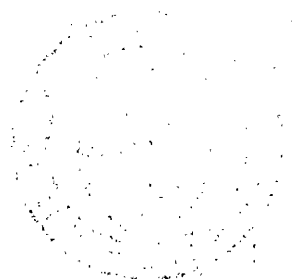


The Structure of the Kuria Verbal

and

its position in the sentence.

W.H.Whiteley



Being a thesis presented to the University of London as part of the requirements laid down for the degree of Ph.D.

1955

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Contents.

Introduction.	1.
1. Main Features of Phonetic Structure.	8.
1. Vowel Phonemes.	8.
2. Adjacent Vowel Sequence.	12.
3. Non-Adjacent Vowel Sequence.	18.
4. Consonant Phonemes.	22.
5. Adjacent Consonant Sequence.	24.
6. Distribution of Vowel and Consoant Phonemes.	26.
2. The Shape of the Verbal.	28.
1. Difficulties of Classification.	28.
2. Verbal Models.	36.
3. Synopsis of Simple Tenses.	41.
4. Distributional Analysis	45.
5. Multiple Tenses.	84.
6. Extended Radicals.	96.
3. The Tone of the Verbal.	102.
1. Introduction.	102.
2. Possibility of establishing tone-classes	103.
3. Speech Tone patterns and 'initial' patterns.	105.
a) Syntactic Variation of pattern.	105.
b).End-Of-Utterance patterns.	108.
c).Interrogative patterns.	108.
d). Patterns associated with extra infixes or suffixed elements.	109.
Appendix 1. Synopsis of patterns in each group.	113.
4. The position of the Verbal in the Sentence.	138.
1. Introduction.	138.
2. The position in Kuria - General -	139.
3. Mono-Verbal Sentences.	141.
4. Poly-Verbal Sentences.	146.
Bibliography.	160.

Conventions Used

- () Between two consonants of the same word, or two vowels, not necessarily of the same word, indicating that they are heard as one syllable. The tone-mark is placed over the first vowel where the sequence occurs in different words.
- () Vowel elided.
- # Junction. Break between words. Used only in tone-marking.
- [Break between segments of a sentence, between verbal phrases, (See, pp. 34 and 147) across which tonal values do not carry.

Abbreviations.

- V. In different parts of the text this is used to designate both 'Vowel' and 'Verbal'. Clear indication is, therefore, given where confusion might be caused.
- C. Consonant.
- R. Radical.
- oⁱ. Object-infix.
- i. Infix.
- s. Suffix.
- s^t. Tense-suffix.
- i^t. Tense-infix.
-

Introduction

The Kuria are a group of Bantu-speaking pastoral-agriculturalists, living in the rolling highlands north-east of Musoma. They stretch southward from the S.Nyanza district of Kenya, across the Mara river, and at the time of the 1948 Census numbered in Tanganyika some 65,000, with a further few thousand in Kenya. They have been little studied either by linguist or anthropologist, and only the most general features of the language or the society are currently known to us¹.

Five sixths of the Tanganyika Kuria live in the North Mara district, whose Administrative centre is at Tarime, forty miles north-east of Musoma. Here, there is a permanent Government station of some half-dozen European officers, and these, with the exception of the isolated gold-miner and Missionary, constitute the only Europeans in the area. Members of the American Mennonite and Catholic Missions work in the district and a branch of the Seventh Day Adventists also operates.

On the north, the Kuria are bounded by the Gusii, to whom they are closely related linguistically, and on the east by the Maasai, with whom there are still occasional border incidents over cattle. To the south, there are many small groups with varying traditions: the Jita and Kwaya with geneological links to the Haya across the Lake: the Zanaki of mixed origins: and the Nata, Ngoreme, Ikoma and Sonjo of the western edge of the Serengeti, with whom the Kuria claim historical relationship.

¹ There is an ethnographical manuscript, 'The Ba-Kuria' by E.C. Baker, late of the Tanganyika administration, and a brief linguistic summary by A. Sillery, 'Notes for a Grammar of the Kuria language'. B. St. 1936. There is also a brief article by O. Dempwolff in Z.F.K. (No. 5.) 1914 -15. More recently H. Cory has prepared a short manuscript on 'The Kuria'.

All these groups have been recently described as 'having a dash of Hamitic or Nilotic blood'¹, but this is not apparent linguistically. Finally, there are groups of Nilotic Lwo along the Lake littoral, with whom the local Kuria have intermingled (i.e. the Girango), as well as isolated pockets inland around the mine-workings.

There are two main traditions of origin held by Kuria. The first is that they came from the North, from a place where a great river flows out of the Lake. This is commonly assumed to be Jinja, in Uganda. A second tradition, more popular among the elders whom I knew, holds that the Kuria came originally from Kamba country in Kenya; reaching, by devious means, the upper reaches of the Mara river in the Mau forest, and following it down towards the Lake. This school of thought maintains that the Sonjo², Ikoma, Nata and Ngoreme of the Serengeti were all Kuria groups which hived off from the main body en route, and that the Gusii also, split off at an early stage. More recently it seems fairly clear that the Kuria came into their present habitat by two main routes: from the East by way of the Serengeti, and from the North by way of Kisii, both routes being compatible with the view that originally they came from the East. The people whom they ousted from these well watered highlands, the Siyenyi, Boboe, and Sarooce, are said to have fled south of the Mara river, where their descendants are assumed still to live.

Cory has maintained recently³ that the Kuria are, in fact, Maasai who emigrated into their present habitat some eleven generations ago, but there is little to support such a view. All the linguistic evidence suggests a close relationship with the Kikuyu rather than with the Maasai.

¹ 'People of the Lake Victoria Region' H. Cory. T.N.R. 33/1952.

² People have, from time to time, noted a tradition that the Sonjo were originally Segeju, who split off from the main group. The links between Segeju and Kamba are known to be strong, though Segeju is currently virtually obsolete. See for example, T. Wakefield, 'Routes of Native Caravans' (J.R.G.S. 1870).

³ op.cit.

As mentioned above, it is widely held that the Kuria at some time crossed the Serengeti, a belief which may well have stimulated Cory's hypothesis.

It is probable that the term 'Kuria' is of fairly recent origin: elderly people told me that in their youth, each of the many component sub-groups¹ was autonomous and there was frequent warfare between them. The remains of stone forts, testimony to this, can still be seen in several places. Territorially each group was divided into clans (egesaku 7/8), sub-clans (irigiha, 5/6) and a three generational patrilineage (eka, 9/10). The clan head (omogaambi, 1\2) held both ritual and secular authority but this latter seems to have depended very largely on his ritual status. The normal everyday affairs of the clan were heard by him with the assistance of a council of elders (incama, 9/10). Cutting across the territorial grouping were the age sets, of which there were two complete cycles². Every man was, and still is, either a Mwanyacuma or a Mwanyasai. In the latter case, if he belongs to the Abagamunyi set, his son will belong to the Abamaine, his grandson to the Abasai, and his son's grandson to the Abanyamburuti set. If, on the other hand, he is a Mwanyacuma of the Abagini set, the sequence will be Abanyaangi, Abacuma, and Abaguruunguru. One set from each cycle was responsible, in the past, for the military well being of the group for a period ranging from 5 - 10 years, after which they became elders and were succeeded by the following set. There was a further grouping based on all who had been circumcized in any one year, but the names of these do not appear to be predictably recurrent.

At the present time much of the earlier organization has decayed, and neither clan nor sub-clan are any longer territorial units. The largest territorial grouping currently is the patrilineage, occupying a group of huts round a central courtyard. Larger aggregates of houses are not a feature of the countryside.

¹ Comprising the- Timbaru, Kenye, Soeta, Iregi, Nyabasi, Nyampongo, Moari, Kira, Mera, Simbiti, Keenai, Kiroba, Rencoka, Suba. The Rencoka live mainly in Kenya, where, with other Kuria they are termed Tende.

² Much useful and interesting comparative material is to be found in 'The Kikuyu and Kamba of Kenya'. J. Middleton. London 1953. (Ethnographic Survey of Africa. E.C. Africa. Pt. 5.)

While agriculture is now widely practised, the Kuria are at heart a cattle people, whose reputations with past administrators has rested on their prowess as cattle thieves, and their capacity for drinking.

The material presented in the following pages was collected in the field between Nov. 1952 - Feb. 1954, together with a brief visit in Jan. - Feb. 1955. During the time I spent in the area I was based at Tarime, in the Butimbaru area of Bukuria¹. While I owe a debt of gratitude to many nameless people with whom I worked, I should like to single out the following, for their great help and patience in what seemed often to them a pointless way of passing time: Zabroni Bitu, Werema Musiaga, Caaca Maita, Johanna Gati, and Gabrieli Nyakisagane. With the exception of the elderly Johanna, all were men of middle age, and with the exception of the last mentioned, who was head-teacher of a 'bush' school, none was educated beyond primary level, and none, so far as I know, knew any English. In the early stages I carried on all work in Swahili, which is used in all local schools, but was later able to use Gi-Kuria for many enquiries though never becoming very fluent in general conversation. All my main informants used the Butimbaru dialect, and it is this form as it was being spoken in Tarime during the past two years that I have attempted to record.

The title of the thesis includes the word 'Structure', a term which has figured largely in anthropological writings, and which has become common in recent linguistic work. Definitions have been numerous, but its use has often stressed the methods of the writer. While a body of data may be susceptible to various methods of treatment, two in particular, those of description and abstraction, seem to me to stand out in the writings of both anthropologist and linguist, and a brief reference is not, perhaps, out of place. Neither, of course, is commonly used exclusively, but a predominance of one or the other is not difficult to establish.

¹ I should like to express my thanks to the Tanganyika Administration for their many kindnesses and hospitality.

An emphasis on description is exemplified in anthropology by the writings of Malinowski and his followers: in Bantu linguistics by the traditional grammar with its description patterned on the categories of Latin grammar. Such an emphasis tends to be interesting in itself - since the description is frequently both accurate and full - but unproductive, since it precludes the possibility of making comparisons between categories.

An emphasis on abstraction is exemplified in anthropology by the writings of Radcliffe-Brown and his students, and in linguistics by the work of the American and Danish 'structural' schools. For both groups the term structure is crucial, and though definitions vary both between and within groups, both linguist and anthropologist are concerned with the same general problem¹ of relating a theoretical construct to the reality of data, whether this be 'actual situation' or 'meaning'. For example, the social anthropologist is concerned with social structure, as a conceptual model of a society or as a network of social relations, in which attention is focused, not on the actual relations which obtain between A, B, and C, but rather on the fact that a relationship exists, which exhibits certain general features. The difficulties of such a position have been summed up recently by Dr. E. R. Leach, who comments, 'the structures which the anthropologist describes are models which exist only as logical constructions in his own mind, what is more difficult is to relate such abstraction to the data of empirical situations'².

The structural linguist, likewise, seems primarily concerned with the relations which exist between categories, in this case between phonemes or morphemes. He makes his description in terms of the distribution of

¹Some interest has already been shown in this aspect. Vid. 'L'analyse structurale en linguistique et en anthropologie'. Word. No. 1. 1/1935. C. Lévi Strauss. Also the same author's 'Language and the analysis of Social Laws'. American Anthropologist. Vol. 53. 1951.

² Political Systems of Highland Burma. E. R. Leach. London. 1954. p. 5.

items in a sample of utterances rather than by identification in terms of an external point of reference¹. Some, indeed, may feel that it is the major contribution of such an approach to have stressed, 'that it is possible to find relationships between linguistic items by studying their distribution'².

There is no doubt that the aversion to meaning as a basis for linguistic description was initially a much needed reaction from its use in setting up grammatical categories, but the present total exclusion of meaning from grammatical description seems to me more apparent than real. In the experimental process by which items in an utterance are replaced by others, as a distributional test, the replacement is made in the first instance by the informant, who replaces not simply 'an item' but an item + implicit meaning'. The completed distributional analysis, is, by the same token, congruent with the totality of associated implicit meanings and should not be discounted from documentation.

A second point is that a total distributional analysis clearly requires an extremely large sample: a partial analysis will be misleading in that valid conclusions for the whole cannot be deduced by extrapolation. Where such a partial study is all that can be effected it would seem necessary to document the implicit limitations of the study by reference to meaning.

In the following pages I am concerned firstly with presenting a brief account of the phonetic structure of the verbal. Following this I proceed to an examination of verbal shapes, in which a formal model is first set up, illustrative of the range of forms occurring: this is then related

¹Note E. Nida's comment, 'If I adopt the formal criterion of distribution it is because we have no technique as yet which will enable us to define the various degrees of semantic difference'. 'The identification of morphemes'. Language. 1948.

²Directions in Modern Linguistics. E. Haugen. Language. 1951.

to the actual distribution of items and their associated meanings. No attempt is made, however, to subsume the totality of meanings associated with a given shape, under a general label to be affixed to that shape. The result is a more complex presentation of verbal shapes than is found in traditional grammars, but it is hoped that it will provide a means of description which may be applied to other languages.

A third chapter is devoted to the tonal structure of the verbal, and in particular to the possibility of establishing verbal tone-classes, and the relation between 'initial' tone-patterns and speech tone-patterns.

A final chapter is concerned with the position of the verbal in the sentence.

Chapter 1.

Main features of the phonetic structure of Kuria

- a) The vowel phonemes.
- b) Adjacent vowel sequence.
- c) Non-adjacent vowel sequence.
- d) The consonant phonemes.
- e) Adjacent consonant sequence.
- f) Distribution of vowel and consonant phonemes in the verbal.

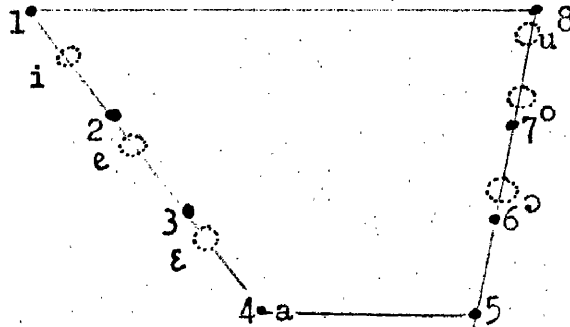
It will be appreciated that while this is a study of the verbal, some account of the phonetic features of Kuria in general, must first be given.

a) The vowel phonemes.

It was not until Guthrie's Classification of the Bantu Languages appeared, that Kuria was recognized as having seven rather than five vowel phonemes. Earlier writers had indeed, noted the difficulty¹ on occasions of distinguishing 'o' from 'u', and 'i' from 'e', but no serious attempt had been made to consider the existence of seven distinct phonemes. Even at the present time not all the missionaries working in the area are convinced of their existence, nor, - even if this were established to their satisfaction - of their necessity in every-day work, though for them the practical difficulties associated with printing probably overweigh considerations of phonetic accuracy.

¹ Notes for a Grammar of the Kuria Language. A. Sillery. B. St. 1936. An extremely brief survey of the language, misleading in its simplicity. Dempwolff (op. cit.) did indeed note a system of 9 vowels but both this and his grammatical material are very sketchy.

The approximate positions of the seven phonemes are set out below:-



All vowels occur both long and short, and the practice is adopted in the text of doubling the vowel for length.

1). i. A close sound, similar to the 'i' of Swahili. The short form occurs in all positions, but I have no example of the long form occurring finally:-

<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>
incugu(---) ¹ Elephant.	-iigu- Hear.
umurugi(---) Cook.	umunciina(---) Leader in war.
imigi(---) Ritual uncleanliness.	

2). e. A close form, though not quite as close as the French é of été. I have noted a tendency, in some speakers more than others, for the quality of the vowel to vary according to that of the following vowel: where this is open, i.e. ε, the sound is more open; where this is close, i.e. i, the sound is more like the English 'hit'. 'e' occurs most frequently in nominal or verbal prefixes, and in the '-ere' suffix of the verbal. It occurs less frequently in stems, and I have no example of it occurring initially in a radical:-

<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long form</u>
emesaanga(---) Beads.	seengai(---) Father's sister
aremere. He has cultivated.	-seens- Snatch at
irigena(---) Stone.	

¹ Tones of nominals as in initial position, preceding a low tone.

3). e. An open sound, rather more so than the French of 'être', approximating to the Swahili sound in -tem-. It occurs most frequently in stems and radicals, but does not occur at all in nominal or verbal prefixes, although one or two exceptions have been heard in various speakers. I have no example of the long form either initially or finally:-

<u>Short Form</u>		<u>Long Form</u>	
-tem-	Ût, beat.	-geend-	Go.
nawe	And he	-toeen-	Divide.
-keny-	Run.		

4). This resembles the sound in Swahili where short, 'kata!', and is close to cardinal 4. It occurs in all positions but I have no example of the long form in either initial or final position:-

<u>Short Form</u>		<u>Long Form</u>	
etara(-~)	Lamp	-maah-	See, observe.
abakari(--~)	Women	-baamb-	Stretch sthg.
tara!	Incise!	gaakai(--)	Father's sister.

5). o. An open sound, close to Cardinal 6, and resembling the English of 'vaught' when short. It occurs rarely finally and I have no example of its occurrence initially in a radical:-

<u>Short Form</u>		<u>Long Form</u>	
umuigoto(--^--)	Repletion	-hooy-	Play.
-no	This	-roor-	Be ill.
-kor-	Do, make.	-koomb-	Scrape inside a pot.

6). o. This is a close sound, difficult for English listeners generally, because the sound does not occur in English, but some approximation to the short form may be made by the Southern English form of 'book'. The short form occurs in all positions but I have no examples of the long form occurring finally except in ideophones:-

<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>
omokari(---) Woman	-boond- Squeeze
-tor- Be able	omoona(---) Child.
goko() Grandmother	-oor- Measure foundations.

It should be noted that as with 2) above I have noted in some speakers that before 'e' and 'o' the sound is rather less close.

7).u. A close sound, close to Cardinal 8, and differing little from the Swahili sound in 'tupu'. The short form occurs in all positions but the long form does not occur initially nor finally:-

<u>Short Form</u>	<u>Long Form</u>
umusi(---) Sugar-cane	-guund- Go bad.
sokuru(-\---) Grandfather	-kuur- Cry.
-tun- Want.	

Vowel length.

Vowel length in Kuria is particularly significant, and no understanding of the language, - nor indeed any orthography - can proceed far without a recognition of the significance of length both in radicals and stems and in verbal affixes.

1. Significant length in radicals.

-sir- Lose	-siir- Bewitch
-beh- Use a bhang pipe	-besh- Reprove
-har- Skirt round	-haar- Scare away
-tar- Incise	-taar- Walk
-kor- Do, make	-koor- Be dirty
-tor- Pluck	-toor- Pick up objects for sorcery.
-kur- Scrape inside of a pot.	-kuur- Cry.

2. Significant length in verbal affixes.

A4. akamaaha(---)	A8. akaamaaha(---)
C4. aakamaahere(---\)	C5. akaamaahere(---\)

Note also the following examples:-

- A1. amaaha(---)
- A2. aamaaha(---)
- C1. amaahere(----)
- C2. aamaahere(----)

b). Adjacent Vowel Sequence.

The majority of examples are taken from the verbal system, but the absence of examples for any particular sequence should not be taken as an indication of their non-occurrence in Kuria generally.

Diphthongs do not occur in the language, but the sequence of two or more vowels, both internally and externally, is common. The examples cited below are often grouped under such heads as coalescence, elision, etc. They are subsumed under the terms adjacent and non-adjacent vowel sequence in the belief that this offers the most convenient way of dealing with the material.

A. Internal.

1). i. The position here is fluid to the extent to which there are variations in the speech of different people, and also in the speed with which any utterance is made. There are three main speeds. A slow speed, used in emphasis to slow witted hearers, or those not having heard the first time. In such utterances there is a minimum of coalescence and virtually no elision. A normal speed, in which there is variation from speaker to speaker. Finally there is a rapid speed in which a maximum of coalescence and elision occurs. Thus:-

1). i + i irigi riibirue(---#^-) The egg has been stolen.

i + e egekebi_ikiene(---#^-) A small knife.

The tri-syllabic form of 'ikiene' occurs only in rapid speech.

i + a areehaancia(----) He will please.

ndamurugia(---^-) I shall make her cook.

These also occur in normal speech as:-

ndamurugia(---^-)

areehaancia(----)

Thus also in nominals:-

ibiakorea(---_) OR ibiakorea(---)

i + o iriino riomoonto(---#_) The man's tooth.

The tri-syllabic form of 'riomoonto' occurs in both normal and quick speech.

I have no examples of the sequences, i + e, i + o, i + u.

2). e.

e + i. ndiiha(nde-e-ih-a)(--_) I shall root up.

incugu. iihire(e-ihire)(--#_) The elephant has rooted up.

e + e ndeεba(nde-e-ba)(--_) I shall forget

emete_emeεje(---#_) Short trees

e + a ndeega(nde-e-aga)(--_) I shall weed.

ndeεgoha(nde-e-aagoha)(---) I shall anticipate.

emete_emeeru(eme-aru)(---#_) Many trees.

but note that where the 'a' is final the following is heard:-

ogosea(---) Grinding

okorea(---) Eating

particularly in rapid speech.

e + o ndiioboha(nde-e-oboha)(---) I shall fear.

ndiiokia(nde-e-okia)(---) I shall light.....

etara ioka(e-oka)(--#_) The lamp burns.

This latter is heard at all speeds, and could often be written:-
'yoka'.

I have no examples of the sequences, e + e, e + o, e + u.

3). ε. I have no examples of 'ε' occurring as first vowel in a sequence.

4). a.

a + i ndaiha(---) I dig up.

baraiha(---) They dig up.

igicaine(---) A civet cat.

seεgai(---) OR seεgai(---) Father's sister.

a + ε ndεba(nda-εba) I forget.(---)

barεba(bara-εba) They forget(---)

abaanto abεje(abaanto aba-εje)(---#_) Short people.

hanɔ ndɛɛbe(nda-ɛbe)If I forget.....(--#--)

a + a iciɔɔɔmbe ciraana(-an-)(--#--) Cattle are lowing.

a + o ndookia(nda-okia)(---) I light a fire.

barookia(bara-okia)(---) They light a fire.

ndooboha(nda-oboha)(---) I fear.

The change in vowel quality should be noted.

I have no examples of the sequences, a + e, a + o, a + u.

5). This occurs rarely as first vowel in a sequence and I have only one example:-

eentsiga(---) Giraffe.

6). o.

o + i Only the long form occurs here

tooiba(to-a-iba)(--) We stole.

mooiha(mo-a-iha)(--) You(pl) dug up.

tooitire(to-a-itire)(--\) We killed.

o + e abaanto boonsoe(---#\) All the people.

ogotoe(---) An ear.

This sequence tends to be heard as one syllable on most occasions, some speakers saying (ogotwi' others 'ogotwe'

o + ɛ okoɛba(---) Forgetting.

oɛbe(---) You are to forget.

okobako_okoɛɛ(---#\) A short arm.

o + a Where the sequence occurs initially the following is heard:-

oakɔra(---) You did.

oamaaha(---) You saw

oarekera(---) You threw.

Where the sequence is preceded by a consonant, however, the following occurs:-

okooga(oko-aga)(---) also (---) Weeding.

okoogoha(oko-aagoha)(---) Anticipating.

toomaaha(to-a-maaha)(---) We saw.

moorekera(mo-a-rekera)(---) You(pl) threw.

It should be noted that the long vowel in speech corresponds to two short vowels in the analysed items.

Finally the following sequence of three vowels should be noted in which there is no variation with speed of utterance:-

han(ɔ) oaiboyue(- #--^-) When you were born....

han(ɔ) oaigu(a) egeento(- #--^- #--^-) When you hear sthg.

I have no examples of the sequences o + ɔ, o + o, o + u.

7).u.

u + i ukuihuuncura(--^-^-) Turning round.

ukuisaba(--^-^-) Bathing.

There is no marked tendency for this sequence to be heard as one syllable.

u + e Occurring only finally.

ntemirue(--^-^-) I have been hit.

ketakunirue(-^-^-^-^-) It has been chewed.

ehayue(--^-^-) It has been given

There is variation from speaker to speaker as to whether this sequence is heard as one syllable or two.

u + a The radical extension associated with a 'Passive' meaning, might be regarded as being 'o' or 'u'. In view, however, of the variation in the radical where 'o' occurs (see below), it is suggested here that, there being no such variation, the extension is 'u'. Once again there is variation from speaker to speaker as to whether the sequence is heard as one or two syllables.

toramaahua(---^-^-) We are seen)

aretemua(---^-^-^-) He will be hit.

but generally:-

atemua(--^-^-^-) and aamaahua(--^-^-^-)

I have no examples of the sequences u + e, u + ɔ, u + u.

B. External.

1). i.

i + i The sequence is associated only with a lengthening of the vowel.

nyseŋgari_iciŋyinyi(_ # _) Increase for me vegetables....
ensabi_ihikire(_ # \) A rhino has come.

i + e The 'e' is normally elided.

egekɛbi (e)getaambe(_ # _) A long knife.
nsookiri (e)kehe(_ # _) I have finished a basket.

In some speakers the word 'ekehe' is heard as 'ɛkɛhe' and in this case the sequence occurs as 'nsookiri ɛkɛhe'

i. + a omokari araruga(_ # _) A woman is cooking.

omokari aantama(_ # _) A woman hit me.

naraayi aramaaha(_ # _) He will be looking.

i + o umusubaati oonde(_ # \) Another girl.

omogeendi omomanyere(_ # _) The traveller, do you know him?

agutiiri ohano(_ # _) He is to find you here.

i + u nsookiri ubukima(_ # \) I have finished the porridge.

I have no examples of the sequences, i + ɛ (exc. above) and i + ɔ.

2). e. The 'e' is elided in all contexts except e + e.

e + i atunir(e) iciŋɔɔmbɛ(_ # \) He looked for the cattle.

ageendi(e) ico(_ # _) He is to go to-morrow.

agorr(e) ibiinto(_ # \) He bought things.

e + e In this sequence there is only slight lengthening of the vowel:-

agorre_egekɛbi(_ # _) He bought a knife.

agorre_etara(_ # \) He bought a lamp.

e + a ohster(e) abakari(_ # \) You have passed the women.

