

## Typology of Kimbeere Relative Clauses in Kimbeere

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### Abstract

In this paper we explore the typology of Kimbeere- a Kenya Bantu language. The paper demonstrates that like in other languages, Kimbere has different types of relative clauses namely restrictive, non-restrictive, direct, indirect, appositive, headless among other. Kimbere also has a type of relative clause called ingi relative. The paper is descriptive and contributes typological data which is crucial for drawing principles and parameters in natural language.

**Key Words:** Relative clause, direct, indirect, headless, restrictive, typology

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### 1. Introduction

In this paper we present the types of Kimbeere relative clauses. The paper has the following sections: In section 2 we examine the typology of Kimbeere language. In section 3 are types of Kimbeere relative clauses while section 4 and 5 contain findings and conclusion of this study respectively.

### 2. Brief Introduction to Kimbeere

It is necessary to point out that Kimbeere is a head first/verb-initial language. Consider the phrases in (1) below.

- 1).a) Twagũrĩre gĩtĩ kĩnene. (Noun phrase)  
Tũ- a- gũr- ir- e- gĩtĩ kĩ-nene  
1pl- PST- buy- PERF- FV 7.chair 7-big  
'We bought a big chair'
- b) Ina wega ũbewe kĩbeo. (Verb phrase)

I- na wega ũ- be- w- e kībeo  
 2sg- sing well 2sg- give- PASS- FV 7.present  
 ‘Sing well to win/be given a present’

c) Mainire *wega mūno*. (Adverb phrase)

M- a- in- ir- e wega mūno  
 3pl- PST- sing- PERF- FV well very  
 ‘They sang very well’

In (1.a) the noun ‘*gītī*’ (chair) is modified by the adjective ‘*kīnene*’ (big). It is evident that ‘*gītī*’(chair) which is the head of the noun phrase comes before the modifier, ‘*kīnene*’(big). Similarly, the verb ‘*ina*’ (sing) and the adverb ‘*wega*’ (well) comes before the adverb ‘*wega*’ (well) and the adverb ‘*mūno*’ (very) in the verb phrase (1.b) and adverb phrase (1.c) respectively. Apparently this contrasts with English structures that have the modifier preceding or following the modified element. However Kiswahili happens to behave like Kimbeere in this aspect. Consider structures (2) and (3) for comparison.

(2) We bought *a big chair* (English)  
 Adj Noun

(3) Tu- li- nunua *kiti kikubwa* (Kiswahili)  
 We- PST- buy Noun Adj  
 We bought chair big  
 ‘We bought a big chair’

According to Finegan (2008) verb-initial languages place relative clauses after head nouns. From examples (1a-c) and (3) it is evident that in Kimbeere and Kiswahili, heads appear before their modifiers, therefore they are head first languages.

### 3. Types of Kimbeere Relative Clauses

Kimbeere has different types of relative clauses as discussed below.

#### 3.1 Restrictive Relative Clauses

Just like their English counterparts, Kimbeere restrictive relative clauses restrict the noun referred to. The relative clause is introduced by a relative marker ‘*-rīa*’ which is attached to the noun prefix that agrees in number and class with the head noun. Consider sentence (4).

Note that data in all analysis sections is presented in the order: Kimbeere sentence, single words, morphology, English translation.

- (4) *Iratũ irĩa Kagendo arabeere Njeri nĩ nene.*

Iratũ	i-riã	Kagendo	a-ra-	be-	er-	e	Njeri
8.Shoes	8-REL	1.Kagendo	sm <sub>1</sub> .PST-give-	PERF-	FV1		Njeri
nĩ	nene						
FOC	big						

‘The shoes which Kagendo gave Njeri are big’

In this example, ‘*iratũ*’ (shoes) is the head noun. Note how the ‘*i-*’ (object prefix) in ‘*iratũ*’ agrees with the ‘*i-*’ attached to ‘*-riã*’ in ‘*irĩa*’, the relative marker. The clause ‘*irĩa Kagendo arabeere Njeri*’ (which Kagendo gave Njeri) restricts the shoes (*iratũ*) to a particular category of shoes that is the ones Kagendo gave Njeri and not any other. More examples are listed in (5) to (8).

