.
We went ahead with life after being given advice.
- 4.99 Baba Mũtheru arĩkia kũruta marũa macio, mũndũ ũcio nĩ etagwo ‘venerable’.
After The Holy Father produces the letter, that person is referred to as ‘venerable’.
- 4.100 Eruta Gĩkũyũ agĩtũmwo nĩ Bishop Phillip Perlo Miceni ya Gĩkondi.
After learning Gĩkũyũ, she was sent by Bishop Philip Perlo to Gĩkondi Parish.
- 4.101 Mwana nĩ akoragwo oĩ ũrĩa andũ a mũciĩ wao maragia mbere ya gũciarwo.
A child knows how people of its home speak before being born.
- 4.102 No Kamũira ka ngariũre matharaita, ũcio, nĩathire. *But before I prepare the weapons, he is gone.*
- 4.103 Ũtanamba kuongerera-rĩ, ndĩrenda... tũheane kĩhonia.
Before you add, I want ... us to give a solution.
- 4.104 Hakuhĩ wĩra wake wothe wa ũmiconarĩ arutĩire thĩnĩ wa Diocese ya Nyĩrĩ, na nokuo akuĩrĩire.
She did almost all of her missionary work in the Diocese of Nyeri, and it is where she died.
- 4.105 Igaikio na nja nduma-inĩ na kũu nĩkuo gũkagĩa kĩrĩro na kũharagania magego.
They will be thrown out in the darkness, and there will occur crying and gnashing of teeth.
- 4.106 Na makinya handũ hetagwo Kĩbuuri, hau nĩho mamwambire mũtĩ igũrũ. *And when they arrived at a place called The Skull, there they crucified him atop a tree.*
- 4.107 Mũtumia ũcio ateng’erire nginya haria atigĩte mwana wake.
The woman ran up to where she had left her child.
- 4.108 Twakuire mathandũkũ kuma harĩa ngari yathũkĩire.
We carried the boxes from where the vehicle had broken down.
- 4.109 Mũsamaria ũmwe agĩthĩ ũgeni agĩkinya o hau aarĩ.
One Samaritan, as he journeyed, arrived where he was.
- 4.110 Harĩa hothe etigĩri Ngai makoragwo, hakoragwo haihũrĩte gĩkeno.
Wherever God fearing people are is full of joy.
- 4.111 Itumbĩ rĩa ũciari nĩrĩtigaga gũthondekwo nĩ mwĩrĩ wake na ũguo mũthiũrũrũko wake wa kahinda ka mweri ũgathira.
The production of the ovum by her body stops and that way her monthly cycle ends.
- 4.112 Andũ amwe matitĩaga aciari ao, na njĩra ĩyo makagwata kĩrumi.
Some people disrespect their parents, and that way they get cursed.