ŋgorr(e) amagi(_ # _) I bought eggs.

togeendi(e) amance(_ # _) We are to go for water.

e + o hano ndaatem(e) okoboko....(_ # \ # _) If I hit my arm....

okseŋg(e) omote(_ # \) You are to cut the tree.

tamaaher(e) onnde hai(\ # _) He has not seen another man.

e + u bareey(e) ubukima(- # - \ -) They have eaten the porridge.
 There is a tendency in some speakers for this to be heard as:-
 bareey(e) obukima(- # - \ -)
 barem(e) uburui(- # - \ -) They rae to plant eleusine.
 I have no examples of the sequences e + e, e + o.

3).e.

e + e eḡoombē (e)no(- # - \ -) This cow.
 e + a we ariihika(- # - -) He will arrive.
 e + o uwe omaahere(- # - -) You have seen.....
 e + u uwe uhkikira(- # - \ -) You have arrived.

I have no examples of the sequences e + i, e + o.

4).a.

a + i kogor(a) ibiinto(- # - -) ..To buy things.
 aratuna guuc(a) ico(- - # - # -) He wants to come to-morrow.
 a + e akamaah(a) eendui(- - # - -) And he saw a lion.
 tokanyoor(a) ensaramuita(- - # - - \ -) And we caught an E.
 akaiigu(a) eenggaamba(- - # - -) And he heard voices.

a + a In this sequence there is only slight lengthening of the vowel.

agatema abaana(- \ # - -) And he beat the children.
 a + o ndatun(a) contēēbi(- \ # - -) I want you to tellme.
 arahaanc(a) omoona(- - # - -) She loves the child.
 a + u ndatēm(a) ubusio(- \ # - -) I am hitting my forehead.
 akarug(a) ubukima(- \ # - -) She is cooking porridge

In both the above examples there is tendency for them to be heard as:-

ndatēm(a) obusio(- \ # - -)
 ararug(a) obukima(- \ # - -)

I have no examples of the sequences a + e, a + o.

5).o.

o + i incugu hanō ihikire(- # - # - -) When the elephant arrived....

- o + e incugu_uumuigoto ekanyoora(---#-#---) The elephant was sated..
o + a hanə araanyoore.....(---#-#-) If he gets....
o + o umuigot(o) okanyoora(---#-#-) You got satisfaction.
o + u han(o) uriihika(---#-#-) When you arrive....
I have no examples of the sequences o + ε, o + o

6).o.

- o + i ibiseenco (i) bitaambe(---#-#-) Long gourds.
o + e egesenco (e) getaambe(---#-#-) A long gourd.
o + a akaajimbo agake(---#-#-) A very small stick.
o + o In this sequence there is little lengthening of the vowel:-
okoboko_ookonene(---#-#-) A big arm
umusino_oono(---#-#-) This widow.
o + u ubusio (u) buya(---#-#-) A pleasing forehead.
I have no examples of the sequences o + ε, o + o.

7).u.

- u + i icincugu isaano(---#-#-) Five elephants.
Only in extremely rapid speech is the sequence heard as one syllable.
u + e ikinyobu egeke(---#-#-) A small navel.
u + a sokuru amaaha...(---#-#-) Grandfather is to see....
agasaaru agake(---#-#-) A small cloud.
u + o sokur(u) omaaha hamui(---#-#-) The grandfather you are now to see
u.+ u There is only slight lengthening of the vowel here:-
sokuru_uumuya(---#-#-) A good grandfather.
I have no examples of the sequences u + ε, u + o.

c) Non-Adjacent Vowel Sequence.

The relationship which obtains between vowels in the prefix of a nominal or verbal and the vowels in the stem or radical follow certain general patterns which are set out below. In the general degree of development of this feature, Kuria (and to a less extent Gusii) appear to be peculiar.

1). Prefix/stem. Two forms of prefix occur in nominals of Classes 1,3,4,7,9,11,14,15,20.

a) oCo, eCe, associated with V1 e, e, a, o, o in stem.

b) uCu, iCi, associated with V1 i, u, in stem.

Thus for the classes:-

1. omokari(--^-) Woman.
umumura(--^-) Young man.
3. omote(--^-) Tree.
umusi(--^-) Sugar cane.
4. emete(--^-) Trees.
imisi(--^-) Sugar canes.
7. egesanyi(--^-) Palm of the hand.
igicuuro(--^-) Madness.
9. etara(_^-) Lamp.
incugu(_^-) Elephant.
11. orosaanca(--^-) Tendril, leaf, stalk.
urugiki(--^-) Eyelash.
14. oborabu(--^-) Whiteness.
ubuguundo(--^-) Stench.
15. okogoro(--^-) Leg.
ukuruga(--^-) Cooking.
20. ogotare(--^-) A large rock.
ugugiha(--^-) A large cooking stone.

One or two exceptions occur:-

3. umucare(--^-) Rice.
umuoco(--^-) Sort, kind.
4. imicare(--^-) Rice.
imioco(--^-) Kinds.
7. igicaine(---^-) Civet cat.
igicoku(_^-) Something very tall.

Note also dependent nominals:-

1. omoon(a) umuya(-#^-) A good child.
umusubaati omoenje(_\#^-) A short woman.

- 7. ekeh(e) ikiya(--#^-) A beautiful basket.
- 15. okoboko ogotaambe(--#^-) a long arm.
- okoboko (u)kuya(--#^-) A fair arm.

also in extra independent prefixes:-

- kumuteera(-^-) To the market.
- komote(-^-) In the tree.
- kunyuumba(-^-) In the house.
- munyuumba(-^-) Inside the house.

2). Verbal affixes.

Two forms also occur of pre- and post-radical affixes:-

- a) Ce,Co-,-Ce-,-Co- associated with V1 e,e,a,o, in the radical, and post radically, -eC,-oC.
- b) Ci,Cu-,-Ci-,-Cu- associated with V1 i,u,(also 'ny') in the radical, and post radically -iC,-uC.

Thus:-

- i) okora(-^-) You do uhika(-^-) You arrive
- tokora(-^-) We do tuhika(-^-) We arrive
- ii) ndeemaaha(--^-) I will look ndiituna(--^-) I will look for
- toreemaaha(--^-) We will look turiituna(--^-) We will look for
- iii) teengotema(---^-) I am not hitting.
- tetogotema(---^-) We are not hitting.
- tiiikuriinga(---^-) I am not returning.
- titukuriinga(---^-) We are not returning.

With reference to the example 'tetogotema' it should be noted that in rapid speech and occasionally in normal speech the form 'totogotema' is heard. This also occurs in other comparable negative forms.

- iv) ogocha(--^-) Entering ukuhika(--^-) Arriving.

The following examples should also be noted:-

- imisi girugirue(--#^-) The sugar cane is cooked
- egesanyi kerabere(--#^-) The palm of the hand is clean.
- egesaku gisiikire(--#^-) The door is closed.
- okogoro kurutirue(--#^-) The leg has been stretched.

- v) amaahere(_---) He has seen
atunire(---) He has looked for.
aakamaahere(_\--) He was seeing.
aagatunire(_--\--) He was looking for.

- vi) -tun- Look for -toner- Look on behalf of
-rug- Cook -roger- Cook for
-riing- Return -reegger- Return to

- vii) -gor- Buy -guri- Sell
-hoor- Pound -huuri- Cause to pound.
Note: -rug- Cook -rugi- Cause to cook.
-tem- Hit -tami- Cause to hit.

- viii) -bun- Break in two -bonek- Be broken in two
-ti- Split -tek- Be split.
Note: -maah- See -maahek- Be visible.

- ix) -rib- Stop up -rebor- Un-plug.
-riing- Fold -reegger- Unfold.

- x) -reegger- Return to -riingiri- Cause to return to
-rerer- Be angry -ririri- Anger
Note: -reegger- Unfold -reegoru- Be unfolded
-siiki- Screen -siikuri- Unscreen.

- Note also: -tem- Hit -teman- Hit one another.
-it- Kill -itan- Kill one another.
-

d). The Consonant Phonemes.

Schema.

	B.Lab.	Alveol.	Pal-Al.	Pal.	Velar.	Glottal.
Plosive.		t			k	
Affric.			c			
Nasal	m	n		ny	ŋ	
Rolled.		r,rr				
Fricative.	b	s			g	h
Semi-Vowel	w			y		
Nas.Cpds.	mb	nd,ns	nc		ŋg,ŋk	

Perhaps the most significant feature of the consonant phonemes of Kuria, is that the bi-labial and velar plosives (b,g) are only heard as plosives when in association with the nasals (m,n). It is thus important to realize that the symbols, b, and, g, are used in the following pages for the bi-labial and velar fricatives respectively. The alveolar plosive only occurs in association with the nasal (nd).

1. Plosives.

The 'k' in pre-radical and stem positions is heard as 'g' before the voiceless sounds, k, c, s, t, :-

ugutuna(---) Liking ogosoha(---) Entering.

ogokara(---) Doing igicaine(---) Civet cat.

The 't' is normally alveolar but one does occasionally hear a dental form:-

-toeen- Divide omoteti(---) Bridegroom.

2). Rolled.

Two significant varieties of 'r' are distinguishable:-

a) A one tap variety, occurring in all positions and especially as C1 in radicals:-

-rab- See : -raker- Throw : tokore(---) We are to do.

I cannot agree here with Sillery(*op.cit*) who observes that the 'r' sounds are extremely difficult to distinguish from the 'l' sounds.....

'where tremulation is weaker. Where there is doubt I have adopted the 'l' spelling to avoid confusion....'

b). A rolled variety occurring only in the suffix of the verbal and in certain extensions:-

akorre(_--) He has done.

aataarre(_--) He walked.

-itabirri- Agree to

-iburruk- Jump.

Opinion is current among local missionaries that its occurrence in the suffix, by analogy with other forms, is simply a contraction from -ere, thus:-

akorere for akorre

and it is pronounced thus in those circles. However this may be, I consider it a mistake to ignore in this way the undoubted presence of the rolled form in all the main dialects(exc. Bukira), whatever the merits of the view, historically, of the case for contraction.

A third non-significant variety of 'r', with a 'd'-like quality, occurs infrequently medially:-

omokari(_--) Woman.

omokare(_--) A warrior.

iimburi(_--) A goat.

3). Fircatives.

The bi-labial fricative, common to all dialects of Kuria, is less widely heard among the younger generation, due to the influence of Swahili and the widespread use of Swahili in schools. Where the sound occurs in the prefixes of Classes 2 and 8(abaanto, ibiinto), young people tend to use a semi-vowel, 'w', for the former, and a bi-labial plosive, 'b' for the latter. Occasionally the labio-dental fricative, 'v' is also heard. Thus, awaanto, ibiinto, iviinto, by analogy with Swa. watu, vitu. At the present time however this is no more than a tendency restricted to members of the lower age-groups.

A further variation which may be noted, is that of using an unvoiced bi-labial plosive, 'p', with slight aspiration, but again there is variation from speaker to speaker:-

Booke Girl's name heard as Pooke
-boh- Fasten ' ' -poh-

Analogous tendencies for the velar fricative, especially initially may be observed:-

-yaamb- Say heard as -gaamb-
amayi yasirre(--#--) The eggs are lost
as amagi gasirre(--#--)

4). Nasal Compounds.

Nasal compounds are associated with a lengthening of the preceding vowel. In the text I have adopted the practice of doubling this vowel, but it is clear that in any practical orthography this would not be necessary. It should, however, be noted that 'nc' and 'ns' appear to be associated with a lengthened vowel only where they occur as C2 in radicals. Where they occur as C1 or even C2 in stems, this is not so:-

ensabi(_-) Rhino.
incugu/icincugu(_-) Elephant.

e). Adjacent Consonant Sequence.

The most important feature of consonant sequence is the behaviour of the alveolar nasal in association with other consonants or vowels. I cite the following examples:-

- 1). n + b = mb. -boh- mbohere(---) I have fastened.
- 2). n + c = nc. -cuuncur- ncuuncurre(---) I have stalked.

Note: a variation with monosyllabic radicals, 'nicire'(_-) I have come.

- 3). n + g = ng. -gaamb- ngaambere(---) I have said.
- 4). n + m = mm. -maah- mmaahere(---) I have seen.
- 5). n + ny = nny. -nyoer- nnyoerre(_-) I have got.

Note: in 4 and 5. The double consonant is rarely heard - in speakers mainly of the older generation - and in the following pages it is not marked.

- 6). n + r = nd -riing- ndiingire(---) I have returned.
-rug- ndugire(---) I have cooked.

Note: there is no difference associated with a nasal in C2, as occurs, for example in Kikuyu and Ganda.

- 7). n + s = ns -soh- nsøhere(---) I have entered.

- 8). n + t = nt -taar- ntaarre(---) I have walked.

Note: 1,2,3,6,7,8, the nasal is syllabic, but only where occurring initially in the utterance.

- 9). Where the nasal (as a 1st. Pers. Prefix) precedes either, 'h, n, ŋ', it is not heard:-

-haanc- haancere(---) I have loved.

-niib- niibire(---) I have owned cattle.

-het- hetere(---) I have passed.

-ŋain- ŋaine(---) That I may deceive.

- 10). Where the subject prefix nasal precedes a vowel (e.g. radicals shape -VC-), there are no associated changes:-

nihire(---) I have dug.

neba(---) I forget.

naga(---) I weed.

nokia(---) I light a lamp.

but as an object infix, 'ny' occurs:-

unyageeye(---) You have weeded for me.

unyokeria(---) You light (the lamp) for me.

unyebere(---) You have forgotten me.

unyiheeye(---) You have dug for me.

The behaviour of the nasal as object infix with the radical -h-, should be noted as an exception:-

oŋe(---) You are to give to me.

oŋaye(---) You have given me.

The behaviour of the nasal in other verbals with -h- as C1 should be noted, but this is dealt with more fully in Chapter 3 (pp.)

f). The distribution of vowel and consonant phonemes in the verbal.

1) Pre-radical V and C.

It is an interesting fact that although Kuria is a seven vowel language, only three of these occur pre-radically in any given verbal, this not excluding personal prefixes nor object infixes. For example, in a 'u' or 'i' radical the vowels 'i, a, u' occur, and in all others 'e, a, o'. Out of 28 positive tense prefixes, 'a' occurs pre-radically in 18, 'u' (or 'o') in 1, 'i' (or 'e') in 3, and there are zero prefixes in 6. Out of 20 negative tense prefixes, 'a' occurs pre-radically in 14, 'u' (or 'o') in 2, 'i' (or 'e') in 2, and there is zero prefix in 2.

Of the consonants occurring in prefixes (excepting object infixes and personal prefixes) again only three occur: 'k, r, t' although 'n' occurs in 'emphatic' forms.

2) Post radical V and C.

In the simple radical only 'a' and 'e' occur (also 'i' in radicals with 'i' or 'u'), but in radical extensions a much greater range is found, all the vowels occurring with the exception of 'e' and 'o'. The only consonant occurring post-radically in the simple form is 'r', but again a wider range occurs in extensions, e.g. 'k, n, r, y'.

3) The V and C of the Radical.

The following chart gives some indication of the combinations occurring in radicals of the CVC pattern. The chart is based on a sample of over three hundred radicals of this pattern (See Appendices), and while it cannot be regarded as exhaustive, I think the tendencies indicated are valid.

Chapter 2

The Shape of the Verbal

1. Difficulties of Classification
2. Verbal models.
3. Synopsis of simple tenses
4. Distributional analysis
5. Multiple tenses.
6. Extended radicals.

1. Difficulties of Classification.

It was perhaps inevitable that early workers in the Bantu field would describe the languages with which they came in contact, in terms of those others with which they were familiar, and in particular Latin and Greek. The grammatical categories of these languages had already been worked out in detail, and it was assumed that such categories would be universally valid. It is now known that this is not so: almost twenty years ago Prof. C.M. Doke emphasized that, '...Bantu grammatical structure is Bantu, and must not be expected to conform to European or Classical standards in every respect.'¹ Nevertheless there has persisted a tendency to make grammatical description in terms of meaning, and to accept uncritically certain concepts. Prof. Doke's own Textbook of Zulu Grammar (4th. Ed)², referring to 'Simple, Progressive and Exclusive Implications of Tenses', and Mrs. Ashton's 'Idea' Approach to Swahili³, both stress meaning in their categories.

¹ Bantu Linguistic terminology. C.M. Doke. London. 1935. p. 2.

² pp. 162-3

³ The 'Idea' Approach to Swahili. E.O. Ashton. B.S.O.S. Vol. 7. 1935. Note esp. '...by a logical combination of these particle ideas it is possible to express almost every shade of meaning in relation to a verb'. p. 853. For a brief but suggestive treatment by form rather than meaning, see 'Grammaire de la Langue Haya' E. Kuijpers. Bostel. 1922.

On the other hand, among certain American linguists who emphasize purely structural analysis, it is nowadays fashionable to eliminate meaning altogether as a factor in analysis. The linguistic structure of an utterance, '...is presumed to be fully stated by a list of the morphemes which constitute it, and by their order'¹. If meaning is to be admitted at all, then it must be defined distributionally as with other elements, as is posited recently by Martin Joos who defines it as 'the set of conditional probabilities of the occurrence (of a morpheme) in context with all other morphemes'². In terms of the practical possibilities of field work, this is an almost impossible task, and some compromise seems necessary.

While there will probably not be agreement between linguists as to the aim and methods of their discipline, it is clear that the adoption of meaning as a criterion for grammatical classification has not provided a useful system of analysis which can be applied to other languages, even though material in very considerable detail is available for a number of languages. The simple, Progressive and Exclusive Implications worked out fully for Zulu by Doke, have found no advocate in the East African field. What Doke and Barlow³ understand by 'Progressive' appears to be two different things. What is described by Ashton and Barlow as a 'Hot Yet' tense, is treated by Doke as an Exclusive Implication, and by Betbeder and Jones⁴ as the Negative form of the Past Perfect Tense. Such examples could be multiplied.

In contrast, while the American structural school certainly provided a system applicable to other languages, it may be objected that on the level at which this is possible, the necessary simplification has left little of value to compare. To say that, '...it would seem that in twenty-four pages

¹ Componential Analysis of a Hebrew paradigm. Z. Harris. Language. 1948.

² Quoted by E. Haugen, 'Directions in Modern Linguistics' Language. 1951

³ Doke has a Progressive Implication, Present Tense, meaning 'still doing...' op. cit. pp. 177-8. Barlow has a Present Progressive, 'I am taking hold..' on pp. 129-30 of 'Studies in Kikuyu Grammar and Idiom' (RevEd). 1951.

⁴ A Handbook of the Haya Language. Bukoba. 1949. p. 33.

he gives us the language..' as does Charles Hockett in a recent ^{re}view¹, is at best, optimistic.

In the following analysis of the Kuria verbal I have attempted to present a framework which may be applied to other languages in the Bantu field, with, at the same time, a sufficiently low level of abstraction to permit of the maximum observation of distributional variations.

Before proceeding, however, to my examination, I should like to consider in greater detail, and with reference to Kuria, some of the concepts used by Bantu grammarians. Those of 'mood', and in particular the Subjunctive; of 'tense' and aspect', and finally of 'voice'.

The term Subjunctive as it is used in Classical Latin is used to connote forms distinct from the Indicative, the range of which are associated with temporal variations. Thus, the Indicative forms, 'est/erat', are paralleled by comparable distinctions of time in the Subjunctive forms 'sit/esset'. In Kuria, on the other hand, the so-called Subjunctive is characterized formally by a final -e, being symbolically represented by pRe (c.f. pRa. See below pp. 33). There are, however, other tenses formally characterized by a final -e, for example p+raaRe, which cannot be regarded as representing merely a temporal distinction from pRe nor, indeed, on a semantic level, of fulfilling any of the criteria adduced for a Subjunctive. It seems indeed, to have been the meaning of the Latin Subjunctive which has formed the criteria for the establishment of a Bantu 'Subjunctive'. Doke does, indeed, draw attention to the parallels in his 'Linguistic Terminology' (pp. 203-4) and Barlow's uses of the Subjunctive in Kikuyu (op. cit. 166-7) follow closely those set out in Kennedy's Revised Latin Primer. The same line of thought pervades an earlier work on Kuria², where the writer notes that, '... all three moods (Optative, Conditional, Potential) fuse into the same form in the Past Tense..

¹ Reviewing 'Linguistic Structures of Native America' Language. 1948.

² A. Sillery. op. cit.

Thus at a formal level, the basis for comparison does not appear to exist, and at a semantic level it is probably desirable to establish a terminology which is at least compatible with significant formal features.

Secondly, the distinction between Tense and Aspect was not necessarily expressed formally in Latin: 'audivi' meant 'I have heard or I heard', and this has perhaps been a contributing factor in the search for new terms by students of Bantu languages. Here again the criteria have been based on meaning. Thus, '...although the suffix *-ite*, by reason of the stative meaning it imparts, forms tenses...' ¹ and '...the *-ME-* tense has already been shown... to express the completion of an action.' ² From a formal point of view, the Swahili forms, 'nilipiga, nimepiga and nitapiga', differ from one another only in the shape of the infix, and a tense/aspect is only required at a semantic level. Similarly the Kuria forms, 'amaahere, aamaahere' differ from one another formally only in the length of the prefix (discounting tonal distinctions!), and semantic distinctions are thus seen to be irrelevant in any description of a language in terms of its own formal features.

Finally, Voice, and the Classical distinction between the Active (what the subject of the verb is or does), and the Passive (what is done to the subject of the verb). The formal distinctions in Latin between the Active personal suffixes (*-o, -as, -at, etc.*) and those of the Passive (1st. Conjugation) (*-or, -aris, -atur, etc.*) represent exclusive distinctions, whereas the simple extension to the radical, 'u', in Kuria, which is associated with Passive meaning, is not exclusive, being one among many such extensions. If one were to posit a Passive Voice for the form, R+u, then logically, comparable voices must be postulated for the other simple extensions. In Kuria the formal distinctions are between forms built up on a simple radical, and those built up on an extended radical, which semantically are associated with extensions to the simple radical or with applications of it:-

¹ Barlow. op.cit. p.134n.

² Swahili Grammar. E.O. Ashton. London. 1944. p.37.

Sw. -pit- Pass: -pitw- Be passed: -piti- Pass by:
-pitan- Pass one another: -pitian- Be on good terms with.
Kur. -boh- Fasten: -bohu- Be fastened: -bohi- Cause to
fasten: -boherr- Wind round. (Vid. pp. for detailed
discussion).

Taking the above factors into account it has not seemed to me useful to maintain the distinctions between Active and Passive in the following pages.

The Kuria verbal is characterized by an irreducible radical¹; so also are nominals, from which verbals differ, however, in their capacity to express person by prefix; by their range of pre- and post-radical elements and by the commutability of those elements within the framework of the word.

It is clear that the existence of groups of forms with an '-a' suffix, an '-e' suffix and an '-ire/-ere' suffix or modified radical, provide an easy first stage in classification, though it must be borne in mind that there may be no single semantic feature distinctive for each group. Many '-ire/-ere' forms are seen to refer to Past time, but the exceptions are too significant to be passed over. Again, those forms with an '-a' suffix include tenses with Present, Past and Future time implications, as well as others with no time significance at all. It should also be realized that the three groups outlined here for Kuria are not necessarily exhaustive, even for closely related languages. Gusii, for example, has a group of forms with an -ete suffix in addition.

It has seemed to me convenient to label all verb-forms as tenses, without connotation of either time reference or aspect. Thus the simplest tense is that represented symbolically by, R+a, though the majority are of a pattern, pi^tRs^t, where 'p' stands for 'personal prefix'

¹Invariable, also, except for certain vowel variations in extended forms (Vid. Chap. 1, p. 21)

i^t for tense infix, R for radical, and s^t for tense suffix. It is possible to distinguish some tenses by time features, but in others this cannot be done, and it has not seemed to me useful to affix traditional labels, partly for the reasons given above, and partly because the range of meanings for many tenses is such as to vitiate the value of any term chosen. As will be noted from the synopsis of simple tenses (pp. 41.) all are numbered: the numbers being preceded by the letters A, B, C, according to whether the suffix is 'a', 'e', or 'ire/ere'. A fourth category, D, is admitted for the few tenses with an extended suffix -aa(ŋ)ga, -eree(ŋ)ga: these may be regarded as archaic and occur very rarely in current speech. Negative tenses are lettered P, Q, R, in like manner, but are preceded by the appropriate positive letter if the negative tense corresponds to the positive, both in shape and meaning (e.g. A2. 'natema' Neg. AP2 'tenatema'). This is in contrast to a simple negative letter with comparable number indicating that either the meaning or the shape are comparable with the positive tense (e.g. A3. 'ndatema' Neg. P3. 'teengotema', I am hitting/I am not hitting). Finally negative tenses which correspond neither in shape nor meaning to positive tenses are simply labelled with the negative letter and a number (e.g. P10. ntaraatema).

There exists a further group of tenses, with members in each of the suffix-groups. This further group is characterized by a pre-prefix, 'n(e)' and with one or two exceptions is restricted to positive forms. It is tempting to classify them from a semantic point of view, since in many cases they appear to be associated with some form of emphasis. This is not always so, however, and the tenses A1, Ala, and Alb are interesting examples:-

A1. ntema(--) I hit.

Ala. neentsema(--) I am going to hit.

Alb. neentsema(^_) Although I hit.

Of these, neither Ala nor Alb can be regarded semantically as 'emphatic' forms and formally Ala and Alb are distinguished by tone differences. It is notable, however, that all these 'n(e)' forms have a corresponding 'n(e)-less' form, and I have noted this in the text by referring to the

'n(e)' forms with a small letter ~~in brackets~~, (a), after the relevant number in the synopsis, thus:-

- A1 ntama Ala neentema
- C1 ntamere Cla neentamere

Distributionally, it is clear that some tenses may occur in isolation as complete sentences (e.g. A2, A3, A6, C1, C2, etc.) and some may not (e.g. A1b, A4, B2, C4a, etc.). Others again may occur in both categories, often with differing associated meanings. (e.g. A3, A6, P9, C1, etc.). While the verbal in mono-verbal sentences must clearly be of the first type, the second type may only occur in poly-verbal sentences. Mono-verbal sentences may be termed 'free' by virtue of the verbal's ability to occur alone as a complete sentence. Poly-verbal sentences may be termed 'bound' in that no abstraction from the whole is possible. By the same token, the component verbal phrases are also bound, the occurrence of each being dependent on the occurrence of the other.

Such a grouping is straightforward, but a difficulty arises when considering whether all poly-verbal sentences must, by their nature, be bound. A good example is provided by the following sentences:-

1. baageeye Musoma na baariinire emere.
(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)
2. baageeye Musoma bakariin(a) emere.
(_ - # _ - # _ - # \ -).
3. baageeye Musoma bariine emere.
(_ - # _ - # _ - # \ -).