- (5) *Gĩkombe kĩrĩa natũmĩre nĩkĩaũrire.*

Gĩkombe	kĩ-rĩa	na-	tũm-	ĩr-	e	nĩ-	kĩ-a-	ũr-
7.Cup	7-REL	1sg-	use-	Appl-	FV	FOC	7-PST-lose-	
ir-	e							
PERF	FV							

‘The cup which I used got lost’

- (6) *Nduthi ĩrĩa mama aragũrĩre nĩ ndaca mũno.*

Nduthi	ĩ-rĩa	mama	a-	ra-	gũr-	ir-	e	nĩ
9.Motorcycle	9-REL	1.uncle	sm <sub>1</sub> -	PST-	buy-	Compl-FV		FOC
n-	daca	mũno						
om <sub>9</sub>	long	very						

‘The motorcycle which my uncle bought is very long’

- (7) *Kĩondo kĩrĩa cũcũ aratuma nĩ kĩgemie wega.*

Kĩondo	kĩ-rĩa	cũcũ	a-	ra-tuma	nĩ	kĩ-gemi-
7.Basket	7-REL	1.grandmother	sm <sub>1</sub> -	Pres-weave	FOC	7-decorate-
-e	wega					
-FV	well					

‘The basket which grandmother is weaving is well decorated.’

- (8) Īcembe rĩrĩa Karani arathondekire nĩ rĩaunĩka.  
 Īcembe      rĩ-rĩa   Karani a-      ra-      thondek-      ir-      e  
 5.Jembe      5-REL 1.Karani      sm<sub>1</sub>-      PST-      fix-      PERF- FV  
 nĩ      rĩ      a      unĩk-      a  
 FOC      om<sub>5</sub>      pr-      break- FV  
 ‘The jembe which Karani fixed has broken.’

In (5) to (8) the head nouns ‘gĩkombe’, ‘nduthi’, ‘kĩondo’ and ‘icembe’ happen to be the objects of the verbs ‘tũmĩre’, ‘gũrĩre’, ‘tuma’ and ‘thondekire’ respectively. The restrictive relatives’ classification was instrumental in illustrating how Kimbeere language can restrict the identity of common nouns using relative clauses.

### 3.2 Appositive Relative Clauses

This type of relative clauses gives additional information about the head noun. An appositive is separated from the rest of the sentence using commas.

- (9) Nyaga, *ũrĩa wendagia ĩria*, nĩ mũũku.  
 Nyaga,      *ũ-rĩa*   *ũ-*      *end-*      *ag-*      *i-*      *a*      *ĩria*,      nĩ  
 1.Nyaga,      1-REL sm<sub>1</sub>-      sell      HAB-      PROG-FV-      5.milk FOC  
 mũ-      ũk-      u  
 sm<sub>1</sub>-      come- FV  
 ‘Nyaga, who sells milk, is coming.’

The part that is outside the commas in (9) forms the main clause. The part in italics is the relative clause. There are more examples in (10) to (12).

- (10) Muthoni, *ũrĩa Ngari arabikirie*, nĩ mũrũaru.  
 Mũthoni,      *ũ-rĩa*   *Ngari a-ra-*   *bik-ir-*   *i-*      e,  
 1.Muthoni,      1-REL 1.Ngari-sm<sub>1</sub>-PST-marry-PERF PART      FV,  
 nĩ      mũ-      rũaru  
 FOC      om<sub>1</sub>-      sick.  
 ‘Muthoni, who Ngari married, is sick’

- (11) Wacuka, *ũrĩa tũrabũũrĩre thimũ*, nũthĩre Thika.  
 Wacuka ,      *ũ-rĩa*   *tũ-*      ra-      *bũũr-*   *ĩr-*      e      *thimũ*, nĩ-

- 1.Wacuka, *1-REL 1pl- PST- call Appl- FV 9.phon* FOC  
 -ũ- thi- ãr- e Thika  
 -sm<sub>1</sub>- go- Appl- FV Thika  
 ‘Wacuka, who we called on phone, went to Thika’
- (12) Mũthuri, *ũrĩa ũrakethirie Wacira*, nĩ mamawe.  
 Mũthuri, *ũ-rĩa ã- ra- keth- ir- i- e*  
 1.Man, 1 *1-REL sm<sub>1</sub> PST greet- PERF- PART FV*  
*Wacira*, nĩ mama- we  
*1.Wacira*, FOC 1.uncle- his  
 ‘The man, who greeted Wachira, is his uncle’

Evidently, the relative clauses in italics (10) to (12) only give additional information about the head nouns, Muthoni, Wacuka and Mũthuri, on their left.

