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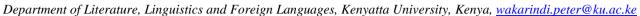
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# Reordering for prominence and consequent reconfiguration of the mood structure in Gikuyu clauses

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Abstract: Certain communication situations may need emphasis on specific sentence elements. Speakers utilise their linguistic competence to choose from various emphatic structures for the need, structures resulting from reconstruction of the basic sentence. This reconstruction could be through reordering of clause elements through processes like: passivisation, cleft and pseudo-cleft structuring, topicalisation, and inversion of clause elements. This paper aimed at establishing the realization of these processes in Gikūyū and their effects on the syntactic analysis of the mood structure in the clause as exchange analysis within Functional Grammar theory. The data for the paper was Gikũyũ clauses portraying the reordering processes. The paper adopted a descriptive research design, purposively sampling the clauses and their sources. The clauses were grouped under the various reordering processes and subjected to clause as exchange analysis, which was compared to that of their kernel sentences for the effect of the reordering on the mood structure. The reordering processes were found in Gîkûyû and the processes discovered to affect the mood structure of the kernel clauses, either in the reconfiguration of the structure or reconstitution of its elements. Some instances of passivisation were discovered to drop some mood elements like Complement, while the subject-complement inversion led to a Mood Residue inversion. The paper concludes that Gikuyu has resources enabling its users to strategically place specific elements for prominence as required by a given communication context. The findings significantly revealed the flexibility of Gikuyu clauses and the applicability of Systemic Functional Linguistics in analyzing Gikuyu emphatic clauses.

Keywords: Cleft, Gîkûyû, Inversion, Mood Structure, Passivisation, Pseudo-Cleft, Reordering, Topicalisation

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# 1. Introduction

For a message to be understood, it has to be cut into pieces of information and the idea given right emphasis and put in the right order (Leech & Svartvik, 2002). With the necessary linguistic competence (Chomsky, 2015), language offers a speaker a variety of structures to satisfy varying emphasis needs in communication. As the need may be in a communication context, the speaker is able to select from a variety of clauses that have the same basic meaning but vary on account of how they are structured as a message (Collins & Hollo, 2000), hence, carrying different emphatic meanings. Such emphatic structures are important stylistic devices in conveying the communicative purpose of the speaker or listener (Mirzamahmudovna, 2022) and are effective in passing the meaning of emphasis to the readers (Mohammed & Al-Marsumi, 2022). For instance, from the kernel sentence *The unsuccessful contestant termed the electorate an ungrateful lot after the results*, a speaker's communicative need may be to place emphasis on certain elements of this sentence, hence, decide to place such at the initial position. The result could be different emphatic structures: *The electorate the unsuccessful contestant termed an ungrateful lot after the results*, An ungrateful lot the unsuccessful contestant termed the electorate after the results, and, After the results the unsuccessful contestant termed the electorate an ungrateful lot.

Collins and Hollo (2000) and Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) identify reordering of clause elements as one means of assigning prominence to linguistic elements in a clause. Reordering involves moving elements from their in situ

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position in the kernel sentence to more prominent positions in response to informational factors, and could be through: passive structures, cleft constructions, pseudo-cleft structures, topicalisation, and inversion (Collins & Hollo, 2000; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990; Leech & Svartvik, 2002). These processes assign the elements different kinds of prominence: thematic or topic prominence, when an element is shifted to the initial clause position, or end focus or end weight prominence when the element is pushed to or towards the end of the clause. This article concerned itself with the reordering structures identifiable in Gĩkũyũ, a Kenyan Bantu language mainly spoken in the central region of the country (Wakarindi, Mwangi & Njoroge, 2022). The paper demonstrates that reordering is possible in the language with various reordering structures identified.

The study approached the structures from the angle of Functional Grammar Theory as advanced by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014). It is a theory of meaning, concerned with how language utilises resources, the linguistic elements such as phrases, to make meaning. The theory works on a multifunctional platform, arguing that any utterance made, or language in general, performs three functions simultaneously: *ideational, interpersonal* and *textual*. These, the theory refers to as metafunctions (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Eggins, 2004). This paper is specifically based on the interpersonal metafunction, in which meaning is realized in the clause as exchange line of meaning. Meaning in this line is realized in a configuration of elements referred to as the mood structure, one in which the clause constitutes of two parts, Mood and Residue, each with its own elements. The Mood is composed of *Subject* and *Finite*, while the *Residue* consists of *Predicator*, *Complement* and *Adjunct*. This is illustrated in the analysis of the sentence *Anthony will repair this machine any time* in Figure 1 below:

Anthony	Will	repair	this machine	any time
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue		

Figure 1: Illustration of the Mood Structure

Relatedly, the specific interest of the paper was to study the arrangement of the mood structure elements in the Gikuyu emphatic structures of the reordering class and, further, study how the reordering affects the mood structure of the kernel sentence. The findings revealed that reordering of linguistic elements in a clause results in reconfiguration of the mood structure.

This particular interest was, to a great extent, motivated by the morphology of Gikuyu verb. Gikuyu is a Kenyan Bantu language. The language being agglutinative (Wakarindi, Mwangi & Njoroge, 2022) as opposed to English, which is a morpheme-isolating language, Gikuyu verb is clausal in nature. In the mood structure, the English verb as an element of a clause typically consists of Finite and Predicator as can be seen of the verb *will repair* in Figure 1 above. Great interest was to see the configuration of the mood structure of the Gikuyu verb and how it is affected by reordering. For instance, the Gikuyu translation of the clause *Anthony will repair this machine any time* is *Anthony agathondeka macini ino hindi o yothe*. The verb is *agathondeka* (will repair), composed of the subject prefix *a*-, equivalent to the pronoun *he*, the future time marker *ga* (will), and the verb *thondeka* (repair). The verb ends with the morpheme -*a*, which is the active voice marker. The passive counterpart of the clause is *Macini ino igathondekwo ni Anthony hindi o yothe* (This machine will be repaired by Anthony any time). The verb becomes *igathondekwo* (will be repaired). The subject prefix has changed to *i*-, equivalent to *it*, and the verb to *thondekwo* (be repaired), which ends with the morpheme -*wo*, which is the passive voice marker. Interest was to find out how the mood structure of the Gikuyu clausal verb, alongside that of the whole clause, is affected by such processes as passivisation. The analysis of the data demonstrated complexity of the mood structure of the Gikuyu verb on the basis of agglutination. It pointed towards discontinuation of some of the elements of the mood structure and reconstitution of others.

