

**CLAUSE CHAINING IN KISUKUMA: A ROLE  
AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR APPROACH**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for the purpose of the award of a degree in any other university.

DATE: .....

.....

MBUKI KULWA

This work has been submitted for examination with my approval as the officially assigned supervisor for the candidate.

DATE: .....

.....

PROF. HELGA SCHROEDER

DATE: .....

.....

DR. BASILIO MUNGANIA

I dedicate this work to my late mother who throughout her lifetime  
etched in the walls of my heart the importance of education.

Agatha Joseph Choma  
(21st Aug 1961-30th June 2003)  
May her soul continue R.I.P

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## ABSTRACT

This research sought to analyze the clause chaining features available in Kisukuma under the framework of Role and Reference Grammar, to investigate the clause linkage of clause chaining in Kisukuma and even more to interrogate how Role and Reference Grammar theory can be used to capture clause chaining in Kisukuma. Clause chaining has long been identified as narrative tense, consecutive tense, conjunctive participle or converbs. However, the current research challenges this description because it leads to a wrong approach where the problem is discussed at the word level and not the clausal level. It is demonstrated that clause chaining in Kisukuma has two markers that include the simultaneous marker *-ki* as well as the dependent marker *-ka*. These tense-aspect dependency markers in Kisukuma are events based in the post-nuclear direction and they always helps in the understanding of information in texts as foregrounded. This paper illustrates these points with data from twenty texts. The research also shows that all the three nexi types, that is coordination, subordination and cosubordination are available in Kisukuma but clause chaining can only be found in cosubordination. The paper argues that the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) is inadequate in terms of analyzing features like the subject nominal, derivations as well as the clause linkage markers in Kisukuma cosubordination. The theory fails to show how clause chains are linked to the controlling clause in the LSC model. However, other features of the language are appropriately catered for compared to how the traditional grammar theories will.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ADV</b>	Adverbial
<b>AGR</b>	Agreement
<b>APPL</b>	Applicative
<b>ARG</b>	Argument
<b>ASP</b>	Aspect
<b>CAUS</b>	Causative
<b>CCM</b>	Clause chaining marker
<b>CLM</b>	Clause linkage marker
<b>CMPL</b>	Complementizer
<b>CONJ</b>	Conjunction
<b>CP</b>	Constituent Projection
<b>DerV</b>	Derivation
<b>DIM</b>	Diminutive
<b>FUT</b>	Future
<b>FV</b>	Final vowel
<b>GB</b>	Government and Binding
<b>HAB</b>	Habitual
<b>IF</b>	Illocutionary Force
<b>INF</b>	Inflection
<b>INS</b>	Instrumental
<b>IV</b>	Initial Vowel
<b>LDP</b>	Left detached phrase
<b>LOC</b>	Locative
<b>LSC</b>	Layered structure of the clause
<b>N</b>	Noun
<b>NEG</b>	Negation
<b>NP</b>	Noun Phrase
<b>NPS</b>	Non Past

<b>NUC</b>	Nuclear
<b>NUM</b>	Number
<b>OBJ</b>	Object
<b>OP</b>	Operator Projection
<b>PA</b>	Pronominal anaphor
<b>PASS</b>	Passive
<b>PERF</b>	Perfect
<b>PI</b>	Plural
<b>PP</b>	Prepositional Phrase
<b>PrCS</b>	Pre core slot
<b>PRED</b>	Predicate
<b>PRO</b>	Pronoun
<b>PROG</b>	Progressive
<b>PRS</b>	Present
<b>PST</b>	Past
<b>PST CNT</b>	Past Continuous
<b>RDP</b>	Right detached position
<b>REC</b>	Reciprocal
<b>REF</b>	Reflexive
<b>RP</b>	Reference Phrase
<b>RRG</b>	Role and Reference Grammar
<b>SG</b>	Singular
<b>SVO</b>	Subject Verb Object
<b>TNS</b>	Tense
<b>V</b>	Verb
<b>VO</b>	Verb Object
<b>VSO</b>	Verb Subject Object
<b>VVLP</b>	Van Valin & LaPolla

## CHAPTER 1

### 1.0. INTRODUCTION

This research paper is centered on clause chaining in Kisukuma under the framework Role and Reference Grammar. This chapter gives introductory areas of the study that covers the general background of the study, the background of the language and the classification of its dialects, statement of the problem, research questions, the objective of the study, justification of the study, scope and limitations, review of relevant literature on the topic and the theory as well as the research methodology.

### 1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE LANGUAGE

Kisukuma language is grouped in the Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo family. According to the languages of Tanzania project of 2009 it is considered the largest Bantu ethnic group in Tanzania with about 8.9 million native speakers signifying about 16% of the country's population. The name “*Sukuma*” as believed by many means “*North*”. The native speakers of Kisukuma refer themselves as “*Basukuma*” to mean “*the people of the North*”. Most of Basukuma reside in Northwest Tanzania while others on the shores of Lake Victoria. Because of the population number, many of them moved and occupied regions such as: Mwanza, Shinyanga, Simiyu, Geita and very few in Mara and Tabora. These areas are referred to as “*Busukuma*”.

In the classification of the Bantu languages, Sukuma (F. 21) belongs to the group 20 of zone F of the Bantu languages, the group that also includes the Nyamwezi (F.22), Sumbwa (F 23), Kimbu (F. 24) and the Bungu language (F. 25) Guthrie (1967). This classification is based more on geography than linguistic relatedness. Matondo 2010:1 said that, *“linguistically relating to its group members and neighbors, Sukuma language is assumed to have 84% lexical similarity with Kinyamwezi, 59% with Kisumbwa, and Kinyaturu, 57% with Kimbu, 55% with Kinyilamba and 49% with Kirangi.*

## 1.2 CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGE AND ITS DIALECTS

Kisukuma has four major dialects that were suggested by Batibo (1985). The geographical location of the areas, that is where the language is spoken is the major factor for this classification. These dialects include: *Kimunasukuma*, *Kimunangweeli*, *Kimunakiiya*, and lastly *Kimunadakama*. *Kimunasukuma* is a dialect spoken by people from the North, *Kimunangweeli* by the people of the West while *Kimunakiiya* and *Kimunadakama* are largely spoken by the Basukuma located in the East and Southern part of Busukuma respectively. The four dialects of Kisukuma that have just been mentioned are mutually intelligible. There are minor sub-dialects for each of the four dialects of the language.

Kinyamwezi, a language spoken in Tabora is also treated as a dialect of Kisukuma by other scholars such as Matondo because of its relatedness to Kisukuma. As it was stated above, 84% of Kisukuma lexicon is the same with Kinyamwezi. This shows how much the language is mutually intelligible. However, Batibo (1985) quoted Matondo (2010:1) saying, “*some scholars treat Kinyamwezi as a dialect of Kisukuma, but the two are regarded as separate languages*”. I agree with Batibo’s classification that the above four mentioned are valid and only Kisukuma dialects. Kinyamwezi is a different language because first, the grouping of these languages was based on geographical factors rather than linguistic factors and secondly, despite speaking related languages, the Basukuma and Banyamwezi have completely different cultures and traits.

The investigation of Clause Chaining in Kisukuma in the present research is based on *Kimunasukuma* dialect, a dialect spoken in Mwanza region which is regarded as the standard dialect of Kisukuma and which the researcher is a native speaker.

## 1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

. The



Bantu language family has attracted the attention of many scholars in Africa and other parts of the world in recent decades. Linguists have studied Bantu in different perspectives and even more deeply in the morpho-syntax of the languages. However, it is surprising that to the best of my knowledge the topic clause chaining has not been studied at all in this language family something that motivated to the gape of the current study. Languages that have documented clause chaining so far include: languages from Papua New Guinea, Australia, South America, very few from Africa and other parts of the world.

Clause chaining is a means of describing sequences of simultaneous events especially in narratives in different languages of the world such as those found in North America, Australia, Ethiopia, Papua New Guinea, East Africa (Kiswahili and Toposa), and in other parts. Several terms have been associated with this kind of marker. Some linguists describe this tense-aspect dependent marker as either ‘a consecutive tense’ especially in Bantu/Tanzania, others call it ‘a narrative or sequential tense’ a good example being Kiswahili (Hopper, 1979:213–215), as ‘a conjunctive participle’ in Hindi (Snell, 1992:128), or ‘a converb’ by other linguists (Haspelmath, 1995:2; 2002:67 and Masika (1976). Of all those descriptions, converbs have attracted the attention of many scholars over the years. However, Haspelmath (1995: 8) claims that ‘clause chaining’ is a structure that is very similar to the converb construction, but the two are not the same. The same is the case with the other descriptions.

The current research project challenges the description of clause chaining as either narrative tense, consecutive tense, conjunctive participle or even converbs as it was stated above because they all lead to the wrong approach whereby the problem is discussed at the word level and not the clausal level as it should be. Clause chaining is a morpho-syntactic problem that does not only describe the tense and aspect but the clause linkage. It should be

noted that, concepts of narrative or sequential tenses and consecutive tenses are only representing the inflection of tense and aspect at the morphological level, but this research project aims at investigating the morpho-syntactic properties of clause chaining which are beyond the morphological level. This project also seeks to identify the kind of marker that is used in Kisukuma clause linkage, whether it is clause chaining, or converbs or even both.

So, the current research paper will identify the concepts: consecutive, narrative or sequential tense as properties of clause chaining and not clause chaining as it was suggested by previous scholars. The research also agree with the argument of Haspelmath (1995) that converbs are not clause chains. An analysis of morpho-syntactic and discourse properties of clause chains in Kisukuma that will be done in the following chapters will demonstrate the rationale of the researchers argument.

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- i) What are the morpho-syntactic features of clause chaining in Kisukuma?
- ii) What are the clause linkages where clause chaining occurs in Kisukuma?
- iii) How can Role and Reference Grammar theory effectively describe clause chaining in Kisukuma?

#### **1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

##### **1.5.1 The General Objective**

The general objective of this research project is to analyze clause chaining in Kisukuma under the framework of Role and Reference Grammar.

### **1.5.2 The Specific Objectives**

- i) To explain the morpho-syntactic features of clause chaining in Kisukuma.
- ii) To investigate the clause linkages of clause chaining in Kisukuma.
- iii) To interrogate how Role and Reference Grammar theory can be used to capture clause chaining in Kisukuma.

### **1.6 JUSTIFICATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Bantu is a language family that has so far received a lot of attention especially in the areas of syntax and morphology. Nevertheless, to the best of my knowledge, clause chaining has so far not been studied in a typical Bantu language apart from the recent study in 2018 by Mungania on clause chaining in Kiswahili (not a typical Bantu language). It is therefore a belief by the researcher that this study will amount to new knowledge in the Bantu family and to be more specific in Kisukuma. The study will open a new door to the study of clause chaining in other Bantu languages.

In the analysis of data, this research paper will employ Role and Reference Grammar approach, hereafter RRG. To the best of my knowledge, there is no any study in Kisukuma that had used this approach in data analysis. This study will therefore be of great importance as it will provide knowledge on the applicability of the theory in the language. Linguists will also be in a good position to compare the applicability of RRG in Kisukuma and other related languages.

Dooley (2010:6) and Payne (1997:321) have claimed that languages with SOV sentence pattern mostly employ clause chaining in texts than languages with other patterns. Kisukuma being an SVO language makes the study even more interesting because the

research will demonstrate the presence or absence of this marker in SVO pattern. Again this will add new knowledge to the linguistics field.

### **1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

Clause chains can be found in different types of texts, however this research paper will only use 20 text in which 9 are narratives, 9 are expository and 2 procedural. These texts will be selected from LUMULI newspaper dated from 1958 up to 1963 and others from a book named "*Imani za Jadi za Kisukuma Katika Misemo, Hadithi, Methari na Desturi za Maisha*". Where necessary, self generated examples from the researcher will also be used. All the texts are written in Kimunasukuma dialect and their about different events and procedures that are based on Kisukuma cultures, beliefs and lifestyle.

### **1.8 DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS**

**Clause:** is simply defined as a unit of grammatical organization next below the sentence in rank and in traditional grammar said to consist of a subject and predicate.

**Clause chaining:** a method by which clauses or elements seen as clauses are linked in ways unlike those of European languages. This refers to clauses in which only one verb in the sequence has a full set of inflections (Crystal: 2007:58).

**Clause chaining language:** This is a language that employs clause linkage markers as a major morphological and discourse structuring device (Payne 1991:248).

**Narrative Tense:** These are grammatical constructions that are used when telling a story, or talking about situations and activities that happened at a defined past time.

**Converbs:** These are non-finite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 1995a:3). Simply put, a converb is a type of a verb form that functions as a clause linking device.

**Consecutive Construction:** These are constructions that indicate tense or aspect dependency, distributional dependency, topic continuity, and semantic contingency of events.

**Medial clause:** This is a clause chain which is not the final clause and is distinguished from the final clause by a difference in verb morphology (Longacre 1983:299).

**Role and Reference Grammar:** This is a structural-functionalist theory of grammar that was developed by Van Valin and Foley who viewed language as a system of communicative social actions (Van Valin 1993b, Van Valin & La Polla 1997).