All are poly-verbal sentences but 1 differs from 2 and 3, in that its two verbal phrases¹ may be resolved into two 'free' sentences:-

baageeye Musoma. Baariinire emere.

Poly-verbal sentences of this type, may, it seems to me, legitimately be regarded as 'free'

¹ A verbal phrase may be considered as a fragment of a sentence, consisting minimally of a verbal, but potentially also of N_s, N_o and I.

It should further be observed that of those tenses which may occur both in 'free' and 'bound' sentences (e.g. A3, A6, P9, C1, etc.) all are associated, in one type of bound sentence, with the same meaning as when occurring in free sentences:-

A6. ariihika hanɔ. He will arrive here.

(-- -- # --)

ariihika agor(e) ibiinto. He will arrive to buy things.

(-- -- # -- # _)

P10. ataraarug(a) ibiakorea. She hasn't cooked the food.

(--- - # -- -)

ntaraamutirira awane mokore abe.

I haven't yet come across him that I may do for him.

(--- --- # _ # - - # -)

Finally it should be noted that tenses are of two formal types, simple and multiple. A simple tense is characterized by only one radical, which, with its prefixes and suffixes constitutes one word. A multiple tense is characterized by a minimum of two radicals and normally written as two words, though the number of occasions on which items may be interposed between the two verbals are few:-

ndaya ndamaaha - only rarely - ndaya hamui ndamaaha.

The position of each verbal relative to the other is fixed, and in negative modes, with one or two exceptions it is only the first verbal which is negatived. For a detailed examination and enumeration of these forms see pp. 84 ff.

2. Verbal Models.

1.

If any positive tense may be expressed by the formula, $(ne)pi^t(i^o)R(e)s^t(s)$, where bracketed items represent potential but not necessary elements¹, then below are illustrated the range of p(personal prefix), and i^o(object infix):-

Nom. Class	Sing. 1st. Pers.	Plural.
1/2	n, ni	to-/tu-
	2nd. Pers. o-/u-	mo-/mu-
	3rd. Pers. a-	ba-
3/4	go-/gu-	gi-/ge-
5/6	ri-	ga-
7/8	ke-/ki-	bi-
9/10	e-/i-	ci-
11/10a	ro-/ru-	ci(n)-
13/8	ka-	bi-
14/6	bo-/bu-	ga-
15/6	ko-/ku-	ga-
16	ha-	ci-
20/6	go-/gu-	ga-

Where i^o occurs, the forms correspond in shape to those above, with the following exceptions:-

1. Sing. 1st. Pers. n, ny, ŋ (Vid. p. 25)
- 2nd. Pers. ko/ku
- 3rd. Pers. mo/mu
9. ge/gi

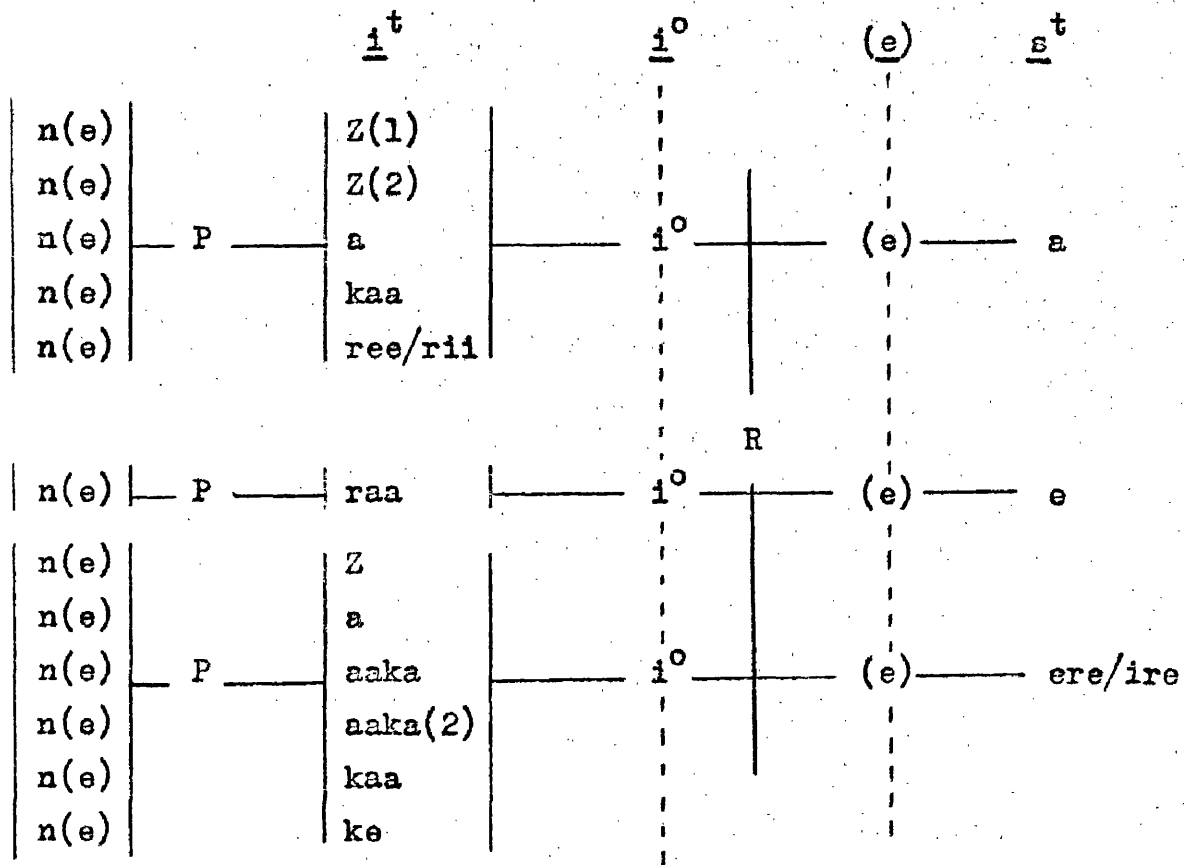
Note:-

- a) The above forms are valid for both positive and negative tenses.
- b) i^o, may occur in any tense of the simple or extended radical excepting R+u, and such other extended forms as include '-u'.

¹ Forms like A14(Rs) may be regarded as having a double zero prefix.

3.

Illustrating the range of forms with pre-prefix n(e)-



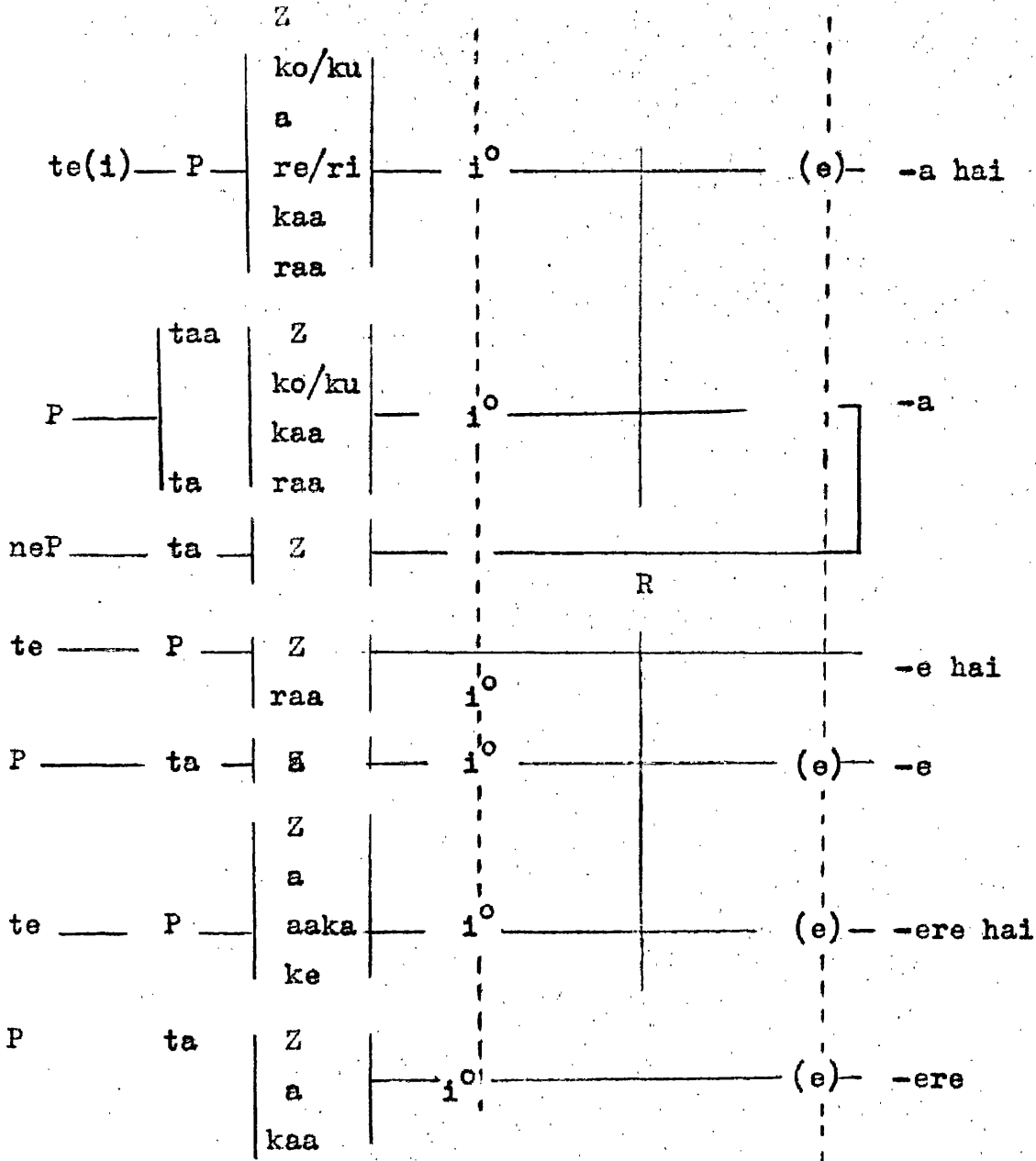
Notes:-

- a) The occurrence of these forms is generally restricted to response patterns.
- b) Negative tense for these forms only rarely occur.

—————

4.

Illustrating the range of negative simple tenses, with and without the post-verbal item 'hai'.



It will be observed that the infix 'ta' is not usually associated with the post-verbal item 'hai'.

5.

Illustrating the range of tenses occurring both with and without the post verbal item 'hai'. This may not prove to be exhaustive, but I have restricted it to those tenses for which I have actual examples.

te	-	P	-	_____		²		(i ^o)	_____	R	_____	(e)	_____	-e
						raa								

The post radical suffix.

There are a number of shapes which may occur in this position, chief amongst which are the three, 'hə, kə, mə'. While the occurrence of 'kə' is restricted, the other two occur with all simple and negative tenses.

Another commonly occurring shape is 'mbe', but its range is restricted to positive tenses and I have noted its occurrence only with B1, B2, and C1.

3. Synopsis of Simple Tenses.

Positive and Negative

Group A.

The i^t is given in the first and third person singular.

A1. n-

a-

A1a. neen-

na-

Alb. neen-

na-

Aplb. neenta-

nata-

Note: tone distinctions between positive Ala and Alb.

A2. na-

aa-

AP2. tena-

taa-

A2a. nena-(nna-)

naa-

P2a. ntaa-

ataa-

A3. nda-

ara-

P3. teenko-

tako-

A4. ŋka-

aka-

A5. ŋko-

ako-

AP5. ntaako-

ataako-

A6. ndee-

aree-

AP6. teende-

tare-

Note: change in vowel quality of V2.

A6a. neendee-

naree-

A7. nta-

ata-

A8. ŋkaa-
 akaa-

P7. ntakaa-
 atakaa-

A8a. neeŋkaa-
 nakaa-

P8. teenŋkaa-
 takaa-

P9. teendaa-
 taraa-

P10. ntaraa-
 ataraa-

There are four forms in this group characterized by invariability, but all - with the exception of 4 - occur with i° .

1. ko-/ku-
 2. ŋko-/ŋku-
 3. nama-
 4. Zero prefix. (e.g. maaha!)
-

Group B.

B1. n-
a-

Q1. teen-
ta-

B2. ndaa-
araa-

B2a. neendaa-
naraa-

BQ2a. teendaa-
taraa-

Q3. ntaa-
ataa-

There are two forms characterized by invariability:-

1. Zero + i^0 (See A14, p.42)
2. ka-

Group C,

C1. n-
a-

CR1 teen-
ta-

CR1/2 nta-
ata-

C1a. neen-
na-

C2. na-
aa-

CR2 tena-
taa-

CR2/2 ntaa-
ataa-

C2a. nena-
naa-

C3. naaka-
aaka-

CR3. tenaaka-
taaka-

C4. naaka-
aaka-

CR4. tenaaka-
taaka-

Note: tone distinctions between C3 and C4.

C4a. nenaaka-
naaka-

C5. ŋkaa-
akaa-

CR5. ntakaa-
atakaa-

C5a. neeŋkaa-
nakaa-

C6a. neeŋke-
nake-

CR6a. teenke-
take-

4. Distributional Analysis.

After establishing the range of verbal affixes, there remains the question of distribution. We are not only concerned with the fact that tenses X, Y, and Z occur, but also with the contexts in which they occur. Is a given tense X, either in free or bound sentences associated consistently with the same meaning? With which other tenses does any given form occur? Over what range of semantic significance is a given tense valid?

In tackling such questions, the linguistic field worker, like others in the social sciences, must consider the matter of sampling. How large a sample should be taken, and how typical is his data of the contexts he wishes to describe and from which he intends to make his generalizations. Clearly the choice of linguistic situation and of informants is of great importance, especially since rapid change is a feature of many groups.

It will probably not be disputed that the features of any given language are constantly changing, on a phonetic as well as on a grammatical level. While I am not sure of the effects of education on tone-patterns, for example, it is clear that in the speech of present day school-boys there occur phonetic features unknown to their fathers, and grammatical features foreign to their grandfathers. It has seemed to me wise to make use of informants from the middle-aged group; men who were brought up in the pre-Swahili period, in times of less personal mobility, but who are, nevertheless aware of current changes. While I have talked often with womenfolk, I have never been able to make systematic enquiries through them, and am unaware of the extent to which there may be significant speech differences between the sexes. In the absence of any mechanical sound recorder I have concentrated mainly on culling examples from everyday conversation, in the home, at the market, at the 'boma' and in court, although a number of proverbs and traditional stories have also been collected. In the following examination, therefore, my examples are taken from actual speech, and I have not included any of the formalized 'bound' sentences exemplified by proverbs, curses, spells, songs, etc., which

require separate treatment.

Any sample may be usefully enlarged with increased time and resources, but it is felt that the present one is adequate for my purpose and representative of the language I am describing.

In the following analysis a problem has had to be faced regarding the representation of Kuria speech: whether to follow that of slow speech, in which the features of external vowel sequence (pp.16-18) would be masked, or whether to follow that of normal speech - in which such features would be apparent. I have followed the latter course as being the more accurate and better suited to tone marking.

Simple Tenses. Group A.

A1. n-

a-

Occurring frequently¹ in bound sentences, but is restricted to association with A2, P10, B1, BQ2 and C2. It is not normally associated with time words.

1. hanə baabooka_abaana bakor(a) emeremo
(__ # __ - # - # - # - -).

When the children awake they work.

c.f. A3(Bound) Ex.1.

2. hanə oakenya hake igə) orosa ŋke qaba kana?
(__ # - - # - - # - - | - - # - - # - -).

When you run a little and tire, what have you become?

3. hanə namomaaha akor(a) emeremo
(__ # - - - | - - # - - -).

When I see him he works. (i.e. starts working)

c.f. A3(Bound)

- hanə namomaaha arakor(a) emeremo.
(__ # - - - | - - # - - -).

When I see him he's working. (i.e. was before I saw him.)

¹The use of such terms as 'frequent' and 'infrequent' is, of course, purely subjective, and relative only to the range of experience noted on p.45.

In corresponding negative contexts P3 occurs:-

4. hanə oakanya hake igə tokorosa hai ŋke oaba kana?

(__ # _ - # _ - # _ - # - \ _ # _ [__ # _ - # -).

When you run a little and are not tired, what have you

become?

Note: the tone distinction between A1 with pre-verbal item 'n(e)' and Ala(c.f. also p.113ff)

5. uce n'oongoote haakuraa ogsend(e) amance

(_ - # _ - - [_ - - # _ - # - \ _).

Ala. neen-

na-

Occuring in both free and bound sentences. BQ2 occurs in negative contexts.

Free.

1. nuhika kumatuka bono igə?

(__ - # _ - - # _ - # - ^).

Are you going to the dukas just now?(i.e. are you going on any trip?)

c.f. Use of B2a:-

noraahike hatakumatuka?

(_ - \ _ # _ - # _ - - ^).

Are you going as far as the dukas?(but you are definitely going on some trip)

Bound.

1. neenkora kuya haakuraa uce ŋəra n'oongoote

(__ - # _ - # _ - - # _ - # _ - -).

I'm going to go, then you come after and find me.

A response to some such question as 'oonganye hake...?' Will you wait a bit for me?

2. hanə ndaasooki emeremo neenkor(a) imigwe
(__ # _ # __ - [__ # _).

When I finish my work I'll make arrows.

3. amance ntogasoomba igə gasire
(__ - # __ / - # - # - -).

We're going to move the water by loads until its finished.

A response to some such question as, 'What are you going to do with the water?' The response expresses intention but gives no date. c.f. B2a.

4. neengokeeria moko onə hanə goraahike
(__ / - # _ # - # __ # - _).

I shall greet you when this year arrives(comes to harvest)

5. niinduga nsooki ngeen^d(e) amance
(__ - # - - [__ # _).

When I finish cooking, I'll go for water.

See Chap.4. for significance of word order here, and B2a for distinction from 'neendaaruge' which connotes cooking not yet started.

Alb. neen-
 na-

APlb. neenta-
 nata-

I have noted the occurrence of this form comparatively rarely and only in bound sentences, associated with B1, C1, and C2. The time element is not important and the action may refer to present, past or future time.

The tone distinction between this and Ala should be noted.

1. Caaca nuhika oker^{ee}zyue
(__ - # _ # __ - -).

Caaca, though you arrive, you are late.

2. Werema nanyoor(a) ahik(e) akereeyue
(__ - # - # - # - _).

Werema, though he's coming now is(already) late.

3. mosani wane nuuya mbucoa bagutigire

(_ _ - # \ _ | _ - # _ _ # - \ _).

My friend, you are going to no purpose, they have left you
behind.

4. omorɔɔye nomoreenta taraahune hai

(_ _ - - # - - - | - - \ _ # _).

The sick man, though you brought him, will not recover.

5. ntotamoganya sahkire

(_ _ - \ _ | - \ _).

Although we did not wait for him, he came.

6. uwe nuikuuriakuuria hanɔ ngotoreey(e) omotoe noraaruge.

(_ - # - \ _ _ _ | _ _ # _ - - # - - - # _ - \ _).

You, though you sham tears, if I turn my attention to you, you
will cook.

7. haande neenkora hake hayo hoonsoe mbuya

Sometimes even though I work in a small place, even this is all

(_ - # - \ _ # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -). good.

8. ubukima mbuhika bagesye

(_ _ - - # - \ _ # _ - -)

Though the porridge arrived they had gone.

Note the occurrence of Cl here.

A2. na-
aa-

AP2. tena-
taa-

Occurring both in free and bound sentences, and always refers to past time, though not necessarily near or far past. Time words are not necessarily associated with its occurrence.

Free.

1. moko_ɔnɔ aarema gokera moka

(_ - # _ # _ - # _ - - # _ -).

This year he planted more than last year.

i.e. though even last year he planted a good deal.

- 3. kur(a) uwe oarema igakwa moko_ono
(_ # _ - # _ - # _ - - # _ - # -).

Even you cultivated hard this year.

c.f. degree of emphasis of A2a.Ex.3.

Bound.

- A. 1. aakenya igo kura aaihoma iga toro(Ideo.of dryness)
(_ - - # - - # - - # - - - # - - # - -).

He ran until he shrivelled up.

- 2. nageenda igo narosa iga rosi
(_ - - # - - # - - - # - - # - -).

I went until I was exhausted.

- 3. nageenda haara nagoteebiri
(_ - - # _ # - - _ - -).

I went where I told you(I was going).

It may be useful to note that at a semantic level, the period of time covered by A2 is generally long: it is significant that in Ex.3 the replacement of 'nagoteebiri' by 'nagoteebia' would not be possible, since, to quote my informant, 'I only told him once'.

B. Occurring as V1¹ and followed especially by A1 and A12.

- 1. hanə nakor(a) emeremo nkubina nde.
(_ - - # _ - - # _ - - - | _ - - - - # _ -).

When I work I sing.

- 2. hanə baabooka abaana bakor(a) emeremo
(_ - - # _ - - # _ # - - # _ - - -).

When the children awake they work

C. Occurring as V2, preceded by C4.

- 1. hanə baakabookere abaana baakor(a) emeremo
(_ - - # _ - - _ - - | _ - - # _ - # _ - - -)

¹ In the following pages the abbreviation V1, V2, etc. stands for Verbal 1, 2, etc., and not Vowel 1, 2, etc. as used in the first and early part of this chapter.

When they awaoke the children worked (but only then!)

A2a. nna-
naa-

P2a. ntaa-
ataa-

Occurring both in free and in bound sentences, but mainly in response patterns which call for some emphasis. Time implication is past. While there is no negative tense comparable in shape, P2a occurs in contexts in which A2a would occur, were the context positive.

Free.

1. nnamaaha iga_ahase haara habe
(___ - # -- # -- # -- # -).

Yes, I have been looking at that bad place.

A response to some such question as, 'Your roof's in a bad way, isn't it?'

2. moko_ono naarema gokera moka
(_ - # _ # _ - - # _ - - # -).

This year he's certainly been planting more than last.

3. kur(a) uwe noarem(a) igakwa moko_ono
(_ # _ - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - # _).

Even you have been planting hard this year.

4. oamaah(a) ibiinto biane? ntamaaha hai
(___ # --- # -) (_ - _ # -)

Were you looking at my things? I certainly was not!

Bound.

1. nnaakora kuya sibono reero nnaanga
(___ - # ___ # - - # - - # -).

Yes, I was going to go, but to-day I was rather reluctant.

A3. nda-
ara-

P3. teenko-
tako-

Occurring widely in free and bound sentences. In comparable negative contexts P3 occurs.

Free. Associated either with 'present' time or with general 'timeless' contexts.

1. abaana barahaano(a) ibiinto

(_ _ # _ _ - # - _).

Children like things.

2. abaanto bano tebakohaano(a) icincugu

(_ - - # _ # - - - # _ - -).

These people do not like elephants.

3. omokari arageenda kumuteera

(_ - - # _ - - - # - - _).

The woman is going to the market.

4. araya wabo haara arariinga koraara guisaancu.

(_ - - # - # - - | _ - - - # - - - # - - _).

He goes to their place and returns to sleep at the new
grazing grounds.

5. nnakora kuya sibono reero ndaanga

(_ - - # _ - # _ - - # - - # - -).

I was intending to go, but to-day I've decided not to.

Bound. In bound sentences the tense occurs as V2 with any of the following tenses as V1:- A1,A2,A3,A4,A6,B2,C1,C2,C3.

P.3. occurs in Negative contexts.

1. hano namomaaha arakor(a) emeremo

(_ _ # _ - - | _ - - # _ - -).

When I see him he is working (i.e. was before I saw him.)

2. hano namomaaha arakor(a) emeremo nkohaatera are

(_ _ # _ - - # - - # _ - - | _ - - - # _).

When I see him working he stops.

- 3. okahuuŋgu akamaaha waan̄kuru aracɔbeka komote haanse.

(_ \ # _ _ _ # \ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _).

The goshawk saw tortoise strolling at the foot of the tree.

- 4. ico nageeye ndatun(a) iimburi

(_ # _ _ # \ # _ _).

Yesterday I went looking for a goat.

- 5. ico ndeegsenda ndatun(a) iimburi

(_ # _ _ # \ # _ _).

To-morrow I'll go looking for a goat.

- 6. ndageenda ndatun(a) ibiakorea

I'm going looking for food.

(_ _ _ # \ # _ _).

- 7. hanɔ oakora agaanto kao uya oraihaca nako

(_ # _ _ # _ # \ | _ # _ _ _ # _).

When you do your little thing you go around praising
yourself for it.

- 8. hanɔ abaanto baay(a) ehooma barahooman(a) icinsoe

(_ # _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

When the people go fishing they're always getting fish.

The use of A3 here increases the time-scale, and also makes it clear that it is only or primarily fish that are got. If A1 is used it implies that only when an expedition is got up are fish caught, and then other things are caught as well.

- 9. abaanto baraayi baratun(a) icinsoe?

(_ _ # _ _ # _ \ # _ _).

Are the people going looking for fish?

A4. ŋka-
aka-

Occurring only in bound sentences, in which it may occur as V1, V2 or V3. While not occurring frequently in conversation, it is nevertheless

common in narrative and folk stories. CR2 occurs in negative contexts.

1. akamotem(a) omoona igo kuhika agakuura

(_ - \ # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

(And) he beat the child until it cried.

2. urusiku roonde ogatoco akariisia kuya gokaguku kaara.....

(_ - # \ [_ - \ # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

On another occasion the hare went herding over to that hill....

3. abaana hano baabookere bagakor(a) emeremo

(_ - [_ - # _ - # _ - \ # _ -)

The children when they awoke, worked.

4. naya wabo Caaca nkanyoora tahayo hai

(_ - # _ - # _ - [_ - - # _ - \ # _ -)

I went to Caaca's and found him not in.

5. oMutia nigo murureho nauni nikahikaho

(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - \ _ -)

At Mutia's where you have come from, I arrived at.

i.e. arriving just after you'd gone.

6. nariingire ka nkarea ubukima nkaraara.

(_ - - # _ - [_ - # _ - - [_ - -)

I returned home, ate some porridge and slept.

A5. nko-
ako-

AP5. ntaako-
ataako-

Occurring frequently in both free and bound sentences.

Free. Occurrence restricted to questions and what might be termed 'relative' utterances. There is no time reference other than to the present.

1. nehai ukuya? (_ - # _ - ?)

