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# ADVERBIAL DETERMINATION IN THE GĨKŨYŨ LANGUAGE

The aim of this paper is an attempt at presenting relations within the predicate or, to be more precise, the relations between the head of the predicate and its determiners in the Gĩkũyũ language. As head, we take a *verbum*, which opens empty slots for slot-fillers. We tentatively assume that the slot-filler function in the adverbial position is primarily taken by an adverb ($AD$), and secondarily by any other part of speech, regardless of the semantic value of the *verbum* (transitive/intransitive[1]). Practically, in the latter case, a slot-filler role will only be performed by a noun ($N$) because both a verb ($V$) used as an object and an adjective ($ADJ$) move to the N category. Thus, the initial formula will be $V\ T\ N/AD$, where T expresses the interrelations of two (or more) elements of the predicate, i.e. the formal-grammatical or the categorical-semantic relations. Only such predicates in which the presence of both $V$ and $N$ or $AD$ is presumed will be considered.

Hence, the paper will handle both structural relations (selective, syntactic information)and semantic relations (information) within the predicate ($VP$), with syntactic-semantic field borders defined as follows:[2]

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[1]Like in other Bantu languages, the verb root in the Gĩkũyũ language is neutral. The transitiveness or intransitiveness is marked by adding bound morphemes to the root (see 5.2.).

[2]Abbreviations used further in the paper: $R$ — relation, $S$ — subject, $A$ — attribute, $P$ — predicator/ predicative determiner, $M$ — adverbial, $O$ — direct object, *Adn*—adnominal modifier, *Adv* — adverbial modifier, *f(. . . )* — function, *CL14ADJR*

$VP \rightarrow$   $R\ (V,\ N)$      $R(V,\ AD)$         $R(V,\ N,\ AD)$

$R(V,\ N,\ N)$    $R(V,\ AD,\ AD)$       $R(V,\ N,\ N,\ AD,\ AD)$

1. Separating a $VP$ from $S_n$:

1.1. Solving a formal linguistic square based on a sentence ($S_n$) containing elementary parts of speech in natural relations:

$S_1$: *SAPM: mũndũ: mũkũrũ : arona : wega* „old person sees well"

$S_2$: *SPOM: mũkũrũ : arona : mũndũ: wega* „sees old person well"

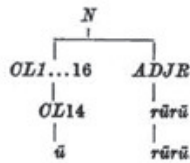$S_3$: *SPOM: mũndũ : arona : mũkũrũ : wega* „person sees [the] old [one] well"

$S_4$: *POAM: arona :mũndũ: mũkũrũ : wega* „sees person old[O] well"

$S_5$: *PMOA: arona : wega : mũndũ: mũkũrũ"* sees well old person[O]"[3]

1.2. Formal-grammatical (+) and categorial-semantic (—) relations

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— $N$; $N$ consists of a prefix of nominal class *CL14* ($w$) and an adjective root *ADJR* (*ega*); the coding rule may be applied to all nouns of this type, e.g.



*CL13NR — N* (CL13 = *ka* + *NR* = noun root = *hora*), $\equiv$ — if and only if . . . , $\rightarrow$ — transformation, *prep* — preposition, *p* — linking verb in a nominal-verbal construction, *V'* — auxiliary verb "to be", *P'* — predicative complement, *N'* — non-derivative abstract, *N"* — place name, *Q* — indirect object, *suf* — suffix, $V_{suf}$ — derivative form of a verb created by adding a suffix, $N_{suf}$ — noun with an inflectional morpheme — suffix, *Pron* — independent personal pronoun, *ob* — object pronoun, $V_{pass}$ — verb in the passive voice, $\in$ - belongs to a group (. . . ), *con* — possessive particle.

[3]This sentence is a less correct variety of $S_4$.

a.

