

Agreement in Kimbeere Relative Clauses

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Abstract

This paper demonstrates that the two relative markers “-rĩã” and “-ĩngĩ” agree with the head noun in Kimbeere. The agreement is determined by the class of the Head noun.

Keywords

Head Noun, Relative Marker, Agreement

1. Introduction

This paper demonstrates how head nouns agree with their markers in Kimbeere relative clauses. The article is organized as follows: In Section 2, we show how agreement between the relative marker and each of the sixteen Kimbeere noun classes occurs. In Section 3, we compare the morphology of Kimbeere “-rĩã” relatives with “-ĩngĩ” relatives and other Bantu languages forms. Sections 4 and 5 contain the findings of this study and conclusion respectively.

2. Morphological Analysis

Kinyua (2010) demonstrated how several morphemes can be realized in one Kimwimbi verb. Refer to (1) in which “Ba” is an agreement morpheme, “rĩ” is a tense morpheme, “mũ” is object marker, “ring” is the root, “ĩr” is a morpheme meaning applicative and “a” is the final vowel.

- (1) Barĩmũringĩra.
Ba- rĩ- mũ- ring- ĩr- a.
AM TM OM Root Appl- FV
“They are calling him”

Kinyua’s study was relevant in that it helped the researcher to single out morphemes marking subjects, objects, relatives, tenses and the verb root. In Kimbeere relative clauses, the relative marker “rĩã” is preceded by an agreement

marker (AM) which agrees in class and number with the head noun in a systematic way. Consider examples (2a-c) below.

- (2) a) Iratū irīa
 8.Shoes 8.which
- b) Gikombe kīrīa
 7.Cup 7.which
- c) Ītumbī rīrīa
 5.Egg 5.which

It is evident that the noun “*iratū*” (shoes) which is in noun class 8 agrees with the prefix “*i*” in “*irīa*” (which), which is also in noun class 8 because they refer to the same entity, “*iratū*” (shoes). Similarly, “*gikombe*” agrees with “*kī*” in “*kīrīa*” (which) all in noun class 7; and “*itumbī*” and “*rī*” in “*itumbī rīrīa*” (egg which) all in noun class 5 agree in class and number. This consistency in pattern is noticed in all the relative clauses discussed in this study.

Gitonga (2014), in his study titled “Upatanishi Katika Sentensi ya Kichuka” (Agreement in Kichuka Sentence), demonstrated that there is agreement in noun phrases and verb phrases within a sentence. Structure (3) exemplifies this.

- (3) Maembe matano matagūrwa
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>Maembe</i> | <i>ma-tano</i> | <i>ma-ta-</i> | <i>gūr-</i> | <i>w-</i> | <i>a.</i> |
| 6.mangoes | 6-five | 6-NEG | buy- | PASS-FV | |
| Maembe | matano | hayakununuliwa | | | (Kiswahili). |
| Mangoes | five | they were not bought. | | | |
- “Five mangoes were not bought”

Evidently “*ma-*” in “*maembe*” (object) agrees with “*ma-*” in “*matano*” (number/quantifier) and “*ma-*” in “*matagūrwa*” (object marker + Verb). This agreement is necessary in the formation of Kimbeere relative clauses.

The noun agreement marker for class 1 and 2 is *isū* and *a* as in “*mūndū ūrīa-andū arīa*” (person who-people who); class 3 and 4 is *ū* and *ī* as in “*mūtī ūrīa-mītī irīa*” (tree which-trees which); class 5 and 6 is *rī* and *ma* as in “*igemberīrīa-magembe marīa*” (mango which-mangoes which); class 7 and 8 is *kī* and *i* as in “*gīciko kīrīa-iciko irīa*” (spoon which-spoons which); class 9 and 10 is *ī* and *i* as in “*mbūrīrīa-mbūri irīa*” (goat which-goats which); class 11 and 12 is *rū* and *ka* as in “*rūkū rūrīa-karamu karīa*” (piece of wood which-pen which); class 13 and 14 is *tū* and *ū* as in “*tūramu tūrīa-ūūkī ūrīa*” (pens which-honey which); class 15 and 16 is *kū* and *ba* as in “*kūndū kūrīa-bandū barīa*” (place which-places which). **Table 1** summarizes agreement between nouns and the morphemes representing them in Kimbeere “*-rīa*” relative clauses.