## **1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This area describes the review of relevant literature and it is divided into three sections namely:

- i) Literature on Kisukuma and other Bantu languages
- ii) Literature on clause chaining

### **1.9.1 Literature on Kisukuma and other Bantu Languages**

Even though it is the largest ethnic group in Tanzania, this language has not been extensively researched especially in the morpho-syntax area. Few Linguists such as Batibo and Matondo have in many years researched and wrote different papers on the language,

especially in the area of phonetics and phonology. In his study, *the tone structure of Kisukuma nominal forms*, Batibo (1983,1985) presented not only on the tonal forms that are available in Kisukuma but also the typological classification of the language as well as the morphology of the language. This study contributed to a lot of knowledge not only in Kisukuma but the Bantu family as a whole. His presentation on morphology and syntax has paved ways for many junior researchers to widen the knowledge. In 1991, he introduced another study on tone in the study *The tone structure of Kisukuma nominal forms*. All his studies are important and for a very long time have contributed in developing the languages literature. The introduction on the language and its classification as well as the morpho-syntactic knowledge that was presented as a small part in his writings has very much helped the researcher in the current research paper.

Another important literature in Kisukuma was presented by Koenen (1975) in his book "*New Kisukuma Grammar*" that the researcher found in the Sukuma museum. This book is ought to very much contribute in chapter two where the researcher is required to write in brief the syntax of the language in order to give the reader a good foundation before going into the other chapters where there will only be the application of this knowledge. The book content included different noun and verb inflections as well as derivations. The book started by analysing the vowels and consonants of the language followed by the noun classification, tense and aspect in Kisukuma, pronouns, prepositions, numerals, adjectives, adverbs, as well as the verb derivations in the language. Even though the book was old and is written in traditional grammar, it was very important to the researcher in the sense that it guided the researcher in writing the morpho-syntax of the language. Nevertheless, some content in the book were very misleading because the book has not been revised over the years. For example, in the book, the affix "-ka" is presented as the remote past tense marker something that is contrary to the hypothesis of the current research hypothesis. The following chapters

will demonstrate this affix as a clause chaining marker and not a past tense marker in Kisukuma.

To a very great extent, the book “*Imani za Jadi za Kisukuma Katika Misemo, Hadithi, Methari na Desturi za Maisha*” written by Kamati ya Utafiti wa Utamaduni Bujora (1988) has contributed knowledge in this research paper. The book starts by giving a history of the language and the people something that added the researcher’s knowledge on the language as well as e cultures, traditional beliefs, religion and the ways of living of Basukuma. Different genres of Kisukuma such as songs, poems, stories, and proverbs have been used throughout the book as a means of delivering this knowledge. That not being enough, the book will be used as one of the primary sources of data in this research paper. In addition to that, Basire & Bassire (1997) gave an intensive study on the history of Basukuma. His study gave a comprehensive history on the cultural practices and the ways of life of Bhasukuma that included their economic activities. All these are very important in the current study as they give an insight of who the Sukuma are, what are their traditions and ways of life and even more importantly is the stories they tell.

Another fascinating study was done by Maselle (2001) on the linguistic history of Kisumbwa (F23), Kisukuma(F21) and Kinyamwezi (F22). The primary aim of this study was to compare the history of the above mentioned languages, the phonology of the languages as well as the vocabularies. The importance of this paper in relation to the current research is that it adds in depth knowledge on the Linguistics Zone F and even more in Kisukuma. The research was of good help in developing the background of the language section.

Luhende (2018) conducted a very interesting study on lexical semantics and morpho-syntactic properties of English loanwords in Kisukuma. This study suggests that

Kisukuma has borrowed a lot from English. He collected his data through audio recordings, spoken language in discourse-pragmatics as well as his own introspection as a native speaker of Kisukuma. The data collected were analyzed using Government and Binding theory and the Principle and Parameter theory. In his findings, he demonstrated that English loanwords in Kisukuma exhibit the lexical-semantics and morpho-syntactic properties similar to inherit Kisukuma words. In regard to the IP and VP domain, the findings give evidence that English loan words are modified to fit the complex agglutinating Sukuma verbal morphology. As a native Kisukuma speaker I could not completely agree with Luhende in some of the words that he claims to be borrowed in Kisukuma from English however his outline of Kisukuma grammar in the study was spectacular. The study is important and it is very related to the current study in that it also presents on the morpho-syntactic analysis Kisukuma. All the inflections as well as derivations of both nouns and verbs are part of his research. Just like Koenen (1975), Luhende identifies "-ka" as a past tense marker contrary to this research hypothesis.

Thobias (2013) did an investigation on the Cognitive Semantics in Kisukuma. In his presentation he established that, prepositions in Kisukuma were morphologically marked or lexically marked. For those that were morphologically marked, they succeeding the tense marker in the verbal complex. There was a presentation on the simple and complex image scheme that included the contact image schema, direction image schema, path image schema, container image schema and place image schema. The research demonstrated that, the complex image schema in Kisukuma included path and contact image schema and the place and contact image schemas. The study showed that, linguistic factors centered on verb meanings which influence the evocation of image schema lead to the mismatch between prepositions and image schemas. When expressing figurative meaning, it was also discovered that, Kisukuma prepositions could be used as conceptual metaphors. The study of clause



chaining in Kisukuma does not only make a morpho-syntactic analysis of clauses but also the discourse analysis and for that the knowledge of semantics is very important.

Other than Kisukuma, Lusekelo (2012) conducted an interesting research study on “*Inflectional and Derivational Morphology in Optimality Theory: Multiple Object-nouns and Co-occurrence of Verbal Extension in Kinyakyusa*”. This is a Bantu language that is found in Tanzania and Malawi where it is called Ngonde. The language is close to Kisukuma and therefore the morphological knowledge of the language is therefore important and it widens the knowledge of the researcher. The main aim of this paper was to analyze the verbal morphology of the language and to uncover the behaviors that are demonstrated by the co-occurrence of the verbal extension and multiple object constructions. The verb derivational devices were also part of this research presentation. The researcher collected his data through questionnaire, focus group discussion and literature of the language. The findings suggested that, Kinyakyusa behaves like asymmetric Bantu under a number of object marker(s) per verb and adjacency of the verb. It is also symmetric with regard to passivization. Lusekelo further suggested that, Kinyakyusa looks like Kiswahili in a number of ways except for (i) passivisation and (ii) occurrence of object-noun marker. This paper was very important in relation to the current study as it offered the researcher a room to compare Kisukuma morpho-syntax and other Bantu languages.

Kihara (2006) conducted a study on the *Aspects of Gĩkũyũ (Kikuyu) Complex Sentences: A Role and Reference Grammar Analysis*. In his study he presented on simple sentences, coordination, subordination as well as cosubordination in Kikuyu. The data on the study were collected from different Kikuyu texts and then analysed using Role and Reference Grammar. The paper began by presenting the basic phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. The investigation concludes that coordination, subordination, and cosubordination

are valid clause linkage relations in Kikuyu. The researchers further demonstrated that complex sentences in Kikuyu were adequately accounted for in the LSC model. Furthermore, all the juncture-nexus types available in the language were nicely analysed. In his analysis, the semantics and pragmatics relation of the elements in complex sentences were also accounted for. He finally said, "*That RRG can account for the morpho-syntax of Kikuyu is evidence for its universal nature, since in its development data from Bantu languages played no role.*" This study has been of great help and has contributed more in the current research. The fact that the research used RRG in analysing data from a Bantu language, Kikuyu enlighten me on how the theory can apply on Kisukuma which is also a Bantu language. Again, Kihara did an analysis of all the four nexus in Kikuyu that will also be part of the current research presentation. This has also added a lot of knowledge on the current research.

The above presented literature review on Kisukuma proves the immaturity of the languages research especially in the area of syntax and morphology. A lot has not been researched and I agree with what Bearth (2003) suggests that the study of syntax in Bantu is not fully explored. On top of that, most of the papers that have been presented on Kisukuma are very old, they need modifications and even more the theories that are used in the analysis are the traditional grammar theories. That being said, the current research paper will therefore add now knowledge to the language and Bantu family in general and it will also open up new gaps that other scholars would add new knowledge.

### **1.9.2 Literature on Clause chaining**

Clause chaining is characterized by the possibility of long sequences of foreground clauses with operator dependence, typically within the sentence. The extent in the use of clause chaining differs from one language to another language. Dooley (2010:6) and Payne

(1997:321) suggested that languages that employ the SVO pattern are more likely to use clause chains in their texts compared to other languages with other patterns. Dooley (2010) conducted a comparative study on clause chaining in languages such as Kumyk, Guanano, Mbya Guarani, Kanite, Alekano (Gahuku), Chuave, as well as Anuak. His presentation was guided by the morpho-syntactic as well as the discourse features of clause chains in the above mentioned languages. Dooley looked into the direction of dependency (Prenuclear or Postnuclear), the foregrounded and backgrounded information, as well as the markers of clause chaining of all the languages in question. In his findings he concluded that SOV languages such as those of Papua New Guinea, North and South America, North Africa, Central Asia as well as Japan and Korea are found with prenuclear chaining while clause chaining in a post nuclear direction is mostly found in African languages with SVO pattern. These findings were also supported by Longacre (2007:399, 417). He also discussed other features of clause chaining such as ‘quasi-coordination’, ‘switch reference’, ‘long sequences’, ‘event grouping’ and others. This description of chaining matches with the description of Payne’s (1991:267) and that of Roberts (1997:104).

A tremendous study on clause chaining was done by Schroeder (2018) on a VSO language names Toposa. This paper challenged the suggestions of Dooley and Longacre that clause chaining is found in SOV languages by bringing into light that clause chaining can also be found in VSO languages. She analyzed clause chaining in both the morpho-syntactic level as well as the discourse level. The paper further demonstrated that Toposa does not fully fit in the converb typology (Ebert, 2008). It was further showed that Toposa clause chains are dependent on the controlling clause and that all verbs in which chains are marked have a dependency marker *to-/ki*-signaling tense and aspect (Schroeder, 2018). The direction of clause chains in Toposa is post-nuclear and they introduce the audience on information in foregrounding.

Another study on clause chaining in Kiswahili has been done by Mungania (2018) as part of his PhD thesis. The primary aim of his research was to examine the effect of clause chaining on word order. The paper showed the existence of clause chaining in Kiswahili, a V(O) language. The findings of this research suggested that Kiswahili clauses can have an infinitive number of clauses that are chained together within a single sentence and whose dependent clauses do not have tense markers of their own and they rely on the independent clause for the tense (i.e. operator dependence). The direction of dependency in Kiswahili clause chains is post-nuclear. The research further demonstrated that there are three clause chaining markers in the language that involve the narrative marker *-ka-* or *-ku-* or simultaneity *-ki-*.

Haspelmath & König (1995) gave an analysis on converbs. There has been a discussion over the years on what converbs are, their morphological features etc. and in the attempt to answer these arguments, Haspelmath & König (1995) presented a collection of papers to counter those arguments, the most important being the definition of converbs. They argued that, many languages have an inflectional non-finite form of the verb whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 1995a:3). Converbs lack tense, aspect, mood and agreement markers, and are thus nonfinite (1995: 3-4). The typical structure of a converb is STEM + AFFIX and they are commonly found in verb final languages (Longacre 1985: 264; Haspelmath 1995: 9). This kind of mark is called converbs. Example of languages with converbs presented by Hespermath include: Italian, Polish, Modern Greek, Japanese, Hungarian, Lezgian and others. In this paper, it was presented that conversbs are known by many other names, for example: adverbial participle, gerund, conjunctive participle, absolutive and others. The paper presented the semantic properties of converbs.

To the best of my knowledge, there is currently no study of clause chaining in a typical Bantu language. Therefore, the current study will venture a new interest to linguists on clause chaining in Bantu languages with SVO pattern. Literatures also suggests that, clause chaining surfaces as narratives, converbs as well as consecutive tenses. Of the three, Converbs have attracted the attention of many linguists over the years. However, this research project questions this idea because it has led to a wrong approach. The research will view: converbs, narratives and consecutive tenses as properties of clause chaining and not tenses as suggested by previous scholars.

## **1.10 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

This section will discuss the conceptual framework that will be used in the analysis of the research data. The present research project will use Role and Reference Grammar approach in the analysis of clause chaining in Kisukuma. The main aim of the theory is to analyze data but it is important to understand the historical background of the theory, the proponents of the theory as well as the main concepts of the theory and why it is appropriate for this research.