Where are you going?

2. amagi akorea OR n'amagi akorea
(__- # -\ -) (__- # -\ -)

Its eggs he' seating. (2) slightly stronger.

3. omote gonɔ ɔkomaaha
(__- # \ - # - -).

The tree which I see.

- c.f. omote gonɔ narooce (__- # \ - # - -)

The tree which I saw.

abaana hanɔ ndaateme (- - # \ - # - \ -)

The children whom I'll beat.

4. amagi ganɔ okoraenta (- - # \ - # - -)

The eggs which you bring

Bound. A. Occurring in general relative sentences as noted above.

1. ondaenter(e) amagi ganɔ ukuimukia

(__- . # __- # \ - # - - - -)

Bring me the eggs which you're carrying.

B. Not necessarily associated with present time.

2. hanɔ ɔkuruahɔ onde agaacahɔ

(__ # - - - # - - # - \ -).

When I left here another came.

2. omoonto naraayi amaahɔ haanga baguuca basani bae

(- - # - - # - - # - - # - - # - - # - -)

The man will be going to see whether his friends are

coming.

3. urusiri ɔkariinga ɔkabaaka hanɔ ɔkuruahɔ.....

(__- - # - - - [- - -] [- - -] # - - -)

The rope, I folded and put it away, when I returned.....

Note: the association in the above examples with the pre-verbal item (hanɔ'.

A6. ndee-
aree-

AP6. teende-
tare-

Occurring in both free and bound sentences, and in both is associated with future time, beyond the following twenty four hours.

Free.

1. musubaati wane ariiriinga ico

(_ - \ _ # - _ # - - - # - -).

My sister will return to-morrow.

2. ariihika ico nawe ariintuha

(_ - - - # - _ # - - # - - -).

He will arrive to-morrow and will give me a present.

(But only incidentally, probably not until he's been with me some time.)

c.f. Bound A/1.

3. eqoombe_ono tiribiara hai roonde hai kogera yakuunguha

(_ - - # - # - - \ _ # - - # - # - - - # - - -).

This cow will not bear again because of old age. (c.f. B2)

Bound. A.

1. ariihika ico nawe aantuhe

(_ - - - # - _ # - - # - -).

He'll arrive to-morrow and give me a present (straightaway).

2. neeqkaarema moko_ono teendegesa hai.

(_ - - # - - # - [- - \ _ # -)

Although I'm cultivating this year, I shan't reap a harvest. i.e. will never reap a harvest. c.f. B2a.

3. moko_ono abaanto bariuhika hano banyoor(e) amagiha

(_ - # - # - - # - - - # - - # - - # - - \ _).

This year the people will come to get cooking stones.

4. iimbura hano ereetaanga gotoa_abaanto mbareetaanga korema

(_ - # - - # - - - # - - # - - # - - - # - - -).

When the rain starts to fall the people will start

hoeing.

B. Occurring as V1 with V2 as A6 or B1.

1. ndeekora hanɔ ndiihika moreembe

(__ - # - - # - - # - -).

I shall do it if I arrive safely

2. ndiihusna ndeme

(__ - - # - -).

When I'm better I'll cultivate.

i.e. the cultivating is really a necessary evil of getting better.

3. ndiihusna ndeerema

(__ - - # - \ -).

When I'm better I'll cultivate.

i.e. will make a point of it.

4. ndiihika ndeegokɛria

(__ - - # - \ -).

When I arrive I'll greet you (doing nothing else first.)

A6a. neende-
nare-

Occurring mainly in response patterns, in which some emphasis is required, and in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. ariihika icɔ? ee, nariihika!

(__ - - # - ? - # - - -).

Will he come to-morrow? Yes, he will, certainly!

Bound.

1. icɔ neendehstera hanɔ togeende gotaara

(- # - - - - # - - # - - - # - \ -).

To-morrow I'll certainly pass here, that we may go for a walk.

2. neendekenya ntagaaca kuirua

(_ _ - - # - - - # - - -)

I shall certainly run lest I get be-nighted.

3. noreeganyerra hake igo ykorsentere ekarama yao.

Please will you wait for me a little that I may bring you

(_ - - - # - - - # - - - # - - - # - - -) your pen.

4. noreeganda igo umutiiri ataraabooka kurua borre

(_ - - - # - - - # - - - # - - - - - # - - - # - - -)

You will go nand find him not yet awakened from his bed.

A7. nta-
ata-

P7. ntakaa-
atakaa-

This form occurs in both free and bound sentences, and is common in everyday speech, although less so in narrative and folk-story. In negative contexts P7 occurs, but it should be noted that it also occurs in negative contexts of B1. Here as in other tenses it is noticeable that the range of occurrence of negative tenses is not co-terminous with comparable positive ones, and a full discussion would require separate treatment in a parallel manner. Here, the practice is adopted of making reference to other sections where relevant. In several of the following examples the very fine distinction, at a semantic level, between this and B1 should be noted.

Free.

1. Booke ataruga ibiakorea boonguboongu

(_ - # _ - - # _ - - # - - -)

Booke is to cook the food quickly.

Bound.

1. atatem(a) iciqoambe cigende

(_ - - # _ - - # - -)

He's to hit the cows that they go.

c.f. atem(e) icijombé cigéende
(_ _ # _ _ _ # _ _)

which is more of an order.

2. otageenda(a) oongorre.....
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

Go and buy for me..... i.e. please go....

3. tamotsebi(a) oyo ageenda.
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

Tell that fellow to go.

Note: the persoānl prefix may be dropped, especially in the 2nd. Person Singular.

4. Maroa atamaah(a) omoona atakaagwa kurua borre
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

Maroa is to look after the child that it does not fall out
of bed.

5. omokari atamaah(a) icinyinyi citakaageresera
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

The woman will watch the vegetables that they don't burn.

6. omoona, otagaac(a) umuhire mogoondo igō ataraaisaba
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

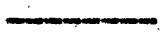
The child, don't come to send him to the garden before he's
washed.

7. otamaaha abaanto baraaca huumbu.
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

Look out, people are coming on the other bank.

8. bataruga bono omogeni ahikire
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

They may cook now, the guest has arrived.



A8. nkaa-
akaa-

Occurring only in bound sentences. Q4 is said to occur in negative contexts but I have no example of this.

1. akaamaaha iga mbuya amunye rero
(_ _ # _ # _ # _ # _)

Perhaps he sees that it is good that he rest to-day.

2. han(o) oraamoteebi akaamanya koboha iga?
(_ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _)

If you tell him, will he perhaps know how to tie a knot?

3. akaamaaha ndaheta aamberekere
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _)

If perhaps he sees me passing he may call me.

A8a. neenkaa-
nakaa-

P8a. teenkaa-
takaa-

Occurring only in bound sentences. P8a occurs in negative contexts.

A1 Occurring as V1.

1. neengaakora tenena goongo hai
(_ _ _ | _ _ _ # _ _ # _)

Even though I work I get no thanks.

2. neenkaarema moko ono teendaagese hai
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ | _ _ # _)

Even though I'm cultivating this year, I shan't reap a harvest.

Note: use of BQ2 as V2 implies that only this year I shan't reap a harvest. Contrast with AP6.

3. uni neengaakora maiya mbucoa
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ | _ _)

As for me, even though I do good things, its useless.

B. Also occurring initially, as V1.

1. nagaaca iinqio naraagutuurri emeremo geyo gisire
(_ - _ # _ - _ # _ - - \ _ # _ - - - # \ _ # _ - -)

Even if he were to come in the morning he'll help you
with the work until its finished.

2. ntokaamaah(a) omweya tuce
(_ - - - - # - \ _ # - -)

If we were to see an opportunity we'll come.

C. Occurring as V2.

1. uni hanə niguur(e) igo teengaatsama hai
(_ - # _ - # _ - # - - | _ - - - # _ -)

If I heard thus I would not strike.



P9. teendaa-
 taraa-

The semantic distinctions between this and the following form P10 are in many cases extremely fine, and in several contexts they appear to be interchangeable. People, do, on the other hand, advance distinctions between the two, which, while valid in some cases, are clearly quite invalid in others: e.g. P9 'action not yet started', P10 'action started but not yet completed'.

The following points, are however, observably true, that P9 occurs far less frequently and is associated with the post-verbal item 'hai'. P9 occurs in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. taraahoorā hai
(- - - - # -)

He has not yet beaten the grain.

Bound.

1. teendaakora geento hai noraataare

(-- -- # -- # - \ -).

I have not yet done anything, you go for a walk.

2. moraya ka Muita taraamaah(a) egoombe hai

(-- - # - [- - # --- # --- # -).

You are going home and Muita hasn't yet looked after a cow.

P10. ntaraa-

ataraa-

Occurring frequently in both free and bound sentences, and is not associated with the post-verbal item 'hai'.

Free.

1. ntaraaraagera ubukima

(--- \ - # -- -).

I have not yet eaten my porridge.

Bound. A.

1. Muita ataramaah(a) inyanyi kebore_ere

(- # --- # -- - # -- - # -)

Muita hasn't yet seen the trouble there is.

2. ntaraaraagera teendaataare

(--- \ - # - \ -).

I haven't yet eaten (so) I shan't walk.

3. ntaraakora geento (u)ce gokora ke?

(--- -- # - # - # - --- # -).

I haven't yet done anything, you're going to do what?

c.f. P9.Ex.1. On this occasion the mother was actually in the process of preparing the food when her young child appeared, and the distinction cited for P9 is here valid.

4. ntaraamutiiria awane mokore abe

(___ - - - # _ # _ - # - -).

I have not yet come across him that I may do him that he is
i . e . kill him.

5. omoon(a) onə agenda igo ntaraamoteəbia kenə moberekeeye

(_ - # _ # - - # - - # - - - - # - - # - - - -).

This child goes off and I've not told him what I've called
him for.

6. iqimbo ntaraataarra qheri osoora

(_ - # - - - # - - [_ - -).

The stick, I haven't walked with yet, that I may be satisfied
with it, and you come for it.

7. amagi ogaimuki buya gatarateka ogarsente

(- - - # - - - - # - - # - - - - [- - - -).

The eggs you are to carry carefully, they are not yet broken,
and bring them.

Here the distinctions cited for P9 and P10 cannot hold. The process of
breaking has not yet begun, and it would be difficult to conceive of
eggs having started - but not finished - breaking.

B. Occurring as V1 with pre-verbal item 'ere'

1. ere ntaraaimoka meenkomaaha

(_ - # _ - _ # _ - _).

Before I go I'll see you.

C. Occurring as V1 with V2 in form B1 + 'bono'

2. ntaraaya komosoora ace bono

(_ - - # - - - [_ - # - -).

Until I go to fetch him, he'll not come.

2. bataaraa koraagera ndue hano bono

(_ - - # - - - [_ - # - - # - -).

Until they eat I shall not leave here.



Invariable forms. (A1)

1. ko-/ku-. Commonly labelled the 'infinitive' form. Occurring almost always preceded by another verbal or by the item 'na'. It may also occur as a component in a multiple tense.

The form should be sharply distinguished from the nomino-verbal, oko-/uku- which is characterized by a verbal radical, and nominal prefixes of limited variability. The form behaves as for nominals.

1. ndatuna kogor(a) ibiinto

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _)

I want to buy things.

2. tiingutuna kogor(a) ibiinto hai

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _)

I don't want to buy things.

3. wancugu n'ogatoco bakaya koraba mogoondo

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

The elephant and the hare went to look at the garden.

4. aiburubuuncia na kogaamba iga ieke ukuiigua wancugu?

(_ _ _ _ _ # _ # _ _ _ # _ _ [_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

He shook himself and said, what do you hear elephant?

5. oare kunyocr(a) etaantago

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ _)

You were on the point of getting favours.....

2. ŋko-/ŋku-

Occurring only as a component of multiple tenses, to which reference should be made for details(pp. 84 ff.)

3. nama-

Occurring relatively infrequently and only in bound sentences. There appears to be no negative context. The form occurs particularly with -maah- and in all cases might be replaced by 'hanɔ' + A2.

1. omoon(a) onə namamaaha igo akenya kana ŋke akunyob^{oh}era
(_ - # \ _ # _ - - # _ - - | _ - # _ # _ - - \ _).

This child when he sees me runs away, why is he afraid of me?

2. iciŋɔɔmbe namamaah(a) uburi igo cibukenyera
(

Cows when they see bulrush millet run to it.

3. iciimburi cinə n'inyoba namamaah(a) iimbura igo citaanga
koŋɔsa

(_ - - # \ _ # _ - - | _ - - # - - # _ - # _ - - # - -).

These goats are cowards, when they see rain they begin to run off.

4. omotoe goyo namagend(a) orogenda igo gunyatia
(_ - - # \ _ # _ - - # - - - # _ - # - -).

This head of mine, when I go on a journey it hurts me.

4. Radical + a.

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. nco hanə! (_ - # - -) Come here!

Bound.

1. gəend(a) oonjorr(e) ibiinto.
(/ # _ - # - \ _)
Go and buy me things.

Group B.

Bl. n-
a-

The form occurs widely, in both free and bound sentences, in a wide range of contexts. Negative forms vary.

Free.

A. Negative P7.

1. Mufia ageende kumutsera

(_ - # _ - # - \ -)

Mufia is to go to the market.

B. Negative P7. Generally occurring initially in the sentence.

1. togeende Komoro.

(_ - - # - \ -)

Let us go to the river.

2. niriisie icinqombe?

(_ - - # - - - -)?

Shall I herd the cattle?

Bound.

A. Occurring as V1 with V2 in form B1. Negative form P7.

1. Maroa amaah(e) omoona atakaagwa kurua borre

(_ - # - # - - - # - - - # - - - # - -)

Maroa is to look after the child that it doesn't fall out of bed.

2. okahuungu amuuntane n'ogatoco kuhika ahotame.

(_ - \ # - - - - # - - \ # - - - # - -)

The goshawk is to fight with the hare until he gets the better of him.

3. umuriisia atam(e) icinqombe cigeende

(_ - - - # - # - - - - # - -)

The herdsboy is to hit the cattle that they go.

B. Occurring as V1 - generally initially in the sentence. Frequently associated with the post-verbal item 'mbe'.

1. baace nauni neemba kseria n'iritimu

(_ - # - - - # - - - - # - - \ -)

Let them come and I'll greet them with a spear.

2. togseende mbe guisaba komoro

(_ _ - # - [_ _ _ _ # - -) .

Let us go then and bathe in the river.

3. tosome tomany(e) ibiinto

(_ _ - # - - # - _) .

Let us read that we may get to know things.

C. Occurring as V2 and associated with a very wide range of forms as V1:
e.g. A3, A4, A6, A14, B1, B2, C1, and C2. Negative forms P7, or \rightarrow aang- + A11

1. reero ndageenda ngor(e) iimburi

(_ - # - - - # - # - _) .

To-day I'm going to buy a goat.

2. ico nageeye ngor(e) iimburi

(- - # - - - # - # - _) .

Yesterday I went to buy a goat.

3. ico ndeegenda ngor(e) iimburi

(- - # - - - # - # - _) .

To-morrow I'll go to buy a goat.

4. nyeeengeri(a) icinyinyi nsookeri ubukima

(_ - - # - - - # - - - # - - _) .

Increase for me vegetables that I may finish the porridge.

5. Maroa amaah(e) omoona atakaagwa kurua borre

(_ - # - # - - - # - - - # - - - # - -) .

Maroa is to look after the child that it doesn't fall out
of bed.

6. akooboha aange kogootibua

(_ - - - # - # - - _) .

He was afraid lest me might be caught.

7. agakenya aange kogootibua

(_ - _ # - # - - _) .

He ran off in order that he might not be caught.

8. ntaraamutiiria wane mokore abe

(___ --- # _ # -- # --)

I haven't yet come across him that I may do him that he is. The use of -b- here is idiomatic, occurring frequently with a verbal of 'retribution' understood. Thus here, 'that he may be killed, beaten, humiliated, etc.

D. Again occurring as V2 with forms in A6a, A7, B1, C5a as V1. In all contexts it is observable that replacement by the tense of V1 may be effected without change of meaning. At a semantic level it is characteristic of the form to be associated with the resultant or anticipated resultant of the action of V1. In negative contexts the negative form of V1 occurs, where this is B1, P7 occurs.

1. noreegeenda igō umutiiri ataraabooka kurua borre

(___ -- # -- # -- # -- # -- # --)

You will go and find him not yet awakened from his bed.

2. amagi ogaimuki buya gatarateka ogarsente

(___ # --- # -- # ---] --)

The eggs, carry them carefully, they are not yet broken, and bring them.

3. neekora kuya haakurua uce ŋora oongoote

(___ # -- # -- # -- # -- # --)

I'm going to go then you come along and get me.

4. nyōr(e) utigire eseese negaacire icōbe ekegoote

(_ # ---- # -- # ---] --] --)

If you left a dog it would come and stalk it and get it.

E. Occurring as V2(or V3) with V1(or V2) in form A1a, A8, B2 and C5a.

At a semantic level the reference to future time should be noted. In Negative contexts Q1 or Q3

1. hanɔ̃ abaanto baraayi ehooma bahooman(e) icinsɔ̃
(__ # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

When the people go fishing they'll get fish.

c.f. A3(Bound)

2. ntorahɔ̃ye igo haakuraa tuyi guisaba
(__ _ # __ # __ _ # __ _ # __ _)

We're going to play, and then we'll go bathing.

3. Caaca hanɔ̃ araamaahe Muita amoteme
(_ - [__ # _ _ # _ - [__ -)

Caaca, when he sees Muita, he'll hit him.

4. neeqkaamaahere omweya nice
(__ - - # _ - # _ -)

If I were to see an opportunity I'll come.

n.b. contrast occurrence of C5a as V1 and V2.

5. neeqkaamaah(a) omweya ntaace hai
(__ - # - - # _ - # _ -)

Even if I see an opportunity I'll not come.

6. nagaacire boogubooŋgu agutiiri ohano
(_ _ # _ - - # _ - - # _ -)

If he were to come quickly he'll find you here.

n.b. Occurrence of C5a as V2, semantically, a much vaguer statement.

7. akaamaaha ndaheta amberekere.
(_ - _ - # _ # _ - -)

If perhaps he sees me passing he may call me.

F. Occurring as V1(or V2) with V2(or V3) also in form B1. Contrast this with A6(Bound), replacement by which is associated with a more definite proposition.

1. niinduga nsooki ŋgeend(e) amance
(__ - # _ - [__ # _ _)

When I finish cooking I'll go for water.

c.f. Ala, B2.

2. ndiing(e) okoboko kone otore kokoreengora bono

(_ _ # _ _ _ _ # \ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _).

If I bend my arm you cannot unbend it.

c.f. also B1/H

G. Occurring only as V2 with V1 in form Pl0. Only rarely recorded.

1. ntaraakora geento uce gokora ke?

(_ _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _).

I've not done anything yet, what are you going to do?

H. Occurring as V2, always associated with the post-verbal item 'bono'

1. otaangay(e) omosaara nkore bono

(_ _ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

If you don't pay me my wages I won't work.

2. bataraaca koraagera ndue hano bono

(_ _ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

Until they eat I won't go from here.

3. ndiing(e) okoboko kone otore kokoreengora bono

(_ _ # _ _ _ _ # \ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _).

If I bend my arm you cannot unbend it.

4. ntaraaya komosora ace bono

(_ _ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

Until I go to fetch him, he'll not come.

I. Occurring as V1 associated with the pre-verbal item 'kereenga'

1. kereenga hice hano teendaanywara basani hai

(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

Since coming here I've not made any friends.

J. Occurring as V1 or V2 but always associated with the pre-verbal item 'kuhika'

1. omoona wane naraayi sule kuhika abe omoonto (u)mukuru
(_ -- # _ # _ -- # _ -- # _ -- # _ -- # _ -- # _ --).

My son will go to school until he's a grown man.

2. amance ntogasoomba igo kuhika gasire
(_ -- # _ -- / _ # _ -- # _ -- # _ --).

We're going to move the water by loads until its finished.
In this example it seems possible to omit 'kuhika' without change of meaning.

Q1. teen-
ta-

Occurring in two distinct usages. a) Associated with the post-verbal item 'hai' b) Not associated with it.

a). Occurring only in free sentences.

1. uni teenteme moon(a) omoonto hai
(_ -- # _ -- # _ -- # _ -- # _ --).

I'm not going to hit the man's child

2. omokari taraager(e) ibiakorea hai
(_ -- # _ -- \ # _ -- \ # _ --).

The woman is not going to cook the food.

At a semantic level this form is rather more emphatic than Ala.

b). I have only examples of this occurring in bound sentences.

1. hanə ndaanyəər(e) abaanto baraanaaha teentem(e) omoonto
(_ -- # _ -- \ # _ -- # _ -- -- | _ -- # _ --).

If I come across people teasing me I'll be hitting someone.

2. uni teentem(e) iciqəəmbe naws ageend(a) igo
(_ -- # _ -- # _ -- -- | _ -- # _ -- # _ --).

I'll drive the cows and he'll go along

B2. ndaa-
araa-

Occurring only in bound sentences as V1, and is generally associated with the pre-verbal item 'hanə'. In negative contexts Q3 occurs.

1. hanə ndaahike boongu neendaamomahe
(__ # -\ # - [- - \)
If I arrive early I'll see him.
2. hanə ndaakore emeremo neendaanyore eenkemo
(__ # -\ # - [- \ # -)
If I work I'll get remuneration.
3. hanə toraami icinyinyi ntoraanyor(e) ibiakorea
(__ # -\ # - [- - \ # -)
If we plant vegetables we shall get food.
4. hanə ntaahike boongu teendaamomahe hoj
(__ # - - # - [- - \ # -)
If I don't arrive early I won't see him.

I have only example of the form occurring as V2:-

naraakor(e) iciinguru nehə araacinyor(e) iciimburi ciyo
cisirre
(- \ # - - # - - \ # - - - # - - # - -)
He will work hard and then he will get the goats which are
lost.

B2a. neendaa-
naraa-

BQ2a. teendaa-
taraa-

Occurring both in free and bound sentences, with reference to future time of the following twenty-four hours.

Free. Positive.

1. noraahike hata kumatuka?
(- \ # - - # - -)?
Will you be going as far as the dukas?

c.f. Ala which is much less definite

Bound. Positive.

1. neendaakore kuya haakuraa uce nara oongoote

(_ - \ _ # _ _ # _ - - # _ - # _ - | _ - -).

I shall go on, then you're to come on slowly and get me.

2. amance ntoraagasoombe igō gasire

(_ - # _ - \ _ # _ _ # _ -).

The water we shall move by loads until it is finished.

c.f. Ala. for intention but not time.

3. neendaaruge nsooki ngeend(e) amance

(_ - \ _ # _ - | _ - # _ - \ _).

When I've finished cooking I'll go for water.

c.f. Ala. where the cooking is in progress.

4. ntoraahōoye igō haakuraa tuyi guisaba

(_ - \ _ # _ _ # _ - - # _ - # _ - \ _).

We shall play thus and then we shall bathe.

5. hanō ndaaguri, iimburi neendaanyōor(e) icisiriingi

(_ - # _ - \ _ # _ - | _ - \ _ # _ - \ _).

If I sell the goat I shall get money.

6. neendaakōr(e) igitunyo manye gosoma

(_ - \ _ # _ - - | _ - # _ - \ _).

I shall work until I know how to read.

Negative forms. As with Q1 two forms occur; a) with post-verbal item 'hai',

b) without this.

a) Free.

1. enōombe enō teraabiare roonde hai kogera yakuunguha

(_ - - # _ # _ - \ _ # _ - # _ # _ - - # _ - -).

This cow will not bear again because of old age. c.f. A6, where the cow is already pregnant.

Bound.

1. amareebwa ganō tegaraareebue hai kogera gatomooka

(_ - - # _ - # _ - - \ _ # _ # _ - - # _ - -).

These cassava roots will not be eaten because they're watery.

b). Occurring only in bound sentences.

1. agasaka kanɔ teendaatememɔ umusairi guhike

(_ _ - # _ - # - - \ _ _ # _ - \ _ # _ - -)

This clump of trees I will cut in, the laod that it suffice.
i.e. No one else is interested.

In this and other examples, at a semantic level, there is a considerable amount of emphasis associated with this form.

2. omokari wane teendaamoggote buya atagaaca kuy(a) eyo

(_ _ - - # \ _ # _ - - \ _ # _ - # _ - - # _ # _ -)

My wife, I'll certainly look after he well, that she doesn't
run away.

3. kur(a) uni teendaatsmerre bokoqu emete genɔ getakaaguisi(a)

inyuumba

(_ # _ - # _ - - \ _ # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - \ _ # _ -)

Even I will pack down these trees well, so that they do not
cause the house to fall.

i.e. Someone else's having recently fallen for lack of such
precautions.

4. na baitu tetoraamotengeke atakaatuiba) icisiriingi

(_ # _ - - # - - - - \ _ _ | _ - - - - # _ - \ _)

We too will make a point of watching him carefully lest he
steal our money.

Q3. ntaa-
ataa-

Two forms of this tense occur, as with Q1, BQ2a. a) associated with the post verbal item 'hai', b) without this.

a). Associated semantically with a denial of a charge in the immediate future.

Free.

1. uni ntaateme moon(a) omoonto hai

(_ - # _ - - # - # _ - _ # _)

I shan't hit the man's child.

Bound.

1. uni neeḡgaataarahḡ ntaaibe geento kemoonto hai

(_ - # _ - - - # _ - - - # _ - # _ - - # _)

Even if I do walk over there I shan't steal anything of anyone's

b). Occurring with the pre-verbal item 'hanb'. See positive form B2.

1. hanḡ ntaahike boḡḡu teendaamomaahē hai

(_ - # _ - # _ - [_ - - _ - # _)

If I don't arrive early I won't see him.

Invariable forms.

1. $i^{\circ}R + e$. Associated with those contexts in which an object infix occurs, in which otherwise A14 would occur.

moteme! (_ -)

Hit him!

mutje! (_ -)

Kill him!

2. $ka+R+e$. Also occurs in ~~which~~ ~~ei~~ contexts in which A14 would occur, but rarely, and only with radicals of type -C-, -CC-:-

kanywe! (_ -)

Drink!

kahe (_ -)

Give.

Group C.

Cl. n-
a-

CR1 ten-
ta-

Occurring frequently in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. omoona agseye kumutsera
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

The child has gone to the market.

2. ahikire? a'a tahikire hai.
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _).