From **Table 1**, we gather that the relative marker agrees with the head noun of the relative clause. This agreement is systematic and consistent in all the noun classes listed. For example in “*mūtī ū-rīa*” (tree which), the noun “*mūtī*” which is in noun class 3 and in singular agrees with the agreement morpheme “*ū-*” in “*ūrīa*” which is also in noun class 3 singular. The plural of “*mūtī ū-rīa*” is “*mītī ī-rīa*” (trees which). The noun “*mītī*” and “*ī-*” in “*īrīa*” agree in class and number

Table 1. Kimbeere noun class agreement.

Noun class	Noun	Noun Agr. Marker	Rel. Morpheme
1	mũ -ndũ	ũ -	-rĩa
2	a -ndũ	a -	-rĩa
3	mũ -tĩ	ũ -	-rĩa
4	mĩ -tĩ	ĩ -	-rĩa
5	rĩ -itwa	rĩ -	-rĩa
6	ma -rĩitwa	ma -	-rĩa
7	kĩ -ondo	kĩ -	-rĩa
8	ci -ondo	i -	-rĩa
9	ngi -tĩ	ĩ -	-rĩa
10	ngi -tĩ	i -	-rĩa
11	rũ -rigi	rũ -	-rĩa
10	ndi -gi	i -	-rĩa
12	ka -nya	ka -	-rĩa
13	tũ -nya	tũ -	-rĩa
14	ũ -cũrũ	ũ -	-rĩa
6	ma -cũrũ	ma -	-rĩa
15	kũ -gũrũ	kũ -	-rĩa
6	ma -gũrũ	ma -	-rĩa
15A	kũ -thiĩ	kũ	-rĩa
16	ba -ndũ	ba -	-rĩa
15B	kũ -ndũ	kũ	-rĩa

since they are in noun class 4 and in plural as labeled in the table. It is worth noting that in the majority of cases, the agreement marker attached to the relative marker resembles the class prefix. For example in “*a-ndũ a-rĩa*” (people who) “a” in “*andũ*” resembles “a” in “*arĩa*”. The same can be said of “*rũ-rigi rũ-rĩa*” (string which), “*tũnya tũrĩa*” (little gourds which), “*kĩondo kĩa*” (basket which), “*kũgũrũkũrĩa*” (leg which), “*ũcũrũ ũrĩa*” (porridge which) and “*bandũ-barĩa*” (place which). Consider the examples in sentences (4) to (21).

- (4) Mũndũ ũrĩa twatiga ndukarĩ nĩ mwirũ.
 Mũndũ ũ-rĩa tũ- a-tig- a nduka-rĩ nĩ mw-
 1.person-1-REL-1sg- PST-leave-FV 9.shop- in FOC 1-
 irũ
 black
 “The person we have left in the shop is dark”
- (5) Andũ arĩa aaria nĩ akeni.
 Andũ a-rĩa a- aria nĩ a- keni
 2.people 2-REL 2- talkative FOC 2- happy
 “People who are talkative are happy”
- (6) Thiĩ ũteme mũtĩ ũrĩa mũmũ.
 Thiĩ ũ- teme mũtĩ ũ-rĩa m- ũmũ
 Go 2sg- cut 3.tree 3-REL 3- dry
 “You go cut the tree which is dry”
- (7) Mĩtĩ irĩa mĩraca nĩ mĩrũngarũ.
 Mĩtĩ ĩ-rĩa mĩ- raca nĩ mĩ- rũngarũ
 4.trees 4-REL 4- long FOC 4- straight