### **1.10.1 Historical Background of the Theory**

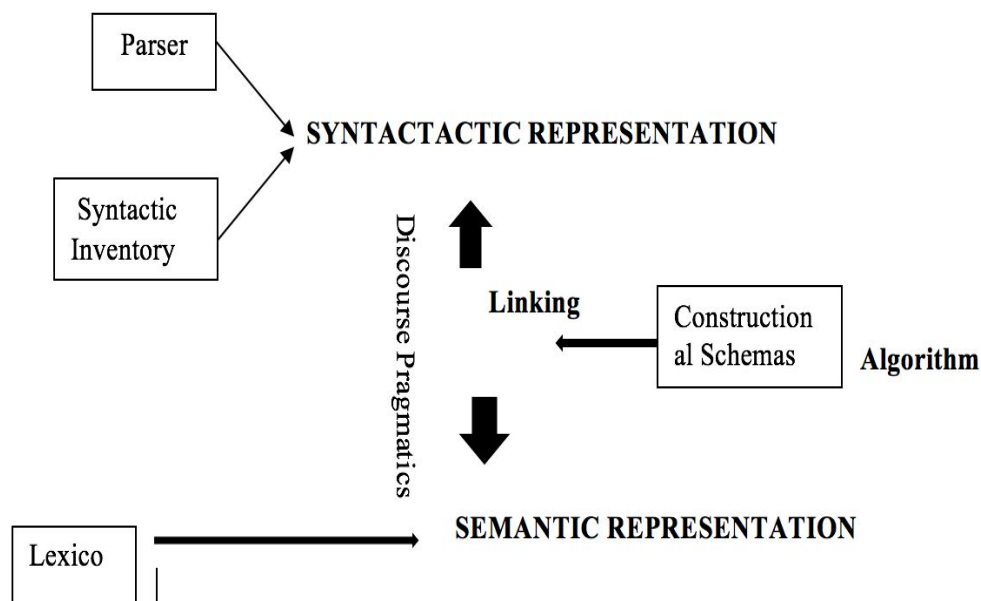
Role and Reference Grammar hereafter RRG (Van Valin 1993b, Van Valin & La Polla 1997) may be defined as a structural-functionalist theory of grammar that was developed in the view that language as a system of communicative social. This theory ranges from the extreme formalist to the extreme functionalist meaning that it is not purely formalist nor chastely functionalist. New studies in the theory have demonstrated that RRG is a theory of clause linkage Van Valin (2007). Furthermore, it was suggested that the theory captures the aspect of language creativity and therefore it can be used to analyze complex sentences. The theory claims that it is likely to create an infinite number of sentences by combining

nuclei, cores, clauses and simple sentences recursively by means of nexus (Van Valin, 2007). The theory grew out of attempts to answer the following two basic question;

- i)What will linguistic theory look like if it were based on the analysis of languages other than English?
- ii)How can the interpretation of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems best be captured and explained?

These questions are a reflection of American linguistic issues that were prominent in the mid 1970s. Most of the traditional grammar theory were applicable in languages like English and they couldn't cater for other languages with a different structure. This being the case, RRG emerged in order to solve the problem by introducing a model that will cater for typological languages of the world. The theory also aimed at developing a system where both the syntax, semantics and pragmatics will be accounted for unlike the traditional grammar theories where on syntax was captured. Even more importantly, the theory views language as a tool of communication and not an abstract entity.

Role and Reference Grammar is a monostrata theory that posts only one level of representation that does not employ feature checking nor D- or S- structure that are found in Government and Binding (GB). The organization of grammar is presented in the following figure;



**Figure 1. Organization of RRG (Van Valin, 2005: 134)**

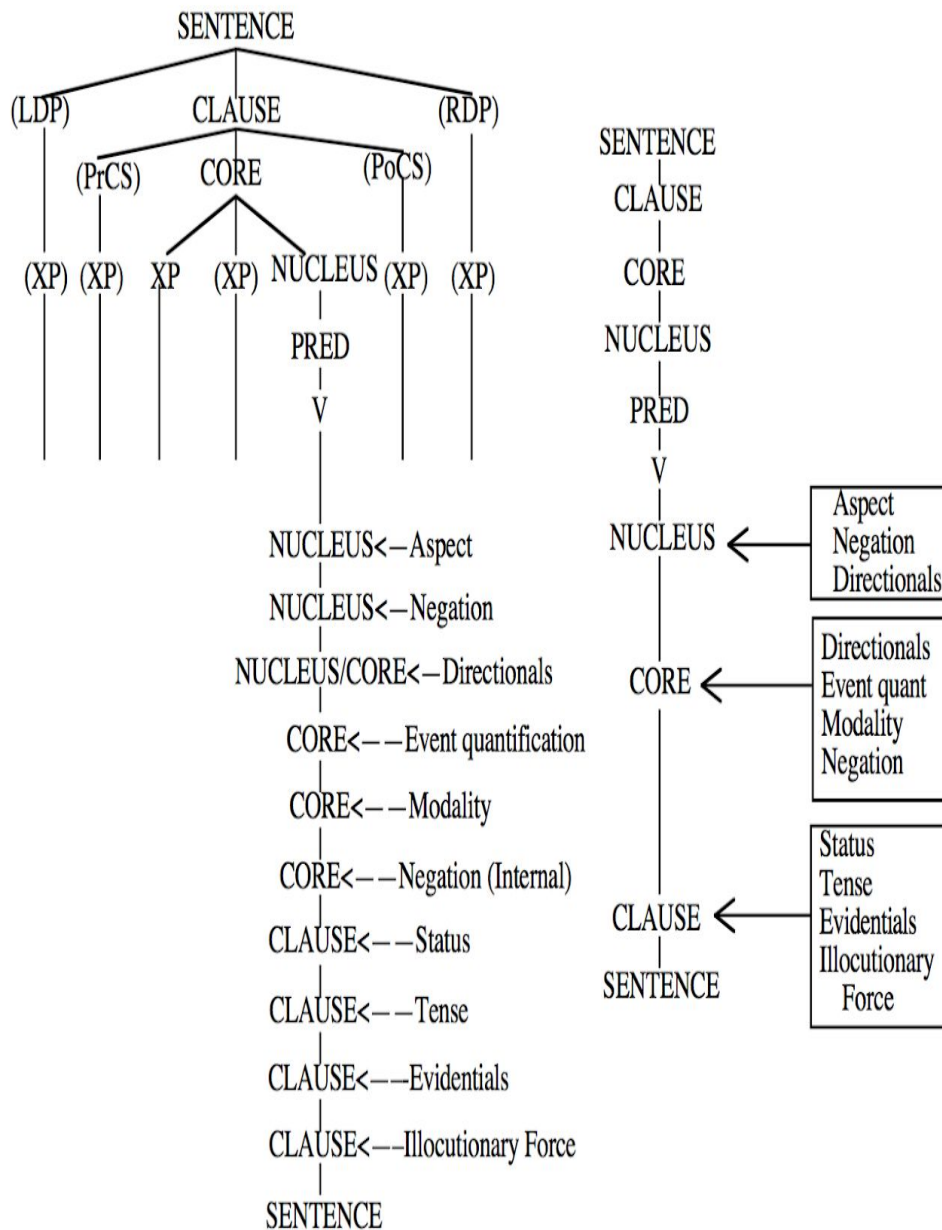
The figure above shows the single level of syntactic representation of a sentence that is mapped directly into the semantic representation of a sentence and vice versa, hence double headed arrow (Van Valin and La Polla 1997). Therefore, different from the earlier version of Transformational Grammar, the Government and Binding (GB), Principles and Parameter (P&P) and the Minimalist theory, there are no abstract levels that are mediating between overt syntactic representation of the sentence and the semantic representation. According to this theory, the representation captures the relationship between form and meaning.

## **1.10.2 Central Concepts of the Role and Reference Grammar Theory**

### **1.10.2.1 Clause Structure**

Foley & Van Valin (1984) introduced the clause structure in this theory that was later developed by Van Valin (1993b), Van Valin and La Polla (1997). This clause structure was developed as a result of the failures previous standard x-bar theory to accommodate typologically diverse languages. The clause structure was therefore developed in order to accommodate all languages of the world. The structure of clause in RRG is named the 'Layered structure of clause hereafter [LSC]'. The LSC is made up of the 'nucleus', which contains the predicate(s), the 'core', which contains the nucleus plus the argument(s) of the predicate(s), and the 'clause' Van Valin and La Polla (1997) as it can be observed below. Moreover, some languages have a Pre-Core slot [PrCS] which is normally occupied by Wh-words in languages like English. There is also a Post-Core Slot [PoCS] that covers languages with verb final pattern, a good example being Japanese. The structure has the Left-Detached position (LDP) and the Right-Detached position (RDP) purposely for pre and post-clausal elements in left or right dislocation construction. Mood, Aspect and Tense are also captured in the LSC. The following is the 'Layered structure of the clause'[LSC] figure.





**Figure 2. The Layered Structure of Clause (Van Valin, 2005)**

### 1.10.2.2 Clause structure of RRG for clause linkage

In the last few years, linguists have been interested in the issue of clause combining and the theory that will appropriately cater for that. The interest was accompanied by

far-reaching investigation of the phenomenon based on typological diverse languages. The variation in ways of combining clauses found across the languages has challenged a number of traditional concepts belonging to the realm of complex sentences (cf. Foley and Van Valin, 1984; Lehmann, 1988; Matthiessen and Thompson, 1988; and Cristofaro, 2003). The present section gives an overview of the structure of clause linkage based on the RRG theory.

Role and Reference Grammar has challenged the traditional binary opposition between subordination and coordination by developing a new approach of combining clauses that was introduced by Foley and Van Valin (1984). The traditional theories of clause linkage were based on European languages. However, the RRG approach considers languages that are geographically and typologically different. In the analysis of clause linkage using RRG, there are three elements that must be considered:

- i) the nexus
- ii) the juncture, and
- iii) the inter clausal relation hierarchy.

Nexus is the nature of the syntactic linkage between clauses (Van Valin, 1984:238). Basically, nexus is related to the type of syntactic relations between the combined clauses. The types of syntactic relations are based on the dependency and embedding measurement. So, RRG based on the mentioned criteria, divides nexus into three types, namely subordination, coordination and co-subordination. It should be noted that the RRG has two kinds of dependency: operator dependency and structural dependency. The following diagram shows how the types of nexus relate to RRG.

<b>Nexus relation types</b> →	<b>Coordination</b>	<b>Subordination</b>	<b>Cosubordination</b>
↓ <b>Components</b>			
<i>Operator dependency</i>	–	–	+
<i>Structural dependency</i>	–	+	+
<i>Embeddedness</i>	–	+	–

**Figure 3: Type of nexus relations in RRG (Nefedov, 1981)**

In RRG, juncture is useful for the structuring of clauses. Van Valin (2005) says the theory suggests that, a whole clause can be structured with respect to the:

- i) the nucleus
- ii) the core, and
- iii) the periphery.

So, the nucleus normally consists of the predicate and the core of the predicate and the argument. The periphery, on the other hand, consists of non-arguments or adjuncts. These features can be seen in the layered structure of clause in figure 2. Each layer can be modified by a set of operators which are grammatical categories like aspect, negation, tense, and illocutionary force (Nefedov, 1981:72).

The last important component in RRG clause linkage is the inter-clausal relation hierarchy. The hierarchy links together the complex construction of semantic and syntactic relations as it is shown in the figure below. RRG approach assumes that there is a connection or rather a relationship between syntax and semantics.

<u>SYNTACTIC RELATIONS</u>		<u>SEMANTIC RELATIONS</u>
	TIGHTEST	STRONGEST
nuclear cosubordination	↑ ↓	Causative
nuclear subordination		Phase
nuclear coordination		Psych-Action
core cosubordination		Purposive
core subordination		Jussive
core coordination		Direct Perception
clausal cosubordination		Propositional Attitude
clausal subordination		Cognition
clausal coordination		Indirect Discourse
		Conditional
		Simultaneous States of Affairs
		Sequential States of Affairs
		Unspecified Temporal Order
	LOOSEST	WEAKEST

*Figure 4: The syntactic hierarchy of inter clausal relations in RRG (Nefedov 1981)*

### 1.10.2.3 Why RRG?

Role and Reference Grammar encompasses the theory of Clause Chaining (Van Valin, 2007). This theory suggests that syntax cannot be best understood when it is separated from discourse. Different from the Chomskian theories that were based only on syntax RRG theory is motivated by both syntax, semantics and pragmatics. This theory claims to be the theory of clause linkage and over the years it has adequately proven positive in analyzing complex sentences. Different linguists who have done excellent work on clause chaining under RRG include; Ohori (2001), Kwee (2002), Bickel (2003), Kockelman (2003), Good (2003), Guerrero (2004), and others. The interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics of the theory has very much motivated the use of this theory and again the applicability of the theory in analyzing complex sentences.

The fact that RRG is applicable in typological diverse languages motivated the use of the theory because the data in the present research paper will be generated from Kisukuma which is a Bantu and an agglutinating language. Kisukuma language has components that are realized as affixes and it requires both syntactic and semantic analysis in understanding them. This research ought to investigate the applicability of this argument.

## **1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This section discusses all the methodologies in data collection as well as data analysis technique that the researcher will use. The section is further divided into two subsections which include: the data collection techniques and data analysis techniques.

### **1.11.1 Data Collection Techniques**

Data presented in this study were generated from different Kisukuma texts. Some of these texts were generated from Lumuli newspaper dated from 1958 up to 1963 and others from a book named "*Imani za Jadi za Kisukuma Katika Misemo, Hadithi, Methari na Desturi za Maisha*" written by Kamati ya Utafiti wa Utamaduni Bujora (1988). The book is about the Basukuma traditions and ways of life that are presented through different short stories, poems, plays and other related narratives. The newspaper is written in Kimunasukuma dialect and its aim was to provide information on daily life of Basukuma. A total of 20 text were selected in which 9 are narratives, 9 are expository and 2 procedurals. The narratives are obtained from the book and some from the newspaper while all the expository and procedural texts were gathered from the newspaper.