Has he arrived? No, he hasn't (and isn't likely to. c.f. PlO.)

Bound.A.

1. kuujguku nigo murureko na baitu tokahikaho
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

To the hill from which you have come we then went.

2. komanc(e) icijocambe cenu nigo ciruremo ni cetu cakahikamo
(_ _ # _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

To the water from which your cows have come ours then arrived at.

B. Occurring as V1 and V2, generally preceded by p-v item 'hano'

1. nyore(e) utigire eseese negaacire icobe ekegoote

If you (had) left a dog it would come and stalk it and catch it.

(_ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ [_ _] _ _).

2. nyore nschere karai nyore temokorre igo

(_ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

If I'd entered before you would not be doing this now.

CR1/2. nta-
ata-

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. ntakorre ejana

(___ - # _)

I haven't done anything.

Bound. Often associated with pre-verbal items 'hano', 'nyore'.

1. omoon(a) ono namamaah(a) esees(e) igo atema ninyore(a)

etaibire

(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - _).

This child, when it sees a dog it hits it, although it hasn't
stolen anything.

2. (hano) otaaray(e) omosaara ukore bono

((--) _ - # _ - - [_ - # _ -).

If you don't pay me my wages I won't work.

3. ekeratu keonde hano getakunyiintire gekogareha

(_ - - # _ - - # _ - # _ - _ - - # _ - _ -).

Another man's shoe if it doesn't pinch it's too ~~tight~~ loose.

4. nageeye Gusuhi ntamomaahere

(_ - # _ - - # _ - - _ -).

I went to Kisii and didn't see him. (incidentally to the
journey).

Cla. neen-
na-

Occurring mainly in bound sentences.

1. emeremo neensockiri nyore harabu hakere

(_ - - # _ - - # _ - # _ - # _ -).

I've finished the work and there' still some sunlight.

2. iimburi eno kur(a) eyo niriisire kur(a) icinda citonere
(_ _ # _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

This goat has really fed so well that his stomach's full
to bursting.

3. umukuungu (o)no kura we nageeye (n)huumbu n'hanj ahikir(e)
inyiing(a) eno

(_ _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ [_ _ # _ _ # _ _).

Even this old woman has gone across to the other side afar
off and has arrived there by now.

4. ku^f(n) uni neendemere rero, maaha qherri rero iriboka
(_ # _ # _ _ # _ _ [/ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

Even I have cultivated to-day, see ,I have done enough of the
plot to-day.

C2. na-
aa-

CR2. tena-
taa-

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. kucum(a) eno yahater(e) abaana baageeye Musoma
(_ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

Last week the children went to Musoma.

2. aahikire? ee, aahikir(e) ico
(_ _ _ ?) (_ # _ _ # _ _).

Did he come? Yes, he came yesterday.

Bound.A.

1. taamanyere hai iga wancugu aatger(e) omohana
(_ _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

He did not know that the elephant had set a trap.

2. Caaca akaya aramaaha abageni haanga baguwa ke hano baateebaini
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

Caaca went looking for his guests whether they were coming as
they had said.

Bound. B. Associated with the pre-verbal item 'nyɔɔre'

1. nyɔɔre oaimir(ɪ) egeento neɛŋgaakegorre
(_ - # - - # - - # - - _).

If you had planted something I would have bought it.

CR2/2.

ntaa-

ataa-

Occurring in both free and bound sentences. At a semantic level compare with CR1/2

Free.

1. ntaakorre eqana
(_ - _ # -).

I didn't do anything.

A denial, of something allegedly done some time back.

Bound.

1. nageeye Gusuhi ntaamomaahere
(_ - # - - # - - _).

I went to Kisii but I didn't see him.

I didn't see him in spite of the fact that I went to Kisii to look for him.

2. nyɔɔre totaabusurre anahɛamba ntokaabaye n'incara
(_ - # - - _ # - - # - - # - -).

If we did not plant sorghum we would have been hungry.

C2a. nena-

naa-

Occurring infrequently but both in free and in bound sentences.

Free.

1. kana kur(a) uwe Nairobi noaikayemo igakwa
(__ # _ # _ - # _ - \ - # _ - \ - - # _ - -)

You yourself were living in Nairobi a great deal.

Bound.

1. kana kur(a)^{uni} nenamanyere kuruka irikaanga
(__ # _ # _ - # _ - \ - # _ - - - # _ - - -)

Even I knew how to plait a basket.

2. nawe naasumaacere bokoqu agacomoria
(_ - # _ - \ - - # _ - - # _ - \ -)

Indeed he talked so much that he destroyed his own words.

C3. naaka-
aaka-

Mult.Tense. AP2/A11

See below. pp.

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. naagatamer(e) iciqoambe bono igo
(__ - \ # _ - - - # _ - # _ -)

I was just now hitting the cows.

2. tookaremere mogoondo
(__ - \ - # _ - -)

We were hoeing in the plot.

Bound.

1. naakamaaher(e) iimbura haang(a) etooye
(__ - \ # _ - - # _ - # _ - -)

I was just looking to see whether it was raining.

2. baagakenyere barajos(a) iimbura
(__ - \ - [_ - - # _ - -)

They were running off, running from the rain.

C4. naaka-
aaka-

CR4. tenaaka-
taaka-

Occurring very frequently, mainly in bound sentences. From a historical point of view it is interesting to note that elders comment that this is a fairly recent form, having superseded the older C2 with '-(ŋ)ga' suffix.

1. hanə nareŋge mamura naakaimukiri emesairi
(__ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ \ _ _ # _ _ \ _)

When I was a child I used to carry loads.

2. Booke hanə ɔareŋg(e) umusubaati oakarugir(e) ubukima
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ \ _ _ # _ _ \ _ # _ _)

Booke, when you were a young wife, you used to cook porridge.

3. Caaca hanə ɔareŋge gosoma oagaisohiri gucinyumba
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ \ _ _ # _ _ \ _)

Caaca when you were learning to read you used to insinuate yourself into the house.

4. hanə tookahikire kubiremero tookanyooy(e) ibiroŋgɔəri
(__ # _ _ \ _ # _ _ \ _ # _ _ \ _ # _ _ \ _)

Whenever we went to the plantations we used to drink gruel.

5. Maroa hanə anyɔɔr(e) ataakorema aakahumire kobaanto
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ \ _ # _ _ \ _ # _ _)

Maroa when he was not cultivating, used to scrounge food from the people.

C4a. nenaaka-
naaka-

Again occurring mainly in bound sentences.

1. eŋɔɔmbe_ enə hanə yareŋge nyanaanke niyaagasukir(e) abaanto
(_ _ # _ # _ # _ # _ # _ # _ \ _ # _)

This cow when it was a calf was really fiercely disposed towards people.

2. kubumura bone ninaagakenyere igò baanga kugura hanò ngeresye
(__ -- # -- # -- -- \ -- # -- # -- # -- # --).

In my youth I used to run off so they didn't know where I went.

3. Muita hanò aakabaye n'ibiinto eengebo niyaakagotere igò
agor(a) eende

(-- # -- # -- \ -- # -- | -- # -- -- \ -- # -- # -- # --).

When Muita was with things (was well - off) and his clothes began to get really tattered he bought another.

C5. nkaa- CR5 ntakaa-
 akaa- atakaa-

Occurring only in bound sentences; always associated with the pre-verbal item 'hanò' and with V2 generally in form C5a.

1. hanò nkaahikire boongu neenkaamomaahere
(__ # -- \ -- # -- | -- -- \ --).

If I were to arrive early I would see him.

c.f. C5a.

2. hanò ngaakorre emeremo neenkaanyòorre eenksembo
(__ # -- # -- | -- -- # --).

If I were to work I would get a present.

3. hanò tokaaimiri icinyinyi ntokaanyòorr(e) ibiakorea
(__ # -- -- # -- | -- -- # -- --

If we were to plant vegetables we would get food.

c.f. C5a.

4. hanò totakaabusurr(e) amahsemba ntokaabaye n'incara
(__ # -- -- \ -- # -- | -- -- # -- --).

If we were not to plant sorghum we would be hungry.

C5a. neenkaa-
naka-

Occurring only in bound sentences with V1(or V2) in form C2 or C5.

1. nyɔɔre naangohere boongu neenkaamomaahere

(_ - # - - - # - - | _ - - - \ -).

If I had arrived early I would have seen him.

2. nyɔɔre tooimiri ntokaanyɔɔrr(e) ibiakorea

(_ - # - - - | _ - - - # - - -).

If we had planted vegetables we would have got food.

3. nyɔɔre totaabusurr(e) amahaamba ntokaabaye n'incara

(_ - # - - - \ # - - - | _ - - - # - - -).

If we did not plant vegetables(sorghum) we would have
been hungry.

4. ninyɔɔra buirre neenkaageeye

(_ - - # - - | _ - - -).

Even if the sun had set I would have gone.

5. hano ŋkaahikire boongu neenkaamomaahere

(_ - # - - \ # - - | _ - - - \ -).

If I were to arrive early I would see him.

6. nagaacire boonguboongu naakaagutiiri ohano

(_ - - # - - - # - - - - # - - -).

If he were to come quickly he would find you here.

c.f. B1(E)

7. neenkaamaahere omweya neengaacire

(_ - - - # - - | _ - - -).

If I were to see an opportunity I would come.

c.f. B1(E)

C6a. neenke-
nake-

CR6a. teenke-
take-

According to elders this tense is said to occur with increasing rarity, and certainly at the present time its occurrence is restricted to one or radicals only. Far more common is the multiple form A12/A11.

I have examples of its occurrence in free sentences only.

1. Caaca_ariigire? a'a nakeraaye hata bono
(_ - # - - ~ ? - - # _ - - # _ - # - -).

Caaca, has he returned? No, he's still sleeping.

2. eqoombe_er(a) esookiri koherekerrua? a'a nekebohere
(_ - - # _ - - - # - - - - ~ ? - - # _ - \ -).

That cow, has it been led off? No, its still tied up.

5. Multiple Tenses.

Synopsis of Positive and Negative Forms.

It has been stated above (p.35) that multiple tenses are characterized by two juxtaposed radicals, the position of each of which is rigid in relation to the other. It is observable that with two exceptions the radical occurring in second position (V2) may be that of any verbal, while that occurring in first position (V1) is restricted to a mere half dozen verbals.

Forms with first radical -y-. A 3rd. Pers. Sing. example is given.

A3/A1	araya amaaha	P3/A1	takuya amaaha
A3/A3	araya aramaaha	P3/A3	takuya aramaaha
A4/A3	akaya aramaaha	CR2/A3	tageey(e) aramaaha
A6/A3	ariiya aramaaha	AP6/A3	tariya aramaaha
B2a/A3	naraayi aramaaha	BQ2a/A3	taraayi aramaaha

Forms with first radical -nyɔɔr-

A4/A3	akanyɔɔr(a) aramaaha	CR2/A3	taanyɔɔrre aramaaha
A4/C1	akanyɔɔr(a) araaye	CR2/C1	taanyɔɔrr(e) araaye
C2/A3	nanyɔɔrr(e) aramaaha	CR2/A3	taanyɔɔrr(e) aramaaha
C2/C1	nanyɔɔrr(e) amaahere	CR2/C1	taanyɔɔrr(e) amaahere

Forms with first radical -b-

A6/A3	ndeeba ndamaaha	AP6/A3	teendeba ndamaaha
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Formals with verbal element -re. Examples in 1st.Pers.Sing.

A2/C1	nare ŋkɔɔrre	AP2/C1	tenare ŋkɔɔrre
A2/A11	nare komaaha	AP2/A11	tenare komaaha
AD2a/A11	nareeŋge komaaha	APD2/A11	tenareeŋge komaaha
Ai2/A1	ŋkomaaha nde	P2a/A11	ntaare komaaha
Ai2/A11	ŋkomaaha ŋkere		

Forms with other radicals.

1. -aaŋg- Refuse.

Occurring mainly in forms A1,A2,A3,A6,B1, iwth A11

A2/A11 naaŋga komaaha

2. -aaŋgoh- Anticipate.

Occurring mainly in A1,A2, with A11

A1/A11 naaŋgoha gokɔɔra

3. -tig- Leave off

Occurring mainly in B1,Ai4 with A11

4. A multiple form of the same radical characterized a) by the nominal-verbal as V1 and A5 as V2 b) by Ai2 as V1 and A2 as V2

a) ukuhika ŋkuhika

b) ŋkuhika nahika

A third form also occurs:-

c) ŋkokuhika ŋkuhika

Distributional analysis.

A3/A1

Neg. P3/A1.

Occurring only in bound sentences.

1. uburui gosa oray(a) obomaaha haanga bomera
Occurring only in bound sentences.

1. uburui gosa oray(a) obomaaha haanga bomera time to see
(--- # -- [-- # -- \ # -- # --).

2. ukuya ar(e) aray(a) amaaha haang(a) egesaku ngisikire
(--- # -- # \ # -- # -- # --).

He's going and looking from time to time to see whether the door
is shut.

A3/A3

Neg. P3/A3

Occurring only in bound sentences.

1. omoteebi ommona ayi araya aramaah(a) ibinyunyi haanga
bikorea amahemba

(--- # -- # -- # --- # -- # --- # -- # --).

Tell the child to go and look whether the birds are eating
the sorghum.

At a semantic level note the contrast between this and A3. The child
must go on having a good look.

2. eqan(a) eno aray(a) araantoma n'uwe oray(a) oraya
(_ # \ # -- # -- # -- # -- # --).

The message he is now sending me, but it is you who are going.

3. ndaya ndaberekera nyocora taraaca hai
(_ # --- [_ # -- \ # --).

I keep on calling but I find he has not yet come.

A4/A3

Neg. AP6/A3.

Occurring both in free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. ubutiku citinyi cikaya ciraheta gooncera.

(_ _ - # _ - # _ - # - - - # _ -).

During the night animals were passing on the path.

Bound.

1. umuguesmi agateg(a) omotego akaya araya aramaaha
haanga agootiri itienyi

(_ - - # _ - \ # _ - - [_ - - # - - # - - - # - - # - - - # - \).

The hunter set a trap ^{had} it came about that he went
looking whether he had trapped an
animal.

2. so wabo akaya ararogora n'ieke bagokora abaana bano?

(_ # - # _ - # - - - # _ - # - - - # - - # - -).

Their father was astonished (saying), what are they doing
those children?

A6/A3.

Neg. AP6/A3

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. ariiya aragaamb(a) iritatura.

(_ - # - - # - - - \).

He will be speaking in a gulpy sort of way.

Bound.

1. Muit(a) omoteebi iga ariiya aramaaha haanga tuguuca atuturujane

(_ # - - - # _ # _ - # - - - # - - # - - # - - - -).

Tell Muita that he will be seeing whether we are coming, that
he may come to meet us.

B2a/A3

Neg. BQ2a/A3

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. neendaayi ndaseemi(a) irigahaaca

(_ - _ # _ - _ # - - \ -).

I shall be getting ready the building materials.

Bound.

1. emeremo neendaayi ndakora ke hayo oontsebir

(_ - - # _ - - # - \ - # - - # \ - # - -).

I shall continue to work as you told me

2. sibirari neendaayi ndaya igo kuhik(a) okogoro kuhugne

(_ - \ - # _ - - # - - # - - # - - # - - - # - -).

To the hospital I shall continue to go until my leg is better.

3. omotesbi omoon(a) igo naraayi aramaah(a) icitugo

citakaariisiri(a) emegoondo gebaande

(_ - - # - - # - - # - - # - - - # - - - \ - # - - - # - \ -).

Tell the child that he will be looking at the herds that they do not browse on the gardens of others.

4. noraayi oramany(a) igo nica gokogera

(_ - - # _ - \ - # - - # - - # - - -).

You'll be knowing that I'm coming to weed for you.

5. han(o) ukuya Nyamooogo noraayi orataacerra amanjan(a) orakira igo

(_ # _ - - # - \ - # - - # - - - # - - # - \ - # - -).

When you go to Nyamooogo you will be investigating matters and keeping quiet about it.

Forms with first radical -nyoor-

A4/A3

Neg. CR2/A3

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. akanyoorara arages(a) uburui

(_ - - - # - - # - - -)

And he was then harvesting his millet.

Bound.

1. akanyɔɔra araraager(a) igo iimbur(a) ekaharroka
(___ - # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - _).

And he was actually eating when the rain started to fall.

A4/C1 and C2

Neg. CR2/C1

Occurring in both free and bound sentences.

Free.

1. n'ogatoco kanyɔɔra naraaye kugutwi guincugu
(_ - _ # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - _).

And the hare got to sleep in the ear of the elephant.

Bound.2.

1. akamocɔber(a) igo akanyɔɔra araay(e) akamogoota
(___ - ___ # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - _).

He stalked him until he had got to sleep and then seized him.

C2/A3

Neg. CR2/A3

Occurring only in bound sentences.

1. hanɔ oam̄berekeeye nanyɔɔrre ndariisia
(___ # ___ - _ # ___ - # ___ -).

When you called me I was herding the cattle.

i.e. was herding even prior to being called.

2. iimbura hanɔ yatooye nanyɔɔrre ndaisaba komɔɔro
(___ # ___ # ___ - [___ - # ___ - # ___ - _).

When it started to rain I was bathing in the river.

3. hanɔ icitugo c̄sirre wanyɔɔrre tene hayo hai
(___ # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - _ # ___ -)

When the cattle were lost I was not there.

4. iciingaraba hanɔ caanyɔɔrre ciraricoka kurua hobaandari
igituri n̄kebaye

(___ - _ # ___ # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - # ___ - _ [___ - # ___ -).

When the canoes were leaving harbour a noise was heard.

- 5. omoonto hanə aanyɔɔrr(e) aramaaha kunyuumba munsi naroc(e) iimbeba
(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ - [_ - # _ -])

When the man was looking inside the house he saw a rat.

Note: the occurrence of the pre-verbal item 'hanə'

C2/C1

Neg.CR2/C1

Occurring both in free and bound sentences.

Free.

- 1. omoonto aanyɔɔrr(e) akorre emeremo

• (_ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

The man had completed his work.

Bound.

- 1. hanə nakoroce oanyɔɔrr(e) oraaye.

(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

When I saw you you had gone to sleep.

Forms with verbal element -re.

A2/C1

Occurring only as a bound sentences. On a semantic level it should be contrasted with A2/A11 by its non-continuity. It should also be contrasted with C2, from which it differs in that the action is less remote.

- 1. nare ndemere(e) iga nkarosa iga rosi

(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

I hoed until I was completely exhausted.

- 2. nar(e) asohere butiku kanyɔɔra tosookiri korea

(_ - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

He came during the evening when we had finished eating.

Semantically, the distinction between this and C2 is here very fine.

3. nare mbinire(e) iribina igo ngaaca butiku
 (_ - # - \ # _ - - # _ - # - - # - -).

I danced a dance and then I came, during the evening.

A2/A11

Neg. AP2/A11

Occurring both in free and in boundsentences. Semantically, this and the following form should be contrasted for the greater time-span of the latter, although this does not always appear valid.

Free.

1. nare gucinyoora amanyiinga ico
 (_ - # - - - - # - - - # - -).

I passed blood yesterday.

c.f. AD2a/A11 'I was continually passing blood....' and C2 'I passed blood (but only once).'

Bound.

1. eenkaga yincara abaanto boonsoe n'icimbeba bare korea
 (_ - # - - [- - # - - # - - # - - # - -).

During the famine all the people used to eat rats.

2. oare kunyoora(a) etaantago sibono okagekaangshera
 (_ - # - - # - - \ # - - # - - \).

You were on the point of getting favour but you were silly about it (and missed it).

3. nare kogaenda igo nkanyoora(a) umuisek(e) arabasibua
 (_ - # - - # - - # - - # - - \ # - - -).

I was going along and I met an unmarried girl who'd been seduced.

AD2a/A11

Neg. AP2/A11

Occurring only in bound sentences, and generally associated with C2 either as V1 (or V2)

1. iciingige hano caacire nareenge kogoorka
 (_ - # - - # - - # - - # - -).

When the locusts came I was still suckling.

- 2. nareenge n'eseese_end areenge kuya nayo kugucema
(_ _ # _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

He had a dog who used to go with him hunting.

- 3. hanə qaiboyue nareenge kuriisia
(_ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _).

When you were born I was herding the cattle.

- 4. eeqkaga yincara_abaanto boonsoe n'iciimbaba bareenge korea
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

During the famine all the people used to eat rats.

Note: the distinction between this form and A2/A11 seems at a semantic level to be very fine, but informants insisted that it all depended on the length of the famine. A short one, - A2/A11: a long one, - AD2a/A11.

Note the following isolated example of AD2a/A4.

- iimbusuro n'eeqke vareenge akaangoha gusira
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

The grain crop was small and was rapidly becoming lost.

A12/A1

Neg. P2a/A11

Occurring very frequently in both free and boundsentences.

Free.

- 1. ngokora are emeremo kir(a) urusiku
(_ _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ # _ _).

He's working every day.

- 2. nkorema nde bono nkumunya nde
(_ _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _).

I'm hoeing and am resting.

From a semantic point of view this is an interesting sentence. The man was clearly resting at the moment of speaking, but within the period of the day he was also hoeing.

Bound.

1. hanᵒ namomaaha ngokora are emeremo

(_ _ # _ _ - # _ _ - # _ # _ -)

When I see him he's actually working.

c.f. A3(Bound). Slightly greater emphasis in the above.

2. nkomaaha nde iga nkorema akere taraasookia hai

(_ _ - # _ # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

I'm noticing that he's still hoeing, he's not yet finished.

3. we nkomaaha are iga mbuya agokora

(- # _ - # _ # _ - # _ -)

He's seeing that its good what he does.

i.e. A reply to a query about someone's odd behaviour.

A12/A11.

A form which is becoming increasingly common. Contrast with C6a.

Occurring mainly in bound sentences associated with such forms as

A1, B1, B2a, C2.

1. nasᵒher(e) inyuumba nkamomaaha ngokora akere emeremo

(_ - \ # _ - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - -)

I entered the house and saw him still working.

2. ngusumaaca makere ntiga ngende waitu

(_ - - # _ - # _ - # _ - # _ -)

While you're still talking, I'll break off and go home.

3. nkorema nkere mutige moraare muirute eengag(a) eyo

(_ - - # _ - # _ - | _ - - | _ - - # _ -)

While I'm still hoeing, you leave off, get some sleep, and stretch yourselves out during this time.

4. nguisaba akere ntoraamogany(e) ace

(_ - - # \ # _ - - # _ -)

While he's still bathing we'll wait for him to come.

No other forms of the verbal element }re occur, either in simple or multiple form. The same forms as those listed above, do, however, occur with the element 'n(e)' and may be translated by the English 'have':-

nare n'iciqᵒambe(_ - # _ - \) I had cows.

Forms with first radical -b-

A6/A3.

A rarely occurring form restricted to bound sentences.

1. ndeeba ndasoh(a) eejkag(a) eyo_oreemberekera
(__- # - \ # - - # - - # - - - \ -).

I shall be entering just at the time you call on me.

Forms with radical -aagg-

Occurring only in bound sentences.

1. kubumura bone ninaagakenyere igo baanga kuyura hanq ngeresye.
(__- # - - # - - - \ - # - - # - - # - - # - - # - -).

During my youth I used to run off lest they find out where
I was.

2. ariihika boonguboongu aange kuiirua
(__- # - - # - - # - \ -)

He will arrive quickly lest he be be-nighted.

3. wanyamoseki waambuuri oaange goska ciguuca oseske cigeeye
(___- # - - # - - # - - # - - # - - # - - # - \ -).

You who laugh at Fate must not laugh at the future only at
the past.

Forms with radical -aaggoh-

Occurrin mainly in free sentences.

1. ejoambe_ eno yaaggoha kubiara
(__- # - # - - # - - \ -).

This cow has already delivered.

2. omoon(a) ono aaggoha gukina boonguobongu
(_ - # - # - - # - - - # - - \ -).

This child has already attained puberty.

Forms with radical -tig-

Occurrin in both free and bound sentences. On a semantic level is

associated with a considerable degree of emphasis.

Free.

1. tiga kokekora! (_ - # - \)

Don't on any account do it.

Bound.

1. namote**ε**biri atige gokor(a) emeremo

(_ _ - - # _ - # - - # _ - -).

I told him that he must not work.

Multiple forms of the same radical.

a) Characterized by the nomino-verbal as V1 and A5 as V2:-

ahikire? εε, ukuhika ukuhika

(_ - - ? - # _ - - # - -)

Has he come? Yes, he's just come.

b) A form also exists:-

ahikire? εε ukuhika akahika

(_ - - ? - # _ - - # - \)

Has he come? Yes, he's just come.

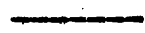
c) Also occurring is:-

ahikire? εε ηkokuhika akuhika

(_ - - ? - # _ - - # - -).

Has he come? Yes, he's just come.

d) Finally a form Ai2/A2 occurs in comparable contexts.



6. Extended Radicals.

Extended radicals are treated in the traditional grammars as 'Derived forms of the Verb' and are normally grouped under such headings as 'Applied(Prepositional), Causative, Reciprocal, Tenacious, etc.'. The term 'derived' is often an adequate and accurate term, (Provided not used in an historical sense?), but in many cases the extent of the derivation is such that the usefulness of the term is vitiated. So also with the headings, which while often adequate, reveal in sub-heading and explanation the continual striving for ever more inclusive terminology to cover an ever-widening usage. 'The Causative form.....includes compulsive, permissive, persuasive and helpful causation as well as simple causation..... the forms also imply intensive action.....'¹; again, 'the tolerative (expressing susceptibility or potentiality)².

In the following pages I deal with these 'derived' forms under the heading of 'extended radicals', which may be made up of either simple or multiple extensions. On a semantic level it may be noted that in general multiple extended radicals are further removed from the simple radical than are simple extended radicals, and all such may cover an extremely wide range of meaning.

As in other languages, there are a large number of extended radicals in common use (-tɛɛbi- Tell; -buuri- Ask; -tuuban- Resemble; -serek- Drive away spirits by charms, etc.) which are not associated with any simple radicals in common usage.

¹ Swahili Grammar. E.O. Ashton. London 1944. pp. 232-3.

² Kikuyu Idiom and Grammar. Rev. Ed. A.R. Barlow. 1951. p. 123. Note also, 'The associative.... expresses types of association such as reciprocity, interaction, concerted action, interdependence or disassociation.' Rudiments of Remi Grammar. H. Olson. 1951. p. 39.