- “The trees which are tall are straight”
- (8) Nĩ warĩmĩra ĩrigũ rĩrĩa rĩkubĩ?
 Nĩ w- a- rĩm- ĩr- a ĩrigũ rĩ-rĩa rĩ-kubĩ
 FOC 1sg- PST-weed- Compl FV 5.banana 5-REL 5-short
 “He/she has weeded for the short banana stem”
- (9) Marigũ marĩa marathi tĩ mega ma kũrĩa.
 Marigũ ma-rĩa ma-rathi tĩ ma-ega ma kũrĩa
 6.bananas 6-REL 6-semi ripe NEG 6-good 6 to eat
 “Bananas which are semi-ripe are not good for eating”
- (10) Kĩondo kĩrĩa gĩtune kĩrĩ na gĩko.
 Kĩondo kĩ-rĩa gĩ- tune k-ĩrĩ na gĩko
 7.basket 7-REL 7- red 7-has with dirt
 The basket which is red has dirt
 “The red basket is dirty”
- (11) Ciondo irĩa ciabĩbirue ciarĩ ciake.
 Ciondo i-rĩa ci- a- bĩb-ir w- e ci-arĩ
 8.baskets 8-REL 8- PSt- burn-Compl PASS-FV 8-AUX
 ci-ake
 8-POSS
 “The baskets which were burnt were his/hers”
- (12) Mũthũngũ nũragũrĩre ngitĩ irĩa mbaganu.
 Mũthũngũ nĩ- ũ-ra- gũr-ir- e ngitĩ ĩ-rĩa mb-aganu
 1.white personFOC-1-PST-buy-Compl-FV 9.dog 9-REL 9-fierce
 “The white man/woman bought the dog which is fierce”
- (13) Ngitĩ irĩa ngũrũ itirĩ magego.
 Ngitĩ i-rĩa ng- ũrũ i- t- irĩ magego
 10.dogs 10-REL 10- old 10- NEG-have 6.teeth
 “Dogs which are old don’t have teeth”
- (14) Tũkagũra rũrigi rũrĩa rũcerũ.
 Tũ ka- gũr- a rũrigi rũ-rĩa rũ-cerũ
 1pl FUT- buy- FV 11.string 11-REL 11-white
 We will buy the string which is white
 “We will buy the white string”
- (15) Kabiũ karĩa kaũgĩ mũno karĩ kũ?
 Kabiũ ka-rĩa ka-ũgĩ mũno ka-rĩ kũ
 12.knife 12-REL 12-sharp very 12-AUX where
 The knife which is sharp very is where?
 “Where is the knife which is very sharp?”
- (16) Tũcungi tũrĩa twerũ nĩ twabĩa.
 Tũcungi tũ-rĩa tũ-erũ nĩ tũ- a- bĩa
 13.sieves 13-REL 13-new FOC 13- PST - burn
 “The sieves which are new have burnt”
- (17) Ũcũrũ ũrĩa mwega nĩ wa mũbĩa.
 Ũcũrũ ũ-rĩa mũ-ega nĩ wa mũbĩa

- 14.porridge 14-REL 14-good FOC for 3.sorghum
 The porridge which is good is for sorghum
 “Sorghum flour porridge is better”
- (18) Nĩnona kũgũrũ kũrĩa Wanja araunĩkire.
 Nĩ- na- ona kũgũrũ kũ-rĩa Wanja a-ra- unĩk-ir- e
 FOC- AUX- see 15.leg 15-REL 3sg 3-PST- break-PERF-FV
 “I have seen the leg which Wanja broke”
- (19) Kũtheka kũrĩa John athekaga tĩ kwegga.
 Kũtheka kũ-rĩa John a- thek-ag- a tĩ
 15A.To laugh 15A-REL 3sg 3- laugh-HAB- FV NEG
 kũ-ega
 15A-good
 To laugh which John laughs is not good
 “The laughing which John laughs is not good”
- (20) Kũndũ kũrĩa kũrĩ mĩtĩ nĩ kũthaka.
 Kũndũ kũ-rĩa kũ-rĩ mĩtĩ nĩ kũ- thaka
 15B.place 15B-REL 15B-has 4.miti FOC 15B- beautiful
 “A place which has trees is beautiful”
- (21) Bandũ barĩa batheru nĩ bathambie.
 Bandũ ba-rĩa ba-theru nĩ ba- thambie
 16.place 16-REL 16-clean FOC 16- cleaned
 “The place which is clean is washed”

Worth noting is the uniformity in the form of the relative morpheme “-rĩa”. It is the same from noun class 1 to noun class 16. Variations occur only in the noun agreement markers which are dictated by the noun class in question. For example in noun classes 2, 6, 7, and 14, the noun agreement markers are “a-”, “ma-” “kĩ-” and “ũ-” respectively. These noun agreement markers agree with the nouns “andũ” (person), “marĩtwa” (names), “kĩondo” (basket) and “ũcũrũ” (porridge) in that order.