### **1.11.2 Data Analysis Technique**

### **1.11.2.1 Morphological pairing**

In the analysis of data, this study used the morphological pairing technique in which all the words in the selected texts were divided into various morphemes. After the morphemes were divided, they were identified and transcribed morpheme by morpheme. This division and transcription has been of great help because it made it easier to identify the clause chaining markers in the language. An English gloss followed each and every morpheme in order to make it understandable for people other than Basukuma.

The morphological pairing has been very helpful in identifying different inflectional as well as derivational devices such as tense, aspect, the valence increasing and decreasing verb devices and others.

### **1.11.2.2 Charting the texts for clause chaining**

Another methodology for data analysis that is used in the current study is charting of texts for clause chaining. This method has been very helpful in determining the structure of clause chaining in Kisukuma and their morph-syntactic features.

## **1.12 CONCLUSION**

Section one of this chapter has provided a background information of the language that also included the classification of dialects and the background of the problem. Another very important section was about the statement of the problem followed by the research questions and objectives. To prove the importance of the study and its limitations, the justification of the study as well as the scope and limitations were presented respectively. An intensive explanation of the Role and Reference Grammar theory has been given that includes the historical developments of the theory and its main concept. Also, the layered structure of clause has been discussed. Furthermore, highlights on the relevant literature on the problem,

relevant literature on the theory as well as relevant literature on Kisukuma and other Bantu languages have been provided. The final section is about the methodologies used in collecting and analyzing data.

The entire research has a total of five chapters which are: chapter 1 to chapter 5. Chapter 2 gives an outline of Kisukuma morphology where as Chapter 3 explains the morphosyntactic clause chaining features that are found in Kisukuma using the data. The fourth chapter furnishes the application of Role and Reference Grammar Theory (RRG) on Kisukuma simple and complex sentences, and finally Chapter 5 that summarizes and concludes the whole research.

## CHAPTER 2

### 2.0 AN OUTLINE OF KISUKUMA MORPHOLOGY

#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to give a morpho-syntactic analysis of a Bantu language without giving a well-defined understanding of the morpho-syntactic interphase of the language. This chapter aims at giving a morphological analysis of Kisukuma language in order to set a good foundation for chapter three where the morpho-syntactic analysis of clause chaining will be done. So one day, I asked a young girl: *“How are you girl, how many kinds of people do we have in this world?”* The girl replied, *“I am very fine, there are many kinds of people in this world... so many that I cannot count!”* I laughed a lot, *“there are just two kinds of people I said, a man and a woman.”* And this is a case to so many of us when it comes to the kinds of words available in our languages. Linguists argue that, there are only two main kinds of words that are (i) Noun and (ii) Verb. Because of the importance of these two kinds of words, this chapter will give a discussion on the morpho-syntactic analysis of only the noun and the verb in Kisukuma. This chapter will discuss the inflectional as well as the derivational morphology of nouns and verbs in Kisukuma.

The chapter is organized in the following manner: - section 2.1 the Introduction, section 2.2 the morphological analysis of Kisukuma Noun, section 2.3 the morphological analysis of Kisukuma Verbs, and section 2.4 Tense, Aspect and Mood in Kisukuma.

#### 2.2 THE MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF KISUKUMA NOUN

The morphological structure of a noun serves to analyse the structure of a noun in a given language. A noun in Kisukuma just like in many other languages has a stem and affixes. The noun affixes in Kisukuma may include: determinants, locative derivation, size derivation, classifiers and others. The following is a discussion of these affixes basing my



arguments on the representation by Batibo (1985) and Koenen (1980).

### **2.2.1 Noun Classifiers**

Nouns are universal elements found in all the languages of the world including the Bantu languages and they are classified into various noun classes (cf. Guthrie, 1967; Batibo, 1985; Mchombo, 1993; Maho, 1999; Lodhi, 2000; Muhdhar, 2006). Kisukuma has an elaborative noun classification system that is highly agglutinating with complex noun morphology. Kisukuma has retained only 18 noun classes that includes both singular and plural (cf. Nurse, 1988:45; Batibo, 1985:212). Morphologically, a prefix is affixed to the noun stem, one for a singular and the other for a plural noun. Therefore, all nouns with the same prefixes are allocated to the same noun class. However, noun classes in Kisukuma cannot be determined by the noun prefix only, for example, noun class 1 to 3 (both with *n*-prefix) are homonymous.

The structure of a noun in Kisukuma encompasses an initial vowel (IV) or pre-prefix or argument that is followed by a noun class prefix (NCP) and then a noun stem (NS) Luhende (2018). Batibo 1985, Matondo 2003, and Joseph 2012 have argued that, the pre-prefix in Kisukuma may be the vowels *a*, *i*, and *u*. The singular and plural are treated as distinct nouns in the noun class system and therefore they are placed in different noun classes (Meinhoff, 1932). In Kisukuma, nouns are classified in singular (*bumo*) or in plural (*wingi*). There are different markers for singularity and plurality in Sukuma language. Batibo (1975) identified 9 noun classes in Kisukuma. The following is a short explanation of each class.

#### **Noun Class 1**

The first noun class in Kisukuma can be referred to as the class of human beings because it contains all the nouns that signifies human beings. This noun class is represented by the singular prefix “*n*” and the plural prefix “*ba*”. The singular prefix “*na*” appears in the

environment mostly before consonants and monosyllabic roots while on the other hand, the plural prefix “*ba*” appears mostly before all consonants as well as vowels. Before monosyllabic roots that mostly start with “*n*” the prefix changes to “*mu*”. This noun class mostly include the names of family relations. Examples are shown on table 1.

### **Noun Class 2**

The second noun class belongs to the inanimate living things like plants. It can also represent nouns that gives an idea of things that can spread such as roots, also in some words borrowed from other languages such as “*msumali*” from Swahili that becomes “*nsumali*” in Sukuma. There are other words in this class that have no clear explanation. The prefix for this class are; “*n*” for singular and “*mi*” for plural. Some examples are presented in the table below.

### **Noun Class 3**

This noun class mainly belong to animal names and also some borrowed words that after being borrowed, they are changed to fit with the phonological rules of Kisukuma language. The prefix for this class are; “*n*” for both singular and plural. A good example of such words is “*yala*” means “famine” was changed to “*nzala*”.

### **Noun Class 4**

This is a noun class that is opposite to the first noun class and to the second because it represents the inanimate things. The class also represents nouns designated to: language, customs, species as a few to mention. Prefixes for this noun class are; “*ki*” for singular and “*shi*” for plural. Examples are presented in table 1.

### **Noun Class 5**

This is a very rich noun class that is prefixed by “*li*” for singular and “*ma*” for plural. It represents words which express collective ideas such as, “*igi*” to mean “egg”, “*magi*” to mean “eggs” and others, it also represents individualized general words such as “*linti*” to mean “a very big tree”, “*manti*” to mean “many big trees”. It should be noted that, for singular “*i*” is used before all consonants while “*li*” before all vowels in this class. Other examples are shown in the Noun Class table.

### **Noun Class 6**

According to Koenen (1980) presentation and Batibo (1975), this noun class is controversial. Different from other noun classes in Kisukuma, the nouns in this class has not been well explained, however, the prefix of this class include “*lu*” for singular and “*n*” for plural. Before consonants, the singular prefix remains “*lu*” while it changes to “*lw*” when it is before a vowel. Examples of nouns in this class are presentment in table 1 below.

### **Noun Class 7**

This is a diminutive class of nouns. Any word can be put and belong to this class when it is made small or little that the actual size. The prefixes are “*ka*” for singular and “*tu*” for plural.

### **Noun Class 8**

All abstract nouns and some other nouns belong to this class. The singular and plural prefix for this class is “*bu*”. Although there is no different affix for the singular and the plural in this class, nevertheless, the difference can be made by prefix “*ma*” of the fifth class. This class also represents names of different countries. Examples are shown in the table below.

### **Noun Class 9**

This is a noun class with a few number of nouns and most of them being the infinitive

forms of the verb that is used as a noun. The class is prefixed by “*ku*” in singular and “*ma*” in plural. Table 1 shows some examples of this infinitive verbs.

**Table 1: Noun Classes with Examples (Based on Batibo, 1985)**

<i>Noun Classes</i>	<i>Noun Root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Singular DerV</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Plural DerV</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
01. <i>N-/Ba</i>	Kima	Woman	N-kima	A woman	Ba-n-kima (Bakima)	Women
	Nhu	Person	Mu-nhu	A person	Ba-nhu	People
	Temi	King	N-temi	A king	Ba-temi	Kings
02. <i>N-/Mi-</i>	Ti	Tree	N-ti	A tree	Mi-ti	Trees
	Gw’aka	Year	N-gw’aka	A year	Mi-aka (Myaka)	Years
	Ongo	River	N-ongo /Mongo/	A river	Mi-ongo /Myongo/	Rivers
03. <i>N-/N-</i>	Zige	Locust	N-zige	A locust	N-zige	Locusts
	Goso	Rat	N-goso	A rat	N-goso	Rats
	Zala	Famine	N-zala	Femine	N-zala	Famines
04. <i>Ki-/Shi</i>	Tabo	Book	Ki-tabo	A book	Shi-tabo	Books
	Latu	Shoe	Ki-latu	A shoe	Shi-latu	Shoes
	Kuba	Chest	Ki-kuba	A chest	Shi-kuba	chests
05. <i>Li-/Ma-</i>	Swa	Grass	Li-swa	Grass	Ma-swa	Grasses

	Kubi	Side dish	Li-kubi	Side dish	Ma-kubi	Side dishes
	Gi	Egg	I-gi	Egg	Ma-gi	Eggs
<b>06.Lu-/N-</b>	Goye	Rope	Lu-goye	Rope	N-goye	Ropes
	Gulu	Hill	Lu-gulu	A hill	N-gulu	Hills
	Inzi	Spring	Lw-inzi	A spring	N-zwinzi	Springs
<b>07.Ka-/Tu-</b>	Ana	Child	K-ana	A young child	Tu-ana (Twana)	Young children
	N-ti	Tree	Ka-n-ti	A small tree	Tu-n-ti	Small trees
	Ng'holo	sheep	Ka-ng'holo	A lamb	Tu-ng'holo	Lambs
<b>08.Bu-/Bu-</b>	Bi	Wicked	Bu-bi	Wickedness	Bu-bi	Wickedness
	Uganda	Uganda	Bu-ganda	Uganda	Bu-ganda	Uganda
	Lili	Bed	Bu-lili	A bed	Bu-lili	Beds
<b>09.Ku-/Ma-</b>	Gulu	Leg	Ku-gulu	Leg	Ma-gulu	Legs
	Ja	Go	Ku-ja	To go		
	Tu	Ear	Ku-tu	An ear	Ma-tu	Ears

### 2.2.2 SIZE DERIVATION

Different from other communities, the Sukuma people make use of size demonstration more often in order to put emphasis on many things that they explain. It is not an obligatory morpheme marker however one uses it when necessary. The following table shows some of these morphemes.

**Table 2: Size Derivation**

<i>Size Prefix</i>	<i>Number Affix</i>	<i>Noun Root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived Word</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<b>Li-</b>	Mu-	Nhu	Person	Li-mu-nhu	A very huge person
	N-	Ti	Tree	Li-n-ti	A big tree
<b>Ka-</b>	N-	Ti	Tree	Ka-n-ti	A small stick
	Mu-	Nhu	Person	Ka-mu-nhu	A very small person
<b>Ka-</b>	Ki-	Nhu	Something	Ka-ki-nhu	Something small
	M-	Buli	Goat	Ka-m-bu-li /Ka-buli/	A small goat
<b>Ma-</b>	Mi-	Lyango	Door	Ma-mi-lyango	Big doors
	N-	Gosha	Man	Ma-n-gosha /Ma-gosha/	Big men
<b>Tu-</b>	Bu-	Salu	Bids	Tu-bu-salu	Small bids
	Ki-	Gapu	Basket	Tu-ki-gapu	Small baskets

### 2.2.3 LOCATIVE DERIVATION

This is another very important morpheme in Kisukuma nouns. It may appear at the beginning, in the middle or even at the end of a noun. The purpose of locative derivational morphemes is to show the direction of the noun in question. It is also not an obligatory marker; one uses it when necessary. The following table represents this markers.

**Table 3: Locative Derivation**

<i>Locative Prefix</i>	<i>Size Affix</i>	<i>Number Affix</i>	<i>Noun Root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived word</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<b>Ha-</b>	Li-	Mu-	Nhu	Person	Ha-li-mu-nhu	To the huge person
<b>Ku-</b>	Li-	N-	Ti	Tree	Ku-li-n-ti	To the big tree
<b>Mu-</b>	Ka-	N-	Umba	House	Mu-ka-n-u-numba	In a small house
<b>Ku-</b>	Ma-	Lu-	Goye	Rope	Ku-ma-lu-goye	To the big ropes

#### 2.2.4 DETERMINANT

These are definite and indefinite articles. Articles are unique type of adjectives that indicate which noun (person, place, or thing) you're talking about. Although it is not an obligatory morpheme in Kisukuma, it is important to understand it for easy morpho-syntactic analysis. There are two definite articles [*a-* and *u-*] that normally occur at the initial position. The prefix article “*a-*” always occurs before the locative affix “*ha-*” while the determiner “*u-*” occurs elsewhere. The following table exemplifies this.