For Swedish appositives, says Vries (2002), a definite marker is obligatory on the antecedent if it is preceded by a demonstrative contrary to the situation in restrictive relative constructions. The normal definite marker in Swedish is a suffix for example *hus-et* ‘the house’. A ‘free determiner’ can be added if an adjective precedes the noun: *detroda huset* ‘the red house-the’, or if the interpretation is demonstrative: *de huset* ‘that house-the’. However, such markers are not present in Kimbeere. Consider construction (13) for comparison with (10) to (12).

- (13) Det huset som han talade om ligger dar borta  
 The house-the that he talked about is over there  
 (Vries, 2002)

This classification of appositive relative clauses is relevant in that it demonstrates how relative clauses can be used to give more information on proper and common nouns in Kimbeere.

### 3.3 Direct Relative Clauses

A direct relative clause resembles a restrictive relative clause. If the clause is removed, meaning is altered. The difference between a direct and an indirect relative clause is that the

head noun in the direct relative clause corresponds to the subject of the verb. The relative clause in (14) illustrates this.

(14) Ngūkū ãrĩa yarekia ãtumbĩ nĩ yathĩ.

Ngūkū	ãrĩa	ya-	reki-	a	ãtumbĩ	nĩ	i-a-	thĩ.
9.Hen	9-REL	om <sub>9</sub> -	lay-	FV	egg	FOC-	om <sub>9</sub> -AUX-	go.

‘The hen which has laid an egg has left’

In (14), ‘Ngūkū’ is the subject. The direct relatives’ classification was key in investigating whether in Kimbeere relative clauses, a head noun can correspond to the subject of the sentence.

### 3.4 Indirect Relative Clauses

In this type, the head noun corresponds to other things other than the subject. That means the head noun can be an object. In (15) & (16), the head nouns ‘mũthuri’ (the man) and ‘mũrutwa’ (student) are direct and indirect objects respectively.

(15) Mũthuri ãrĩa Njoki akethirie nĩ injinia.

Mũthuri	ãrĩa	Njoki	a-	kethirie	nĩ	injinia.
1.Obj	1-REL	1Subj	SMI	greet	FOC	1.Subj. Compl.
Man	that	Njoki		greeted	is	an engineer.

‘The man that Njoki greeted is an engineer’

(16) Mũrutwa ãrĩa mwarimũ arabeere kĩbeo nĩ mwĩrutĩri.

Mũrutwa	ãrĩa	mwarimũ	a-	ra-	beere	kĩ-beo	nĩ
1.O <sub>i</sub>	1-REL	1.Subj	SMI-	PST-	App	O <sub>d</sub>	FOC
Learner	who	teacher		gave		present	is

mwĩrutĩri

1.Obj. Compl

committed

‘The learner who the teacher gave a present is committed’

According to Zeller (2004), Tsonga relative clauses forming patterns resemble those of Sotho. While these South African Bantus give a distinction between direct and indirect relative clauses, Kimbeere does not have such distinctions. Both direct and indirect Kimbeere relatives behave in an almost similar manner. Only the position from which the head noun is

raised differs. Mostly this head noun is first raised to the SpecCP and finally to D°. Consider the Tsonga examples of direct and indirect constructions in (17) & (18) respectively.