Synopsis of Simple extensions and their Group C forms.

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|---------|
| 1. | -er(-rr in radicals with final -r) | -eeye |
| 2. | -i- | -iri |
| 3. | -an- | -aine |
| 4. | -u- | -irue |
| 5. | -ek | -ekeeye |
| 6. | -or- | -ooye |

Synopsis of multiple extensions and their Group C forms.

- | | | |
|-----|---------|-----------|
| 1. | -erer- | -ereeye |
| 2. | -iri- | -iyi- |
| 3. | -eran- | eraine |
| 4. | -eru- | -eeyue |
| 5. | -ibu- | -irui |
| 6. | -erani- | -erainiyi |
| 7. | -anu- | ainue |
| 8. | -eker- | -ekeeye |
| 9. | -ekan- | -ekaine |
| 10. | -ekani- | -ekaini |
| 11. | -oru- | -ooyue |
| 12. | -uri- | -uriyi |

The above list may not be exhaustive, but is representative of those most commonly occurring. A single pre-radical extension occurs, '-i-', which is associated with reflexive meaning.

Simple extended radicals.

1. -er-

a). abageni bane wao hano bareehekera
(_ _ _ # _ # _ # _ # _ _ _).

My guests will arrive here at your place.

b) omokari arabarogera abaan(a) ibiakorea
(_ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ # _ _).

The woman is cooking food for the children.

c). n'omoene nkohaanceeye togeeye

(_ _ - - # _ _ _ - - | _ - -).

It was I who preferred your company and we went.

d). akaamabha akanosera harai

(_ _ - - # _ - - - - # - -).

He looked for me and then ran off afar.

e). nkanyocora ndagutuna nawe akaamaahera harai akagunja

(_ _ _ - - # - - \ - - # _ - - # _ _ - - - - # - - # _ - - - -).

And I was looking for you and he watched me from afar
and hid.

2. -i-.

a). kur(a) uwe Maroa okaririria Muita igo nkanyocora
araraagera akaingentia

(_ # _ - # _ - # _ _ - - - # - - # _ - # _ - - - | _ - - - -).

Even you Maroa angered Muita when he was eating, and he
refused out of exasperation.

b). tokaya tokamokseri(a) ubukima bukarugua tokaraagera

We went and greeted him, porridge was cooked and we ate.

(_ - - | _ - - - - # - - - - # - - \ - - | _ - - - -).

c). n'amatoco nkagirigia-igo gicitinyi nkoroondia

(_ - - # _ - - # _ - -).

Its the spoor of an animal which I'm following.

d). enocombe nkagirigia igo nkagenyocora

(_ - - # _ - - - - # - - # _ - - - -).

And I looked for the cow and found it.

e). omoon(a) ono newe omoene amuririyi nyako wabo nkanyocora
aramorogera akaanga

(_ - # - - # _ - # _ - - # _ - - - - # - - # \ - - # _ - - # - - - - # - -).

This child, he himself has angered his mother and she was
going to cook for him but refused.

3. -an-

a). abaana bana babere baatemaine

(_ _ # _ _ # _ # _ _ _).

These two children fought one another.

4. -u-

a). akaya akanyoora(a) ubukima burarugua agaikara akaboganya
akarsagera

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ [_ _ _ _ _] [_ _ _ _ _] [_ _ _ _ _]).

And he came and got the food which was being cooked,
sat down, waited for it, and ate it.

b). uburi bono bobay(e) obokoroendu(a) ibinyunyi.

(_ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ _ _ _ # _).

This millet has reached the stage of being guarded
against the birds.

c). omoonto butiku boreero aare arugibua n'eengoe

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

A man was last night driven away by a leopard.

5. -ek-

a). irirema rino nkoremeka rikere

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _).

This plot is still cultivable.

b). rebe hano agseye komaaha kebor(e) inyuumba yae eheeye

akaromeka akabora eree gotseba

(_ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ [_ _ _ _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _]).

When so-and-so went to look at his house which was burnt,
he was astonished, and failed to say something.

6. -or-

a). urusiri nkururiinga nkabeeka: hano nkurua gotaara

nkanyoora rorengoyue, kana neqwe arorengocya?

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ [_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ [_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _]).

The rope I folded it and put it away: when I returned from walking, I found it was unfolded, who was it who uncoiled it?

b.) ndiing(e) okoboko kone otore kokoreengora bono

(_ _ # _ _ _ # \ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _).

If I bend my arm you can't unbend it.

c.) reegor(a) eengabo (e)na tomaahe haanga nene yagu^uisia kuibisia

(_ _ # _ _ # _ [_ _ # _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ \ _).

Straighten this cloth, let us see whether it is big enough to cover oneself.

d.) akamorebor(a) okogoro gokanyora kubiimbire

(_ _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ \ _).

He cut open his leg which was swollen.

Various multiple extended radicals.

a.) nakwerua na taata

(_ _ # _ # _).

I'm bereaved of my father.

b.) abonekeeyue okobekogoro

(_ _ _ # _ _ \ _).

He has been broken as to his leg.

c.) uwe ndatun(a) oheterainiri icigombe

(_ # _ \ # _ _ _ # _ \ _).

You, - I want you to pass over to me cows.

d.) so wane santogeneri(a) icigombe oonsoe

(_ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _).

My father divided all his cows on my behalf.

e.) abaanto baansoe bahaancekania

(_ _ # _ # _ \ _).

All men like to see k favours.

f.) butiku nahrekereey(e) abageni bane gooncera

(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ # _).

In the evening I accompanied my guests a little way on the road.

g). agataara igō akaheterania kuyeyo

(_ _ _ # _ # _ _ _ # _ \).

He walked thus and passed right on over there.

h). iimburi eno yanyiririyi Nyamōōgo ioo

(_ _ # _ # _ _ _ # _ \ # _).

This goat yesterday gave me a lot of trouble.

i). taheterani(a) oMoome omoontebiri ace hanō motēbi

(_ _ _ \ # _ # _ _ _ # _ # _ # _).

Pass by Moome's place and tell him to come here that I may
speak to him.

Chapter 3

The Tone of the Verbal

1. Introduction.
2. The possibility of establishing verbal tone classes.
3. Speech tone patterns.
 - a) Syntactic variations of pattern.
 - b) End-of-Utterance patterns.
 - c) Interrogative patterns.
 - d) Patterns associated with extra infixes or suffixed elements.

Appendix I. Synopsis of patterns for each group.

Introduction.

In Kuria there are two level contrastive tones; high and low, to which may be added a rising tone from low to high, and a falling tone from high to low. There is some variation in the falling tone with speed of utterance. At certain slow speeds it is heard less as a glide than as a step, and might, in these cases, be written as a mid-tone. In normal unemphatic speech the interval between the high and the low tone is roughly a fourth, though in interrogation a high tone, about one tone above the normal high tone is heard; and the final low tone of any non-interrogative utterance may be a tone or more below the normal low tone. A further feature of normal speech is that described as 'down-drift',¹ whereby the pitch of the voice tends to fall during the

¹ Vid. A. N. Tucker's Introduction to the Revised Luganda Dictionary. Ndawula E. G. M. and Mulira E. M. K. S. P. C. K. 1952.

course of an utterance, unless sustained for interrogation or other forms of emphasis, thus:-

tetootakuna hai(- - \ - # -)

written as above for convenience,

would be more accurately represented by (- - \ - # -)

It should be noted, however, that 'down-drift' is only audible in environments of successive contrasting tones, and that where a series of high or low tones occur, the final high or low tone of the series is voiced at approximately the same pitch as the first.

While significant semantic tone is rare, - I have no examples in radicals - , the significance of grammatical tone is considerable, even for the purely practical student of the language. Thus:-

A1a. niintuna(- - -) Alb. niintuna(- \ -)

C3. naagatunire(- - \ -) C4. naagatunire(- - \ -)

A1. agatuna(with object infix)(- - -)

A4. agatuna(- \ -)

As might be expected in a language where pitch is significant, stress is characteristic rather than distinctive. In verbals there is a stress on the radical, and on V(owel)1 and V(owel)3 in poly-syllabic radicals: in radicals of shape -C- a stress occurs on the syllable immediately preceding the radical.

2. The possibility of establishing verbal tone classes.

It is observable that in comparable situations (e.g. in tense A14.) verbals of differing shapes are associated with differing tone-patterns, and there may be set up 4 main groups of verbals, each of which is associated with a set of -generally- distinctive tone-patterns¹ throughout its tense forms. Within any group, however, tense tone-patterns tend to be characteristic rather than grammatically distinct². Only in one pair of tenses is the

¹But note (neendaamaahe'(- - \ -) and 'neendaatame'(- - \ -) in radicals of both -CVC- and -CVVC- shape.

² Contrast with Ngombe. E.W. Price. The Tonal Structure of Ngombe Verb. Af. St. 1944.

tone linked with time-variation:-

naakamaahere(--\) I was looking(recently)

naakamaahere(_\) I was looking(remotely)

It is important to realize, however, that in these groups the tonal patterns are associated with and predictable from specific verbal shapes: we are dealing with groups of shapes, each with its set of - generally - distinctive tone-patterns, rather than with classes of tones associated with an overlapping range of verbal shapes. These groups are set up as follows:-

Group 1. Verbals of radical shape -CVC-, -VC- and -CV-.

Tone on the radical in Ai4 is Low.

Group 2. Verbals of radical shape -CVV(for long vowel)C-,
-CVCV-, -CVVCV- Tone of the radical in Ai4 is Rising.

Group 3. Verbals of radical shape, -CVCVC-, -VCVC- and others
of poly-syllabic shape. Tone of the radical in Ai4
is Low/High.

Group 4. Verbals of radical shape -C-. Tone of the radical
in Ai4 is High.

A contrasting position is exemplified by Kikuyu, the only language of the area for which detailed -tonal-material is available. Miss Armstrong¹ set up five verbal tone-classes each identifiable by the pattern in Ai4 than by a specific radical shape. For example, while it is clear from the material that radicals of shape -CVC- do not occur wither in Class 2 or 3 it is not possible to predict from the shape alone -as can be done in Kuria- whether it will fall into Class 1 or 4 (e.g. -rug- Cl.1., -rut- Cl.4.); similarly for verbals of radical shape -CVVC- or -CVCVC- (e.g. -tuuh- Cl.1.; -tuur- Cl.2.; -tajer- Cl.2. and -turum- Cl.3.) where only a negative prediction is possible.

In comparison with the Kikuyu material, therefore, the Kuria verbal groups cannot properly be regarded as tone-classes, and from a

¹ The phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu. L.E. Armstrong. London. 1940. pp.58 ff.

classificatory point of view the position in Kuria appears less complex than that in Kikuyu. On the other hand, the range of tone-patterns for each group - as set out in Appendix 1 - is considerable, and there are significant variations from the 'initial'¹ pattern in a number of contexts.

3. Speech tone patterns and 'initial' patterns.

It is clear that the context selected for the recording of 'initial' patterns, such as are set out in Appendix 1, is only one among a number of such, and the choice of an 'initial' position for the synopsis is an arbitrary although convenient one. The tone-pattern(s) of any Kuria tense, might, however, be more accurately described in terms of a series, including all the known variant patterns. The main contexts in which variant patterns occur are set out below.

a). Syntactic variation of patterns.

It has been found, I think, among some of the Southern Bantu languages that the grammatical category of preceding or following words is a determinant of tonal change in the verbal, and that a following high-toned nominal, for example, is associated with a different change from that associated with other parts of speech. In Kuria this is not wholly so: following low tones, for example, whether on nominals or not, are not associated with any tone change on the verbal, although following or preceding high tones may be associated with changes differing according to their category. Thus, in detail:-

1. A following low tone is not associated with variations in the verbal tone-pattern:-

akaheta gooncera(-\ # -)

areetem(a) omokari(--- # --- -)

¹During field-work it was found that forms heard in isolation tended to conform to an 'end-of-utterance' pattern, so that it was found more convenient, for purposes of a synopsis, to take the initial position, where a verbal occurs initially and is followed by a low tone.

2). A following high tone, exclusive of a second verbal (See below), is associated with a raising of the final tone only if the penultimate tone of the verbal is high: if it is low or falling there is no variation:-

- A2. natuna(- -)
 natuna bono(- - # -)
- A4. agatuna(- \ -)
 agatuna guiki(- \ - # -)
- C4. naakamaahere(- \ - -)
 naakamaahere hamuj(- \ - - # -)

A final high tone normally remains so, but I have collected the following eccentric examples:-

- A3. ndamaaha(- - - -)
 ndamaaha bono(- - - - # -)
 toramaaha(- - - -)
 toramaaha mbuya(- - - - # -)

3). A preceding high tone is associated with a raising of all pre-radical elements except an object infix, but is not associated with changes on the radical itself:-

- C1. utunire(- - - -)
 mbuy(a) utunir(e) irigena(- # - - - # - - \)
- A4. ukamaaha(- - - -)
 ibihe ukamaah(a) ohano(- - - # - - # - \)
- A5. okorekera(- - - \)
 amagi okorekera bono(- - # - - - \ # -)

The behaviour of the items 'uni, uwa, wa' should be noted here. Though characterized by a final high tone, they do not seem to be associated with a raising of the following tone:-

naw(e) atun(a) irigena(- # - - # - -)

Here the tone of the elided vowel is also suppressed, an unusual feature, in contrast to the more common:-

ndamaah(a) irigena(- - - # - - \)

uni ntu^u(e) irigena(- # _ # ^ _)
 uwe omaah(a) irigena(- # _ # ^ _)

4). A preceding low tone is not associated with any variation in pattern, except where pre-radical elements are bi-syllabic and characterized by two low tones. In this case only the initial tone is raised:-

- A8a. neeḡkaamaaha(_ _ ^ _)
 omokari neeḡkaamaaha kunyuumba(_ _ ^ _ # _ ^ _)
 B2a. omokari neendaamaahe kunyuumba(_ _ ^ _ # _ ^ _)
 B1. omokari omaahe kunyuumba(_ _ ^ _ # _ ^ _)

5). Variant patterns of adjacent verbals. The question of variations of pattern associated with adjacent verbals is closely linked with the question of continuity within the sentences, and impinges too upon matters of word order. If high tones seem generally to be determinants of variation in pattern in following or preceding tones, the variants themselves appear to be linked with the continuity of speech. Many sentences are characterized by a break or pause in speech which is observable in the tone-pattern through the non-interaction of high tones on others. This occurs particularly where two verbals are juxtaposed:-

- a). hanḡ namomaaha akor(a) emeremo.
 (_ _ # _ _ ^ _ | _ _ # _ _ ^ _)

Note: the pause is associated with the non-coalescence of the two 'a's.

- b). ubukima mbuhika bageeye(_ _ ^ _ # ^ _ | _ _).

No change associated with low tones.

- c). niinduga nsooki ḡgeend(e) amance.

(_ _ ^ _ # _ ^ _ | _ _ # ^ _).

- d). akaya akanyoor(a) ubukima burarugua agaikara akaboganya akaraagera.

(_ _ ^ _ # _ ^ _ # _ _ ^ _ # _ _ ^ _ | _ _ ^ _ | _ _ ^ _ | _ _ ^ _).

e). ico nagesye ndatun(a) iimbŕui
(_ - # --- # - \ # - -).

b). End-of-Utterance Patterns.

Final tones of non-interrogative utterances conform to two main patterns: falling/low, and high/low, although the sequence low/low also occurs, especially where the final item is monosyllabic (e.g. hai).

The former pattern occurs generally where the antepenultimate tone is high, and within the framework of the same word; the latter occurs in other contexts, even where the final tone would normally be high and the penultimate low:-

arekere(---⁻)
finally, arekere(---⁻)

c). Interrogative Patterns.

There are two main types of interrogative utterance. That in which an interrogative item occurs, and that without such. In both types it is to be noted that variation only occurs in the tones of the final three syllables:

1. There are a number of interrogative items in common use: 'hai'- where?; 'ke'- what?; 'ŕwe'- who?, etc. In all cases where such an item occurs, no variation occurs, where the interrogative item occurs initially or not:-

nehai ukuya?(--- # -⁻)
ndi ariiruga?(--- # ---⁻)
ariiruga ri? (---⁻ # -)
barakara ke?(---⁻ # -)

2. In utterances where no interrogative item occurs, and where the verbal occurs finally, the final tone is raised to approximately one tone above the normal high tone, falling to about the pitch of a normal high tone:-

- A3. aramaaha(---⁻)
aramaaha?(---⁻)
- B1. totema(-⁻-)
totema?(-⁻-)

Where the penultimate or antepenultimate tone of the verbal is falling, this also is raised, but only to the level of a normal high tone:-

- B2.araateme(-⁻\-)
....araateme?(-⁻-⁻)
- C3. aakamaahere(-⁻\--)
aakamaahere?(-⁻-⁻-⁻)

Where the penultimate tone of the verbal is low, this is raised to the level of a normal high tone:-

- A3. ndamaaha(---⁻)
ndamaaha?(---⁻)
- A4.bakamaaha(---⁻)
....bakamaaha?(---⁻)

d). Patterns associated with extra infixes or suffixed elements.

Object Infix.

There are six potential immediate tonal environments in which an object infix may occur. These are:-

1. Low/Low.

- utune(---⁻)
- atune(---⁻)
- pkamaaha(---⁻)
- tokamaaha(---⁻)
- ndekere(---⁻)
- arekere(---⁻)
- ohaye(---⁻)

In all cases the object infix occurs with low tone, but in Groups 1 and 2 where the pattern of Radical/Suffix is Low/High, this pattern is reversed:-

Ala. neentsema(---)

nemotema(---)

B1. amaahe(---)

atomaaha(---)

and likewise where the 1st. Pers. Sing. Object nasal is not heard:-

B1. aamaaha(---)

A3. aramaaha(---)

orakemaaha(---)

A4. tokamaaha(---)

tokabamaaha(---)

One exception has been noted in this tense:-

akamaaha(---)

akamomaaha(---)

and neither in Cl of Group 1 nor in the tenses of Group 3 does this occur:-

atamere(---)

agotamere(---)

ndekere(---)

nderskere(---)

2-5. High/Falling, High/Low(Group 4 only), Low/High, Low/Rising(Groups 2 and 4 only.).

These four may be treated together, since in all cases the object infix is heard with high tone and is not generally associated with environmental variations of tone:-

High/Falling.

ndaahaance(---)

ndaamohaance(---)

toraateme(---)

toraabateme(---)

neendaatakune(-___)
neendaabotakune(-___)
neendaaha(-_-)
neendaakohe(-_-)

Low/High.

natuna(-_-)
namutuna(-_-)
amaahere(-_-)
aremaahere(-_-)
oagarekseye(-_-)
ogarekseye(-_-)
ahaye(-_-)
atohaye(-_-)

I have noted one eccentric tone reversal in Group 2(A6) where an object infix occurs:-

ndeemaaha(-_-)
ndeemomaaha(-_-)
oreemaaha(-_-)
oreebomaaha(-_-)
areemaaha(-_-)
areekomaaha(-_-)

High/Low, Low/Rising. Note high tone on the radical.

aha(-_-)
amoha(-_-)
nomaaha(-/^-)
nobamaaha(-_-)

High/High. This environment does not occur.

A final note should be made of the variations associated with a 1st. Pers. Sing. Object Infix. The occurrence of a nasal before the initial consonant of the radical is associated with a lengthening of the preceding vowel, even where the nasal itself is not heard (as in radicals

with initial 'h,m,n') and in certain tenses(A6,A7,C1, and C2) variations in pattern occur other than those already noted above,thus:-

- Group 1. oreetama(--^-)
 oreemotema(--^-)
 oreentema(--^-)
- Group 2. oreemaaha(--^-)
 oreebamaaha(--^-)
 oreemaaha(--^-) You will see me.
 atamaaha(--^-)
 ataamaaha(-^-) He is to see me.
 omaahere(--^-)
 oomaahere(--^-) You have seen me.
 amaahere(-^-)
 aamaahere(-^-) He has seen me(c.f.C2)
 aamaahere(--^-) He saw.
 aamaahere(-^-) He saw me.

Suffixed elements. ko,ho,mo.

In general it may be stated that where these suffixes occur they are voiced with low tone for all groups,irrespective of the tone of the preceding syllable:-

- agatemaho(-^-)
 akarekeraho(--^-)
 aahayeho(--^-)
 aamotameremo(-^-)
 taamaahereko hai(-^-#)

A few eccentric examples have,however,been noted from Groups 1 and 2, forms A1 and A2:-

- A1. maaha(-^-) amaaha(--^-) maahahō(--^-)
 amaahamō(--^-) ntema(-^-) ntemahō(-^-)
- A2. natema(-^-) natemahō(---^-)

Appendix 1.

Synopsis of patterns in each group

Group 1. Ex. -tun- Look for, want.

In the positive tenses of Group 1, the personal prefix occurs with low tone (Exc. Ala). There is no difference between the persons in tone, as has been recently demonstrated for Kikuyu by Lyndon Harries¹ and ascribed to Common Bantu by A.E. Meeussen². In negative tenses there are two main tendencies, associated with the two main negative forms; P + ta(a) + i^t + R + s^t, and te + P + i^t + R + s^t. In the former, P, tends to occur with low tone (Exc. P8, BQ2a) and in the latter with high tone (n.b. A3, A4, A7, etc.).

It should be noted that the tone of the radical as observed for A14 in initial position, tends, in the A and B group of tenses, to occur on the syllable following the radical, and in the C group of tenses, on the next but one syllable following the radical.

Positive Tenses.

Al. ntuna(_-_) tutuna(_-_) etc.
 utuna(_-_)
 atuna(_-_)

Ala. niintuna(---) ntutuna(---) etc.
 nutuna(---)
 natuna(---)

¹Some Tonal Principles of Kikuyu. L. Harries. Word. Vol. 8. 1952.

²The Tones of prefixes in Common Bantu. A. E. Meeussen. Africa. 1/1954.

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------|
| Alb. | niintuna(-_-)
nutuna (-_-)
natuna (-_-) | ntutuna(-_-) etc. |
| A2. | natuna(-_-)
oatuna(-_-)
aatuna(-_-) | tuutuna(-_-) etc. |
| A2a. | n(e)natuna(-(-)-_-)
noatuna(-_-)
naatuna(-_-) | ntuutuna(-_-) etc. |
| A3. | ndatuna(-_-)
oratuna(-_-)
aratuna(-_-) | toratuna() etc. |
| A4. | ngatuna(-_-)
ogatuna(-_-)
agatuna(-_-) | togatuna(-_-) etc. |
| A5. | ngutuna(-_-)
ugutuna(-_-)
agutuna(-_-) | tugutuna(-_-) etc. |
| A6. | Ndiituna(-_-)
uriituna(-_-)
ariituna(-_-) | turiituna(-_-) etc. |
| A6a. | niindiituna(-_-)
nuriituna(-_-)
nariituna(-_-) | nturiituna(-_-) etc. |
| A7. | ntatuna(-_-)
otatuna(-_-)
atatuna(-_-) | totatuna(-_-) etc. |
| A8. | ngaatuna(-_-)
ogaatuna(-_-)
agaatuna(-_-) | togaatuna(-_-) etc. |

A8a. neengaatuna(---) ntogaatuna(---) etc.
nogaatuna(---)
nagaatuna(---)

A11 gutuna(---)

A14 tuna(-) Plural See Bl.

Nom.Vb. ugutuna(---)

B1. ntune(---) tutune(---) etc.
utune(---)
atune(---)

B2. ndaatune(-_) toraatune(-_) etc.
oraatune(-_)
araatune(-_)

B2a. neendaatune(-_) ntoraatune(---_) etc.
noraatune(-_)
naraatune(-_)

C1. ntunire(---) tutunire(---) etc.
utunire(---)
atunire(---)

C2a. niintunire(---) ntutunire(---) etc.
nutunire(---)
natunire(---)

C2. natunire(-_) tootunire(-_) etc.
oatunire(-_)
aatunire(-_)

C2a. nenatunire(---_) ntutunire(---_) etc.
noatunire(---_)
naatunire(-_)

C3.	naagatunire(--\) oagatunire(--\) aagatunire(--\)	toogatunire(--\) etc.
C4.	naagatunire(--\) oagatunire(--\) aagatunire(--\)	toogatunire(--\) etc.
C4a.	naagatunire(--\) noagatinire(--\) naagatunire(--\)	ntoogatunire(--\) etc.
C5.	ngaagatunire(--\) ogaagatunire(--\) agaagatunire(--\)	togaagatunire(--\) etc.
C5a.	neengaagatunire(--\) nogaagatunire(--\) nagaagatunire(--\)	ntogaagatunire(--\) etc.
C6a.	niingitunire(--\) nugitunire(--\) nagitunire(--\)	ntugitunire(--\) etc.

Negative tenses.

AP1b.	neentatuna(_\) notatuna(_\) natatuna(_\)	ntotatuna(_\) etc.
AP2.	tenatuna(--\) toatuna(--\) taatuna(_\)	tituatuna(--\) etc.
P2a.	ntaatuna(_\) otaatuna(_\) ataatuna(_\)	totaatuna(_\) etc.

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|
| P3. | tiingutuna(---_)
tugutuna(---_)
tagutuna(---_) | titugutuna(---_) etc. |
| AP5. | ntaagutuna(---_)
otaagutuna(---_)
ataagutuna(---_) | totaagutuna(---_) etc. |
| AP6. | tiindituna(---_)
turituna(---_)
tarituna(---_) | titurituna(---_) etc. |
| P7. | ntagaatuna(---_)
otagaatuna(---_)
atagaatuna(---_) | totagaatuna(---_) etc. |
| P8. | teengaatuna(---_)
togaatuna(---_)
tagaatuna(---_) | tetogaatuna(---_) etc. |

It should be noted that where 'hai' follows immediately, the low tone on the suffix becomes a falling tone, with a low tone on the 'hai'.

Thus also for other such forms.