$S_1$: $N \pm ADJ \pm V - AD$

$S_2$: $ADJ \pm V\} \begin{matrix} -N \\ -AD \end{matrix}$

$S_3$: $N \pm V\} \begin{matrix} -ADJ \\ -AD \end{matrix}$

$S_4$: $V \left] - \begin{pmatrix} N \\ \pm \\ ADJ \end{pmatrix} \\ -AD \right.$

$S_5$: $V \left] \begin{matrix} -AD \\ -\begin{pmatrix} N \\ \pm \\ ADJ \end{pmatrix} \end{matrix} \right.$

b. "+" to "−" ratio:

$S_1$: $NP + VP = 2 : 3$

$S_2$: $NP + VP = 1 : 3$

$S_3$: $NP + VP = 1 : 3$

$S_4$: $VP = (1) : 3$

$S_5$: $VP = (1) : 3$

1.3. Table illustrating the relations in $S_1 — S_5$

| Determined constituent | Determining constituent | | | | Actual relations |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *N* | *ADJ* | *V* | *AD* | |
| *N* | X | ± | ± | Ø | $N : ADJ, N : V$ |
| *ADJ* | Ø | X | ± | Ø | $ADJ : V$ |
| *V* | – | – | X | – | $V : N, V : ADJ, V : AD$ |
| *AD* | Ø | Ø | Ø | X | |

The further discussion will regard the relations typical for *VP* : *V*: *N*, *V* : *ADJ*, *V* : *AD*.

2. Testing the functions of parts of speech (positional mobility of inflectional and derivational morphemes).

*N* with the function of:    S: *mũndũ arona* "person sees"
    Adn: *ngui ya mũndũĩrona wega* "the dog of the person sees well"
    P: *mũthee aarĩmũndũ mwega* "the old man was a good person"
        $Adv_1$: *ngoro irahũra thĩinĩ wa mũndũ* "heart beat in the person"
        $Adv_2$: *ekire ta mũndũ* "he acted humanely"
*ADJ* with the function of:    S: *mũkũrũ aikarire thĩ* "[the] old [one] lay (on the ground)"
        Adn: *ngui ngũrũ yakomire* "old dog lay"
    P: *mũndũ aarĩ mũkũrũ* "the person was old"
        $Adv_1$: *mũndũ akororire ta mũthee* "the person coughed like an old one"
        $Adv_2$: *mũndũ akororire ta mũkũrũ* (same as $Adv_1$)

*V* with the function of:      *S: kũona wega nĩ kĩndũ kĩega* "to see well is important"

*Adn: mũndũ wonaga oĩ (amenyaya) maingĩ* "a person who sees knows much"

*P: mũndũ arona* "person sees"

      *Adv: aikare thĩ, akionaga* "he sat while seeing"

*ADJ* with the function of:      *S: wega nĩ (ta) ũrĩa kũrĩ* "it is good as it is"

      *Adn: makithi: "wega mũno"* "mark: very good"

*P: rĩu nĩ wega* "now it is good"

      *Adv: ina wega!* "sing well!"

2.1.

| | N | | ADJ |
|---|---|---|---|
| *S:* | *mũndũ*……......………….. | | *mũkũrũ* ……......…….... |
| *Adn:* | ………….......….. *ya mũndũ* | | ………….......…….. *ngũrũ* |
| *P:* | ………....…….. *arĩ mũndũ* | | ……....………... *arĩ mũkũrũ* |
| *Adv₁:* | ………..... *thĩini wa mũndũ* | | ……….....……... *ta mũthee* |
| *Adv₂:* | ………....…..... *ta mũndũ* | | ……….....……... *ta mũkũrũ* |

| | V | | AD |
|---|---|---|---|
| *S:* | *kũona* …………......………... | | *wega* …………......…......... |
| *Adn:* | ………….......…...... *wonaga* | | ………....…. *"wega mũno"* |
| *P:* | ……………….......….. *arona* | | ………….......……... *ni wega* |
| *Adv:* | …………….......….....*akionaga* | | ……….......………... *wega* |

2.2. Provisional conclusions: the adverbial function may be expressed by: nouns — in prepositional phrases, adjectives — in prepositional phrases and by moving to the abstract class[4], verbs — by adverbial participle. There are no adverbs proper.[5]

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[4]In the Gĩkũyũ language, nouns are systematised by nominal classes marked by prefixes. The abstract class is the fourteenth nominal class.

[5]In the sentences above, the word *wega*, which functions as an adverb, is a noun derived from the adjective —*ega* "good," of the CL14ADJR type (see footnote 2).