(17) munhu loyi afambaka (Direct relative)

munhu [loyi a- famba- ka  
person1 REL1 Sp- travel- Rs  
'a person who travels'

(18) buku leyi munhu a yi hlayaka (Indirect relative)

buku [leyi munhu a yi hlaya- ka]  
book9 REL9 person1 Sp Oc9 read Rs  
'the book that the person is reading'

Evidently, the verb in relative clauses in Tsonga is in the participial form and is modified with a relative suffix (-ka). The head noun is represented inside the relative clause through a pronominal clitic (or the subject prefix marked Sp) and through a relative marker. Note how the head noun and the relative marker agree in class and number in a similar manner observable in structure (17). This study found a contrast between direct and indirect relative clauses necessary because noun agreements for objects and subjects differ as is observable in examples (17) and (18). Note that the affix '-yi' is common in both examples. It can then be concluded that '-yi' is the relative marker while 'lo-' and 'le-' are the subject and object markers in (17) and (18) respectively. Apparently, the subject 'munhu' (person) agrees in class and number with 'loyi'. They are all marked 1 meaning they are in noun class 1 and singular in number. Similarly, the object 'buku' (book) agrees with 'leyi' as they are all in noun class 9 and in singular.

The head noun of a relative clause can also be an adjunct. An adjunct is a dispensable phrase in a clause or sentence that amplifies its meaning. Consider sentence (19).

(19) Kĩroko kĩrĩa kwaurire mũno.

Kĩroko kĩ-rĩa kũ- a- ur- ir- e mũno  
7.morning 7-REL sm3- PST- rain- PERF- FV very  
'in the morning when it rained heavily'

In (19), *'kīroko'* (in the morning) is an adjunct which functions as the head of the relative clause. This sub-classification helped in demonstrating how an adjunct can be a head noun in a Kimbeere relative clause.

### 3.5 Headless/Free Relative Clauses

Headless relative clauses resemble free relative clauses in all aspects. Morphologically the head noun is missing. Semantically and syntactically, this head noun is assumed to be within the relative pronoun. Consider (20) for clarification.

(20) *Kīrīa gīaku nī gīaku.*

Kī-rīa g- ĩ- a- ku nī gĩ- a- ku.  
 7-REL 7- FOC- POSS 2sg FOC 7- POSS 2sg

'What is yours is yours'

Evidently, there is no noun before the relativizer *'kīrīa'* (what). This relative pronoun therefore doubles as the head noun also. The clause is thus headless. More examples are in (21) & (22).

(21) (Wa) *Ūrīa ūgaũka nī mwamũkĩre.*

(Wa) ū-rīa ū- ga- ūka nī mũ- amũk- ĩr- e.  
 (Any) 1.REL sm<sub>1</sub>- FUT- come FOC sm<sub>1</sub>- welcome- Appl- FV

'Whoever comes is welcome'

(22) (Wa) *kīrīa tũkethĩrīria nĩkĩo tũrarathimĩrĩtwe.*

(Wa) kī-rīa tũ-ka- ithĩr- ĩr- i- a nĩ- kĩ- o  
 (Any) 7-REL 1pl-FUT- find- Appl- PART-FV FOC- om<sub>7</sub>.7.REL  
 tũ- ra- rathim-ĩr- ĩt- w- e  
 1pl- PST- bless- Appl PERF- PASS FV

'Whatever we will find is what was destined for us'

Through the classification of headless relatives this study was able to establish that Kimbeere and English headless relative clauses have a similar pattern as is evident in (20) to (22) above. In free relative clauses, the antecedent is fused with the relative marker so it is not visible. Look at (23) & (24).

(23) *Nĩ nĩ mbĩcĩ kīrīa nonire.*

Nĩ- nĩ- mb-ĩcĩ kī-rīa na- on- ir- e.  
 FOC- 1sg- sm<sub>1</sub>-know 7-REL 1sg- see- PERF- FV



- ‘I only know what I saw’  
 (24) (Wa) *ũrĩa gũkathiĩ gũtirĩ ũkarũmbũyia*.  
 (Wa) ũ-rĩa gũ- ka- thiĩ gũ- tirĩ ũ- ka-  
 (Any) 14-REL 14- FUT- happen sm<sub>1</sub>. NEG 1- FUT-  
 rũmbũyia  
 cares  
 ‘(Any) Whatever will happen one cares’

In (23) for example ‘*kĩ*’ in ‘*kĩrĩa*’ could mean any noun that agrees in class and number with it (noun marker). Such nouns could be ‘*kĩndũ*’ (something), ‘*kĩratũ*’ (shoe); so that we would end up with structures like ‘*kĩndũ kĩrĩa*’ and ‘*kĩratũ kĩrĩa*’. Similarly in (24), ‘*ũ*’ in ‘*ũrĩa*’ could refer to ‘*ũndũ*’ (something) which would result to ‘*ũndũũrĩa*’ (something which). From the classification of free relatives this study established that in certain Kimbeere relative clauses head nouns are fused in relative pronouns.