## 2. Literature review

# 2.1. Emphatic structures of the reordering class

Garassino (2016) and Thu (2023) term emphatic structures as non-canonical constructions, the latter explaining that they are so called because their forms deviate from the conventional sentence structure. Nevertheless, the structures are grammatically acceptable and are often used for information packaging. They allow speakers to deliver information according to their needs or motivations, enabling them to emphasize certain information while downplaying others. The reordering structures have been studied variously, with some like cleft sentences drawing a lot of attention.

A cleft sentence, variously referred to as it-cleft (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad & Finegan, 2021; Seitanidi, Poldvere & Paradis, 2023; Thu, 2023) is a non-canonical structure in which the basic sentence is divided or cleaved into two parts, a main clause and a subordinate clause (Garassino, 2016; Leech & Svartvik, 2002; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990; Caro, E. 2022). An example here is *It is a focused manager that the company lacks*, in which the main clause is *it is a focused manager*, and the subordinate clause being *that the company lacks*. The cleft is derived from the declarative sentence *The company lacks a focused manager*. Mohammed and Al-Marsumi (2022) view a cleft sentence a marked construction that has a focused constituent moved from its logical position and often set off with some extra material, including an extra verb. The focused constituent in the above example is *a focused manager*. It moves from the object position in the basic sentence *The company lacks a focused manager* to the subject complement position in *it is a focused manager*, the main clause of the cleft construction *It is a focused manager that we want*.

Garassino (2016) refers the element receiving emphasis, which follows the dummy subject it in the main clause, as the cleft constituent. Based on what element it is in the kernel sentence, the study identifies three cases of clefts: subject

clefts, object clefts, and adverbial clefts, confirming the high flexibility of the cleft structures noted by Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) because of their ability to highlight different parts of the clause. Garassino (2016) notes the subject clefts to be the most frequent.

Other forms of cleft structures identified include: the 'all-cleft' structure (Seitanidi, Poldvere & Paradis, 2023; Mohammed & Al-Marsumi, 2022), the ordinary wh-clefts, reversed wh-clefts and demonstrative wh-clefts (Seitanidi, Poldvere & Paradis, 2023, Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad and Finegan, 2021) and demonstrative clefts (Caro, 2022).

Related to cleft structures are pseudo-cleft structures. However, due to the resemblance to the cleft sentence in having two parts, some scholars such as Leech and Svartvik (2002) pick pseudo-clefts as a subtype of cleft sentences, calling it a wh- type of clause sentence. What differentiates the pseudo clefts from the clefts is that whereas the two parts in the latter are clauses, normally only one part in the former is a clause, a subordinate 'wh' nominal clause. The other part is the one that carries the highlighted nominal element. An example could be *What the company lacks is a focused manager*, in which the subordinate clause is *what the company lacks*. Leech and Svartvik (2002), and Greenbaum and Quirk, (1990) agree that pseudo-cleft structure takes the SVC sentence order, hence, categorized as equatives (Heycock & Kroch, 1997). Typically, the 'wh' nominal clause is the subject as is the case in the example *What the company lacks is a focused manager*. This is a typical case in languages like English, Hebrew and Japanese (Maschler, Lindstrom & Stefani, 2023).

Relatedly, Seitanidi, Poldvere and Paradis (2023) identify as two different types of cleft structures: ordinary wh-clefts and reversed wh-clefts. In the ordinary wh-clefts, the 'wh' clause is the subject while the highlighted element is the complement, as is the case in *What the company lacks is a focused manager*. In the reversed wh-clefts, the 'wh' clause occurs as the complement and the element of focus as the subject. In this type, the example above would appear as *A focused manager is what the company lacks*.

Topicalisation and inversion are other forms of reordering sentence elements for prominence. A shared characteristic observed between the two is that both involve elevating an element from the predicate part of the sentence to sentence initial position. However, a distinction between the two can be made. In topicalisation, which is variously called preposing or fronting, the post-verbal element is elevated from its in-situ position to precede the subject but the subject does not move. From the declarative *The company lacks a focused manager*, topicalising *a focused manager* will produce the structure *A focused manager the company lacks*. (See Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990; Leech and Svartvik, 2002; Collins & Hollo, 2000; Sluckin, Cruschina & Martin, 2021; Thu, 2023). Occupying the sentence's initial position, the preposed element becomes the topic of the sentence, a marked theme. Fronting serves to highlight an element that is contextually most demanded (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990).

In an inversion, on the other hand, a post verbal element changes places with the subject in a sentence, the subject moving to the post-verbal position and the post verbal element moving to the clause initial position. From the clause *The company lacks a focused manager*, the interchange of positions between the elements will result in the structure *A focused manager lacks the company*. Collins and Hollo (2000) discuss locative inversion in English, in which a post-verbal expression indicating location moves to the front of the clause. This form of inversion has also been identified by Sluckin, Cruschina and Martin (2021), who define it as preposing of a locative or temporal expression to the canonical clause-initial subject position. Taking *My exhausted friend slept under the mango tree* as the basic sentence, in which *my exhausted friend* is the subject and *under the mango tree* the adverbial, its derived inversion counterpart will be *Under the mango tree slept my exhausted friend*. *My exhausted friend* and *under the mango tree* invert positions without changing their roles. Therefore, whereas the basic sentence has the order SVA, inversion changes the surface order to AVS.