3. Detailed analysis of ways of expressing circumstances and objects[6]

3.1. Expressing circumstances

I.    ADJ = f(M)
a.    (S)PM: (mũndũ) arona wega "person sees well"[7]
1.    V – ADJ; ADJ = f(M) ≡ ADJ → N = CL14ADJR
b.    PM: okĩrire na ũgũũta "he stood up lazily"
2.    V – ADJ; ADJ = f(M) ≡ ADJ → N = CL14ADJR → prep N
c.    P(O)M: ahakire (mũgate) thaigi nyingĩ "he spread butter thickly on bread"
3.    V + (N) – N + ADJ; Adj = f(M) ≡ f(M) = N + ADJ
d.    PM: akuire (maĩ) manyinyi "he carried little (water)"
4.    V – ADJ; ADJ = f(M) ≡ (N) + ADJ
e.    SpM: nyumba yuma nyũmũ "it was dry in the house"
5.    (S) + V' + ADJ; ADJ = f(M) ≡ ADJ = f(P') → f(M)
f.    PpM: acokire arĩ mũrwarũ "she returned ill"
6.    V + V' + ADJ; ADJ = f(M) ≡ ADJ = f(P') → f(M)
II.    N → f(M)
a.    PM: tucokire na ihenya "we returned quickly"
1.    V – N; N = f(M) ≡ N → prep N
b.    PM: ũka narua! "come quickly!"
2.    v – N; N = f(M) ≡ N = (prep N)
c.    PM: oima ĩgũrũ "he was located high"
3.    v – N; N = f(M) ≡ N = N'
d.    P(O)M: endete kũrĩa maguta "he liked eating greasy"
4.    V – (V) – N; N = f(M) ≡ N = f(O) → f(M)
e.    (M)PM: gũkũ eyonire mũgeni "he felt a stranger here"
5.    AD = V – N; N = f(M) ≡ N = f(Q) → f(M)
f.    (S)PM: marua mandĩkĩrwo na karamu "the letter was written in pencil"
f₁. PM: araragia na mũgeni "he talked to a guest"
6.    (N) – V – N; N = f(M) ≡ N → prep N and N = f(Q) → f(M)

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[6]For my work, I mainly used Benson (1964) and Marek Gecak, Kirkaldy-Willis (1955). Substantial help and information was provided by Mr. Muturi Mukiria from Kenya, a native Kikuyu.

[7]Sample reading of the pattern: 1. Categorial-semantic relation of a verb and a noun ("–"); an adjective performs an adverbial function if and only if the adjective moves into the category of nouns with the structure: $14^{th}$ class prefix, adjective core.

g.   P(O)M: agathathaire (njurĩ) kahora "he stroked (hair) gently"

7.   $V - N - N; N = f(M) \equiv N \rightarrow CL13NR$

h.   PM: ekire ta mũndũ "he acted humanely"

8.   $V - N; N = f(M) \equiv N \rightarrow$ prep N and prep $=$ ta

i.   PM: ekire maũndũ ma waana "she acted childishly"

9.   $V - N - N; N = f(M) \equiv R(N, N) = N'$ con N

j.   PM: njikaraga muawainĩ "I am staying at a hotel"

10.   $V - N; N = f(M) \equiv N \rightarrow$ Nsuf and suf $=$ inĩ

k.   PM: akuirĩirĩ Nairobi "he died in Nairobi"

11.   $V - N; N = f(M) \equiv N = N"$

l.   PpM: acokire (arĩ) njamba "he returned as a hero"

12.   $V - (V') - N; N = f(M) \equiv N = f(P') \rightarrow f(M)$

m.   (S)PM: kaana nikahanyukĩira ithe "child ran to father"

13.   $(N) + V = N; N = f(M) \equiv V \rightarrow$ Vsuf and $N = f(Q) \rightarrow f(M)$ and suf $=$ rel.

n.   PM: ninguuka kurĩ we "I will come to you"

14.   $V -$ prep $-$ Pron; $N = f(M) \equiv N \rightarrow$ Pron $\rightarrow$ prep Pron and prep $=$ kurĩ.