- 4.113 Ciana-rĩ, irĩithagio nĩ aciari, ikaheo mĩtugo mĩega. (Inooro Radio, 2016)
Children are looked after by parents, they are trained in good manners.
- 4.114 Ũmenyekaga na kũnyota mũno.
It is known through great thirst.
- 4.115 Kũhĩtũkĩra/kũgerera gũikara kũndũ gũtheru no tũnyihie mĩrimũ gatagatĩ-inĩ gaitũ.
Through staying in a clean environment, we can reduce diseases among us.
- 4.116 Njoroge athomire arĩ mũnini, na o ũguo akĩambĩrĩria gũthũkũma o tene.
Njoroge studied young, and similarly started earning early.
- 4.117 Mwana mwathĩki nĩakenagia mũciari, na o ũndũ ũmwe mũthomi mũũgĩ nĩarehagĩra mũrutani gĩkeno.
An obedient child pleases the parent, and similarly a bright student brings the teacher joy.
- 4.118 Īka ũguo na kĩo ta ũrarĩhwo
Do that with zest like/as if you are being paid.
- 4.119 O ta ũrĩa tawa mwakanu ũnyuaga maguta ũgathira, Sr. Irene nĩ akuire mathaa ma hwaĩ-inĩ.
Just like the way/as a lit lamp consumes oil to the end, Sr. Irene died in the evening hours.
- 4.120 Maũndũ make matirathiĩ ũrĩa kwagĩrĩire.
His affairs are not moving as expected.
- 4.121 O uguo akũhete, o nawe nĩũkũhe angĩ.
Just the way/as he has given you, give to others.
- 4.122 Mahuti maingĩ makĩĩnyitĩrĩra nguo-inĩ ciake ta arĩ kũmũkũngũira.
Many leaves stuck onto his clothes as if celebrating him.
- 4.123 Ta arĩ gũkenera ũũru, arutwo maacinaga nyũmba cia toro o mũthenya.
As if enjoying evil, the students were burning dormitories daily.
- 4.124 Mwarimũ Julius eriragĩria gũtũĩka mwarimũ mũnene wa Gĩkondi na uguo akĩoya mweke ucio.
Teacher Julius desired to become the head teacher of Gĩkondi and so/therefore he took that chance.
- 4.125 Ikaraga ũkenete hingo ciothe, gĩtumi wĩ mwana mwende.
Stay happy always, reason/for you are a loved child.
- 4.126 Mũgĩkũyũ ametaga o chomba nĩ amu gĩkonde kĩa kĩa kĩa o ta Ahĩndĩ.
The Kikuyus were calling them 'chomba' because/since their skin was as white as the Indian's.
- 4.127 Toondũ nyũmba rĩu nĩ thiũrũrũkĩrie, ndeeciria ũũ.
Since the house is now surrounded, I have made this decision.
- 4.128 Ararĩhwo nĩ gwĩka ũguo.
He is being paid for doing that.
- 4.129 Nĩ ũndũ wa kũgĩa mĩtugo mĩega, Wanjirũ naĩhambirio ngathĩ.
Because of good conduct, Wanjirũ was promoted.
- 4.130 O mwana arutaga mbeca cigana ũna getha etĩkĩrio kũingĩra kĩa-inĩ.
Each child was producing some money so that he is allowed into the rubbish dump.

- 4.131 Ndereba arūgamīte nīguo ngaari ìthondekwo.
The driver had stopped so that the vehicle is repaired.
- 4.132 Waragia werekereirie mūndū ūmūtūrithie.
You directing your words to a person so that you hurt him.
- 4.133 Arutwo a yunibaacīfī nī marabangīte maandamano ūmūthī mathingīra-
inī ma barūūthi ma Amerika na mburīti kuonania aḥi marakara mao.
*The University students had organized demonstrations today at the
American and British embassies to show this anger.*
- 4.134 Na mworoto wa kūgucīrīria onjoria aingī, thirikari nīngacīrithītie ūgitīri.
*With the aim of attracting many investors, the government has
enhanced security.*
- 4.135 Borithi nīciahūrīre birigiceni gīcagi gīothe cirongoreirie kūhithūria
ahūrani a mMau mau.
*The police carried out an operation in the village intending to unearth
Mau mau fighters.*
- 4.136 Waragia werekeirie mūndū nīguo ūmūtūrithie.
You directing your words to a person so that you hurt him.
- 4.137 Magandirio nī maī ūū aḥi gūtīrī waiguaga kahiū mwīrī.
*They were numbed by the water such that none could feel the pain from
the knife.*
- 4.138 Akūnyaraire nginya ciugo ndonaga cia kuuga.
He despises you to an extent that he has no words.
- 4.139 Rami yahenagia mūndū onage tūria mbere yake.
The tarmac shone such that a person could see small pools aheadjunct
- 4.140 Hoyai na nīmūkūheo.
Pray and you will be given.
- 4.141 Wee hinga īno amba ūrute mūgogo ūcio wī riitho rīaku na hīndī īo
nīūkuona wega.
*You hypocrite, remove that log in your eye first and then you will see
well.*
- 4.142 Inamīrīria gūtū ūtaūku ūyū wakwa ūkīūigie.
Incline your ear so that you hear my understanding.
- 4.143 Korwo Mūgīkūyū no athure anjumbe (MPs) ta atano ūguo na tigitī ya
Kanu-rī, othe nī ūhūthū mangīrī mamīnīcita thirikari-inī ya kanu ūmūthī
ūyū.
*If the Kikuyus could elect about five Mps on the Kanu ticket, they could
all be ministers in the Kanu government.*
- 4.144 Ngai angīkūrathima gayanaga kīrathimo giaku na arīa angī.
If God blesses you, share your blessings with others.
- 4.145 No mūhingie maūndū manene, bata mūikare na ūrūmwe.
You can achieve great things, provided/only you remain united.
- 4.146 Inyūī mwatūūra o mwītīkītīe uge wakwa, mūrī arutwo akwa kūna
If you believe my word, you are truly my disciples.
- 4.147 Ikaragai mwīhūgite kana mūgwe magerio-inī.
Be alert or else you fall into temptations.
- 4.148 Nyūmba ya Awa kwī na itūūro nyingī; gūtangīrī ūguo ingīrī kūmwīra.