Other forms of inversion identified include subject-verb inversion and subject operator inversion (Leech & Svartvik 2002; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990). Identifying functions of inversion in language to include grammatical, expressive and communicative functions, Albina and Dilnoza (2023) give effects of inversion to include addition of emphasis. Movement of predicate element is present in passivisation as well. It is an object in the kernel sentence, a declarative sentence in the active voice, that becomes the subject in the passive sentence. It has the semantic role of *patient* (Collins & Hollo, 2000) or *affected* (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990). The subject of the active sentence moves to the predicate to become a complement of the preposition by in the agent by-phrase in the passive voice. An example of a passive sentence is *The article was written by Kamau last year*, derived from the active sentence *Kamau wrote the article last year*, (Collins and Hollo, 2000; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, Leech & Svartvik, 2002).

# 2.2. The mood structure

As pointed out in the introduction section of this paper, Functional Grammar Theory (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014) gives Mood and Residue as the components of the the mood structure, the configuration that carries meaning in clause as exchange. Subject and Finite make up the Mood, while Predicator, Complement and Adjunct make up the Residue. Eggins (2004) describes Mood as the essential part of the clause and Residue as the part that can be left out. Chueasuai (2017) observes that the Mood, the necessary component of a clause, is the main point of argument that is repeatedly mentioned between communicative participants.

According to the theory, *Subject* is the grammatical subject. It is the determinant of other grammatical features such as the case of the nominal element functioning as the subject, and its agreement of person and number with the verb. *Finite* is a verbal element responsible for primary tense, modality, polarity and contrast. It is realized by modals but in a clause without modals, it is fused with the lexical verb.

On the other hand, *Predicator* is the verbal group void of temporal or modal operator of the Finite. It is present in all major clauses but lacks in clauses with *have* or *be* as the main verb. *Complement* is a nominal group element within the residue with the potential of becoming Subject. *Adjunct* is an adverbial group or a prepositional phrase in the Residue, and has no potential of becoming Subject

### 3. Research methodology

The data for this paper was Gĩkũyũ clauses with the order of elements altered for emphasis: the passive, cleft, pseudocleft, topicalisation and inversion clauses. For a detailed description of the data, the paper, being qualitative in nature, adopted a descriptive research design. The clauses were purposively sampled from written sources. The data being stylistic, selection of the sources was biased towards poetic sources since such were likely to produce the desired structures. The sources were the books of *Thaburi* (Psalms) and *Thimo* (Proverbs), both from the Gikuyu Bible, and a Gikuyu a hymnal titled *Nyĩmbo Njerũ cia Mitha Mũgĩkũyũ* (New Songs of Gikuyu Mass) by Kiongo (2005). Other sources found rich with the structures, though no-poetic, were *Gũcookerithia Maathani* (Deuteronomy), also from the Gikuyu Bible, and 1000 Kikuyu Proverbs, a collection of Gikuyu proverbs by Barra (Barra, 1960).

Collection of data was guided by the five categories of reordering. The sources were read through to pick clauses with desired features. In addition, the researcher was a native speakers of Gikuyu and taking advantage of his linguistic competence in the language (Chomsky, 1965,1986, & 2015) employed introspection to source possible structures in the language that the written sources did not elicit. Five sentences were picked under each category of the stylistic structures, generating a sample list of twenty five sentences. Keenness was observed to pick sentences that exhibited varied characteristics within a category. To generate a list of the data to use for discussion and presentation, the sample list of the five sentences under each category was scrutinized and one sentence was picked to present each feature. A final list of fourteen sentences was arrived at: four sentences under the passivisation category, three under cleft and pseudo-cleft categories each, and two each under topicalisation and inversion.

To assess the effect of the reordering on the mood structure, each emphatic structure and its respective kernel sentence were separately subjected to clause as exchange analysis and comparison between the nexus made. The analysis was presented in figures. The study being qualitative, thematic presentation of the data (Kombo & Tromp, 2006) was applied. The themes picked were the five reordering categories: passive structures, cleft structures, pseudo cleft structures, topicalisation and inversion.

# 4. Findings and discussions

The data for the study revealed that it is possible to assign prominence to specific linguistic elements in a Gikuyu clause by reordering the elements in the kernel clause. The reordering was found possible through passivisation, cleaving, pseudo-cleaving, topicalisation and inversion. Secondly, on comparing the mood structure of the derived clauses to that of the kernel clauses, the reordering processes was found to lead to a reconfiguration of the mood structure, analysed in the clause as exchange as propounded by Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) in Functional Grammar Theory. The ensuing discussion assesses the processes under the following themes: passive structures, cleft structures, pseudo-cleft structures, topicalisation and inversion respectively.

## 4.1. Passive structures

A passive construction is one in which the subject has the role of *patient* (Collins & Hollo, 2000) or *affected* (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990). Such a sentence is *The article was written by Kamau last year*, in which the subject is *the article*. A passive construction is derived from an active one. For instance, the passive structure *above* is derived from the active structure *Kamau wrote the article last year*, in which *Kamau* is the subject and its semantic role is *actor*. This process is referred to as *passivisation* and it gives prominence to certain elements. Leech and Svartvik (2002), observe that passivisation assigns an element end weight or end focus prominence by placing it towards or at the end of the clause

A number of observations were made on passivisation in Gikuyu in relation to the transitivity mode of the predicator of the clause, whether monotransitive, ditransitive or complex transitive. In Example 1 below, the predicator is *gucia* (attract). In the passive structure, the predicator is contained in the verbal expression *igucagio*, which is a clause on its own owing to the agglutinative nature of Gikuyu, translating to *it is attracted*. The predicator is monotransitive as clearly seen in the active expression *ugucagia*, which translates to *it attracts*, in which it takes the object *mburi* (goat).

1. Passive: Mburi igucagio ni munyu (Barra, 1960: 48)

A goat is attracted by salt.

Active: Munyu ugucagia mburi.

Salt attracts a goat.