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------------|
| P9. | teendaatuna(---_)
toraatuna(---_)
taraatuna(---_) | tetoraatuna(---_) etc. |
| P10. | ntaraatuna(---_)
otaraatuna(---_)
ataraatuna(---_) | totaraatuna(---_) etc. |
| Q1. | tiintune(---_)
tutune(---_)
tatune(---_) | titutune(---_) etc. |

- BQ2a. teendaatune(-_) tetoraatune(-_) etc.
toraatune(-_)
taraatune(-_)
- Q3. ntaatune(--) totaatune(--) etc.
otaatune(--)
ataatune(--)

- CR1. tiintunire(-_) titutunire(-_) etc.
tutunire(-_)
tatunire(-_)
- CR1/2. ntatunire(---) totatunire(---) etc.
otatunire(---)
atatunire(---)
- CR2. tenatunire(---_) tituutunire(-_) etc.
toatunire(-_)
taatunire(-_)
- CR2/2 ntaatunire(-_) totaatunire(-_) etc.
otaatunire(-_)
ataatunire(-_)
- CR3. tenaagatunire(-_) tetoogatunire(-_) etc.
toaagatunire(-_)
taagatunire(-_)
- CR4. tenaagatunire(---_) tetoogatunire(---_) etc.
toaagatunire(---_)
taagatunire(---_)
- CR5. ntagaatunire(-_) totagaatunire(-_) etc.
otagaatunire(-_)
atagaatunire(-_)

CR6a. tiigitunire(---_) titugitunire(---_) etc.
 tugitunire(---_)
 tagitunire(---_)

Group 2. Ex. -maah- See, observe.

The remarks concerning the personal
 prefix in Group 1 are also relevant here.

Inpositive tenses(Exc.B2 and B2a) the tone of the radical as
 observed for A14 in initial position, tends to occur on the syllable
 after the radical.

Features noted for negative tenses also operate here.

Positive tenses.

<p>A1. maaha(_-) omaaha(---) amaaha(---)</p>	<p>tomaaha(---) etc.</p>
<p>A1a. nemaaha(-/-) nomaaha(-/-) namaaha(-/-)</p>	<p>ntomaaha(---/-) etc.</p>
<p>A1b. nemaaha(---) nomaaha(---) namaaha(---)</p>	<p>ntomaaha(---) etc.</p>
<p>A2. namaaha(---) oamaaha(---) samaaha(---)</p>	<p>toomaaha(---) etc.</p>
<p>A2a. n(e)namaaha(-(-)-) noamaaha(---) naamaaha(---)</p>	<p>ntoomaaha(---) etc.</p>

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| A3. | ndamaaha(---) | toramaaha(---) etc. |
| | oramaaha(---) | |
| | aramaaha(---) | |
| A4. | ŋkamaaha(---) | tokamaaha(---) etc. |
| | okamaaha(---) | |
| | akamaaha(---) | |
| A5. | ŋkomaaha(---) | tokomaaha(---) etc. |
| | okomaaha(---) | |
| | akomaaha(---) | |
| A6. | ndeemaaha(---) | toreemaaha(---) etc. |
| | oreemaaha(---) | |
| | areemaaha(---) | |
| A6a. | neendeemaaha(---) | ntoreemaaha(---) etc. |
| | noreemaaha(---) | |
| | nareemaaha(---) | |
| A7. | ntamaaha(---) | totamaaha(---) etc. |
| | otamaaha(---) | |
| | atamaaha(---) | |
| A8. | ŋkaamaaha(---) | tokaamaaha(---) etc. |
| | okaamaaha(---) | |
| | akaamaaha(---) | |
| A8a. | neeŋkaamaaha(---) | ntokaamaaha(---) etc. |
| | nokaamaaha(---) | |
| | nakaamaaha(---) | |
| A11 | komaaha(---) | |
| A14. | maaha(/-) | Plural See B1. |
| Nom.Vb. | okomaaha(---) | |

- | | | |
|-------|---|----------------------------|
| B1. | maahe(_ -)
omaahe(_ - -)
amaahe(_ - -) | tomaahē(_ - -) etc. |
| B2. | ndaamaahe(- \ -)
oraamaahe(- \ -)
araamaahe(- \ -) | toraamaahe(- \ -) etc. |
| B2a. | neendaamaahe(- \ -)
noraamaahe(- \ -)
naraamaahe(- \ -) | ntoraamaahe(- \ -) etc. |
| <hr/> | | |
| C1. | maahere(_ - -)
omaahere(_ - -)
amaahere(_ - -) | tomaahere(_ - -) etc. |
| C1a. | nemaahere(_ - -)
nomaahere(_ - -)
namaahere(_ - -) | ntomaahere(_ - -) etc. |
| C2. | namaahere(_ - -)
oamaahere(_ - -)
aamaahere(_ - -) | toomaahere(_ - -) etc. |
| C2a. | nenamaahere(_ - -)
noamaahere(_ - -)
naamaahere(_ - -) | ntoomaahere(_ - -) etc. |
| C3. | naakamaahere(- \ -)
oakamaahere(- \ -)
aakamaahere(- \ -) | tookamaahere(- \ -) etc. |
| C4. | naakamaahere(- \ -)
oakamaahere(- \ -)
aakamaahere(- \ -) | tookamaahere(- \ -) etc. |

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| C4a. | nenaakamaahere(--\--) | ntokkamaahere(--\--) etc. |
| | noaakamaahere(--\--) | |
| | naakamaahere(-\--) | |
| C5. | nkaamaahere(---) | tokaamaahere(---) etc. |
| | okaamaahere(---) | |
| | akaamaahere(---) | |
| C5a. | neenkaamaahere(---) | ntokaamaahere(---) etc. |
| | nokaamaahere(---) | |
| | nakaamaahere(---) | |
| C6a. | neenkamaahere(---) | ntokemaahere(---) etc. |
| | nokemaahere(---) | |
| | nakemaahere(---) | |
-

Negative Tenses.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|------------------------|
| AP1a. | neentamaaha(-_) | ntotamaaha(-_) etc. |
| | notamaaha(-_) | |
| | natamaaha(-_) | |
| AP2. | tenamaaha(-_) | tetoomaaha(-_) etc. |
| | toamaaha(-_) | |
| | taamaaha(-_) | |
| P2a. | ntaamaaha(-_) | totaamaaha(-_) etc. |
| | otaamaaha(-_) | |
| | ataamaaha(-_) | |
| P3. | teenkomaaha(---) | tetokomaaha(---) etc. |
| | tokomaaha(---) | |
| | takomaaha(---) | |
| AP5. | ntaakomaaha(---) | totaakomaaha(---) etc. |
| | otaakomaaha(---) | |
| | ataakomaaha(---) | |

- AP6. teendemaaha(-_-) tetoremaaha(-_-) etc.
toremaaha(-_-)
taremaaha(-_-)
- P7. ntakaamaaha(--_-) totakaamaaha(--_-) etc.
otakaamaaha(--_-)
atakaamaaha(--_-)
- P8. teeqkaamaaha(--_-) tetokaamaaha(--_-) etc.
tokaamaaha(--_-)
takaamaaha(--_-)
- P9. teendaamaaha(-_-_-) tetoraamaaha(-_-_-) etc.
toraamaaha(-_-_-)
taraamaaha(-_-_-)
- P10. ntaraamaaha(---_-) totaraamaaha(---_-) etc.
otaraamaaha(---_-)
ataraamaaha(---_-)

-
- Q1. temaahe(-_-) tetomaaha(--_-) etc.
tomaaha(-_-)
tamaahe(-_-)
- BQ2a. teendaamaahe(-_-) tetoraamaahe(-_-) etc.
toraamaahe(-_-)
taraamaahe(-_-)
- Q3. ntaamaahe(--_-) totaamaahe(--_-) etc.
otaamaahe(--_-)
ataamaahe(--_-)

-
- CR1. temaahere(-_-_-) tetomaahere(-_-_-) etc.
tomaahere(-_-_-)
tamaahere(-_-_-)

CR/1/2.	ntamaahere(---\) otamaahere(---\) atamaahere(---\)	totamaahere(---\) etc.
CR2.	tenamaahere(---\) toamaahere(---\) taamaahere(---\)	tetoomaahere(---\) etc.
CR2/2.	ntaamaahere(---\) otaamaahere(---\) ataamaahere(---\)	totaamaahere(---\) etc.
CR3.	tenaakamaahere(---\) toaakamaahere(---\) taakamaahere(---\)	tetookamaahere(---\) etc.
CR4.	tenaakamaahere(---\) toaakamaahere(---\) taakamaahere(---\)	tetookamaahere(---\) etc.
CR5.	ntakaamaahere(---\) otakaamaahere(---\) atakaamaahere(---\)	totakaamaahere(---\) etc.
CR6a.	teekemaahere(---\) tokemaahere(---\) takemaahere(---\)	tetokemaahere(---\) etc.

Group.3. Ex. -reker- Throw.

The general remarks concerning the personal prefix of the previous two groups also apply here.

In the A group of Tenses, the tone of the radical as observed for Ai4 in initial position, occurs on the syllable following V(owel) 2 of the radical, but in groups B and C no such regularity can be observed.

A1.	ndekera(---) orekera(---) arekera(---)	tofekera(---) etc.
-----	---	---------------------

- A1a. neendekera(---) ntorekera(---) etc.
norkera(---)
narekera(---)
- A1b. neendekera(-_) ntorekera(-_) etc.
norkera(-_)
narekera(-_)
- A2. narekera(---) toorekera(---) etc.
oarekera(---)
aarekera(---)
- A2a. n(e)narekera(-(-)---) ntoorekera(---) etc.
noarekera(---)
naarekera(---)
- A3. ndarekera(---) torarekera(---) etc.
orarekera(---)
ararekera(---)
- A4. nkarekera(---) tokarekera(---) etc.
okarekera(---)
akarekera(---)
- A5. nkorekera(---_) tokorekera(---_) etc.
okorekera(---_)
akorekera(---_)
- A6. ndeerekera(---) toreerekera(---) etc.
oreerekera(---)
areerekera(---)
- A6a. neendeerekera(---) ntoreerekera(---) etc.
noreerekera(---)
nareerekera(---)

- A7. ntarekera(___) totarekera(___) etc.
otarekera(___)
atarekera(___)
A8. nkaarekera(____) tokaarekera(____) etc.
okaarekera(____)
akaarekera(____)
A8a. neenkaarekera(____) ntokaarekera(____) etc.
nokaarekera(____)
nakaarekera(____)
A11. korekera(____)
A14. rekerera(____)
Nom.Vb. okorekera(______)

-
- B1. ndekere(____) torokere(____) etc.
orekere(____)
arekere(____)
B2. ndaarekere(____) toraarekere(____) etc.
oraarekere(____)
araarekere(____)
B2a. neendaarekere(____) ntoraarekere(____) etc.
noraarekere(____)
naraarekere(____)

-
- C1. ndekeeye(____) torekeeye(____)
orekeeye(____)
arekeeye(____)
C1a. neendekeeye(______) ntorekeeye(______) etc.
norekeeye(______)
narekeeye(______)

- | | | |
|------|---|----------------------------|
| C2. | narekseye(-\)
oarekseye(-\)
aarekseye(-\) | toorekseye(-\) etc. |
| C2a. | nenarekseye(--\)
noarekseye(--\)
naarekseye(-\) | ntoorekseye(--\) etc. |
| C3. | naakarekseye(--\)
oakarekseye(--\)
aakarekseye(--\) | tookarekseye(--\) etc. |
| C4. | naakarekseye(_-\)
oakarekseye(_-\)
aakarekseye(_-\) | tookarekseye(_-\) etc. |
| C4a. | nenaakarekseye(_-\)
noakarekseye(_-\)
naakarekseye(_-\) | ntookarekseye(_-\) etc. |
| C5. | nkaarekseye(--\)
okaarekseye(--\)
akaarekseye(--\) | tokaarekseye(--\) etc. |
| C5a. | neekaarekseye(_-\)
nokaarekseye(_-\)
nakaarekseye(_-\) | ntokaarekseye(_-\) etc. |
| C6a. | neekerekseye(---\)
nokererekseye(---\)
nakererekseye(---\) | ntokererekseye(---\) etc. |

Negative Tenses. Ex. -takun-

- | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------|
| AP1b. | neentatakuna(_-\)
notatakuna(_-\)
natatakuna(_-\) | ntotatakuna(_-\) etc. |
|-------|--|------------------------|

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| AP2. | tenatakuna(----_) | tetootakuna(----_) etc. |
| | toatakuna(----_) | |
| | taatakuna(---_) | |
| P2a. | ntaatakuna(_--_)) | totaatakuna(_--_)) etc. |
| | otaatakuna(_--_)) | |
| | ataatakuna(_--_)) | |
| P3. | teengotakuna(---_)) | tetogotakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | togotakuna(---_)) | |
| | tagotakuna(---_)) | |
| AP5. | ntaagotakuna(---_)) | totaagotakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | otaagotakuna(---_)) | |
| | ataagotakuna(---_)) | |
| AP6. | teendetakuna(---_)) | tetoretakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | toretakuna(---_)) | |
| | taretakuna(---_)) | |
| P7. | ntagaatakuna(---_)) | totagaatakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | otagaatakuna(---_)) | |
| | atagaatakuna(---_)) | |
| P8. | teenngaatakuna(---_)) | tetogaatakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | togaatakuna(---_)) | |
| | tagaatakuna(---_)) | |
| P9. | teendaatakuna(---_)) | tetoraatakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | toraatakuna(---_)) | |
| | taraatakuna(---_)) | |
| P10. | ntaraatakuna(---_)) | totaraatakuna(---_)) etc. |
| | otaraatakuna(---_)) | |
| | ataraatakuna(---_)) | |
-

- Q1. teentakune(__) tetotakune(---_) etc.
totakune(__)
tatakune(__) tetoraatakune(---_) etc.
- BQ2a. teendaatakune(---_) tetoraatakune(---_) etc.
toraatakune(---_)
taraatakune(---_) totaatakune(---_) etc.
- Q3. ntaatakune(---_) totaatakune(---_) etc.
otaatakune(---_)
ataatakune(---_) tetotakunire(---_) etc.
-
- CR1. teentakunire(---_) tetotakunire(---_) etc.
totakunire(---_)
tatakunire(---_) totatakunire(---_) etc.
- CR1/2. ntatakunire(---_) totatakunire(---_) etc.
otatakunire(---_)
atatakunire(---_) tetootakunire(---_) etc.
- CR2. tenatakunire(---_) tetootakunire(---_) etc.
toatakunire(---_)
taatakunire(---_) totaatakunire(---_) etc.
- CR2/2. ntaatakunire(---_) totaatakunire(---_) etc.
otaatakunire(---_)
ataatakunire(---_) tetoogatakunire(---_) etc.
- CR3. tenaagatakunire(---_) tetoogatakunire(---_) etc.
toaagatakunire(---_)
taagatakunire(---_) tetoogatakunire(---_) etc.
- CR4. tenaagatakunire(---_) tetoogatakunire(---_) etc.
toaagatakunire(---_)
taagatakunire(---_) tetotakunire(---_) etc.

- A4. ŋkaha(---) tokaha(---) etc.
 okaha(---)
 akaha(---)
- A5. ŋkoha((-)-) tokoha(---) etc.
 okoha(---)
 akoha(---)
- A6. ndeeha(---) toreaha(---) etc.
 oreaha(---)
 areaha(---)
- A6a. neendeeha(---) ntoreaha(---) etc.
 noreaha(---)
 nareaha(---)
- A7. ntaha(---) totaha(---) etc.
 otaha(---)
 ataha(---)
- A8. ŋkaaha(_-_-) tokaaha(_-_) etc.
 okaaha(_-_-)
 akaaha(_-_-)
- A8a. neeŋkaaha(_/^-) ntokaaha(---/^-) etc.
 nokaaha(_/^-)
 nakaaha(_/^-)
- A11. koha(---)
- A14. ha(-) Plural See B1.
Nom.Vb. okoha(---)

-
- B1. he(-) tohe(-) etc.
 ohe(-)
 ahe(-)
- B2. ndaaha(-_-) toraaha(-_-)
 oraaha(-_-)
 araaha(-_-)

B2a.	neendaahē(_ _) noraahē(_ _) naraahē(_ _)	ntoraahē(_ _) etc.
C1.	hayē(_ _) ohayē(_ _) ahayē(_ _)	tohayē(_ _) etc.
C1a.	nehayē(_ _) nohayē(_ _) nahayē(_ _)	ntohayē(_ _) etc.
C2.	nahayē(_ _) oahayē(_ _) aahayē(_ _)	toohayē(_ _) etc.
C2a.	nenahayē(_ _) noahayē(_ _) naahayē(_ _)	ntoohayē(_ _) etc.
C3.	naakahayē(_ _) oakahayē(_ _) aakahayē(_ _)	tookahayē(_ _) etc.
C4.	naakahayē(_ _) oakahayē(_ _) aakahayē(_ _)	tookahayē(_ _) etc.
C4a.	nenaakahayē(_ _) noaakahayē(_ _) naakahayē(_ _)	ntookahayē(_ _) etc.
C5.	ŋkaahayē(_ _) okaahayē(_ _) akaahayē(_ _)	tokaahayē(_ _) etc.
C5a.	neŋkaahayē(_ _) nokaahayē(_ _) nakaahayē(_ _)	ntokaahayē(_ _) etc.

C6a. neenkehaye(---) etc. ntcekehaye(---) etc.
 nokehaye(---)
 nakehaye(---)

Negative Tenses.

AP1b. neentaha(---) ntotaha(---) etc.
 notaha(---)
 nataha(---)

AP2. tenaha(---) tectooha(---) etc.
 toaha(---)
 taaha(---)

P2a. ntaaha(---) totaaha(---) etc.
 otaaha(---)
 ataaha(---)

P3. teekoha(---) tetokoha(---) etc.
 tokoha(---)
 takoha(---)

AP5. ntaakoha(---) totaakoha(---) etc.
 otaakoha(---)
 ataakoha(---)

AP6. teendeha(---) tetoreha(---) etc.
 toreha(---)
 tarhea(---)

P7. ntakaaha(---) totakaaha(---) etc.
 otakaaha(---)
 atakaaha(---)

P8a. teekkaaha(---) tetokkaaha(---) etc.
 tokaaha(---)
 takaaha(---)

- P9. teendaaha(- _ -) tetoraaha(- \ _) etc.
toraaha(- _ -)
taraaha(- _ -)
- P10. ntaraaha(_ _ -) totaraaha(_ - -) etc.
otaraaha(_ - -)
ataraaha(_ - -)
-
- Q1. tehe(- _) tetohe(- - _) etc.
tohe(- _)
tahe(- _)
- BQ2a. teendaahē(_ - -) tetoraahē(_ - -) etc.
toraahē(- -)
taraahē(- -)
- Q3. ntaahe(- - -) totaahe(- - -) etc.
otaahe(- - -)
ataahe(- - -)
-
- CR1. tehaye(- _ -) tetohaye(- - -) etc.
tohaye(- _ -)
tahaye(- _ -)
- CR1/2 ntahaye(_ - -) totahaye(_ - -) etc.
otahaye(_ - -)
atahaye(_ - -)
- CR2. tenahaye(- \ _) tetoohaye(- \ _) etc.
toahaye(- \ _)
taahaye(\ _)
- CR2/2 ntaahaye(_ - -) totaahaye(_ - -) etc.
otaahaye(_ - -)
ataahaye(_ - -)

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| CR3. | tenaakahaye(---) | tetookahaye(---) etc. |
| | toaakahaye(---) | |
| | taakahaye(---) | |
| CR4. | tenaakahaye(---) | tetookahaye(---) etc. |
| | toaakahaye(---) | |
| | taakahaye(---) | |
| CR5. | teentakaahaye(---) | totakaahaye(---) etc. |
| | otakaahaye(---) | |
| | atakaahaye(---) | |
| CR6a. | teetakehaye(---) | tetokehaye(---) etc. |
| | tokehaye(---) | |
| | takehaye(---) | |

4. Other Forms.

A. There are a number of forms with multi-syllabic radicals(-CVCVCV-, -CVCVCVC-) which may in general be included with Group 2. For example, -heterani- Cause to pass by one another.

- e.g. A3. torahsterania(-----)
- barahsterania(-----)
- C2. toohsteraini(-----)
- baahsteraini(-----)

Note however the following:-

- A4. tokahsterania(-----)
- bakahsterania(-----)
- A6. toreehsterania(-----)
- bareehsterania(-----)
- B1. tohsterani(-----)
- bahsterani(-----)

B. Multiple Tenses. There is no difficulty in the patterns of multiple tenses. The first verbal follows Group 4 (-y-) or 2 (nyɔɔr-) and the second verbal follows the pattern of its group, with the initial tones raised in appropriate contexts (See above p.106). The patterns set out are for a Group 2 verbal, as second radical.

Positive.

A3/A1.	araya_amaaha(---#---)
A3/A3.	araya_aramaaha(---#---)
A4/A3.	akaya_aramaaha(---#---)
A6/A3	ariya_aramaaha(---#---)
B2a/A3.	naraayi_aramaaha(---#---)
A4/A3.	akanyɔɔra_aramaaha(---#---)
A4/C1.	akanyɔɔra_araaye(---#---) (not occurring with -maah-)
C2/A3.	nanyɔɔrr(e)_aramaaha(---#---)
C2/C1.	nanyɔɔrr(e)_amaahere(---#---)
A2/A11.	nare_komaaha(---#---)
AD2a/A11.	nareeŋge_komaaha(---#---)
A2/C1.	nare_maahere(---#---)
A12/A1.	ŋkomaaha_nde(---#_)
A12/A11.	ŋkomaaha_ŋkere(---#_)
A6/A3.	ndeeba_ndamaaha(---#---)

Negative Tenses.

P3/A1.	takuya_amaaha(---#_)
P3/A3.	takuya_aramaaha(---#_)
CR2/A3.	tageey(e)_aramaaha(---#_)
AP6/A3.	tariya_aramaaha(---#---)
BQ2a/A3.	taraayi_aramaaha(---#---)
CR2/A3.	tanyɔɔrr(e)_aramaaha(---#_)
CR2/C1.	tanyɔɔrr(e)_araaye(---#_)
CR2/A3.	tanyɔɔrr(e)_aramaaha(---#_)
CR2/C1.	tanyɔɔrr(e)_amaahere(---#_)
AP2/A11.	tenare_komaaha(---#---)

APD2/A11. tenareenge komaaha(--- #---)
P2a/A11. ntaare komaaha(--- #---)
AP2/G1. tenare maahere(--- #---)
AP6/A3. tareba aramaaha(--- #---)

Chapter 4

The Position of the Verbal in the sentence.

1. Introduction.
2. The position in Kuria - General.
3. Mono-Verbal sentences.
4. Poly-Verbal sentences.

Introduction.

The position of the verbal in the sentence raises the whole question of word-order, a feature which has received little treatment in Bantu languages, and for which the interested student may scan in vain the pages of available grammars.¹

The fact that word-order in general and the position of the verbal in particular may be studied involves the supposition that some regularity of order is discoverable. Indeed, if it were not so, one's task would be infinite. Having made this supposition, however, two approaches are possible. One may concentrate on obtaining as large a body of data as possible on actual sentences, either by the use of clerical assistance or mechanical recording apparatus. From this body of data one may then examine the regularities thus observed from speech, though this does not contribute to knowing what proportion of total possible regularities have thus been recorded. An alternative course is to take the body of data available from other aspects of the study and, by direct question and answer, aim to discover what are regarded by informants as potentially possible word-orders. This, of course, gives no indication of the statistical frequency with which such variants actually occur, and in a general description of a language this might be held to constitute a weakness.

¹Vid., however, notes on word order in E.O. Ashton's Swahili Grammar. passim.

Furthermore, there are certain difficulties inherent in the use of informants which present themselves under such conditions. One of these concerns attitudes to work, which may be dominated by a desire to please, and a sense of diffidence, arising from a lack of understanding of anything not based on the premisses used by the informant himself. Of the very few Kuria who have been educated up to Middle School, and who might be expected to understand what was required; virtually all are out of the district, and are, in any case young men who have been grounded in Swahili and are emotionally inclined towards English - to the detriment of their own language. Among the older generation, however, interest in cattle takes precedence over linguistic enquiries and very careful checking is necessary.

Nevertheless, though it constitutes a departure from the methods followed in Chapter 2, I have followed the latter course as being that most suited to my purpose and my limited resources. By taking careful checks on my informants I hope to have eliminated the risks outlined above, and my long residence in the area and the opportunity this has afforded to train one or two specially interested and gifted informants have both been to my advantage.

A final note must be made concerning ^{meaning} and its place in a study of word order. There is no doubt that changes in word order are frequently associated with changes in meaning, and it is possible that for a given language, certain features of order may be correlated with features of meaning. It is not, however, the purpose of this study to document the relation between order and meaning, but rather to record the possible positions of the verbal in the sentence. Consideration for meaning will, therefore, not be given except where this is particularly significant, and even then will only be mentioned in passing.

The Position in Kuria - General.

Before proceeding with an examination of different types of sentence, mention must be made of certain items which tend to have a fixed position in any sentence.

1. Dependent items, including possessives and demonstratives follow the nominal with which they are associated. Where two or more

dependent items occur associated with one nominal there is no fixed order:-

- omoonto omonene(_--#^-) Fat man.
- omosani wané(_--#^-) My friend.
- amagi gayo(_--#^-) Those eggs.
- ibiinto biomoonto(_--#^-) The man's things.

Note: icipombe cino cirabu(_--#--#^-) These black cows.
 icipombe cirabu cino(_--#--#^-) These black cows.

No instance seems to have occurred of dependent items preceding the nominal, though at the present time members of the younger generation do so on analogy with current Swahili usage.

2. The negative item 'hai'(n.g. _) always occurs post-verbally though not necessarily immediately:-

- taatemere hai(^-^-#_)
- taatemere moona hai(^-^-#_#_)
- taatemere moona ico hai(^-^-#--#_#_)

3. The item 'hano'(n.b. _ _) always occurs pre-verbally but again not necessarily immediately:-

- hano namomaaha.....(_-#_--)
- hano omoonto aaringa.....(_-#_#_)

A number of other invariable items are also characterized by comparable behaviour:- kereaga, ere, kuhika, nyore.

4. The item 'hano'(n.b. _ _) only occurs post-verbally but not necessarily immediately:-

- ariihika hano(_--#^-)
- ariihika ico hano(_--#--#^-)

5. The item 'bono' whenever in association with a verbal in form B1(H) - vid.p.70 - occurs post-verbally but not necessarily immediately:-

- otaajay(e) omosaara ukore bono
- (_--#_-- | _-#^-)

Types of sentence may with convenience be divided into mono- and poly-verbal types: as noted earlier(p.34) the former are considered to be free sentences, while the great majority of the latter are bound sentences.