**Table 4: Determinant**

<i>Determiner</i>	<i>Locative Affix</i>	<i>Size Affix</i>	<i>Number Affix</i>	<i>Noun Root</i>	<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Derived word</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>A-</i>	Ha-	Li-	Mu-	Nhu	Person	A-ha-li-mu-nhu	Where there is a huge person
<i>U-</i>	Ku-	Li-	N-	Ti	Tree	U-ku-li-n-ti	Where there is a big tree

<i>U-</i>	Mu-	Ka-	N-	Umba	House	U-mu-ka-n-u-nu mba	Inside a small house
<i>U-</i>	Ku-	Li-	Lu-	Goye	Rope	U-ku-li-lu-goye	Through the big rope
<i>A-</i>	Ha-	Ka	Bu-	Lili	Bed	A-ha-ka-bu-lili	Where there is a small bed

### 2.3 THE MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF KISUKUMA VERBS

This particular section will discuss the structure of verbs in Kisukuma. This discussion at this particular junction is then an important groundwork for the following chapter since it focuses on all the morphological processes that distinguish Kisukuma verb and which will help the researcher to identify clause chaining.

Several scholars such as (cf. Sapir, 1921; Greenberg, 1963; Lyons, 1968:194, 1999, among others) have demonstrated that, Bantu languages have a complex agglutinating verbal morphology that consist of a number of inflectional and derivational morphemes representing features such as agreement, tense, aspect and other derivational extensions. Kisukuma, a Bantu language, proves this argument as it is having both simple and complex verbal morphology (cf. Batibo, 1985; Maganga and Schadeberg 1992; Matondo, 2003). A verb in Kisukuma is made of the root with different affixes attached to it. The general structure of the verb in Kisukuma is prefix-root-extensions-final vowel (FV). The verbal extensions in Sukuma verbs mostly include: applicative, passives, causatives, statives and reciprocal/reflexive (Matondo, 2003).

In Kisukuma, the verbs too have the root and a number of affixes. There are many affixes in Kisukuma verbs. The affixes include, tense, aspect, mood, negation, passive,



extension, subject, and the object. The following is a discussion of each and every affix that can be attached to a verb.

### **2.3.1 SUBJECT AND OBJECT**

#### **2.3.1.1 SUBJECT**

A subject is a basic word in sentences that is available to all the languages of the world, nevertheless it may be difficult to get a straight point definition of it. Traditionally a subject is defined as a word or a phrase that is the doer of the action expressed by the verb and which agrees with the main verb. This definition is clearly applicable to simple sentences, however, it fails to cater for other languages of the world other than English and complex sentences.

Because of such challenges, modern grammarians have defined subject differently. This new development is a departure from the concept that a verb has an internal and external argument (Chomsky 1981: 101-103). Payne (1994) defines a subject in terms of topic and focus. In modern grammar, the subject is defined in terms of their grammatical, semantic and pragmatic functions. So, in the grammatical level, the subject is the agent, in semantics it is the topic while pragmatically it functions as the focus. It should also be noted that, although a subject may have more than one role in a sentence, there will only be one subject used at a time and in one verb. The subject can also take the semantic roles of instrument, force, and patient (Payne,1994: 114).

In most cases, a subject element that occurs at the initial position of a sentence. Subject in Kisukuma can be a word noun or it can be a morpheme that is attached at the beginning of a verb. The prefix in the initial position is an obligatory element in all forms of

the verbal constructions (except in imperatives) in that it realizes the concordial agreement with subject nouns and object nouns (Kanijo, 2012).

### **2.3.1.2 OBJECT**

In traditional grammar, an object is defined as the receiver of the action than is normally acted upon by the subject. The object is taken as part of the predicate that normally occurs after the main verb in a sentence. Modern grammarians have contrasted this definition by defining an object as a verb argument just like the subject. The type of the main verb is the one that determines the existence of the object in a sentence. The object is available is the main verb is transitive and on the other hand, the object is not available for intransitive verbs. Some verbs take only one object, the mono-transitive verbs while others may take more than one object, Di-transitive verbs.

Object markers are also found in Kisukuma verbs at the pre-radical position. If the direct object noun is specific, then the object agreement prefix is obligatory, and when it is absent, then this marker is absent. The object agreement prefix bears feature of a person, number and (in concordial agreement with) the object noun class (Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992). Just like in subject marker, Kisukuma allows only one object at a verb. The table below presents some of the subject and object markers in Kisukuma.

***Table 5: Some Object and Subject Markers in Kisukuma.***

<i>Subject Prefix</i>	<i>Tense</i>	<i>Object Affix</i>	<i>Verb Root+ FV</i>	<i>Delivered Word</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
U-	li-	ba-	bon-a	U-li-ba-bon-a	Do you see them
M-	li-	li-	sek-a	M-li-li-sek-a	You are laughing at him/her
Na-	ku-	ba-	bon-a	Na-ku-ba-bon-a	I will see them
Ba-	ku-	gu-	guj-a	Ba-ku-gu-guj-a	They will sell it
Ga-	li-	m-	tol-a	Ga-li-m-tol-a	They are beating you
Na-	ka-	tu-	pij-a	Na-ka-tu-pij-a	I healed them (young children)
Na-	ku-	shi-	binz-a	Na-ku-shi-binz-a	I will break it
Ba-	ka-	i-	bis-a	Ba-ka-i-bis-a	They hide it
Na-	ku-	ji-	dim-a	Na-ku-ji-dim-a	I will catch them (animals)
Li-	ka-	ka-	shosh-a	Li-ka-ka-shosh-a	He (the big monster) returned a small child
Ga-	li-	tu-	pel-a	Ga-li-tu-pel-a	They are running away from us
Na-	ka-	ba-	bon-a	Na-ka-ba-bon-a	I saw them

### 2.3.2 INFINITIVE VERB

The infinitive form of a verb represents a verb at its basic form and the one that normally appears in the dictionary. The infinitive form of a verb in Kisukuma is expressed by the root that is prefixed and suffixed.

*Table 6: Infinitive Verbs in Kisukuma*

<i>Infinitive Prefix</i>	<i>Root Verb + FV</i>	<i>Infinitive Verb</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>Ku-</i>	j-a	Ku-j-a	To go

<b><i>Ku-</i></b>	sek-a	Ku-sek-a	To laugh
<b><i>Ku-</i></b>	bon-a	Ku-bon-a	To see
<b><i>Ku-</i></b>	zug-a	Ku-zug-a	To cook

### 2.3.3 VALENCE

Semantic roles and grammatical relations are constructions whose alignment get affected in every language of the world. A construction that affect the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations is called VALENCE. Valence in Linguistics is defined as the number of arguments that are controlled by verbal predicate. It may also refer to the ability of a verb to take a specific number and type of arguments. Natural languages vary in the form in which suffixes and prefixes extension take place in the lexicon that change the argument structure of the verb to which they affix Good (2005:3).

Valence is a concept that is used to explore constructions that affect the relationship between grammatical relations and semantic roles. According to Payne (1997), Valence can be thought of as a semantic notion, a syntactic notion, or a combination of the two. Payne (1997) says, semantically, valence refers to the number of participants in a clause while on the other hand while grammatically (syntactically), valence refers to the number of arguments in a clause. The notion of valence is closely related to the traditional idea of transitivity. The only difference between transitivity and valence is that valence is too general and it looks at all the possible arguments in a clause and not only the number of objects as in transitivity. Valence-related constructions can be categorized in two, that is the valence-increasing devices and the valence-decreasing devices.

The valence-increasing devices are those which bring a participant that is normally not part of the scene onto the center stage and on the other hand, the valence-decreasing

downplays a normally center-stage participant to the marginal status or completely eliminate it from the scene (Pyne 1997:172). The valence increasing devices include: causative, applicative: locative, instrumental, benefactive and others. On the other hand, the valence decreasing devices include: ant passive, reflexive, reciprocal, passive and others.

Kisukuma, like other languages has various devices that upgrade the peripheral participant to center stage (valence increasing) as well as the ones that downplay a normally centered stage participant to the peripheral status, or even eliminating a participant from the scene all together (valence decreasing). In Kisukuma, the valence increasing devices include: causative, applicative: instrumental and benefactive and the valence decreasing devices include: passive, reciprocal and reflexive.

### 2.3.3.1 CAUSATIVE

Causative has received a lot of scholarly attention because of the range of problems associated with the description and analysis of the facts about causative constructions. It is a valence increasing argument that indicates that a subject either causes someone or something else to do. It is the most vivid argument in Kisukuma that increases valence by adding a causer to the scene evoked by the verb. The causative normally adds a controlling participant, someone who causes something to happen. Causative in Kisukuma occurs with both transitive and intransitive verb roots. In Kisukuma, causative appear in different morphological forms such as prefixes {-*ch-*, -*j-*, -*ish-*, -*ny-*, -*y-*}. The following example shows clearly how causative occurs in both transitive and intransitive Kisukuma verbs. To start with the transitive;

(1) a. Kana kalingwa mabele.

Kana	ka-li-ngw'-a	mabele.
7N-child	3SG-PRT-drink-FV	milk.



Causative in Kisukuma is marked by different affixes. The choice of affixes such as {-ch-, -j-, -ish-, -ny-, -y-} depends on the surrounding environment of a given verb. For example; the causative suffix -y- is normally inserted after the verb root ending with a plosive voice such as {b, d, t, k etc.} under the process dissimilation. On the other hand, the process of lenition, which is the weakening of consonants between vowels takes place in verbs with roots ending with a plosive -k- that in turn changes to -ch- after derivation. After the approximants -w-, -j- a causative suffix -ish- is inserted to derive the verb into causation. Lastly, at a very rare case, a bilabial nasal -m- changes into a velar nasal -ny- during causative derivation in Kisukuma. The following table shows some examples of causative derivation in Kisukuma.

**Table 7: Causative Derivation**

<b>Caus-Suffix</b>	<b>Verb Root + FV</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Causative Derivation</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<b>-ch-</b>	Lek-a	Leave	Le- <b>ch</b> -a	Cause to leave
<b>-ch-</b>	Sek-a	Laugh	Se- <b>ch</b> -a	Cause to laugh
<b>-j-</b>	Pel-a	Heal	Pe- <b>j</b> -a	Cause a person to heal
<b>-j-</b>	Pul-a	Clean	Pu- <b>j</b> -a	Cause to clean
<b>-ish-</b>	Ng'w-a	Drink	Ng'w- <b>ish</b> -a	Cause to drink
<b>-ish-</b>	Ly-a	Eat	Ly- <b>ish</b> -a	Cause to eat
<b>-ny-</b>	Fum-a	Get out/leave	Fu- <b>ny</b> -a	Make to get out
<b>-y-</b>	Tind-a	Pass/win	Tind- <b>y</b> -a	Cause to pass
<b>-y-</b>	Bhut-a	Cut	Bhut- <b>y</b> -a	Cause to cut

### 2.3.3.2 PASSIVE

The passive has been defined by Spencer et al (1991:210) as a morpho-syntactic

operation that suppresses the external argument. The external argument may not be syntactically expressed but rather semantically. Passive is a valence decreasing device that usually downplays or completely suppresses the controlling participant in a statement that is the subject.

Different from traditional grammar, the modern grammar gives a clearer way of the transformation from active to passive sentences. The modern grammar theories have disregarded the traditional notions of deep and surface structure expressed in traditional theories such as the Government and Binding (GB).

Passive in Kisukuma is expressed morphological. Morphemes that marks passive in Kisukuma just like in other Bantu languages is the affix {-w-} and {-iw-}. Passive constructions in Kisukuma consist of the subject and the predicate. The formation of passive the process of insertion whereby the passive derivational suffix {-w- or -iw-} is inserted, the active verb object argument appears as the grammatical passive verb subject argument, and the agent appears as post-verbal adjunct in Kisukuma as it is in other Bantu languages. (cf. Doke, 1967; Durant and Byarushengo, 1977; Kmenyi, 1980; Batibo, 1985; Katamba, 1993; Dlove, 1996; among others).

The following example demonstrates these;

(3) a. Kayanda kalelya shilewa.

Ka-yanda ka-li-ly-a shilewa.

7N-boy AGR SBJ-PST CONT-eat- FV food.

*A small boy is eating food.*

b. Shilewa shileliwa.



Shilewa shi-le-li-w-a.

Food AGR OBJ-PST CONT-eat-PAS-FV.

*(The) food is eaten by a small boy.*

(4) a. Ungosha alentula nkima.

U-ngosha a-le-n-tul-a nkima.

IV-husband AGR SBJ-PST CONT-AGR OBJ-beat-FV wife.

*(The) husband is beating the wife.*

b. Unkima aletulwa.

