

Appendix 4B. Root Infinitives

Below is an exhaustive list of the root infinitives that occur in the corpora. The infinitive marker in Swahili is *ku*, which occurs as a prefix. The infinitive prefix is homophonous with the 2nd person singular object agreement marker. Because of this, 9 additional examples have been omitted from this list as it was unclear whether they were RIs or OAs.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| <p>(1) ku – tap – a
inf–slap–IND
'(I will) slap him.'</p> | Mus03, line 26 | | |
| <p>(2) ku – tok – a hapa
inf–get out–IND here
'(I want) to get out of here.'</p> | Mus03, line 580 | | |
| <p>(3) ni – ku – sumbu – a
SA_{1s}–inf–disturb–IND
'(I will) disturb (her).'</p> | Mus08, line 11 | | |
| <p>(4) ku – tup – a
inf–throw–IND
'(I want) to throw (it).'</p> | Mus11, line 125 | | |
| <p>(5) ku – og – a
inf–bathe–IND
'(I want) to bathe.'</p> | Mus21, line 589 | | |
| <p>(6) mbaza ...aza ku – ni – chund – a
Mbaza inf–OA_{1s}–pinch–IND
'Mbaza will pinch me.'</p> | Mus22, line 833 | | |
| <p>(7) ku – tap – a mguu
inf–slap–IND foot
'(Daddy will) slap (my) foot.'</p> | Mus22, line 898 | | |
| <p>(8) na – tawadh – a wa ...we ...ku – tawadh – a
pres–bathe–IND you inf – bathe – IND
'I am bathing...you (should) bathe.'</p> | Has01, line 428 | | |
| | | <p>(9) ku – on – a wa-tu wa imbo
inf–see–IND 2–person 2-of song
'I see the person of the song.'</p> | Has01, line 1416 |
| | | <p>(10) ku – chez – a
inf–play–IND
'(I want / I'm going) to play.'</p> | Has01, line 1431 |
| | | <p>(11) Faiza na– ku – juan – a na, na, na hii chocolate?
Faiza pres–inf–know–IND and and and this chocolate
'Faiza knows (that this is) chocolate?'</p> | Has02, line 830 |
| | | <p>(12) na miskiti ku – ingi – a ta – kuj – a ...saa ngapi ?
and mosque inf–enter–IND fut–come–IND time what?
'And when you enter the mosque, what time will you come?'</p> | Has02, line 878 |
| | | <p>(13) ku – kul – a
inf–eat–IND
'(I want) to eat.'</p> | Has03, line 918 |
| | | <p>(14) ku – kul – a
inf–eat–IND
'(I want) to eat.'</p> | Has03, line 1266 |

None of these examples are acceptable in adult Swahili. There are reports of *ku-* used as a strong imperative (see chapter 2), but two of my consultants agree that these are not adult-like. Most of these examples involve a modal interpretation, either an expression of want or an intention. However, examples (9) and (11) are exceptions. Furthermore, in some cases, the *ku* could be interpreted as a misanalyzed subject agreement marker: because 2nd person singular OA is *ku*, the child may be using *ku* to mark second person singular in general. An example of this is (12), where the child uses a complex biclausal utterance. In the first clause the child uses a so-called

RI, and the second clause is a [-SA] clause. One interpretation of this is that the first clause is an RI. A second interpretation is that *ku* marks the second person subject. If *ku-* were indeed a misanalyzed SA marker, we might predict that in other utterances *ku-* occurs with a tense marker. However, there are no examples in the entire corpus of *ku-* followed by a tense marker.

Notice in examples (13) and (14), the child uses the infinitive marker with the verb *kula* 'to eat.' In Standard Kiswahili the verb 'to eat' is a monosyllabic verb root that takes dummy *ku* as a prefix. I argued in chapter 2 that in Nairobi Swahili *ku* has been reanalyzed as part of the verb stem because it is not omitted in any contexts. These examples provide additional evidence for this position since the child has analyzed the verb stem as *kula* and added an infinitive marker to it. If the child had a Standard Kiswahili analysis of the verb, the child would have produced *kula*, not the reduplicative *kukula*.