The active clause has the *agent* as the subject (*munyu*-salt) and the *patient* as the object (*mburi*-goat). To demonstrate the alteration of the order of elements on passivisation, the *patient* becomes the subject and the *agent* a complement of the preposition *ni* (by) in the by-phrase introduced after the verb in passive structure. Collins and Hollo (2000) call this the agent by-phrase. By making the agent a complement of the preposition in the agent by-phrase, passivisation takes the actor towards the end of the clause, assigning it *end focus* or *end weight* prominence. The preposition *ni* (by) serves

to highlight the agent. *Munyu* (salt) gets *end focus* prominence since it is not a complex element, as it is a nominal phrase comprising the head only, a noun.

The repositioning of agent and patient and the introduction of the agent by-phrase can also be seen in Example 2 below, which carries a ditransitive predicator *he* (give) in the passive verbal expression *aheirwo* (he was given). The ditransitivity nature of the predicator is clear in the active agglutinative expression *kiaheire* (it gave), whose objects are the indirect object *Mugambi*, a proper noun, and the direct one, *utongoria* (leadership).

2. Passive: Mugambi aheirwo utongoria ni kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi. (intuition)

Mugambi was given leadership by his vision of the development of the nation.

Active: Kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi kiaheire Mugambi utongoria.

His vision of the development of the nation gave Mugambi leadership.

However, unlike in Example 1, in which the subject in passive structure has the role *patient*, in the passive structure *Mugambi aheirwo utongoria ni kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi* (Mugambi was given leadership by his vision *of the development of the nation*), the role of the subject, which is *Mugambi*, is recipient. The in situ position of this recipient is the object position in the active structure *Kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi kiaheire Mugambi utongoria* (His vision of the development of the nation gave Mugambi leadership).

Mugambi is an indirect object in the active clause. Gikuyu provides for the direct object as well to become the subject in the passive structure. In the active clause above, the direct object is *utongoria* (leadership) and its semantic role is *goal*. It can appear in the subject position upon passivisation as in Example 3 below:

3. Passive: Utongoria waheirwo Mugambi ni kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi. (intuition)

Leadership was given (to) Mugambi by his vision of the development of the nation.

Active: Kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi kiaheire Mugambi utongoria.

His vision of the development of the nation gave Mugambi leadership.

Further, the element assigned prominence in the agent by-phrase is *kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi* (his vision of the development of the nation). The element is a complex one, comprising a noun *kioneki* (vision), determiner *giake* (his) and a post-modifying prepositional phrase *kia ukuria wa bururi* (of the development of the nation). It, therefore, receives end weight prominence.

The clause as exchange analysis of the Gikuyu passive clauses against that of their active counterparts revealed that the pattern of reconfiguration of the mood structure in the process of passivisation in the language is linked to the transitivity mode of the verb involved, whether monotransitive, ditransitive or complex transitive.

To illustrate the mood structure of a monotransitive verb in the active voice, Figure 2 below presents the analysis of the active clause *Munyu uguucagia mburi* (Salt attracts a goat), from which the passive clause *Mburi igucagio ni munyu* (A goat is attracted by salt) is derived. The verb of the clause is the agglutinative expression *uguucagia* (attracts), which is monotransitive. Being clausal, the full translation of the verb is *it attracts*. The subject, equivalent to *it*, is the prefix *u* as seen in the figure.

	Munyu Salt Subject	u it Subject prefix	guuc att- Predi-	ag -s Finite Present, habitual	i -ract -cator	a (active) Finite active	mburi a goat Complement
ľ	M-		Re-	-00-	-si-	-d	-due

Figure 2: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Active Voice Clause with a Monotransitive Verb

The Residue in Figure 2 above consists of Predicator and Complement, *guucia* (attract) and *mburi* (a goat) respectively. However, owing to agglutination, the Predicator is cleaved by the finite element -ag-, which carries the present and habitual finite components. It is an infix and a constituent of Mood. The predicator, which is the root, is *guuci* (attract). The second part of the predicator is followed by the suffix a, which is the morpheme marking the active voice and, therefore, a constituent of Finite. The implication here is discontinuation of both the Precator and the Finite, translating to a mood structure in which both Mood and Residue are discontinuous.

However, analysis of Gikuyu passive clauses reveals that though the Mood and the Residue remain discontinuous, passivisation reconfigures the mood structure, with the reconfiguration noted to occur in the Residue. This is illustrated in the analysis of the passive structure *Mburi igucagio ni munyu* (*A goat is attracted by salt*), a structure with a monotransitive verb, in Figure 3 below:

Mburi A goat	i it	guuc att-	ag is	i -ract	o (passive)	ni munyu a goat
Subject	Subject prefix	Predi-	Finite present, habitual	-cator	Finite passive	Adjunct
M-	•	Re-	-00-	-si-	-d	-due

Figure 3: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Passive Voice Clause with a Monotransitive Verb

In the analysis, the Residue consists of Predicator and Adjunct. The conclusion drawn here is that passivisation in Gikuyu leads to a drop of Complement in the Residue of an active clause and its place taken by Adjunct in the resultant passive structure. It should be noted that it is the Complement in the active clause, *mburi* (a goat) in this case, that becomes the Subject in the passive clause. The Subject of the active clause, which is the agent, combines with the preposition *ni* (by) to become the Adjunct in the passive clause in the form of in the agent by-phrase. In this example, the agent is *munyu* (salt) and the agent by-phrase is *ni munyu* (by salt).

Looking at the structure of the verb itself, the order of its mood structure elements is not affected by passivisation, but the morphological constitution of some of the elements is. The subject prefix in the Mood of the passive changes to agree with the Subject of the passive, in line with the observation by Heycock and Kroch (1997), that the strongest evidence for inversions is the inverted agreement pattern as noted in Italian. The subject prefix in the passive is i (it), which agrees with the passive Subject mburi (a goat), as opposed to the prefix u (it) in the active, which agrees with the active Subject munyu (salt). Another change is in the final part of the verb, the Finite part responsible for voice. In the active clause, the active voice morpheme is a, but it changes to o in the passive clause for the respective passive voice.