### 3.6 Tenseless Relative Clauses

Jang (2009) makes a distinction between tensed and tenseless relative clauses (infinitival relative clauses). He says that tenseless relative clauses behave almost in a different way as the tensed ones. According to him, infinitival clauses are not full-fledged clauses in the sense that they have no tense. On the other hand, tensed relative clauses have tense markers. Compare the bracketed structures in (25a) & (25b).

- (25)a) I found [a book which you can read]. (Tensed)  
 (b) I found [a book for you to read]. (Tenseless)  
 (Jang, 2009)

We can contrast Kimbeere tensed and tenseless relative clauses as in examples (26) & (27). Note that the head noun and the relative clause are in square brackets.

- (26) Nĩngũretere [matumbĩ marĩa ũgakunĩkĩrithia]. (Tensed)  
 Nĩ- ngũ- ret- ere matumbĩ ma-rĩa ũ- ga-kunĩkĩrithia  
 FOC- 1sg- bring- for 6.eggs 6-REL 2sg- FUT- incubate  
 I brought for you eggs which you will incubate  
 ‘I brought you the eggs which you will incubate’  
 (27) Nĩngũretere [matumbĩ ma gũkunĩkirithia]. (Tenseless)

Nĩ- ngũ- ret- ere matumbĩ ma gũ- kunĩkĩrithia  
 FOC- 2sg- bring- for 6.eggs om<sub>6</sub> to- incubate  
 ‘I brought for you eggs to incubate’

Note that while (26) has a tense marker within the dependent (relative) clause, (27) does not have such a marker. Sentence (27) also does not have a relative marker. It occurs in form of a to-infinitive. ‘To’ in such structures appears either as ‘gũ’ or ‘kũ’ depending on the head noun for agreement’s sake. It would be ungrammatical to write sentence (27) as (28) since a ‘to-infinitive’ cannot appear in the same construction with a relative marker, in this case ‘marĩa’. Compare the two.

(28) \*Nĩngũretere [*matumbĩ marĩa ma gũkunĩkĩrithia*]. (Tenseless)  
 Nĩ- ngũ- ret- ere *matumbĩ ma-rĩa ma gũ-kunĩkĩrithia*  
 FOC- 2sg- bring- for 6.eggs 6-REL om<sub>6</sub> to-incubate  
 \*‘I brought for you eggs which to incubate’

The tenseless relative clauses classification was important to this study because it provided an avenue for comparing tenseless and tensed relative clauses. This study considers all the other types of Kimbeere relative clauses (restrictive, appositive, direct, indirect, free/headless and ‘-ĩngĩ’) tensed since they have tense markers.

### 3.7 ‘-Ĩngĩ’ Relative Clauses

This study has identified another type of relative clause called ‘-ĩngĩ’ relative clauses. The clause is introduced by an indefinite pronoun ‘(ĩ)ĩngĩ’ translated in English as ‘another’. Just like the ‘-rĩa’ relatives (those that have ‘-rĩa’ as the relative marker) ‘-ĩngĩ’ relatives describe nouns or noun phrases. Compare (29) & (30).