U-nkima a-le-tul-w-a.

IV-wife AGR SBJ-PST CONT-beat-PAS-FV.

*(The) wife is being beaten.*

As it can be observed from the above given examples, the subject and the object interchanges positions as the active sentence transforms to a passive sentence. It can also be observed that active verbs are not passivized and they allow transitive objects while the passivized verbs do not allow object. However, the passivized verbs may allow optional objects to transitive verbs. Again, the active verbs normally occur in the non-final position while the passive verbs are final positioned (if no optional object). What is even more important in this transformation is that the objects arguments in the active verb constructions occur as the grammatical subject arguments in passive sentences while the agent occur as adjunct phrase agents. However, in passive sentences, the adjunct phrase agent remains optional.

### 2.3.3.3 RECIPROCAL

Reciprocal is a valence decreasing device whose construction usually reduce the valence by combining two arguments of a transitive clause. It usually combines the controlling and affected participant into a single participant. Here, one entity fulfills two semantic roles and/or grammatical relations. Just like in other Bantu languages such as Ndebele, Swahili, Chichewa and others, Kisukuma reciprocal is marked by the suffix {-an-} placed after the verb root. The verb appears with one NP which is plural in number. The cases involving coordinate NPs normally introduce some problems because of the noun classification system that is characteristic of Bantu languages.

The following sentences shows examples of reciprocal in Kisukuma;

- (5) a. Abana balilembana.

A-b-ana      ba-li-lemb-an-a.

2N-child      AGR SBJ-PST-lie-REC-FV.

*Children are lying to one another.*

- b. Ungoshi nuu nkima balitulana.

U-ngoshi      nuu nkima      ba-li-tul-an-a.

IV-husband and wife      AGR SBJ-PRT-beat-REC-FV.

*The husband and the wife are beating one another.*

From the above examples it can be noted that, the subject and the object of the sentences are both affected by a single verb. Also, the delivered reciprocal verb shows that, the action is done simultaneously by the subject and the object. Again, transitive verbs such



event (Payne,1997). For example: ‘*She ate the food with a spoon.*’ In this sentence ‘*She*’ is the AGENT that acts upon the PATIENT ‘*the food*’ with an instrument ‘*a spoon*’. According to Payne (1997), Benefactive can be described as a valence increasing operation that brings a peripheral participant onto the centre stage by marking it a direct object which generally becomes the beneficiary of the action denoted by the verb.

Benefactive in Kisukuma is marked by a morpheme [-*el-* or -*il-*]. Depending on the type of root, the selection of either -*il-* or -*el-* is made. Basing on the examples given, when this marker is preceded by a mid vowel, the -*el-* affix is used while the -*il-* affix is used elsewhere. Just like in benefactive, instrumental in Kisukuma is also marked by a morpheme [-*el-* or -*il-*].

So, basically benefactives and instrumentals are the same orthographically and even in pronunciation. One can make a difference between the two in the actual use. The following is an example sentence for instrumental and benefactive;

(7) a. Umayo alizugila ugwiko.

U-mayu a-li-zug-il-a u-gwiko.

IV-SG-mother AGR SBJ-PRS CONT-AGR OBJ-cook-INS-FV IV-cooking spoon.

*(My) mother is cooking using a cooking spoon’*

b. Mnizugile madoke.

M-ni-zug-il-e madoke

2PL-AGR SBJ-AGR OBJ-cook-APPL-FV bananas

*‘Cook bananas for me’*

The object in the sentences above is a clear marker that makes a distinction between instrumental and benefactive.

## **2.3.4 TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN KISUKUMA**

### **2.3.4.1 TENSE IN KISUKUMA**

Tense in Kisukuma is prearranged in verbal morphology whereas it represents certain events with reference to the moment of the utterance. Tenses in Kisukuma are expressed by formative prefixes that are attached to the verb stem. However, it should be noted that, the concept of tense in Kisukuma is a bit different from that of Indo-European languages like English. The reason behind this argument is that, some of the tenses in Kisukuma do not express time but rather some state or aspect of the action. A good example of such kind of incidents is when, an action is complete or ongoing or whether it takes place before or after another action. Again, two or more tenses in Kisukuma may be covered by one tense in English. English auxiliary verbs are normally used to express certain ideas as “to be”, however Kisukuma uses affixes to express such kind of ideas. For example: “*I am working*” is “*Na-le-tumama*”. Just like in many other African languages, tense in Kisukuma is described as past and non-past.

### **NON-PAST TENSE**

This is a tense that expresses an action that is presently on going or habitually performed, or rather a state that currently or generally exists. It also represents the future time. In Kisukuma, non-past tense refers to the time when an action is taking place or will take place in relation to the time of utterance. The non-past tense in Kisukuma is marked by either of the following morphemes {-a-, -li-/le-, -ku-}. The following is an example;

(8) a. Umayo alaanigulila nuumba mhya ahang'waaka  
 U-mayo a-laa-ni-gul-il-a nuumba mhya ahang'waaka  
 IV-1-mother AGR SBJ-NPST-AGR OBJ-buy-APPL-FV 9-house new next year  
 '(My) mother will buy me a new house next year'

b. Ungw'alimu nuu ngw'anafunzi balilanga.

U-ngw'-alimu nuu ngw'-anafunzi ba-li-lang-an-a.

IV-1-teacher and 1-student AGR SBJ-NPST-teach-REC-FV.

'The teacher and the student are teaching one another.'

The above two examples both represent the non-past, one being done at the time of utterance with the other will be done in the future.

## **PAST TENSE**

This is a type of tense whose function is to place an action or a state that is done in the past. Kisukuma expresses this kind of tense morphologically just like the non-past tense. This kind of tense may also be used to express politeness. This kind of tense in Kisukuma can also be divided into the following.

### **THE IMMEDIATE PAST TENSE**

This is the past tense that denotes a time that is considered very recent in relation to the moment of utterance (Dahl 1985:127). This means an action that was done within a day, the approximate duration ranges from morning to night. Although the action or the state that is denoted by the verb is past, the effect will still be felt at the present time. The immediate past tense is morphologically marked by affixes [-a .... -aga] in affirmatives as it is demonstrated

in the following examples. The adverb “*leelo*” which means “today” is usually used in support of this kind of past tense Luhende (2018). The following are examples of this kind of a verb;

- (9) a. Unkima atajiile ikanisa ileelo  
 U-nkima a-ta-jiil-e i-kanisa i-leelo  
 IV-1-girl AgrS-NEG-PST IV-school IV-today  
*‘The girl has not gone to church today’*

- b. abagosha baajaaga kukanisa  
 a-ba-gosha ba-a-ja-aga ku-kanisa  
 LOC-IV-2-boy AGR SBJ-PST-PERF church  
*‘The boys have gone to church’.*

### **THE RECENT PAST TENSE**

The recent past tense is a past tense that refers to a time, culturally and situational defined, within the span ranging from yesterday to a week or a few months previously (cf. Comrie 1985b:87; Dahl 1985:121-122). In Kisukuma nonetheless, recent past tense refers to the events that have happened approximately yesterday. The recent past is morphologically marked by affix [-a .... -ile] in the affirmative as it is shown in the following examples. The adverb “*igolo*” which means “yesterday” is usually used in support of this kind of past tense Luhende (2018). The following are examples of this kind of a verb;

- (10) a. imbuli ja-a-ng’w-ile miinzi igolo  
 I-mbuli ja-a-ng’w-ile miinzi  
 IV-10N-goat AGR SBJ-REC-drink-PERF water yesterday

*'The goats drank water yesterday'*

b. Imbuli jitang'wile miinzI igloo

I-mbuli ji-ta-ŋg'w-ile miinzI igolo

IV-10N-goat AGR SBJ-NEG-PST-drink-PERF water yesterday

*'The cows did not drink water yesterday'*

### REMOTE PAST TENSE

Remote past tense is the past tense that refers to a time considered more than a few days ago (Dahl 1985:121; Comrie 1985b:88). In Kisukuma context, this is the kind of past tense that expresses actions or events that have happened in a few days in the past, some weeks, months or years. The remote past is morphologically marked by affix [-ka .... -a] in affirmative as it is shown in the following examples. Adverbs like “*ulushiku lwene*” which means “that day”, “*ungweji gwene*” which means “that month” and “*ugwaka gwene*” meaning “that year” and others are usually used in support of this kind of past tense Luhende (2018). The following are examples of this kind of a verb;

(11) a. U-ntemi akabapeeja abana ung'waaka gweene

U-ntemi a-a-ka-peej-a a-bana u-ng'waaka gweene

IV-1-king AGR SBJ-PST-AGR OBJ-chase-FV IV-2-children IV-year that

*'The king chased the Arabs that year'.*

#### 2.3.4.2 ASPECTECTUAL MORPHOLOGY IN KISUKUMA

Aspect represents the internal structure of events. There are four categories of aspectual morphology in Kisukuma. They include the inchoative, the habitual, the progressive and lastly the perfective aspectual form (Luhende, 2018).



## THE INCHOATIVE ASPECT

Etymologically, the term ‘inchoative’ originates from the Latin “*inchoatus*”, referring to the beginning of an action or an event, which is not finished (Batibo, 1985). The inchoative aspect refers to the grammatical aspect that expresses an event which has already begun and which continues but it is not finished yet. This aspectual type is morphologically represented by affixes [-*juu*...-*a*] in Sukuma. The inchoative aspect occurs with other tense and aspect morphemes leading to different interpretations. Consider the following examples:

- (12) a. akima balIjuuzuga  
a-ba-kima ba-lI -jũũ-zug-a  
IV-PL-girls AGR SBJ-PRS-ASP-cook-FV  
*‘The girls are (still) cooking’*
- b. nalIjuulima mandege  
na-lI -juu-lim-a ma-ndege  
1SG-AGR SBJ-PRES-ASP-cultivate-FV 7-maize  
*‘I am cultivating this maize’*

## THE HABITUAL ASPECT

This kind of aspect indicates that the event denoted by the verb takes place repeatedly or regularly. The habitual aspect is morphologically coded by the affix [-*ku*...-*ag*...-*a*]. The following example shows this.

- (13) a. akulimaga manumbu buli ng’waaka  
a-ku-lim-ag-a ma-numbu buli ng’waaka  
3SG-AGR SBJ-ASP-cultivate-PST-FV 9N-sweet potatoes every year  
*‘He cultivates sweet potatoes every year’*



ni-tu-ta-la-ba-bon-a

MD-AGR SBJ -NEG-PST-AGR OBJ-see-FV

*We would not see them in the coming days.*

b. Hubatalababona

Hu-tu-ta-la-ba-bon-a

MD-AGR SBJ-NEG-PST-AGR OBJ-see-FV

*It is us that we did not see them*

## 2.4 NEGATION

This is not an obligatory marker in Kisukuma verbs. In Kisukuma, negation is marked by an affix [-*ta*]. The following table shows an example.

*Table 8: Negation in Kisukuma.*

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Negation</i>	<i>Tense</i>	<i>Object</i>	<i>Root Verb</i>	<i>Derived word</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
				+ <i>FV</i>		
Ba-	ta-	la-	ni-	bon-a	Ba-ta-la-ni-bon-a	They will not see me
A-	ta-	la-	ba-	bon-a	A-ta-la-ba-bon-a	She/He will not see them

## 2.5 THE FINAL POSITION IN KISUKUMA VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The final position of the verb in Bantu languages is occupied by a small closed set of morphemes, most commonly the vowels *-a*, *-e* and *-i* (cf. Bresnan & Mchombo, 1987; Bresnan & Kanerva, 1989; Deen, 2005; Nurse, 2003, 2008). In most cases, the final vowel (FV) in Kisukuma is a suffix [-*a*].

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

This chapter gave a morpho-syntactic analysis of the language that included a discussion on different noun and verb inflections and derivations. In the chapter, all the 18 noun classes that are found in Kisukuma are discussed. There was a presentation on the size derivation, locative derivation and determinants. Different verb derivational devices that includes the valence increasing and decreasing devices, tense, mood and aspect have also been discussed. All these features creates the best foundation in the understanding of the clause chaining marker in Kisukuma that will be discussed in the following section.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3.0 THE MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF CLAUSE CHAINING IN KISUKUMA**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Different scholars have given different definitions of clause chaining, however the most agreeable definition of clause chaining is "*a morpho-syntactic markers that normally occurs in long sequence that are characterized by dependent clauses.*" Clause chaining is characterized by the possibility of long sequences of foreground clauses with operator dependence, typically within the sentence (c.f Dooley 2010:3; Payne 1997: 312; Longacre 1990: 11). Despite having one most agreeable definition, the features of clause chaining differ from one language to another language just like other language features.

A morpho-syntactic analysis of any feature in a language usually concentrates on the accurate representation of the forms and structures used in that language. However, the study on clause chaining needs more than just a simple layout of the form and structure of the language but rather it needs to show what they are and how their used. This chapter will therefore demonstrate different clause chaining features that are found in the Kisukuma plus the environment in which they occur.