3.2. Expressing object

I.   Direct object:

a.   PO: Arona mũndũ "sees a person"

1.   $V - N; N = f(O) \equiv N = N$

b.   PO: arona mũkũrũ "sees an old [one]"

2.   $V - N; ADJ = f(O) \equiv ADJ \rightarrow N$

c.   Ndĩmũonire "I saw him"

3. $V - N; N = f(O) \equiv N \rightarrow$ ob

d. P(O)O: nĩangutha riitho "he hit me in the eye"

$d_1$ P(O)O: nĩanjohire moko "he bound my hands"

4. $V - N1 - N2; N = f(O) \equiv N1 \neg = f(O) \rightarrow$ ob and $N2 = f(O)$

e. (S)PO: iciko nĩicoketio nĩ mũici "the spoons have been returned by the thief"

5. $N + V - N; N = f(O) \equiv V \epsilon (V - N) \rightarrow$ Vpass and $N \epsilon (V - N) \rightarrow$ prep N and prep $=$ nĩ.


II.   Indirect object:

a.   PQAO: ngurĩire mũtimia wakwa mbuku "I bought my wife a book"

1. V − N + pron − N; N = f(Q) ≡ Q ϵ (V − Q − O) and V ϵ (V − Q − O) → Vsuf and V suf = rel.
b. PQO: ndimũgurĩire mbuku "I bought her a book"
2. V − N − N; N = f(Q) ≡ N → ob and V ϵ (V − ob − N) → Vsuf and V suf = rel.
c. PQO nĩ agutwarĩra karamu "he took you a pencil"
3. V − N − N; N = f(Q) ≡ N → ob − f(Q)
d. PQO: nĩ agutwarĩire karamu "he took a pencil for you"
4. V − N − N; N = f(Q) ≡ N → ob and V ϵ (V − N1 − N2) → Vsuf and suf = rel.
e. PQOA: ndirahe mũrata marũa ma mama "I give a friend a letter for my uncle"
5. V − N1 − N2 + N3; N = f(Q) ≡ N = N1 ϵ (V − N1 − N2 − N3¬)
f. SPQ: Njoroge akũhũrana na Komau "N. fought with K."
6. N − V − N; N = f(Q) ≡ V ϵ (N − V − N) → Vsufand N → prep N and suf = rec and prep = na.

4. Arrangement of functional values of slot-fillers in the syntactic fields[8]

*Array: a(V T N); b(V T N T N); c(V T N T ADJ); d(V T ADJ)*
*Integer: i = f(P); j = f(M); k = f(O); l = d(Q)*

$S_1 = a(V — N)$
$S_2 = a(V — prep — N)$
$S_3 = a(V — v — N)$
$S_4 = c(V — N — ADJ)$
$S_5 = d(V — ADJ)$
$S_6 = d(V — v — ADJ)$
$S_7 = b(V — N — N)$

*i: = V;   if i: = V then goto $S_{1...7}$*
*j: = ADJ; if j: = ADJ → CL14ADJP then goto $S_1$*
    *if j: = ADJ → CL14ADJR → prep N then goto $S_2$*
    *if j: = ADJ → N + ADJ then goto $S_4$*

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[8]Naming by the international programming language ALGOL 60 was adjusted to the needs of this analysis. Explanation of abbreviations not explained before: *array* — syntactic fields, *integer* — functional values of parts of speech, *if... then* — conditional branch instruction, *goto* — output instruction, : = — set functional value realisation for... .

*if j: = ADJ → (N) + ADJ then goto $S_5$*

*if j: = ADJ → v + ADJ then goto $S_6$*

*if j: = ADJ → v + ADJ then goto $S_3$ vel $S_6$*

*j: = N; if j: = N → prep N then goto $S_2$*

*if j: = N → then goto $S_1$*

*if j: = N → CL13NR then goto $S_1$*

*if j: = N → $N_{suf}$ then goto $S_1$*

*if j: = N → v — N then goto $S_3$*

*if j: = N and V in V — N → $V_{suf}$ then goto $S_1$*

*k: = N; if k: = N then goto $S_1$*

*if k: = N → ob then goto $S_1$*

*if k: = N → N nad (N) → $ob_1$ then goto $S_7$*

*k: = ADJ; if k: = ADJ → N then goto $S_1$*

*l: = N; if l: = N → $N_1$ in V — $N_1$ — $N_2$ and V → $V_{suf}$ then goto $S_7$*