A. Mono-Verbal sentences.

Such sentences may be grouped into categories according to the number of units contained. These may be represented symbolically as follows:- N_s and N_o - Subject and Object nominal, both including dependent items: V - Verbal : I - Invariable item(of time, manner, place, etc.).

Thus the simplest type of sentence is that represented by V which presents no problem of order. The following other groups may be noted:-

1. V - I. Three main sub-groupings may be observed:-

A. Non-interrogative sentences with verbal in form A1a, A2, A2a, A3, A6, P9, B1, Q1, B2a, C1, C2, C3, in which the pattern I - V is also valid.

A3. araaca bono(_ _ # _)
bono araaca(_ _ # _)

C2. aageeye icc(_ _ # _)
icc aageeya(_ _ # _)

A6. ariihika iicuria(_ _ # _)
iicuria ariihika(_ _ # _)

B. Non-interrogative sentences with a rigid pattern V - II in which the verbal is in form A14 or A7:-

A14. nco hanc!(_ _ # _)
geenda haara(/ _ # _)
kenya boonguboongu(_ _ # _)

A7. otageenda nora(_ _ # _)
bataaca bono(_ _ # _)

C. Interrogative sentences with a rigid pattern.

1) I - V? where the verbal is in form A5 and/or the

interrogative element is preceded by 'n':-

A5. ŋke ogokora?(_ # _ _)

nehai ukuya?(_ # _ _)

A6. ndohai ariica?(_ # _ _)

Cl. ŋke akorre?(_ # _ _)

2) V - I? where the verbal is not in form A5 and/or the interrogative item is not preceded by 'n':-

A6. ariica rohai(_ # _ _)

A3. arakora ke?(_ # _ _)

Cl. akorre ke?(_ # _ _)

2. For sentences of a pattern (I) - N_s - V, or N_s - V - (I), behaviour is dependent upon I of which four main types occur:-

I_a. Itmes of time, which may be regarded as free. All possible variations of pattern I_a - N_s - V do in fact occur:-

ico taata ariihika(_ # _ # _)

ico ariihika taata(_ # _ # _)

ariihika ico taata(_ # _ # _)

ariihika taata ico(_ # _ # _)

taata ico ariihika(_ # _ # _)

taata ariihika ico(_ # _ # _)

Thus also for other such items: iicuria(_) The day before yesterday, the day after to-morrow: ræro(_) To-day: bono(_) Now: iinkio(_) Mornings: in the morning: butiku(_) In the evening: omogoroba(_) Afternoon.

NOTE: where 'bono' is associated with a form B1 in post-verbal position, marked change of meaning occurs.

I_b. Items of place. Only the following patterns occur:

N_s - V - I_b; V - I_b - N_s; V - N_s - I_b:-

omoona aahikire hanɔ(_ # _ # _)

aagɛɛy(e) ^{omogoroba} ~~abaata~~ ^{haara} bokorju(_ # _ # _)

arahɔɔya gooncer(a) omoona(_ # _ # _)

I_c. Items of manner. Only the following patterns occur, as for

I_b: N_s - V-I_c ; V - I_c - N_s ; V - N_s - I_c :-

abaana baakenyere bokoju(_ # _ # _)

baakenyer(e) abaana bokoju(_ \ # _ # _)

asohiri omokari buya(_ # _ # _)

omokari asohiri buya(_ # _ # _)

Thus for other such items: boonguboongu(_ # _) Quickly;
igakwa(_ # _) Truly; bokoju(_ # _) Very much; nora(_ # _) Slowly;

I_d. Connective items. Only the following patterns occur:-

I_d - V - N_s ; I_d - N_s - V ; N_s - I_d - V :-

haakuru(a) omoona_ariiriisia(_ # _ # _)

omoona haakuru(a) ariiriisia(_ # _ # _)

sibano_omoona_ariica(_ # _ # _)

b. For non-interrogative sentences of a pattern N_s - V, where V is in form A5 and/or where N_s is characterized by an initial 'n', no other pattern occurs:-

namagi akorea(_ # _)

nabageni baguoca(_ # _)

c. For interrogative sentences of a pattern I - N_s - V? no other pattern occurs:-

nehai omoona_ariihika(_ # _ # _)?

nke omokari agokora?(_ # _ # _)

3. For many sentences of a pattern V - N_o the pattern N_o - V is also valid, but this is not always true, nor is there agreement among informants on this point. Where the subject of the verbal and N_o are both of the same class and person, the order is, in my experience, rigid, V - N_o :-

ndatəm(a) eseese(---#--)
 also eseese ndatəma(---#--)
 aratəma_abaana(---#--)
 also abaana_aratəma(---#--)

However, in the sentence:-

aratəm(a) omoona(---#--)

the order $N_o - V$ only occurs in my experience where an object infix occurs:-

omoona_aramotəma(---#---)

In general it seems to be true that where an object infix occurs in sentences of this pattern the possibility of the verbal occurring finally is increased:-

eseese ndagetəma(---#---)
 ibihe arabijimukia(---#---\---)
 and veen omoona_aramotəma(---#---)

On the other hand where the verbal is in form Ai4 both orders occur:-

rənta_amagena(/_#--)
 amagena rənta(---#--)
 rug(a) ibiakorea(---#---)
 ibiakorea ruga(---#--)

4. For sentences of a pattern $N_s - V - N_o$, - this being the usual order of sentences where there occur a subject and object nominal and a verbal -, the following other valid patterns occur, $V - N_s - N_o$; $N_o - N_s - V$. Where I occurs this is subject to the variations noted above and is not considered here. As noted above, the pattern $N_s - N_o - V$ is viewed with scepticism by many informants (though it may perhaps occur occasionally), and is quite invalid where both subject and object are of the same class, unless one accepts within the validity of the pattern a complete reversal of meaning.

omoonto naraariine iinguku boongu(_ # _ \ # _ - - # _ -)
 naraariin(e) omoonto iinguku boongu(_ \ # _ - - # _ - #)
 iinguk(u) omoonto naraariine boongu(_ # _ - # _ \ # _ -)

bono eqoambe neraabiare_ekemoori(_ # _ - # _ \ # _ -)
 bono eqoambe_ekemoori neraabiare(_ # _ - # _ - # _ \)
 bono neraabiare_ekemoori eqoambe(_ # _ \ # _ - # _ -)

omoonto aratam(a) omoona(_ # _ - # _ -)
 omokari ar^{ug}eeey(e) omoona(_ - # _ - # _ -)

for neither of the last two examples is any change in order possible without total change of meaning.

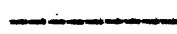
omokari arugeey(e) abaana(_ - # _ - # _ -)
 omokari abaana_arugeeye(_ - # _ - # _ \)
 arugeey(e) omokari abaana(_ # _ - - # _ -)

omoona_aratam(a) eseese(_ # _ - # _ -)
 aratam(a) eseese(e) omoona(_ - # _ - # _ -)

NOT omoon(a) eseese(e) aratama()

As in the preceding section it appears to be generally true that a higher degree of validity is obtained for $N_s - N_o - V$ if the object infix occurs:-

omoon(a) eseese(e) aragetama(_ # _ - # _ -)



Poly-Verbal Sentences.

Two main difficulties preclude treatment of this type of sentence by pattern, as was done for mono-verbal sentences. The number of patterns involved, and the fact that apparently identical patterns do not behave in the same way, thus:-

N - V(erbal)1 - V2.

1. ubukima mbuhika baageeye(_ _ # _ [_ _ - -)
2. omoona aakenyere akarosa(_ _ # _ # _ - _)

In the former example V2 may occur initially, but in the latter may not. Again, note the following examples of a pattern V1 - V2, in which the first two, while of the same pattern, behave differently:-

3. arica aantuhe(_ - # -)
4. ndiihugna ndeme(_ - # -)
5. aageeye arataara(_ - # - _)

In the first example(2) V2 may occur initially, but in the latter two no variation in order is possible.

A further difficulty occurs in others of the examples quoted above. While it is true to say that in Ex.2 no variation in order is possible, it is also possible to go a stage further and say that for any sentence of a pattern N - V1 - V2 where either verbal is in form A4 no variation is possible. Furthermore, it may be stated that any poly-verbal sentence characterized by A4 as V1, V2, V3, etc. will also be characterized by rigidity of order.

In the light of such difficulties it was necessary to re-examine poly-verbal sentences to see whether any regular patterning was observable for specific groups of tenses. Such regularities are found to occur and three main groups established as follows:-

A. Sentences with rigid pattern of order. Such are associated with:-

1. Tense forms A2/C1, A2/A11, A4, A8, A14 occurring as V1 or V2.

2). Tense forms A3, B1(E), B1(H).

B. Sentences with a rigid pattern under certain conditions. Such are associated with tense forms A1a, A3, A6, A7, B1, B2a, C1, C2, A12/A11. This group may be sub-divided into three main sub-groups, according to the conditions in which rigidity of order may occur.

1. Where V2 is in same form as V1. Tense forms A1a, ~~A3~~, A6.
2. Where the subject of V1 and V2 is the same. Tense forms A12/A11, A3, C2, B1(D), C1.
3. Where V2 is in form B1. Tense forms A7, B2, B2a.

6. Sentences where free variation of verbal phrases occurs. Consideration of this group involves recognition of a 'verbal phrase(See also p.34)', a unit within the sentence which under most conditions does not constitute a complete utterance. Minimally consisting of a verbal, it may also include N_s, N_o and I. Sentences of this type frequently consist of two or more such phrases any one of which may occur initially and in which the pre-verbal item 'hand' often occurs. Such are associated with tense forms A1, A1b, A2, A2a, A5, A8a, P9, P10, A13, Q1, C3, Q3, C4, C4a, C5, C5a.

Before giving consideration to these groups in detail, it is perhaps necessary in passing to mention multiple tenses. While it is true that such tenses consist of two radicals, they cannot legitimately be treated as V1 and V2, since their relative order is rigid and no item may, normally, be interposed between them. They are therefore treated as a single unit in the following pages.

A. Sentences characterized by rigid order.

1. Associated with tenses forms A2/K1, A2/A11, A4, A8, A14 occurring as V1 or V2.

A2/C1. The form tends to occur as V1.
 nare ndemer(e) igɔ ŋkarosa iga rosi
 (_ - # ^ \ # _ _ # ^ \ # _ _ # ^ _)

nar(e) asphere bukiku kanyōra tosookiri korea
(_ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _)

A2/Ail. Again tends to occur as V1 with A4 as V2.

oare kunyōr(a) etaantago sibono okagekaangshera
(_ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ _)

A4. Occurring wither as V1, V2 or V3. The rigidity of order may easily be explained at a semantic level since the action of A4 takes place after that of any preceding verbal.

1. akamotem(a) omoona igō kuhika agakuura
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _)

2. nariingire ka nkarea ibiakorea nkaraara
(_ _ _ # _ [_ _ _ # _ _ _] _ _ _)

A possible exception to this may occur where V1 is preceded by (hanō', though there is a clear difference of opinion between informants, and I personally have never heard the alternative version:-

3. hanō nkuruahē gotaara nkanyōra roreengooyue
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _)

nkanyōra roreengooyue hanō nkuruahē gotaara
(_ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

A8. Occurring both as V1 and V2 and in the former case often occurring initially in the sentence.

1. akaamaaha iga mbuya amunye reerō
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

2. hanō oraamoteabi akaananya koboha iga
(_ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ _ # _ _)

Ai4. Occurring as V1.

1. gsend(a) oongorr(e) ibiinto
(/ # _ _ # _ _)

2. nco uuntuuri tosoomb(e) amance
(_ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

2. Associated with tense forms A3, B1(E), B1(H).

A3.

1. ico ndeegenda ndatun(a) iimburi
(_ _ # _ _ # _ # _ _).
2. iicuria namomaahere arakor(a) imigwe
(_ _ # _ _ _ # _ _ # _).

B1(E).

1. Caaca hano araamaahe Maroa amoteme
(_ _ | _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
2. neeqkaamaahere omweya nice.
(_ _ _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

B1(H). Occurring as V2, with B1 associated with the post-verbal item 'bono'

1. otaaray(e) omosaara ukore bono
(_ _ # _ _ _ | _ _ # _ _).
2. ndiing(e) okoboko kone otore kokoreengora bono
(_ _ # _ _ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ _ _ # _ _).

B. Sentences with a rigid pattern under certain conditions. These may be sub-divided into three groups according to the conditions under which rigidity of order occurs:-

(1) Where V2 is in the same form as V1. Tense forms Ala, A3, A6.

Ala. Occurring as V1 and V2.

1. omoona nakuura nawe namotem(a) omoona
(_ _ # _ / _ | _ _ # _ _ # _).

As opposed to:-

2. niinduga nsooki ngeend(e) amance
(_ _ # _ _ | _ _ # _).
- ngeend(e) amance niinduga nsooki
(_ _ # _ | _ _ # _ _).

Note: Change of meaning with above variation.

3. amance ntogasoomba igo gasire
(_ _ # _ _ / _ # _ _ # _ _).

igə gasir(e) amance ntogasoomba
(_ # _ # _ # _ _).

A6. Occurring as V1 and V2.

1. ndiihika ndeegokɛɛria
(_ _ # _ _)
2. omoona_u ar_xkuura nawe areemotɛm(a) omoona
(_ _ # _ _ | _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

As opposed to:-

3. neenkaarema moko_o teendaagɛsa hai
(_ _ # _ # _ | _ _ # _)
teendaagɛsa hai neenkaarema moko_o
(_ _ # _ | _ _ # _ # _)
4. abaanto bariihika hano banyɔɔr(e) amagiha
(_ _ # _ _ # _ # _ # _ _).
banyɔɔr(e) amagiha abaanto bariihika
(_ _ # _ _ # _ # _ _ # _).

(2). Where the subject of V1 and V2 is the same. Tense forms A12/A11, A3, B2a, C2, C1, B1(D)

A12/A11. Occurring as V1 and V2.

1. nasɔher(e) inyuumba ŋkamomaaha ŋgokɔra akere_u emeremo.
(_ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

As opposed to:-

2. ŋguisaba_u akere ntoraamogany(e) ace
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _).
ntoraamogan(e) ace ŋguisaba_u akere
(_ _ # _ # _ _ # _ _).

A3. Occurring as V1 and/or V2.

1. Booke araya kumutɛɛra arakenya bokoŋu
(_ # _ _ # _ _ | _ _ # _).
2. araya wabo haara arariŋga koraara guisaancu
ø _ _ # _ # _ | _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

As opposed to:-

3. ndakenya gotem(a) icijwombe cigeende

(_ _ - # _ _ # _ _ - # _ -).

icijwombe cigeende ndakenya gotema

(_ _ - # _ _ - # _ - # _ -).

4. omokari arageenda kumutera, abaana barahwya

mogoondo

(_ _ - # _ - - # - _ | _ - - # _ - - # - _).

abaana barahwya mogoondo, omokari arageenda kumutera

(_ - # _ - - # - _ | _ - - # _ - - # - _).

B1(D) Occurring as V2.

1. rere ndageenda ngor(e) iimburi

(_ - # _ - - # - # - _).

2. ico nageeye ngor(e) ibiinto

(_ - # _ - - # - # - _).

As opposed to:-

3. nyengeri(a) icinyinyi nsookeri ubukima

(_ - - # _ - - # _ - - # - _).

nsookeri ubukima nyengeri(a) icinyinyi

(_ - - - # - _ # _ - - # _ - -).

C1. Occurring as V1 and V2.

1. bageeye Musoma na bariinire emere.

(_ - - # - _ # _ - # _ - - # - -).

As opposed to:-

2. nyore nschere karai nyore temokorre igo

(_ - # _ - - # _ - # _ - # - - - # - -).

nyore temokorre igo nyore nschere karai

(_ - # - - - # _ - # _ - # _ - - # - -).

C2. Occurring as V1 and/or V2.

1. aageeye Musoma aariinire emere

(_ - - # - _ # _ - - # - -).

As opposed to:-

2. tebaamanyere hai iga wancugu aateger(e) omohana
 (---_ #_ #_ #_ _ #_ _ #_ --)
- iga wancugu aateger(e) omohana tebaamanyere hai
 (___ #_ _ #_ _ #_ -- _ #_)
3. nyooze oaimir(i) egeento neengakegorre
 (_- #_ - - #_ - - #_ - _) .
- neengakegorre nyooze oaimir(i) egeento
 (_- _ #_ - #_ - - #_ _) .

A further tense form which might be included here is that of A6 where occurring initially as V1 with V2 in the same person. As I have only one example however, and V2 is also in form V1, it is not possible to decide which is the determining factor:-

ndiihuena ndeme
(_- - #_ -) .

(3) Where V2 is in form B1. Tense forms A7, B2, B2a.

A7. Occurring as V1.

1. otageend(a) oongorr(e) ibiinto
(_- - #_ - #_ -) .
2. otatem(a) ici5oambe cigeende
(_- - #_ - - #_ -) .

As opposed to:-

3. bataruga bono omogeni ahikire
(_- - #_ - #_ - #_ -) .
- omogeni ahikire bataruga bono
(_- - #_ - - #_ - - #_ -) .

B2. Occurring as V1.

1. Caaca hano araamaahe Marqa amotame
(_- | _- #_ - _ #_ - | _- -) .

As opposed to:-

2. hano ndaahike boongu neendaamomaah
(_- #_ - _ #_ - | _- -) .

neendaamomaaha hanɔ ndaahike boɔngu

(_ - - \ - _ | _ - - # - \ - # - -).

B2a. Occurring both as V1 and V2.

1. amance ntoraagasoombe igo gasire

(_ - - # _ - - \ - _ # _ - - # - -).

2. agasaka kanɔ teendaatememo umusairi guhike

(_ - - # _ - - # - - \ - _ - - # _ - - \ - _ # _ - -).

As opposed to:-

3. neendaakar(e) igitunyo manye gosoma

(_ - \ # _ - - - | _ - - # - \ -).

manye gosoma neendaakar(e) igitunyo

(_ - # - - - | _ - \ # - - -).

4. kur(a) uni teendaatamerre bokoɔ emete genɔ getakaaguisi(a)

(_ # _ - # _ - - \ - _ # _ - - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - - \ - _ # _ - -)
inyuumba

getakaaguisi(a) inyuumba kur(a) uni teendaatamerre emete

genɔ

(_ - - \ - # - - # _ - # _ - - # _ - - \ - _ # _ - - # - -).

5. na baitu tetoraatɛske atakaatuiba) icisiriɔgi

(_ # _ - - # - - - \ - _ - | _ - - - # _ - - \ -).

atakaatuib(a) icisiriɔgi na baitu tetoraatɛske

(_ - - - # _ - - \ - _ # _ - - # - - - \ - _ -)

C. Sentences where free variation of verbal phrases occurs.

Associated with a wide range of tense forms, including A1, A1b, A2, A5, A8a, P9, P10, A13, Q1, C3, C4, C4a, C5, C5a.

A1. Usually occurring as V2.

1. hanɔ namomaaha akar(a) emeremo

(_ - - # _ - - - | _ - - # _ - -).

akar(a) emeremo hanɔ namomaaha

(_ - # _ - - - | _ - - # _ - -).

Alb. Occurring usually as V1.

1. omorɔɔye nomorɛenta taraahuene hai
 (_ _ # _ _ _ | _ \ _ # _)
 taraahuene hai omorɔɔye nomorɛenta
 (_ \ _ # _ | _ _ _ # _ \ _)
2. ubukima mbuhika mbuhika baageeye
 (_ _ # _ \ _ | _ _)
 baageeye ubukima mbuhika
 (_ _ | _ _ _ # _ \ _)

A2. Usually occurring as V1.

1. hanɔ nakɔr(a) emeremo nkubina nde
 (_ _ # _ _ # _ _ _ | _ _ _ # _)
 nkubina nde hanɔ nakɔr(a) emeremo

Occurring as both V1 and V2.

2. aakenya igɔ kura aaihoma iga toro
 (_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)
 aaihoma iga toro aakenya igɔ
 (_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

It should be observed that there is considerable difference in meaning between the two variant orders in the above example, and for other such where A2 occurs as both V1 and V2.

A2a. Occurring usually as V1.

1. nnakora kuya sibono reero nnaanga
 (_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)
 sibono reero nnaanga nnakora kuya
 (_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _)

A5. Occurring as either V1 or V2.

1. hanɔ nkuruahɔ onde agaacahɔ
 (_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ \ _)
 onde agaacahɔ hanɔ nkuruahɔ
 (_ _ # _ \ _ # _ _ # _ \ _)

2. omoonto naraayi amaahē haanga baguuca basani bae
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
haanga ^{basani bae} baguuca omoonto naraayi amaahē
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

A8a. Occurring wither as V1 or V2.

1. neengakora tenena goongo hai
(_ _ _ | _ _ _ # _)
tenena goongo hai neengakora
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
2. uni hanō niguur(e) igō teengaatama hai
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ | _ _ _ # _)
teengaatama hai uni hanō niguure
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

P9, P10. Occurring as either V1 or V2.

1. teendaakora geento hai noraataare
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
noraataare teendaakora geento hai
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
2. ntaraakora geento (uce) gokora ke?
(_ _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
uce gokora ke ntaraakora geento?
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
3. ere ntaraaimoka neekomaaha
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).
neekomaaha ere ntaraaimoka
(_ _ # _ _ # _ _ # _ _).

B1(C). Occurring as both V1 and V2.

1. togeende mbe tuisabe komōro
(_ _ # _ _ | _ _ _ # _ _).
tuisabe komōro togeende mbe
(_ _ _ # _ _ | _ _ _ # _ _).

- 2. umuriisia_atem(e) iciqoombes cigeende
 (_ _ - # _ # - - - # _ - -)
 iciqoombes cigeende umuriisia_ateme
 (_ - - # _ - - # - - - # _ -)

B1(I). Occurring as V1.

- 1. kereenga nice hano teendaanyoora basani hai
 (_ - - # - - # - - | - - - # - - \ # _)
 teendaanyoora basani hai kereenga nice hano
 (_ - - - # - - \ # _ - | _ - - # - - # - -)

B1(J). Occurring as V2.

- 2. omoona wane naraayi sule kuhika_abe omoonto (u)mukuru
 (_ - - # \ _ # _ - - # - - # - - - # - - # - - \ _)
 kuhika_abe omoonto (u)mukuru omoona wane naraayi sule.
 (_ - - - # - - # - - - # - \ # _ - - # \ _ # _ - - # - -)

The difference in meaning between the two variants should be noted.

Q1. Occurring as either V1 or V2.

- 1. uni teentem(e) iciqoombes nawe ageend(e) igoo
 (_ - # _ - # - - - | - - # _ - # - -)
 nawe ageend(e) igoo ani teentem(e) iciqoombes
 (_ - # _ - # - - # - - # - - # - - # - -)

Q3. Occurring as V1.

- 1. hano ntaahike booggu teendaamomahe hai
 (_ _ # _ - - # _ - | - - - \ _ # _)
 teendaamomahe hai hano ntaahike
 (_ - - \ _ # _ | _ - # _ - -)

C3. Occurring as V1.

- 1. naakamaaher(e) limbura haang(a) etooye
 (_ - - \ # _ - - # _ # _ - -)

haang(a) etooye maakamaaher(e) iimbura
(_ # _ - - # _ - - \ # _ - -)

CR2/2. Occurring as V1.

1. nyooore totaabusurre amahseemba ntokaabaye n'incara
(_ - # _ - - \ # _ - - # _ - - # _ - -).
ntokaabaye n'incara nyooore totaabusurre amahseemba
(_ - - - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - - \ # _ - -).

C4. Occurring as V2.

1. hanoo nareeogge mumura naakaimukiri emesairi
(_ - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - - \ # _ - -).
naakaimukiri emesairi hanoo nareeogge mumura
(_ - - \ # _ - - \ # _ - - # _ - - # _ - -).

C5. Occurring as V1.

1. hanoo nkaahikire boongu neenkaamomaahere
(_ - # _ - \ # _ - - | _ - - \).
neenkaamomaahere hanoo nkaahikire boongu
(_ - - \ | _ - - # _ - \ # _ - -).

C5a. Occurring as V2.

1. nyooore naangohere boongu neenkaamomaahere
(_ - # _ - - # _ - - | _ - - \).
neenkaamomaahere nyooore naangohere boongu
(_ - - \ | _ - - # _ - - # _ - -).

In addition to the above, mention should be made of form Ai3, which seems to occur in sentences of a pattern $N_s - Ai3 - N_o - V2$ for which an alternative pattern occurs, i.e. $hanoo - A2 - N_o - N_s - V2$. Following this an alternative order exists as follows, $Ai3 - N_o - N_s - V2$. No other variation occurs.

1. icijoombe namamaah(a) uburui_igo cibukenyera
(_ - - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - -).
namamaah(a) uburui_igo icijoombe cibukenyera
(_ - - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - - # _ - -).

2. omoon(a) onɔ namamaah(a) igɔ akɛnya

(_ - # \ - # _ - - # _ - # _ - -).

namamaah(a) igɔ omoona akɛnya

(_ - - # - # _ - - # - -).

The above examination has been concerned with what might be termed 'unformalized' sentences, which form the greater part of the total utterances in the community. There do also occur, however, a large number of formalized utterances which by their very nature are not susceptible to changes of order. It is not my intention to give a detailed examination of such utterances, though - because of the important part such utterances play in any community - some recognition of their existence must be made. Into this group fall proverbs, songs, spells, incantations, curses and blessings. Both mono-verbal and poly-verbal sentences occur and a few examples are appended below:-

Proverbs.

1. wahuko motobiria baremi

(_ - # _ - - - - # - \ -).

2. omaah(a) egesoa ubuuri(a) omomaange

(_ - # _ - - - I _ - - # - - \ -).

Curses. (Outside the kinship group)

1. osaasue nirioba! May you be deprived by the sun!

(_ - - # _ - - -)

2. uturukurue nirioba! May you be finished with getting

(_ - - - # _ - - -) things from God.

Curses. (Within the kinship group).

1. abao baace kogokora igɔ! May they do likewise to you.

(_ - - # _ - # _ - - - # - -).

Praises.

1. Nyamuasi muna kyeyo.

(_ - - # _ - # - -)

Nyamuasi has a brush(a mark of esteem among cows, with reference to the tail)

In the foregoing pages I have been concerned with setting out such regularities of order as have been found to occur in this dialect of Kuria. No attempt has been made - as was stated earlier - to correlate such regularities with semantic variations. It is clear that such a study would yield valuable results, but I have not felt that it came within the purview of the present examination.

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