(29) Gacaũ *karĩa* Njuki aracaragia nĩkoneka. (‘-rĩa’ Relative)  
 Gacaũ ka-rĩa Njuki a- ra- car- ag- i-  
 12.Calf 12-REL 1.Njuki sm<sub>1</sub> PST look- HAB-Tra  
 -a nĩ- ka- on- ek- a  
 FV- FOC- om<sub>12</sub>. find- StP- FV  
 ‘The calf which Njuki was looking for has been found’

(30) Gacaũ *keengĩ* Njuki aracaragia nĩkoneka. (‘-ĩngĩ’ Relative)  
 Gacaũ ke-engĩ Njũkĩ a- ra- car-ag- i-

12.Calf      12-REL      1.Njuki      sm<sub>1</sub>- PST- look-HAB-Tra-  
 -a      nĩ-      ka-      on-      ek-      a  
 -FV      FOC- om<sub>12</sub>- find- StP- FV

‘Another calf Njuki was looking for has been found’

In (29) & (30), it is evident that the relative clauses ‘*karĩa Njuki aracaragia*’ (which Njuki was looking for) and ‘*keengĩ Njuki aracaragia*’ (another Njuki was looking for) both modify/describe the head noun ‘*gacaũ*’ (calf). For both ‘*-rĩa*’ and ‘*-ĩngĩ*’ relatives, the head noun agrees in class and number with the noun agreement marker attached to the relative marker ‘*-rĩa*’ or ‘*-ĩngĩ*’. For example in (30) the head noun ‘*gacaũ*’ and ‘*ke-*’ in ‘*keengĩ*’ (*ka-ĩngĩ*) are both in class 12 and also singular. Similarly in (29), ‘*gacaũ*’ and ‘*ka-*’ in ‘*karĩa*’ agree because they are all in class 12 and in singular. However, the two sentences differ in meaning. While ‘*gacaũ karĩa*’ (calf which) means a certain calf, ‘*gacaũ keengĩ*’ (calf another) refers to an additional calf being described by the relative clause.

For ‘*-ĩngĩ*’ noun classes, class 1 & 2 noun agreement marker is ‘*wĩ-*’ and ‘*e-*’ as in ‘*mũndũ wĩngĩ- andũ eengĩ*’ (person another-people others); class 3 & 4 is ‘*wĩ-*’ and ‘*ĩ-*’ as in ‘*mĩtĩ wĩngĩ- mĩtĩ iĩngĩ*’ (tree another- trees others); class 5 & 6 is ‘*rĩ-*’ and ‘*me-*’ as in ‘*ĩrigũ rĩngĩ- marigũ meengĩ*’ (banana another-banana others); class 7 & 8 is ‘*kĩ-*’ and ‘*ci-*’ as in ‘*kĩondo kĩngĩ- ciondo ciĩngĩ*’ (basket another- basket others); class 9 & 10 is ‘*ĩ-*’ and ‘*ci-*’ as in ‘*ngitĩ iĩngĩ- ngitĩ ciĩngĩ*’ (dog another-dogs others); class 11 is ‘*rũ-*’ as in ‘*rũrigi rũ-ĩngĩ (rwiĩngĩ)*’ (string another); the plural for class 11 is class 10, that is ‘*ci-*’ thus ‘*ndigi ciĩngĩ*’ (strings others); class 12 & 13 is ‘*ke-*’ (*kae*) and ‘*twĩ-*’ (*tũĩ*) as in ‘*kanya keengĩ- tũnya twiĩngĩ*’ (gourd another-gourds others); class 14 is ‘*wĩ-*’ as in ‘*ũcũrũ wĩngĩ*’ (porridge another); the plural of class 14 is ‘*me-*’ as in ‘*macũrũ meengĩ*’ (porridges others); class 15 is ‘*kwĩ-*’ (*kũĩ*) as in ‘*kũgũrũ kwĩngĩ (kũĩngĩ)*’ (leg another); class 16 is ‘*be-*’ (*baĩ*) as in ‘*baandũ beengĩ (baĩngĩ)*’ (place another). Table 1.1 summarizes Kimbeere noun classes and their ‘*-ĩngĩ*’ forms.