The agreement in **Table 1** closely resembles what Ntarangwi (2015) came up with for Gitigania, a Kimeru dialect. In her study, Ntarangwi analyzes subject and object agreement markers as in (22) for noun classes 1 and 2.

(22)	NC	Prefix	Example	SM	OM
	1	m-	Mwana Child 1	a-	-mũ-
	2	a-	Ageni Visitors 2	ba-	ba-

In (22) for class 1, the subject marker is “a” while the object marker is “-mũ-”. Sentence (23) shows an example of Gitigania sentences used with subject and object markers.

- (23) Carol akamĩkĩra mĩtĩ mbolea
 Carol a ka mĩ ikĩra mĩtĩ mbolea
 Carol 1 SM 1 FUT OM 4 add trees 4 manure 9
 “Carol will add manure to the trees”

In (23), the subject Carol agrees in class and number with the subject marker “*a-*”. They are all in Class 1 singular. Similarly, the object “*mĩĩ*” in class 4 agrees with the object marker “*mĩ*” that is also in noun class 4.

3. Comparison of “-ĩngĩ” and Other Relative Clause Types

The morphology of the Kimbeere restrictive, appositive, direct, indirect, headless/free and tenseless relative clauses is similar in that the relative marker is “*-rĩa*” for all of them. In “*-ĩngĩ*” relative clauses the relative marker is “*-ĩngĩ*”. In both cases, this relative marker agrees in number and class with the head noun of the relative clause in question. Structures (24) & (25) give a morphological analysis of other types and “*-ĩngĩ*” type of Kimbeere relative clauses respectively. For both examples, tense is conveyed by a combination of an empty tense morpheme (O) and the perfective (*-ir-*) morpheme.

(24) Ngaari ĩrĩa tũonire ĩrakuĩite nyaki.

Ngaari	ĩ-	rĩa	Otũ-	on-ir-	e	ĩ-ra-ku-
9.Vehicle	9.OM	RM	O1pl	see-Compl	FV	om ₉ ,PST-carry
ĩit-	e	nyaki				
PERF-FV		10.grass				

“The vehicle which we saw was carrying grass”

(25) Ngaari ĩngĩ tũonire ĩrakuĩite nyaki.

Ngaari	ĩ	ĩngĩ	Otũ	on-ir	e	ĩ-ra-ku-
9.Vehicle	9.OM	RM	O1pl	see-Compl	FV	om ₉ -PST-carry
ĩit-	e	nyaki				
PERF-FV		10.grass				

“Another vehicle we saw was carryinggrass”

Apparently examples (24) and (25) share form with the exception of the relative markers. “*-rĩa*” and “*-ĩngĩ*”. In “*ngaari ĩngĩ*” (another vehicle) and “*ngaari ĩrĩa*” (vehicle which), “*ngaari*” (vehicle) which is in class 9 of the noun category agrees with the object marker “*ĩ-*” in “*ĩ-ĩngĩ*” (another) and “*ĩ-rĩa*” (which). However, in the literal sense the two sentences differ in meaning considering that “*ngaari ĩrĩa*” (vehicle which) refers to a certain vehicle that “we saw” and which was carrying grass. On the other hand, “*ngaari ĩngĩ*” (another vehicle) seems to express a situation in which the speaker had seen a vehicle before the one mentioned in current speech, in other words the vehicle spoken about is an additional one. Ideally, a speaker would talk of “*ngaari ĩngĩ*” even when they have not seen a vehicle previously so that “*ngaari ĩrĩa*” and “*ngaari ĩngĩ*” may not necessarily mean different things.