*if l:= N → $N_1$ → ob in V — $N_1$— $N_2$ and V → $V_{suf}$ then goto $S_7$*

*if l: = N in V — N and V → $V_{suf}$ then goto $S_1$*

*if l: = N → $N_1$ in V — $N_1$ — $N_2$ then goto $S_7$*

*if l: = N → N→ ob in V — $N_1$ — $N_2$ then goto $S_7$*


5. Arrangement of functional values of slot-fillers in the semantic fields.


The formal-syntactic analysis shows that in places where the head of *VP* (the verb) triggers a certain form of the following constituent or where the form of the verb formally requires a following constituent, the phenomenon of grammatical determination takes place, which has earlier been indicated by the → sign. However, the situation becomes complicated at the semantic analysis of the relations — semantic determination — occurring within the *VP*.


5.1. In the adverbial group, the following subgroups may be distinguished:

I.   1. *V – wega*
    2. *V – na hinya*
    3. *V – narua*
    4. *V – ĩgũrũ*

III. 1. *V – (N) – thiagi myingĩ*
    2. *V – (N) – ikuhi*
    3. *V – (N) – manyinyi*

V.   1. *(N) + v + nyumu*
    2. *(N) : v – na heho*

VII. 1. *V(+v) – njamba*
    2. *V (+v) – mũrwaru*

IX.  1. *V$_{rel}$ – ithe*
    2. *V – kurĩ we*

II.  1. *V – maguta*
    2. *V – mũgeni*

IV.  1. *V – ta mũndũ*
    2. *V – maũndu ma waana*

VI.  1. *V – mukawainĩ*
    2. *V – Nairobi*

VIII. 1. *V$_{pass}$ – na karamu*
    2. *V – na mũgeni*

Out of these groups, no doubts are raised by the subgroup VI, where the locative case is created by a bound locative morpheme (*mukawa — inĩ*) or represented by a place name (*Nairobi*). These are pure adverbials of place, which is evidenced by the possibility to replace them with adverbial pronouns; cf. *njikaraga haha* "I am staying here," *ndĩrathire hau ira* "I went there yesterday." The latter example shows that the same rule is extended to adverbials of time; cf. *wekira ũtia njuma hwaiinĩ?* "what were you doing on Saturday evening?" A noun in the locative form is not governed by the preceding constituent and is connected with it by adjunction within context; the relational meaning of the noun is included in the bound morpheme or in the core itself. Hence, for the subgroup VI, the relation of the adjunction is important.

In the subgroup I, the adverbial function is fulfilled by a noun derived from an adjective or an abstract, i.e. names of features. An adjective taking the adverbial position requires it to undergo a formal change of class (adjective → noun), which means that its form is implied. The noun derived from the adjective as an adverbial of manner directly determines the verb, it narrows down its notional range, and assimilation of meanings takes place. In this situation, semantic determination cancels the grammatical one and the syntax of adjunction plays the important part.[9]

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[9]Cf. *Itunda rĩ na mucano mũrũrũ* "the fruit tastes bitter" (lit. "[the] fruit has (=is with) taste bitter"): *itunda ni irũrũ* "the fruit tasted bitter" (lit. "[the] fruit had

An attribute (abstract) may also be connected with the verb-predicator by the preposition *na* — a free morpheme and a systematic indicator of the relation of both constituents of the *VP*. The same indicator is present in subgroups V and VIII, where it expresses a sociative attitude (see discussion below). Let us consider the following examples:

1. *Oima ĩgũrũ* "he was located high" : *gukĩria hinya* "to surpass in strength"

2. *Thiĩ na ĩgũrũ* "to go uphill" : *ahuhiria na hinya* "he breathed heavily"

3. *Ndege ĩĩ ĩgũrũ muno* "the bird is very high" : *uhoro ũcio wĩ hinya* "this matter is v. difficult."[10]

Ad a. abstract is used attributively, a complement proper directly determines the predicator-verb = verbal adjunction (obviously, the abstract in this case is not an instrumental object but an adverbial of manner).