The example above illustrates the reconfiguration in a monotransitive clause, in which whereas the Residue of the active clause is made up of a Predicator and one Complement, passivisation leads to a Residue with no complement but an Adjunct. However, with ditransitive and complex transitive verbs, the Residue of the active clause contains two Complements as shown in Figure 4 below, which analyses *Kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi kiaheire Mugambi utongoria* (His vision of the development of the nation gave Mugambi leadership), the active ditransitive clause from Examples 2 and 3 above.

Kioneki giake kia ukuria wa	kia	he	ire	Mugambi	utongoria
bururi					
His vision of the	it	give	(past)	Mugambi	leadership
development of the nation					
Subject	Subject	Predicator	Finite	Complement	Complement
	prefix		Past,		
			active		
Mo-		Resi-	-od	-due	

Figure 4: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Active Voice Clause with a Ditransitive Verb

With passivisation, one of the Complements in the active clause becomes the Subject in the passive, moving the agent to the Adjunct position to be a complement of the preposition ni (by). Consider the analysis of the passive clause *Mugambi aheirwo utongoria ni kioneki giake kia ukuria wa bururi* (Mugambi was given leadership by his vision of the development of the nation) in Figure 5 below.

Mugambi	a	he	irwo	utongoria	ni kioneki giake kia ukuria wa
Mugambi	he	give	was	leadership	bururi by his vision of the development of the nation
Subject	Subject prefix	Predicator	Finite past, passive	Complement	Adjunct
Мо-		Resi-	-od	-due	

Figure 5: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Passive Voice Clause with a Ditransitive Verb

With the analysis of Gikuyu passive ditransitive (and also complex trasitive) passive clauses, the Residue mandatorily contains Complement as in Figure 5 above. However, with the monotransitive counterparts, the Residue lacks Complement as seen in Figure 3 above. This marks the key difference in the mood structure between the two sets of clauses.

The data further revealed that Gikuyu allows omission of the agent, and in effect the agent by-phrase, in the passive clauses. Such is the case in Examples 4 below:

**4.** Andu aria athingu makarihwo maundu mega. (Proverbs 13:21) *People who are righteous will be paid good things.* 

The predicator of the sentence is *riha* (pay/reward), which depicts an action that obligatorily has an agent. From the context of the sentence, the agent is obvious, hence, possible to omit it. The one who will reward the righteous is God, *Ngai* in Gikuyu.

Omission of the agent by-phrase in the passive clause will result in a mood structure in which the Residue lacks Adjunct if the active clause analysis does not have one. This can be seen in the analysis of *Andu aria athingu makarihwo maundu mega* (People who are righteous will be paid good things) in Figure 6 below:

Andu aria athingu Righteous people	ma thev	ka will	rih pay	wo (passive)	maundu mega good things
Subject	Subject prefix	Finite future	Predicator	Finite passive	Complement
Мо-	I P	1 7	Resi-	-od	-due

Figure 6: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Passive Voice Clause without Adjunct

Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) observe that the principles of prominence work together rather than against each other since some clauses may be seen to achieve both thematic prominence and prominence associated with the final position. The passive construction works in such a way. Besides assigning end focus and end weight prominence, it also gives *thematic prominence* to the 'patient', especially in structures lacking the agent by-phrase. *Andu aria athingu* (the righteous people) in Example 4 above occupies the initial position to receive thematic prominence.

#### 4.2. Cleft structures

As already indicated, cleft structures repackage information by dividing a message into two clauses, an independent clause and a dependent one, so as to assign emphasis to certain elements (Seitanidi, Poldvere & Paradis, 2023). The data collected revealed presence of cleft structures in Gikuyu. In the structures, the main clause appears initially. The clause is introduced by ni, which translates to it is in English. It is a conflation of two elements: an empty theme it (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990) or the introductory it (Leech & Svartvik, 2002), and the linking verb, a form of be. This means that the conflation carries both a dummy subject and a linking verb. The conflation is what in Gikuyu serves to introduce the highlighted element, which is placed as a complement in the independent clause. The element, being a complement in the cleft, receives end focus or end weight prominence (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990). Example 5 below is a Gikuyu cleft construction.

5. Ni Ngai witu turahaka. (Kiongo, 2005:41) *It is our God (that) we are appeasing.* 

In the cleft sentence above, the element receiving prominence is *Ngai witu* (our God), as it appears as complement in the main clause *ni Ngai witu* (it is our God). The kernel for the cleft sentence above is *Turahaka Ngai witu* (We are appearing our God).

Cleaving a sentence alters the order of the elements in the basic sentence as a result of the highlighted element changing position for prominence. The origin of *Ngai witu* (our God) in the basic declarative *Turahaka Ngai witu* (We are appeasing our God) is the object position. The need to highlight the object results in the cleft structure, which comes through introduction of the expression *ni* (it is) to assign the prominence. The first part of the resultant cleft structure is *ni Ngai witu* (it is our God), a main clause introduced by *ni* (it is) and followed by the highlighted element *Ngai witu* (our God) as a complement. Appearing as a complement of the subject and, therefore, at the final position in the independent clause, *Ngai witu* (our God) receives end focus prominence. The main clause is then followed by the complement clause *turahaka* (that we are appeasing).

Caro (2022) notes that cleaving enables a person to highlight one element by singling it out. This cleft *Ni Ngai witu turahaka* (it is our God we are appeasing) could be prompted by the question 'whom are you appeasing?'. In this case, *Ngai witu* could be considered as the new information and could be given as the answer to the question, especially so in an informal situation. It is, therefore, focal and actually contrastive; it is *Ngai witu* (our God) being appeased and not any other. Collins and Hollo (2000) observe that the complement clause would in such a case be elided. The answer to the question would then be just the highlighted element *Ngai witu* (our God), clearly receiving *end focus* prominence.

Through cleaving, Gikuyu assigns prominence to not only the object but also other elements of the kernel. In Example 6 below, the highlighted element is *we* (you), which is the complement in the independent clause *niwe* (it is you)

6. Niwe uguthii na andu aya. (Deuteronomy 31:7)

It is you who will go with these people.