Generally for “*-ĩngĩ*” relative clauses there is a systematic agreement between noun classes and agreement markers attached to “*-ĩngĩ*”. For class 1 and 2 the agreement marker is *wĩ* and *eas* in “*mũndũ wĩngĩ-andũ eengĩ*” (person another-people others); for class 3 and 4 is *wĩ* and *ĩ* as in “*mũtĩ wĩngĩ-mĩtĩ ĩngĩ*” (tree another-trees others); for class 5 and 6 is *rĩ* and *me* as in “*ĩtumbĩ rĩngĩ-matumbĩ meengĩ*”; for class 7 and 8 is *iskĩ* and *ci* as in “*kĩratũ kĩngĩratũ cĩngĩ*”

Just like in other types of Kimbeere relative clauses, agreement between the relativized noun and the agreement marker attached to the relative morpheme is observable in “-*ĩngĩ*” relative clauses. For instance in (28) “*kaana*” (child) which is in noun class 12 agrees with “*ke-*” in “*ke-engĩ*” (another) which is also in class 12. See sentential examples for the 16 noun classes in (29) to (45).

- (28) Kaana keengĩ nethĩre kanitharĩ nĩ karaũrire.
 Kaana *keengĩ* *Ona-* *ĩth* *ĩr* *e* *kanitha* *rĩ*
 12.Child 12.REL-O1sg find Appl FV 12.church Prep
 nĩ ka- ra- ũr- ir- e
 FOC om₁₂ PST lost Compl FV
 Child another I found church in got lost
 “Another child I found in church got lost”
- (29) Mũndũ wĩngĩ ũrarĩ cukuru nĩ namwona.
 Mũndũ wĩ-ĩngĩ ũ-rarĩ cukuru nĩ na- mũ- ona
 1.person 1-REL 1-was school FOC PERF om₁- see
 Person another who was in school I have see
 “I have seen another person who was in school”
- (30) Nĩmwacemania na andũ eengĩ maracarua nĩ athigari?
 Nĩ mũ- a-cemania na andũ e-engĩ ma- ra-
 FOC 2pl- have-meet with 2.people 2-REL om₂- be
 carua- nĩ athigari
 search by 2.police
 You have met with people othe being searched for by police
 “Have you met other people who are being searched for by the police?”
- (31) Mũtĩ wĩngĩ tũrenda gũtema nĩ mwariĩ.
 Mũtĩ wĩ-ĩngĩtũ- ra-enda gũtema nĩ mũ- ariĩ
 3.tree 3-REL 1pl- pres-want to cut FOC om₃- wide
 Tree another we want to cut is wide
 “Another tree we want to cut is wide”
- (32) Ngakũonia mĩtĩ iĩngĩ ũkabanda.
 Ng- a kũ- onia mĩtĩ i-ĩngĩ ũ- ka- banda
 1sg- FUT 2sg- show 4.trees 4-REL sm₂- FUT- plant
 I will show you tree others you will plant
 “I will show you other trees you will plant”
- (33) Ībuku rĩngĩ nĩrathoma nĩ rĩnene.
 Ībuku rĩ-ĩngĩ nĩ- ra- thoma nĩ rĩ-nene
 5.book 5-REL sm₁- pres-read is om₅-big
 Book another I am reading is big
 “Another book I am reading is big”
- (34) Mabati meengĩ Kariuki aratuma namo nĩ marotu.
 Mabati me-engĩ Kariuki a-ra-tuma na-mo
 6.iron sheets 6-REL 3Kariuki sm₃-pres-build with-6
 nĩ ma- rotu
 FOC 6- rusty