Ad b. abstract used attributively, a complement (due to the presence the attitude indicator: relational complement) relationally determines the predicator-verb; however, this is also a case of verbal adjunction because the preposition is absorbed by the following (not the preceding) constituent, which is evidenced by the lexicalised form *narua*; cf. *ũka narua!* "come quickly!" (*rua* "recency, proximity of time" — *narua* "quickly, soon").

Ad c. Circumstances expressed predicatively: in the first sentence, a construction with a copula-personal pronoun was used, while in the second one — an adjectival relative construction.

It may be therefore assumed that the presence of a feature name (abstract) with the preposition *na* with the adverbial function is dictated by the requirement to specify relations within the *VP* — the necessity to emphasise the circumstances rather than the activity.

In the subgroup VIII, concrete words take the adverbial position. According to traditional rules, they would fulfil the function of an instrumental object (1) and a comitative adjunct. However, the context clearly implies the circumstances of the instrument and the accompaniment, which is why the nouns in this construction should be considered adverbials — particularly when facing the fact that the *VP* has a separate construction for a comitative adjunct (cf. *Njorge akũhũrana na Komau* "N. fought with K.;" *kũhũra* "to

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bitterness").

[10]*Igũrũ* "sky," "altitude;" *hinya* "strength," "difficulty;" *uhoro ũcio wĩ hinya* lit. "[a] matter which is [a] difficulty."

hit"). Therefore, the verbal adjunction is in question here as well because the meaning range of the adverbial is contained within the range of the predicator (a pencil is for writing, a guest — for talking (Heinz 1965: 86 et al.)[11]), which is further evidenced by fixed phrases, usually tautologous, etymological figures; cf. *ecanũrire na gĩcanũri* "he combed himself with a comb," *ahakire nyumba rangi ungi* "he painted the house black" (*haka* "to smear," *rangi* "colour" = *haka rangi* "to paint").

In the subgroup V, the feature is expressed predicatively: in 1. with an adjective, in 2. with a prepositional phrase. In both cases, the predicative complement directly defines the subject of the construction, and the syntax of concord is expressed by the copula (in 1., by the predicative complement as well). A more thorough analysis of the context, however, allows for a conclusion that feature names perform the adverbial function here; cf. *nyumba yuma nyũmũ* "it was dry in the house (lit. "the house was dry"): *utukukũuma* "it was cold in the night" (lit. "the night was with cold").[12] Whether the feature name performs an adverbial function here is decided only by the analytical division of the sentence: *nyumba || yuma nyũmũ* = predicative complement: *nyumba yuma || nyũmũ* = adverbial.

More light is shed on the essence of the relation mentioned by the examples of the subgroup VII. 1. *Acokire* (*arĩ*) *njamba* "he returned as a hero," 2. *Acokire arĩ mũrũaru* "she returned ill," which, in the traditional view, both contain object predicatives with an additional emphasis by means of the copula *rĩ*, facultative in 1. However, in this case, *arĩ* does not perform the function of a copula but of a verb with an adverbial function "being (ill, a hero)." The emphasis put on the verb function of *rĩ* (and not the copula function) also results from a grammatical rule saying that if an adjective is a predicative complement after the 3. pers.*sg/pl*, the copula *nĩ* should be used, cf. *Mũrutani nĩ mũrũaru* "the teacher is ill;" this would also imply that there is actually not an adjective in 2., but a noun derived from a verb. The relational meaning of the complements discussed, proceeding from the context, leads us to consider them adverbials of manner (how did he return?). Therefore, this is also the case of a verbal adjunction and the attributive character of the complement is clear.

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[11]The linguistic discussion by Heinz goes far beyond the structure of the Polish language.

[12]In the sentence *utuku kũuma na heho* the prefix *kũ* added to the verb is not bound with the subject by congruence but it rather expresses a locative meaning (*kũ* = locative class prefix), which already formally indicates the adverbial function of *na heho*.