The chapter is arranged in six sections; the first section which is 3.1 gives an introduction of the chapter, section 3.2 provides a brief explanation on simple and complex clauses in Kisukuma whereas section 3.3 is about the morpho-syntactic marker of clause chaining in Kisukuma. The next section 3.4 talks about the organisation of clause chaining in Kisukuma, 3.5 foregrounding and backgrounding distinction of clause chaining while coordination, subordination and co-subordination are presented in section 3.6. The last section 3.7 gives a summary and conclusion of chapter 3.

### **3.2 COORDINATION, SUBORDINATION AND CO-SUBORDINATION**

Traditionally a sentence was defined as a group of words that expresses a complete thought (Pence & Emery 1964:4). A group of words that is expected to express a complete thought must have a subject and a predicate - that is, something talked about and some declarations made about that “something”. It should be noted that, not every group of words that start with a capital letter and ends with a full stop is a sentence. Some of them are simply fragments of sentences that are neither complete nor meaningful and therefore not acceptable. On the other hand, a clause refers to a group of related words containing a subject and a predicate. Now, one may ask the difference between a clause and a sentence. A sentence as it has been mentioned above expresses a complete thought while on the other hand, it is not necessary for a clause to express a complete thought. This is to say, some clauses express complete thoughts and others do not. Clauses that express complete thoughts are named independent, principle or main clauses while those that do not express complete thoughts are called the dependent or subordinate clauses.

In modern grammar, there are two major definitions of the term “sentence”. A sentence in modern linguistics is treated as equally as a clause that is the highest node in a

syntactic tree Pyne (2006:343). The second definition of “sentence” is a structurally integrated combination of clauses. For example, a string such as *Umayu wiza* "The mother came", *kongwisha ng'wana ng'omba* "To give porridge to the baby" may be considered one sentence consisting of two clauses. A clause is therefore defined as the grammatical instantiation of a proposition. The current paper will be based on the modern definition of a sentence and a clause as given by Pyne(2006).

This section will give an analysis of simple sentences, coordination/compound sentences, subordination/complex sentences and co-subordination/compound-complex sentences in Kisukuma.

### 3.2.1 SIMPLE SENTENCE

A simple sentence is that type of a sentence that is made up of only one clause. This one clause has a subject and a verb phrase and it is independent. A simple sentence can be short or long, it doesn't matter. There is no subordinate clause in a simple sentence. The following are examples of simple sentences in Kisukuma.

(16) a. *Umayu alengwa minze.*

*(My) mother is drinking water.*

b. *Akagosha kalepela.*

*(The) young boy is running.*

c. *Bazugile.*

*They have cooked.*

From the above examples, 16(a) is a simple sentence with one independent clause

containing one noun phrase, "*Umayu*" 'mother' and a verb phrase "*alengwa minze*" 'drinking water'. The verb phrase is made up of the verb "*alengwa*" 'drinking' and an object noun phrase "*minze*" 'water'. The second example 16(b) is also a simple sentence with one independent clause which is made up of one noun phrase , "*akagosha*" 'a boy' and one verb phrase with a verb "*kalepela*". Lastly, example 16(c) is a one-word sentence that consist of a verb and a subject attached to the root as morphemes. It is an independent clause with the subject prefix "*ba*" meaning "*they*" and the verb root "*zug*" meaning "*cook*". The affix "*-ile*" represents the past tense.

### 3.2.2 COORDINATION

Coordination as a clause linkage relationship has so far received a lot of attention from diverse typological viewpoints. Some of these typological studies on coordination include J. Payne (1985), Haspelmath (2004; 2007), Dik (1968; 1997), Grover (1994) and others. Quirk et al (1985:918) defines coordination as a construction where two or more sentences, phrases or words are coordinated or conjoined. On the other hand, VVLP (1997: 454) defines coordination as an “abstract linkage relation involving a relationship of equivalence and independence at the level of juncture”. Haspelmath (2004; 2007:1) defined coordination as a syntactic construction with two or more units of the same type joined to form a larger unit retaining the same semantic relation with the surrounding elements.

Coordination simply means joining two sentences with coordinating conjunctions. The two sentences that are being coordinated are matched to each other. This means that, all the elements that are in the second sentence and correspond to the elements in the first sentence are deleted while elements in the second sentence that are different from those of the first sentence are retained (Lester 1971: 276). Coordinating clauses are those clauses that

involve at least two clauses (and two lexical verbs) that are joined by and (or another coordinator) and both coordinated clauses are of (almost) equal importance (Gelderen 2010:132).

A coordinated sentence is in other words called a compound sentence. As it has been mentioned above, conjunctions that are used to connect these kind of sentences are called “*coordinating conjunctions*”. There are many coordinating conjunctions in Kisukuma, some of them are; “*nulu*” ‘or’, “*aliyo*” ‘but’, “*nuu/na*” ‘and’, “*na hangi*” ‘furthermore’, “*hangi*” ‘again’, ‘then’, “*huna*” ‘then’, “*kwike*” ‘nevertheless/in spite of/ but, and others of the like as exemplified in the following Kisukuma compound sentences/coordination.

(17) a. Nzugu wangu ni’shikombe **hangi** unenele sahani.

*Come quickly with a cup, then bring me a plate.*

b. Unenele shilewa **nulu** unizugile bugali.

*Bring me food or cook ugali for me.*

c. Ng’wana umala shiku ibili duhu ali mpanga, mubujiku wa tarehe

15.1.58 uzumalika.

*The child survived for two days only, on the night of 15.1.58 she died.*

The first example 17(a) is a compound sentence because it is made up of two independent clauses that are connected by a coordinating conjunction. The first clause is “*Nzugu wangu ni’shikombe.*” ‘come quickly with a cup.’ and the second one is “*unenele sahani*” ‘Bring me a plate’. These two sentences are connected with a conjunction “*hangi*” ‘then’. The two clauses can stand alone and bring complete meanings. Now, example 17(b) is a compound sentence but it is not connected with a conjunction but a pause. The first clause



which is "*Ng'wana umala shiku ibili duhu ali mpanga*" 'The child survived for only two days' is a complete clause with meaning. The clause has a subject "*Ng'wana*" 'The child' and a verb phrase "*akamala shiku ibili ali mpanga*" 'Survived for two days'. The same is the case for the second clause which is "*mubujiku wa tarehe 15.1.58 uzumalika*" 'On the night of 15.1.58 she died'. The second clause has a morphological subject and a verb phrase that are attached to the verb root "*uzumalika*" 'she died'. A pause rather than a coordinating conjunction is used. Example 17(c) has two independent clauses which are "*Unenele shilewa*" 'Bring me food' and "*unizugile bugali*" 'cook ugali for me.' These two independent clauses are connected with a coordinating conjunction "*nulu*" which means 'or'.

### **3.2.3 SUBORDINATION**

Subordination have so far attracted the attention of many linguists in recent years as a result of the development of functional grammar approach from 1970s. Linguists such as Keenan & Comrie (1977,1979) studied the distribution and structural properties of relative clauses, Givon (1980) also made a study on clauses and demonstrated that there is a clear correlation between semantic properties and structural properties of clauses. Other scholars such as Comrie (1975) made an intensive study on causatives in clauses. These are just a few examples of many studies that have so far been done on complex sentences in different languages and by different scholars.

However, Bearth (2003:121) acknowledges that there is a small number of studies on the syntax of Bantu languages compared to those on morphology, phonology and lexical. Even frequently quoted Bantu studies such as Kimenyi (1980) and Mchombo (2004), among others, gives a narrow explanation on issues related to subordination. What is even more interesting is that, although Bearth has presented and explained more on Bantu syntax, he also says little on the nature of subordination in Bantu. In this section, the researcher will briefly explain what subordination is and their nature in the Kisukuma language.

Cristofaro (2003:2) defines subordination as a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them [the dependent one] lacks an autonomous profile and it is construed in the perspective of the other [main] event. The subordinate clause is usually contrasted to coordinate linkage where the units are equivalent. Subordinating conjunctions or in other name subordinators are markers that are used for linking these clauses. Complex sentences are also referred to as subordination.

Different researchers have demonstrated that, the three major types of subordinate clauses namely; complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses forms the cornerstone for most typological work on complex sentences, Gast & Diessel (2017). However, different languages do not categorize subordinate clauses in these types, and even if they do, it becomes difficult to assign individual instances in these groups (see: for instance, Hale 1976 on adjoined clauses in Australian languages and Comrie & Horie 1995 on post nominal clauses in Japanese and Khmer; cf. also Matsumoto 1997, Comrie 1998).

A complex sentence is a sentence that contains one main clause and at least one subordinate clause. The number of dependent clauses is not limited in this kind of a sentence. It may also refer to a sentence in which one or more clauses are functioning as an element of the whole sentence. A complex sentence combines a dependent clause with an independent clause. In a complex sentence, the clauses are said to be in hypotactic relationship that is they have different syntactic status, one being dependent on the other. The clauses can be joined by a conjunction as well. The conjunction used in joining the dependent and the independent clause in these kind of sentences are the so called "*subordinating conjunction*".

There is a larger number of subordinating conjunctions in languages like English such

as; if, because, before, while, whether, even though, even if, in order that, than, though, unless, until etc. Just like in other Bantu languages (cf. Batibo, 1985; Maganga and Schadeberg, 1992; Rugemalira, 2005), Sukuma has a number of subordinating conjunctions that are used in introducing subordinate clauses in complex constructions such as "ulu" 'if', "kunguno" 'because', "iki" 'since', "aho" 'when', "kiti" 'as if' and others of the like. The following are some examples of complex clauses in Kisukuma that are either collected from the data or self generated by the researcher. The following are examples of complex sentences in Kisukuma;

(18) a. **Aho** ba-ndy-a ku-ly-a bandya tame ku-salil-a, huna lulu  
ku-puganil-a nyama mu nungu imo.

*When they started eating, they started first to pray, thereafter to scramble for meat from one pot.*

b. **Aho** nashika mu shibitali, muganga ushikila kunipima.

*When I arrived at the hospital, the doctor started examining me.*

(19) a. Buli buguji, **kunguno** ni buli hangi banhu bakishokejaga shikolo sha  
bukwi ulu nkima na ngosha bali bitola, numba yabo ikacha?

*It is a business because why when a man and a woman divorces, the bride price is returned?*

b. Basukuma tutogilwe no kusaba ng'ombe **nguno** jili na  
Sukuma people we like very much rearing cows because they have  
solobo nhale no ku bise.  
advantages many very to us.

*We, Sukuma people, we like very much rearing cows because they have very many advantages to us.*

(20) a. **Ulu** ung'wana wiguta atalilija hangi lubele yaya, kwike  
 If the child is satisfied will not cry for again breast no, furthermore  
 nina atiz'unkingiligija lubele angu kunguno alilila!  
 the mother should not give breast just because she is crying!

*If the child is satisfied, she will not cry for breasts again, furthermore the mother should not breastfeed her just because she is crying.*

(21) Bashike bichane, nakumyaga no kubona ng'wana nkima alinga  
 women my fellow, surprised to see a woman return  
 ku walwa bujiku **kiti** na ng'hwe ngosha.  
 from drinking alcohol at night as if and she is a man.

*My fellow women, I am very surprised to see a woman returning home from drinking alcohol at night as if she was a man.*

(22) Lubele balubila magaka, nulu mashi ga ngoko, nulu makinhu  
 Breast they rub with aloe vera, even dropping of chicken, even things  
 gangi gabubi, **angu** ng'wana ogohe kulomba lunono.  
 other bitter, so that child fears to ask for breast milk.

*Women rub their breasts with aloe vera, chicken dropping and other bitter things so that a child will fear to ask for breast milk.*

The above given examples shows how subordination occur in Kisukuma. Consider the first example 18(a) which is a **temporal clause** that is shown by a subordinating conjunction "Aho" 'when'. This sentence is made up of three clauses of which one is an independent clause while the remaining ones are subordinate. "Aho bandya kulya" 'when they started eating' is the first dependent clause that starts with a subordinating conjunction "aho" 'when'. This clause is followed by the independent clause "bandya tame kusalila" 'they first started to pray' and lastly is an independent clause "huna lulu kupuganila nyama mu nungu imo."

'thereafter to scramble for meat from one pot'.

Example 18(b) is another example of a temporal clause in Kisukuma. The sentence has two clauses, one subordinate and another independent. The first clause "*Aho nashika mu shibitali*" 'when I arrived at the hospital' is a dependent clause that starts with a subordinating conjunction "*aho*" 'when'. For completion of meaning, the sentence depends on the independent clause "*muganga ushikila kunipima*" 'The doctor started examining me'. The temporal clause is very common in Sukuma narratives and speeches because it is mostly used at the beginning of a story.

Another important clause that is found in Kisukuma is the **reason clause**. This type of a clause is shown in the example 19(a) and (b) of the above by subordinating conjunctions "*kunguno*" or "*nguno*" which all mean 'because'. Example 19 (a) is a complex sentence that is from the narrative "*Is Bride Price a Business or a Gift*". The narrator answers the question using a complex sentence that has a question in it. The sentence has two clauses, one dependent and another independent. The independent clause is "*Buli buguji*" 'It is a business' while the dependent one is "*kunguno ni buli hangi banhu bakishokejaga shikolo sha bukwi ulu nkima na ngosha bali bitola, numba yabo ikacha?*" 'Because why when a man and a woman divorces, the bride price is returned?'. In example 19 (b), there are also two clauses where one is dependent and the other is independent. The independent clause is "*Basukuma tutogilwe no kusaba ng'ombe*" 'We, Sukuma people, we like very much rearing cows' and the dependent one is "*nguno jili na solobo nhale no ku bise.*" 'Because they have very many advantages to us.'. In both sentences, the dependent clauses begin with a subordinating clause "*Ku/nguno*" 'Because'.