Table 1.1

Kimbeere ‘-ĩngĩ’ Noun Classes

Class	Noun	‘-ĩngĩ’ Form	Translation
1	<b>mũndũ</b>	<b>wĩngĩ</b>	person another
2	<b>andũ</b>	<b>eengĩ</b>	people others
3	<b>mũtĩ</b>	<b>wĩngĩ</b>	tree another
4	<b>mĩtĩ</b>	<b>ĩngĩ</b>	trees others
5	<b>ĩrigũ</b>	<b>rĩngĩ</b>	banana another
6	<b>marigũ</b>	<b>meengĩ</b>	bananas others
7	<b>kĩondo</b>	<b>kĩngĩ</b>	basket another
8	<b>ciondo</b>	<b>ciĩngĩ</b>	basket others
9	<b>ngitĩ</b>	<b>ĩngĩ</b>	dog another
10	<b>ngitĩ</b>	<b>ciĩngĩ</b>	dogs others
11	<b>rũrigi</b>	<b>rwĩngĩ</b>	string another
10	<b>ndigi</b>	<b>ciĩngĩ</b>	strings others
12	<b>kanya</b>	<b>keengĩ</b>	gourd another
13	<b>tũnya</b>	<b>twĩngĩ</b>	gourds others
14	<b>ũcũrũ</b>	<b>wĩngĩ</b>	porridge another
6	<b>macũrũ</b>	<b>meengĩ</b>	porridges others
15	<b>kũgũrũ</b>	<b>kwĩngĩ</b>	leg another
6	<b>magũrũ</b>	<b>meengĩ</b>	legs others
15A	<b>Kũrĩa</b>	<b>kwĩngĩ</b> (Infinitive used as noun)	eating another
16	<b>bandũ</b>	<b>beengĩ</b> (Locative)	place another
15B	<b>kũndũ</b>	<b>kwĩngĩ</b> (Locative)	places others

The ‘-ĩngĩ’ relative clause resembles Kiswahili structures. In Kiswahili, ‘-ingine’ is an adjective that is used to mean ‘some’, ‘different from’, ‘extra’ or ‘in place of’ (Mvati, Maina & Kanuri, 2014). Structures (31) to (33) are Kiswahili examples conveying the meanings of ‘-ingine’ highlighted.

(31) Mafuta ya kampuni *nyingine* yameshuka bei.(zaidi ya, baadhi ya, tofauti na)

Oil of company another has fallen price. (extra,some, different from)

Mafuta ya kampuni ny-ingine ya- me shuka bei

6.oil of 4.company 4-REL sm<sub>6</sub>- AUX fall 4.price

‘Another company’s oil’s price has fallen’

(32) Wanafunzi *wengine* wameondoka. (zaidi ya, baadhi ya)

Students others have left. (extra, some)

Wanafunzi we-ngine wa- me- ondoka

2.students 2-REL sm<sub>2</sub>- AUX- leave

‘Other students have left’

- (33) Duka hilo *lingine* linauza unga kwa bei ghali. (badala ya)  
Shop that another is selling flour at price high. (in place of)  
Duka hilo li-ngine li-na- uza unga kwa bei ghali  
5.shop that 5-REL sm<sub>5</sub>AUX-sell 3.flour at 4.price high  
'That other shop is selling flour at a high price'

(Ipara, Burudi & Wakio, 2010)

The Kimbeere '*-ĩngĩ*' relative clause differs from other Kimbeere relative clause types in that it takes a different form. While othertypes take '*-rĩa*' as the relative marker, '*-ĩngĩ*' relative clause takes the marker '*-ĩngĩ*' as its name suggests. Variations arise only as a result of change in noun class. Examples of varying structures include '*meengĩ*' as in '*marigũ meengĩ*' (bananas others), '*eengĩ*' as in '*andũ eengĩ*' (people others), and '*iĩngĩ*' as in '*ndigi ciĩngĩ*' (strings others). This classification was important in that it provides variation in relativization of head nouns in Kimbeere relative clauses.

#### 4. Summary of Research Findings

This study has established that:

- Kimbeere has seven types of relative clauses. These are: restrictive, appositive, direct, indirect, headless/free, tenseless and '*-ĩngĩ*' relative clauses.
- The head noun of a relative clause can be a subject, object (direct or indirect) or an adjunct.
- In Kimbeere, the relative markers are '*-rĩa*' and '*-ĩngĩ*' which are usually attached to the head noun marker. These relative markers and head noun markers agree with each other in class and number.

#### 5. Conclusion

This paper has shown that Kimbeere has seven types of relative clauses namely restrictive, appositive, direct, indirect, headless/Free, tenseless and '*-ĩngĩ*' relative clauses.

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