In my Father's house are many dwellings; otherwise/if it were not so, I could have told you.

- 4.149 Tiga nyūmba yakirwo nĩ Jehova-rĩ, amĩaki marutaga wĩra wa tũhũ.
Unless the house is built by the Lord, its builders labour in vain.
- 4.150 Tūtĩrĩ ũndũ tũngĩmekaka no matwarirwo referendum.
We have nothing we can do them, unless they are taken to a referendum.
- 4.151 Mũtĩ ũtangĩrũngwo wĩ mũnini ndũngĩrũngĩka thutha-inĩ.
Unless a tree is straightened while still young, it cannot be straightened later.
- 4.152 Kwaga kũgĩtĩra mĩtitũ bũrũri witũ ũgũtuĩka werũ.
Failure to protect forests, our country will become a desert.
- 4.153 Wĩyathi ndũngĩonekire hatarĩ/gũtarĩ gũita thakame.
Freedom could not have been gotten without shedding blood.
- 4.154 Mahinda mangĩ na mangĩ to mũhaka kuoneke kĩama no Baba Mũtheru no andike marũa macio.
It is not necessarily that a miracle is witnessed but the Holy Father can write the letter.
- 4.155 Tũrimũ twa cukuru ĩrĩa-rĩ, tũracinire-ĩ, na cukuru ĩyo noyo yathomithirie nyina.
The little fools of that school burned it down and yet it educated their mothers.
- 4.156 Ona twaria ũtukũ, kwa Mũheshimiwa Jacob nĩ kũracinirwo.
Even after we talked at night, there was arson at Honourable Jacob's place.
- 4.157 Ona akorwo matirauga, marakuonia 'ndwagĩkuĩrwo rĩu'.
Even if they are not saying it, they are showing you that your close one has died.
- 4.158 Wee ũkuma nyūmba ĩyo ũkĩendaga na ũtekwenda.
You will get out of that house whether you like it or not.
- 4.159 Nĩhegũkinya handũ ageta nyina, 'mum'; ndagũĩtĩka.
At a point he/she calls the mother, 'mum'; but she will not respond.
- 4.160 Iteng'eraga na hamwe onakorwo nahau nĩho ngarĩ ĩrĩ.
They run to the same place even if that is where the leopard is.
- 4.161 Ithuĩ tũmeraga, "Wee wĩ mũkĩgu ta nyũkwa."
We normally tell them, "You are as stupid as your mother."
- 4.162 "Nĩguo Father," Sr. Irene akĩmũcokeria.
"It is so, Father," Sr. Irene answered him.
- 4.163 Sr. Christine nĩ oririe Sr. Irene: "Odhiambo auma kũ?" Sr. Christine asked Sr. Irene: "Where has Odhiambo been?"
- 4.164 Mwai Kĩbakĩ nĩaugire aĩ ciĩko cia ũcamba nĩcitũmaga thĩ yarahũke.
Mwai Kibaki said that courageous deeds revive the earth.
- 4.165 Matigagwo makĩnyũrũrio aĩ o no kanyamũ kanini tu macokia mũciĩ.
They are later taunted that they have brought back home very little.
- 4.166 Ona ciana imwe nĩ iranegena aĩ ciĩtĩkĩrio ũhoro wa mathako macio.
Even some children are demanding that to be allowed participation in those games.