A similar situation arises in the subgroup II, for the function of *maguta* in the sentence 1. *Endete kũrĩa maguta* "he liked eating greasy" (lit. "grease") should not be interpreted as accusative but rather as instrumental ("(with) grease") without the preposition *na* (cf. subgroup VIII); in other words, it should be interpreted as an adverbial of manner. In contrast, in the sentence 2. *Gũkũ enyonire mũgeni* "he felt a stranger here," the context situation is analogical to the subgroup VII but without additional grammatical morphemes. The latter construction is also similar to subgroups IV. 1. and 2. In the subgroup IV, the sentence *athekire ta mũndũ* "he acted humanely" (lit. "like a human" involves an adverbial of manner expressed by a comparison (ta = like). This synsemantic model could, as a last resort, be also used in the construction II. 2; however, in II. 2., the complement, being nearly an attribute (a noun derived from an adjective), does not require additional semantic marking. In IV. 1., the complement function is performed by a concrete noun close to an apposition (cf. *we o ta mũndũ* "he like a human"), which requires an appropriate marker to express the adverbial function.[13]

Grammatical determination is dictated by the relative form of a verb used with a locative meaning, cf. IX. 1. *Kaana nikahanyukĩire ithe* "the child ran to the father." In spite of a clear case assignment, there is no object in the sentence, which is evidenced by the use of a relative form for expressing location when intransitive verbs are used: *nĩndarutaga Kamau* "I used to teach Kamau": *nĩndarutanaga* "I used to teach" (intrans.): *nyumba ya kurutanĩra* "a room for teaching in (a schoolroom)" (Marek Gecak, Kirkaldy-Willis 1955: 101).

The locativeness is also expressed with the preposition *kurĩ*, cf. IX. 2. *nĩngka kurĩ we* "I will come to you," and that formally, for *ku-* is a loc. cl. 15b prefix.

5.2. The direct object raises no doubts. The noun performing this function determines the predicator directly and attributively; cf. *arona mũndũ* "sees a person", *ndĩmũonire* "I saw him." When there is an adjunct of agency, an additional synsemantic morpheme is present; cf. *iciko niicokietio nĩ mũici* "the spoons have been returned by (=nĩ) the thief."

A noteworthy fact is that two objects (an object proper and a pronoun performing the function of an object) are necessary in the case when the activity is related to a body part of another person, cf. *nĩangutha riitho* "he hit (me in an) eye" (meaning "he hit my eye"), which accounts for

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[13]The sentence may also be expressed by the construction VII. 2. *ndĩreigua haha ngĩ mũgeni* "I feel a stranger here" (lit. "I feel here I am a stranger").

grammatical determination.

Another case of grammatical determination would be the following rule, if followed rigorously: if there is an object after a verb with the tense marker *-ra-*, the pre-prefix *nĩ* is not used (in the verb); cf. *ndĩragura giti kieru* "I buy a new chair;" *nĩndĩragura* "I buy." The informant, however, did not see the sense of following this rule, which is why this construction was excluded from this study (see Marek Gecak, Kirkaldy-Willis 1955: 21).[14]

5.3. The indirect object is clearly grammatically determined when the verb takes a derivative relative form; cf. *ngurĩire mũtimia wakwa mbuku* "I bought my wife a book;" *ndĩmũgurĩire mbuku* "I bought her a book." It is, however, not grammatically determined when it is unnecessary to use this form; cf. *nĩ agutwarĩra karamu* "he took a pencil for you." The relative form is basically always used to emphasise the aim of an action (cf. the English prepositional object).

Grammatical determination is also present in the construction with a derivative reciprocal form of a verb; cf. *Njoroge akuhurana na Komau* "N. fought with K."

## CONCLUSIONS

The essence of the reciprocal formal-grammatical and categorical-semantic relations of *VP* constituents in the Gĩkũyũ language is basically as much as the issue of semantic relations between the constituents of the predicate. This is because the phenomenon of grammatical determination, which in the case of adverbials is created by formal syntactic means (such as requirements to transform an adjective into a noun), is cancelled in the case of direct relations attribute: attribute (direct determination) but works if relational determination takes place, emphasised by the derivative form of the predication-verb (relative, reciprocal) in constructions with an object or adverbial.

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[14]Determining the function of the pre-prefix *nĩ* is v. complicated and requires multi-level research (Ndumbu, Whiteley (1962: 169f), Barlow (1927).

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