We (you) in the basic declarative for this cleft is the subject. The basic clause is  $\underline{Uguthii}$  na andu aya ( $\underline{You}$  will go with these people). It can also be realized in its unmarked form  $\underline{We}$   $\underline{uguthii}$  na andu aya, which would loosely translate to  $\underline{You}$  you will go with these people.

In an unlikely situation in a language like English, a clause can be clefted in Gikuyu to highlight the verb. Nevertheless, when highlighting it, the verb appears in the main clause as a complement in form of an infinitive, as illustrated in Example 7 below.

7. Ni kuriukia ariukagia ngoro yakwa. (Psalms 23:3)

It is to restore that he restores my heart.

This structure is a derivative of the declarative A<u>riukagia</u> ngoro yakwa (He <u>restores</u> my heart), in which the root verb is riukia (restore).

Like passivisation, cleaving results in reconfiguration of the mood structure. Figure 7 below presents the mood structure analysis of *Turahaka Ngai witu* (We are appeasing our God), the kernel clause of the cleft *Ni Ngai witu turahaka* (It is our God (that) we are appeasing).

T u We	ra are	hak appease	a -ing	Ngai witũ our God
Subject	Finite  Present,  progressive	Predicator	Finite active	Complement
Мо-		Resi-	-od	-due

Figure 7: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Clause before Cleaving

As seen in the figure, the Mood part of the clause consists of both Subject tu (we) and the Finite elements ra (are) and a, a verbal extension carrying the progressive aspect, an equivalent of the English suffix -ing. The Residue part consists of Predicator hak (appease) and Complement Ngai witu (our God). However, owing to the agglutinative nature of Gikuyu, the Predicator hak (appease) is sandwiched between the two elements of the Finite, effectively discontinuing the Finite, and so, the Mood by extension. The result is a structure in which both the Mood and Residue are discontinued. The Residue is discontinued as a result of separation of its constituents, the Predicator and the Complement.

On cleaving this basic clause, the analysis of the derivation *Ni Ngai witu turahaka* (It is our God (that) we are appeasing) in the mood structure is as follows in Figure 8:

	Ni	Ngai witu turahaka
It	is	our God (that) we are appeasing
Subject	Finite present positive	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure 8: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Cleft Clause

Unlike in the kernel declarative, neither Mood nor Residue is discontinued in the cleft clause. Secondly, the two parts appear in the unmarked order, Mood coming before Residue.

Also important to note is the reconstitution of the two parts. Like in the basic clause, Mood in the cleft clause contains both Subject and Finite. However, it is the introduced expression  $n\tilde{i}$  (it is) that provides the two, Subject and Finite, in the cleft clause. With the Residue, the cleft clause consists of Complement only, dropping the Predicator present in the kernel clause. The verb of the clause is equivalent to the simple present form of the verb be, which, as Functional Grammar Theory explains, lacks Predicator (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). It is all the Mood and Residue elements of the basic clause that reconfigure to form the Complement in the cleft clause. This implies that despite receiving prominence, the highlighted element becomes part of the Complement.

# 4.3. Pseudo Cleft Structures

As mentioned earlier in the paper, like a cleft sentences, pseudo cleft clauses have two parts, although it is only one part that is clausal in nature. Also mentioned is that the clausal part takes the form of a 'wh' nominal clause and is typically the subject of the sentence. In such a case, the highlighted element appears as a complement of the clause. Such pseudo-cleft structures were realised in Gikuyu and found to be introduced by expressions equivalent to English 'wh' words such as *kiria* as in example 8 below.

**8.** Kiria twarikia kwamukira ni Jesu Kristu ari mugima. (Kiongo, 2005:72) *What we have just received is Jesus Christ being whole.* 

The subject of the sentence above is the nominal clause *Kiria twarikia kwamukira* (What we have just received). The highlighted element is *Jesu Kristu ari mugima* (Jesus Christ being whole), a nominal phrase realized as a complement. It is placed at the end and it receives end weight prominence since it is a complex noun phrase comprising the head noun *Jesu Kristu* (Jesus Christ) post-modified by a clause, *ari mugima* (being whole). However, when the highlighted element is not complex, for instance if it was just *Jesu Kristu* (Jesus Christ), then the prominence would be *end focus*. Example 8 is derived from *Twarikia kwamukira Jesu Kristu ari mugima* (We have just received Jesus Christ being whole).

With the wh- nominal clause occurring as subject, Example 8 is an example of what Seitanidi, Poldvere & Paradis (2023) refer to as ordinary wh-clefts. Also elicited by the data is the second type of pseudo clefts the scholars identify as reversed wh-clefts, in which the nominal clause occurs as the complement. This is illustrated in Example 9 below:

**9.** Ukiigu wa mundu niguo uhaguraga njira ciake. (Proverbs 19:3) *A person's stupidity is what collapses his ways.* 

In the example, the subject is *ukigu wa mundu* (a person's stupidity), a noun phrase, while the complement is *guo uhaguraga njira ciake* (what collapses his ways), a nominal clause. The verb is *ni* (is). The pseudo-cleft is derived from the declarative *Ukiigu wa mundu uhaguraga njira ciake* (A person's stupidity collapses his ways). This basic sentence has the subject-verb-object (SVO) order, with *ukiigu wa mundu* (a person's stupidity) as the subject, *haguraga* (collapses) as the verb, and *njira ciake* (his ways) as the object. To give rise to the pseudo-cleft structure, the subordinate clause *guo uhaguraga njira ciake* (what collapses his ways) is introduced to assign prominence to the

subject of the kernel. In the resultant pseudo-cleft, the highlighted nominal element, *ukigu wa mundu* (a person's stupidity), maintains its subject status while the subordinate clause becomes the complement. The resultant is subject-verb-complement (SVC) clause. Positioned initially, the highlighted element receives *thematic* prominence.

In typical Gikuyu pseudo-cleft structures, the subject is clausal while the complement is phrasal as in Example 8 above, or vice versa as in 9. Nevertheless, the language allows for pseudo-clefts in which both the subject and complement are nominal clauses, in which focus is on the complement, hence, end-weight prominence. Consider Example 10 below, in which the subject is *kiria twarikia kwamukira* (what we have just received), while the complement, the element of prominence, is *kiria tugwetereire* (what we have been waiting for).