- Iron sheets others Kariuki is building with are rusty
 “Other iron sheets Kariuki is building with are rusty”
- (35) Kīratū kīngī kīratetwe njīrarī nī kīāū?
 Kīratū kī-īngī kī- ra- tetwe njīra-rī nī kī- aū
 7.shoe 7-REL 7- PST-thrown way-in is 7- whose
 Shoe another had been thrown on the way is whose
 “Whose is another shoe which had been thrown on the way”
- (36) Ngaari īngī Mike aratwara tī yake.
 Ngaari ī-īngī Mike a- ra- twara tī y-ake
 9.vehicle 9-REL 3Mike sm₃- pres-drive NEG 9-POSS
 Vehicle another Mike is driving not his
 “Another vehicle Mike is driving is not his”
- (37) Ngaari ciīngī ciakīrīra aba nī cia kambeni.
 Ngaari ci-īngī ci-a- kīrīra aba nī ci-a
 10.vehicles 10-REL 10-have- pass by here FOC 10-for
 kambeni
 campaign
 Vehicle others they have passed here are for campaign
 “Other campaign vehicles have passed by”
- (38) Rūkū rwīngī waoca tī rūūmū.
 Rūkū rwī-īngī w- a- oca tī rū-ūmū
 11.firewood 11-REL 2sg- pres pick NEG om₁₁-dry
 Firewood another you have pick is not dry
 “Another firewood you have picked is not dry”
- (39) Ūkangūrīra karamu keengī gatune.
 Ū- ka- n- gūr- īr- a karamu ke-engī
 You-FUT- om₁-buy- Appl- FV 12.pen 12-REL
 ga-tune
 12-red
 You buy for me pen another red
 “You will buy another red pen for me”
- (40) Tūramu twīngī twaarī tūūru nī twoneka.
 Tūramu twī-īngī tū-arī tū-ūru nī tū-a oneka
 13.pens 13-REL 13-were 13-lost FOC 13-have-find
 Pens others they were lost they are found
 “Other pens which had got lost have been found”
- (41) Ūcūrū wīngī Ndegi arugīte nī mūrūrū.
 Ūcūrū wī-īngī Ndegi a- rug- īit- e nī
 14.porridge 14-REL 3Ndegi sm₃- cook-PERF- FV FOC
 mū-rūrū
 14-bitter
 Porridge another Ndegi has cooked is bitter.
 “Another porridge Ndegi has cooked is bitter”

- (42) Kūgūrū kwīngī kwa mbūri kuuniku gūkobwa.
 Kūgūrū kwī-īngī kwa mbūri ku-unīku gū-kaobwa
 15.leg 15-REL of 9.goat 15-broken 15-FUT-tied
 Leg another of goat it broken it will be tied
 “Another goat’s broken limb will be bound”
- (43) Gūtuika kwīngī Njeru atuikaga nī gwa kūtthekania.
 Gūtuika kwī-īngī Njeru a- tuik -ag- a nī-gū-
 15A.to dance 15A-REL 3Njeru sm₃- dance-HAB- FV FOC-15A-
 a kū-thekania
 for 15-laughable
 To dance another Njeru dances is laughable
 “Another dancing Njeru does is laughable”
- (44) Kūndū kwīngī tūrārī tūkathī rūciū nī twatīrua.
 Kūndū kwī-īngī tū-rarī tū- ka-thī rūciū nī
 15B.place 15B-REL 1pl-were-1pl- FUT-go-tomorrow FOC
 tū- a tīrua
 1pl- have been stopped
 Place another we were to go tomorrow we have been stopped
 “We have been stopped from going to another place we were to go to-
 morrow”
- (45) Kamītī nīyonire bandū beengī ba gūcemanīa.
 Kamītī nī- ī- on- ir-e bandū be-engī
 9.committee FOC-7- see-Compl-FV 16.place 16-REL
 ba gū-cemanīa
 for to-meet
 The committee found place another for to meet
 “The committee found another place to meet”

4. Summary of Research Findings

The study found out that:

- All the other types of Kimbeere relative clauses have “-rīā” as the relative marker except “-īngī” relatives that have “-īngī” as the relative marker.
- The relative markers “-rīā” and “-īngī” are attached to the head noun markers and they agree in number and class in a systematic manner.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have provided the morphology of Kimbeere “-rīā” relatives (those that have “-rīā” as the relative marker) and “-īngī” relatives (those that use “-īngī” as the relative marker) and demonstrated that these relative markers agree with the head noun.

Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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