- 4.167 N̄oririe aciari mah̄imb̄irie ūiḡir̄r̄iku ūria mahetwo.
He asked the parents to embrace their responsibility.
- 4.168 Ithuĩ t̄umeraga at̄ir̄i/at̄ir̄ir̄i, “Wee w̄i m̄uk̄igu ta nȳukwa.”
We normally tell them, “You are as stupid as your mother.”
- 4.169 ‘N̄inḡum̄utirithia o kahora nginya one andũ aake,’ Gũthera aḡitua itua
ngoro-inĩ.
‘I will assist him patiently till he finds his people,’ Gũthera decided.
- 4.170 Mwana ucio ... akamenya, ‘Wee mwarimũ aria, no mami nĩ m̄ūra.’
The child thinks, ‘Continue speaking, teacher, but my mother is a witness.’
- 4.171 Akeeȳuria at̄ir̄i: Kaĩ m̄undũ ūyũ ar̄i wa m̄themba ūr̄ikũ?
He would ask himself: What kind of a person is this?
- 4.172 Kweri ūyũ m̄thuuri at̄uire m̄titũ, Gũthera ak̄ira na ngoro.
Surely this man has been living in the forest, Guthera thought.
- 4.173 ‘Ni ūrona ta I.G. anḡihota maũndũ maya?’ Inooro Radio, 2016)
Do you see as if the I.G. can manage these issues?
- 4.174 Ndigw̄iciria n̄it̄ugakorwo kuo. (Inooro Radio, 2016)
I don’t think we will be there.
- 4.175 Ngai n̄ioĩ at̄i ti m̄undũ wothe ugaciarwo na ūtonga th̄inĩ wa kanua gake.
God knew that not everybody would be born with rich.
- 4.176 Nĩ ar̄ikirie k̄ugutũka at̄i kothi ãyo ekaga yar̄i ya k̄irathi ḡia th̄i.
He came to realize that that course he was taking was of low class.
- 4.177 Ageciria kaĩ m̄undũ ūcio aari wa m̄themba ūr̄ikũ.
He could wonder what kind of person that man was.
- 4.178 ‘N̄inḡum̄utirithia o kahora,’ Gũthera aḡitua itua ngoro-inĩ, ‘nginya one
andũ aake.’
‘I will assist him patiently,’ Gũthera decided, ‘till he finds his people.’

**APPENDIX 2: KENTATTA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL**



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

E-mail: kubps@yahoo.com
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 Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
 NAIROBI, KENYA
 Tel. 810901 Ext. 57530

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School **DATE:** 26th September, 2016

TO: Mr. Peter M. Wakarindi **REF:** C82/22307/11
 C/o Department of English & Linguistics
 Kenyatta University

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We acknowledge the receipt of your revised Research Proposal entitled “**Clause Complexity in Gikuyu: A Functional Account**” as per recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 25th May, 2016.

You may now proceed with your Data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking Forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the progress Report Forms. The Supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University’s Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

By copy of this letter, the Registrar (Academic) is hereby requested to grant you substantive registration for your Ph.D. studies.

Thank you.

REUBEN MURIUKI
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Chairman, Department of English & Linguistics
 Registrar (Academic) Att; Mr. Likam

Supervisors:


1. Dr. Phyllis W. Mwangi
 C/o Department of English & Linguistics
 KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
2. Prof. Martin C. Njoroge
 Department of Communication, Language & Linguistics
 Pan Africa Christian University
 C/o Department of English & Linguistics
 KENYATTA UNIVERSITY

RM/cao


APPENDIX 3: NACOSTI RESEARCH PERMIT

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officer will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation**

**RESEACH CLEARANCE
PERMIT**

Serial No.A **12332**


CONDITIONS: see back page


THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MR. PETER MAINA WAKARINDI
of **KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-20305**
wanjohi, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County

on the topic: COMPLEXITY OF THE
GIKUYU CLAUSE: A FUNCTIONAL
ACCOUNT

for the period ending
7th December, 2017


National Director General
**National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation**

APPENDIX 4: NACOSTI RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

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 NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/16/10634/15010**

Date: **8th December, 2016**

Peter Maina Wakarindi
 Kenyatta University
 P.O. Box 43844-00100
 NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Complexity of the Gikuyu clause: A functional account*," I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **7th December, 2017**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.


BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
 Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
 Nairobi County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001:2008 Certified