10. Kiria twarikia kwamukira ni kiria tugwetereire. (intuition)

What we have just received is what we have been waiting for.

The kernel sentence for Example 10 is *Twarikia kwamukira kiria tugwetereire* (We have just received what we have been waiting for).

The effects of pseudo-cleaving on the mood structure of the kernel clauses is comparable to the effects of cleaving. Figure 9 below presents the mood structure analysis of *Ukiigu wa mundu uhaguraga njira ciake* (A person's stupidity *collapses* his ways), the kernel declarative from which the pseudo-cleft clause *Ukiigu wa mundu niguo uhaguraga njira ciake* (A person's stupidity is what *collapses* his ways) is derived.

Ukiigu wa mundu A person's stupidity	u it	hagur collapse	aga	njira ciake his ways
Subject	Subject prefix	Predicator	Finite Present, Habitual	Complement
Мо-	•	Resi-	- od	-due

Figure 9: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Clause before Pseudo-cleaving

The analysis produces a mood structure with the unmarked order of the Mood and Residue elements in Gikuyu declarative, which has the Predicator sandwiched between the elements of Finite, hence, discontinued Mood and Residue parts. However, the analysis of the derived pseudo-cleft, just like that of the cleft clause, results in a mood structure in which the Mood and Residue are intact, with the Mood preceding the Residue. Further, the Predicator is dropped, leaving the Residue with Complement only. This is illustrated in Figure 10 below, which analyses the pseudo-cleft clause *Ukiigu wa mundu niguo uhaguraga njira ciake* (*A person's stupidity is what collapses his ways*).

It should be noted that Figure 10 also serves to highlight the difference between the Gikuyu cleft and pseudo-cleft clauses, that whereas the cleft clauses have a dummy Subject form contained in  $n\tilde{i}$  (it is), pseudo-clefts have a real Subject, realized as a nominal group or nominal clause. The Subject in the figure is a nominal group,  $ukigu\ wa\ mundu$  (a person's stupidity), and it is the case when the structure is assigning thematic prominence to an element.

Ukiigu wa mundu A person's stupidity	ni is	gwo uhaguraga njira ciake what collapses his ways
Subject	Finite present positive	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure 10: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Pseudo-cleft Clause with a Nominal Group Subject

On the other hand, Figure 11 below has as Subject as a nominal clause, *kiria twarikia kwamukira* (what we have just received), the case when the pseudo-cleft is assigning end focus or end weight prominence with the highlighted element occurring as Complement. The figure analyses the pseudo-cleft *Kiria twarikia kwamukira ni Jesu Kristu ari mugima* (What we have just received is Jesus Christ being whole).

Kiria twarikia kwamukira What we have just received	Ni is	Jesu Kristu e mugima Jesus Christ being whole
Subject	Finite  present  positive	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure 11: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Pseudo-cleft Clause with a Nominal Clause Subject

It has been observed above that Gikuyu allows for pseudo-clefts in which both the highlighting and the highlighted elements are nominal clauses as illustrated in the Example 10 above, *Kiria twarikia kwamukira ni kiria tugwetereire* 

(What we have just received is what we have been waiting for). As seen in the analysis of Example 10 in Figure 12 below, a clause as exchange analysis of such as structure produces a symmetrical mood structure, in which both Subject and Complement are made up of clauses.

Kiria twarikia kwamukira What we have just received	ni is	kiria tugwetereire what we have been waiting for
Subject	Finite  present  positive	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure 12: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Pseudo-cleft Clause with Nominal Clauses as Subject and Complement

## 4.4. Topicalisation

As earlier indicated, topicalisation involves creation of a marked theme or topic by moving a post-verbal element from its position to precede the subject. As the available data reveals, the process occurs in Gikuyu. Example 11 below is a product of topicalisation.

**11.** Hari mundu kirimu gwika nai ni ta ithako. (Proverbs 10:23) *To a foolish person to do evil is like a game.* 

The subject of the sentence above is the non-finite clause *gwika nai* (to do evil). Nevertheless, it is preceded by the prepositional phrase *hari mundu kirimu* (to a foolish person), which is an adverbial in the sentence. Having the adverbial before the subject is an indication that the former has been topicalised, having been moved from its unmarked sentential final position. Occupying the initial position in the sentence, *hari mundu kirimu* (to a foolish person) receives *thematic* prominence. Its marked final position is seen in the kernel sentence for the Example 10, which is, *Gwika nai ni ta ithako hari mundu kirimu* (To do evil is like a game to a foolish person). According to Leech and Svartvik (2002), a fronted element could be an emphatic topic, contrative topic or 'given' topic. The derived clause is, therefore, semantically different from the basic since it is about a new thing.

Example 11 presents a case of topicalisation of a whole clause element. However, data gathered revealed that Gikuyu allows topicalisation of part of a complex constituent. Consider Example 12 below, in which the element topicalised for thematic prominence is *mwiri uri thakame* (a body that has blood)

12. Mwiri uri thakame gutiri utarwaraga. (Barra, 1960:78)

A body that has blood there is none that does not become sick.

The basic sentence from which Example 12 is derived is *Gutiri mwiri uri thakame utarwaraga* (There is no body that has blood that does not become sick). A look at this kernel sentence shows that *mwiri uri thakame* (a body that has blood) is part of the phrase *mwiri uri thakame utarwaraga* (body that has blood that does not become sick), complex nominal phrase functioning as complement in the kernel sentence.

Tracking the topicalisation of an element in clause as exchange reveals that it is the Residue part of the mood structure that gets affected; it is a constituent of Residue that is picked to precede the Subject. Analysis of the basic sentence *Gwika nai ni ta ithako hari mundu kirimu* (To do evil is like a game to a foolish person) in Figure 13 below shows that the Residue is intact with two elements, the Complement *ta ithako* (like a game) and the Adjunct *hari mundu kirimu* (to a foolish person).

Gwika nai To do evil	ni is	ta ithako like a game	hari mundu kirimu to a foolish person
Subject	Finite  present  progressive	Complement	Adjunct
Mood		Residue	

Figure 13: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Clause before Topicalisation

Topicalisation results in a mood structure with an element of the residue in the initial position, whether the element is topicalised in full or in part. On topicalising the Adjunct in the sentence above, the Adjunct precedes the Subject, hence, a discontinued Residue. This is shown in Figure 14 below. The figure is the analysis of Example 11, *Hari mundu kirimu gwika nai ni ta ithako* (To a foolish person to do evil is like a game), the clause resulting from topicalisation of the Adjunct.

Hari mundu kirimu	gwika nai	ni	ta ithako
To a foolish person	to do evil	is	like a game
Adjunct	Subject	Finite present positive	Complement
Resi-	Mood		-due

Figure 14: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Clause after Topicalisation

# 4.5. Inversion

Leech and Svartvik (2002) observe that inversion could involve movement of not only the topic element (fronting) but also a verb phrase or part of it to the pre-subject position. In Gikuyu, the inversion noted is mainly in SVC clauses, in which the subject and its complement switch positions. The switch is similar to that in locative inversion in English identified by Collins and Hollo (2000). In the Gikuyu subject-complement inversion, the copular verb in the clauses is  $n\tilde{i}$ , an equivalent of the present tense form of the verb 'be' (is/are). However, the verb can occur in its emphatic form, no, which loosely translates to is/are actually. It is the form in Example 13 below, a product of inversion:

# 13. Kindu kiuru no mundu ethukitie we mwene (Barra, 1960:35)

The bad thing is actually a person having spoilt himself.

The inversion is derived from the sentence *Mundu ethukitie we mwene ni kindu kiuru* (A person having spoilt himself is the bad thing), which has the SVC clause pattern. The subject (S) is *mundu ethukitie we mwene* (a person having spoilt himself) while the complement (C) is *kindu kiuru* (the bad thing).

Upon inversion, the subject moves past the verb  $n\tilde{i}$  (is) for end-weight prominence, while the complement take the pre-verb position. For emphasis, the verb  $n\tilde{i}$  (is) has been converted to no (is actually). The resultant structure has a CVS clause pattern.

In addition, data revealed a unique kind of inversion in Gikuyu noun phrases involving determiner and the noun. Unlike English, Gikuyu is a head-initial language, in which the head of a phrase comes first in the phrase. An example here is the noun phrase *nyumba iyo* (that house), in the sentence *Nyumba iyo ni nene muno* (That house is very big). The head is *nyumba* (house), occurring initially in the phrase, while the determiner is *iyo* (that). The phrase *nyumba iyo* loosely translates to *house that*. *Nyumba* and *iyo* can invert to form the expression *iyo nyumba* (that house) as in Example 14 below:

# 14. Iyo nyumba ni nene muno.

That house is very big.

The inversion pushes the noun nyumba (house) from the initial position to assign it end focus prominence.

The determiner-noun inversion in Gikuyu has no effect on the mood structure, since the inversion is intraconstituent. Being an inversion within a nominal element, the inversion occurs in Subject within the Mood or Complement within the Residue. In the case of *nyumba iyo* (house that) to *iyo nyumba* (that house) inversion in the sentence *Iyo nyumba ni nene muno* (That house is very big), occurs in the Subject.

However, the subject-complement inversion affects the order of elements in the mood structure. Figure 15 below presents the clause as exchange analysis of the kernel sentence *Mundu ethukitie we mwene ni kindu kiuru* (A person having defiled himself is the bad thing)

Mundu ethukitie we mwene A person having defiled himself	ni is	kindu kiuru the bad thing
Subject	Finite  present  positive	Complement
Mood		Residue

Figure 15: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Clause before inversion

On inversion, Subject and Complement switch positions, which translates to a switch between Mood and Residue. This is illustrated in analysis of the inverted clause *Kindu kiuru no mundu ethukitie we mwene* (The bad thing is actually a person having defiled himself) in Figure 16 below. In the figure, Complement occurs initially and Subject finally, and in effect, Residue and Mood are inverted.

Kindu kiuru The bad thing	no is	mundu ethukitie we mwene a person having defiled himself
Complement	Finite	Subject
	Present	
	positive	
Residue	Mood	

Figure 16: Mood Structure Analysis of a Gikuyu Clause after Inversion

### 5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to investigate the emphatic structures involving reordering of clause elements that are observable in Gikuyu and assess how the reordering affects the syntactic analysis of the mood structure in the clause as exchange analysis of Functional Grammar theory. The data gathered showed that Gikuyu grammar allowed processes of reordering of clause elements, which enable the users of the language to strategically place specific elements for prominence as a communication context could demand. The reordering resources identified in the language are passive structures, cleft and pseudo-cleft structures, topicalisation and inversion of clause elements. Whereas topicalisation

allows assignment of thematic prominence to the elements, the other forms of reordering were seen to allow end weight or end focus prominence.

On effects on the mood structure of the clause, the reordering processes were found to reconfigure the clause as exchange analysis of the kernel in various ways. In passivisation, the transitivity nature of the verb of the clause has a bearing on the reconfiguration of the structure. Passivisation of monotransitive clauses leads to dropping of Complement and addition of Adjunct in the structure. With ditransitive verbs, one of the two Complements in the structure of the active clause moves to Adjunct in the passive clause. In formation of cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences, whereas the mood structure of the kernel has discontinuous Mood and Residue, a characteristic of a typical Gikuyu declarative owing to the agglutinative nature of the language, the resultant clauses have both Mood and Residue elements intact. Nevertheless, the Residue drops the Predicate to remain with Complement only. Topicalisation leads to an element of the Residue moving to the initial position to precede the Mood. Finally, although the determiner-noun inversion has no effect on the resultant mood structure, the subject-complement inversion leads to a Mood Residue inversion. The common observation across all the reordering processes is that the reordering affects the Residue element of the mood structure.

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