Example 20 provides another type of subordinate clause which is the **conditional**

**clause.** This clause type is marked by a subordinating conjunction "*ulu*" 'if'. This complex sentence is made up of one independent clause and two dependent clauses. The independent clause is "*atalilija hangi lubele yaya*" '*She will not cry for breast again*' while the independent ones are "*ulu ung'wana wiguta*" 'If the child is satisfied' and "*kwike nina atiz'unkingiligija lubele angu kunguno alilila.*" 'Furthermore, the mother should not breastfeed the child because she is crying'.

Another conditional clause is shown in example 21 with a subordinating conjunction "*kiti*" 'as if'. In the sentence, there is a main and a subordinate clause. The sentence has a main clause which is "*Bashike bichane, nakumyaga no kubona ng'wana nkima alinga ku walwa bujiku*" 'My fellow women, I was surprised to see a woman returning from drinking at night.' and a subordinate clause that starts with a subordinating conjunction "*kiti*", "*kiti na ng'hwe ngosha*" 'As if she is also a man'.

The last subordinate clause expressed by the above given example 22 in Kisukuma is the **purpose clause**. This clause is shown by a subordinating conjunction "*angu*" to mean 'so that'. The sentence has been picked from a narrative where a doctor is educating Sukuma women on how to stop children to breastfeed nicely and healthy. As it is in all complex sentences, the sentence has a main clause and a subordinate clause. The main clause reads "*Lubele balubila magaka, nulu mashi ga ngoko, nulu makinhu gangi gabubi*" 'Women rub their breasts with aloe vera, chicken dropping and other bitter things' and the subordinate clause reads "*angu ng'wana ogohe kulomba lunono*" 'so that a child will fear to ask for breast milk.'

The above mentioned are just a few examples of complex sentences in Kisukuma that

are made of different subordinating clauses. However, according to the data collected there are sentences in Kisukuma that do not fall in any of the above sentence types. Some sentences are neither compound or complex. Such sentences will be discussed and elaborated in section 3.6 below.

Similarly, other linguists have challenged this traditional way of combining clauses. They argue that the different types of subordinate clauses such as the “*adverbial clause*” and “*relative clause*” are parametric because these categories are not primitive of analysis but just abbreviations for parameter combination a good example being “*adverbial adjunct clause*” or “*adnominal adjunct clause*”, (Gast & Diessel 2017). Now, modern linguists such as Foley & Van Valin (1984) also Van Valin (2007) under Role and Reference Grammar have refined this classification by simply distinguishing more values for each parameter. Foley & Van Valin (1984) introduced two refinements: first, they introduced an additional type of relation of dependency named “cosubordination”, and secondly, they distinguish different levels of “juncture”, that is different types of attachment sites within the major class of adverbial clauses (Foley & Van Valin, 1984).

### **3.2.4 COSUBORDINATION**

Cosubordination is a new concept that was traditionally not identified until in recent works. As Van Valin (2005) was doing analysis on complex sentences in different languages, it came to his attention that some sentences are neither compound or complex. They possess both coordination features and subordination features at the same time. These constructions were then named "cosubordination". So, cosubordination is a blend of coordination and subordination and it possesses characteristics of both. Cosubordination occur in chains of verbal expressions, in which one predicate acts as the main predicate and bears matrix clause mood marking, while the others proceed this predicate and are marked for cosubordination

Van der Voort (2008:653).

Cosubordination is defined as one type of nexus relation in which units of equivalent sizes are strung together in a coordinate-like relation with no marker of syntactic dependency is found between and among units (Olson, 1981). Despite not being traditionally recognized, cosubordination is found in the grammar of many languages of Europe and those of central Asia, as well as in languages in New Guinea, Africa and North and Central America (e.g. Bickel 1993 [5], Guerrero-Valenzuela 2004 [6], Kockelman 2003 [7], Roberts 1988 [8], Van Valin 1984 [9]) Van Valin (2005:1).

It has been a belief for a long time that cosubordination constructions was a property only found in Papuan languages, and others as mentioned above. However, it has been proven that SVO languages of East and West Africa also feature cosubordination, marked by a special initial verb in a clause together with other clauses (see Longacre 1990). The following example from Kisukuma is another proof that cosubordination occur in Bantu language with SVO structure.

23. (a) Usengi alesata.

*(My)Aunt is sick.*

(b) Jaga mkaya unenhele shikombe hangi wize kuzuga.

*Go in the house and bring me a cup then come and cook.*

(c) Aho nashika mu shibitali, muganga ushikila kunipima.

*When I had arrived at the hospital, the doctor examined her.*

(d) Ng'hungulume a-ka-shosh-a **aho** nsamilija wa Muna-Ng'hungulume



The cock                      Sbj-Pst-reply-fv    when    intrigue of the cock  
a-**ki**-z-a                      ku-ng'wila mi-hayo                      ya Shimba, a-**ki**-dubul-a  
Sbj-**Narrt**-come-fv    Inf-tell    C2- confrontation    of lion, Sbj-**Narr**-remove-fv  
inana              li-mo mu    n-kila gwakwe    na ku-hay-a giki:  
feather              C5-one from    C2-tail his              and Inf-say-fv this:  
“N-twa-li-la-ge              Muna-Shimba inana              lyenili, **ulu**    a-la-duje  
“Sbj-take-Pst-him    lion C5-feather                      this,    if    Sbj-Ft-able  
ku-nenhela              kitisho,    na-**ku**-zunya    nguzu jakwe!”  
Inf-bring              like this,    Sbj-agree power his!”

*The cock replied when his intrigue came to tell him what the lion had said he removed a feather from his tail and gave it to the intrigue saying "take this feather to the lion", if he will be able to bring me a feather like this, I will agree he is powerful.*

Example 23(a) above is a simple sentence while example (b) is a compound sentence. Example (c) is a complex sentence however, example (d) does not belong to any of the sentence types discussed above. It is not a compound sentence persee nor a complex sentence because it has the characteristics of both. The sentence has a total of five (5) clauses where by, three are independent and two are dependent. The first clause which is independent is "Ng'hungulume akashosha" 'The cock replied', the second, "aho nsamiliji wa Muna-Ng'hungulume akiza kung'wila mihayo ya Shimba" 'when his intrigue came to tell him what the lion had said' is a subordinate clause with a subordinating conjunction "aho" 'when'. Another clause which is main is "**akidubula inana limo mu nkila gwakwe na kuhaya giki**:"Ntwalilage Muna-Shimba inana lyenili" 'he removed a feather from his tail and gave it to the intrigue saying "take this feather to the lion'. Furthermore is the subordinate clause "**ulu aladuje kunenhela kitisho**" 'if he will be able to bring me a feather like this' and lastly and main clause "**nakuzunya nguzu jakwe!**" 'I will agree he is powerful'. Now, this sentence has

characteristics of a compound sentence because it signifies a sequence of events and at the same time it has the structure of a subordinate clause by having both the main and the subordinate clause. However, the sentence does not fully fit in any of the two categories.

Observing from the data and the above given examples, clause chaining in Kisukuma does not occur in simple sentences, compound sentences (coordination) nor in complex sentences (subordination). Clause chaining which is marked by affixes "*ka*", "*ki*" or "*ku*" in Kisukuma occurs in cosubordination as shown in the above given examples.

### **3.3 MORPHOSYNTACTIC MARKER OF CLAUSE CHAINING IN KISUKUMA**

Linguists have demonstrated different mechanism in linking clauses in different language. Haspelmath 1995:12-17 has argued that, clause linkage is the same as coordinative clause while Van Valin and Lapolla (1997:455) consider the chains as operator dependency that are either coordination or subordination which is also supported by (Dooley 2010: 3; Payne 1997: 312; Longacre 1990: 11; Mayhill and Hibiya 1988: 363). Operator dependency is a term borrowed from Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 455) and describes the dependency of the chained clause(s) in terms of tense , aspect, mood (TAM) inflection. Clause chaining is characterized by the possibility of long sequences of foregrounding clauses with operator dependency (Dooley 2010: 2). Also, some languages around the world make more use of clause chaining that others in narrative materials.

By using morpho-syntactic means, clause chaining languages indicates operator dependency on the controlling clause as well as determining the direction of the chain which is either pre-nuclear or post-nuclear. Depending on the language, its organisation and sentence pattern, the direction of clause chaining differs from one language to another language. Dooley (2010:6) explained that, pre-nuclear dependent clauses precede the

independent clause and, where there is switch reference, marking clauses precede their controlling clause while other languages with sequences of clauses in post nuclear dependence, with the order nucleus – dependent. Research has demonstrated that pre-nuclear chains occurs in SOV languages whereas post-nuclear chains are found in SVO or VSO languages. Unlike other clause chaining African languages with OV structure, the direction of Kisukuma clause chaining is pre- nuclear. Consequently, verbs signifying those events which are on the main story line, that is, foregrounded events are marked by affixes *-ki* and the affix *-ka* that replace the past tense markers.

Before explaining and giving evidences of clause chaining marker in Kisukuma, it is prudent to first give a clear explanation of the past tense marker in the language. Past tense denotes a time in the past that an action or state was done. Past tense in Kisukuma is divided into three. The immediate past tense, the recent past tense and the remote past tense as it was presented in chapter 2. The immediate past tense is marked by affixes [*-a...-aga*]. These affix are usually accompanied by adjectives such as "*leelo*" that means "*today*". It can also be noted that, different from other Bantu languages like Kikuyu, the suffix *-ga* is not only used as an habitual marker in Kisukuma but also a past tense marker. The following is an example showing an immediate past tense marker.

Now, different literatures in Kisukuma such as Luhende (2018) and Batibo (1975) have presented another type of past tense in Kisukuma that is the remote past tense. According to these linguists, this remote past tense is marker by an affix *-ka*. The current research paper challenges this argument as it identifies *-ka* as a clause chaining marker and not a past tense marker as it has been presented by other scholars.

A clause in Kisukuma clause chains normally begins with a controlling clause. This

controlling clause is inflected for tense and aspect while all the other verbs in the subsequent chained clauses carry either the dependency markers {-ka-}, or the simultaneous marker {-ki-}. The dependent clauses can not stand on their own and bring meaning because they have to inflect for tense and aspect from the independent clause. The following is a narrative about three women and the monsters that will be used as an example to demonstrate this argument.

#### (24) THREE GIRLS AT THE MONSTERS WELL

(1) Banike badatu buli lushiku baaj-aga kudaha minzi ha lwinzi.

Girls three every day went to fetch water at well.

*There were three girls who went to fetch water at the well everyday.*

(2) Kwike nahene benekili lwinzi gale MASHING'WENG'WE mpungati

Unfortunately okay the owners well were MONSTERS seven

buli lushiku aga gatul-aga buki mu lwinzi umo.

every day they put honey in well there.

*Unfortunately, the well belonged to seven monsters who were guarding the well everyday and putting honey in the water.*

(3) Mu budatu wabo, ng'waniki umo walatog-ile no bunobu wa minzi

Of three there, girl one liked a lot sweetness of the water

genayo mpaga nose abiye ba-ka-neka wiyene enaho ung'wa mpaga

that until then the others left alone there drank untill

kubimbelwa gwa gwa gwa.

become bloated very very very.

*Of the three girls, one loves the sweetness of the water too much until the others left her, she drank the water and become very bloated.*

(17) Huna lulu, shing'weng'we umo a-ki-za na buki wakwe.

Therefore now, monster one come with honey his.

*Thereafter, one monster came with his honey.*

(4) **A-ka-ng'wisha** ng'waniki uyu **a-ki-kala** ha lwinzi mpaga mashing'weng'we  
Made to drink the girl that was left at the well until the monsters  
gangi gunsangaho.

other found her.

*The monster gave the girl that was left honey to drink until other monsters came and found her.*

(5) **Bakita** lubanza lulihu, ha ng'wisho, **ga-ka-haya** giki: "Tumile

They had a meeting long, at the end, they agreed that: "Let us swallow  
ng'waniki!"

*the girl!"*

*The monsters had a long discussion and in the end they said that, "let us swallow the girl."*

(6) Ng'waniki **akalalang'hana** na kw'iganika: "Napilile kinehe?

The woman thought and reflected: "do I save myself how?"

*The girl thought and reflected, "How do I save myself?"*

(7) **Akandya** kutula ngoma na kw'imba na shilaka sha wiza-wiza

She started to play drums and sing with a voice good very-very

kunu alandya al'isunda hado hado nose kushika kupela.

while she started moving slowly slowly until was able to run.

*Then she started drumming and singing with a beautiful voice while she moved slowly until she was able to run.*

(8) **MASHING'WENG'WE** **gakasaya** gete na haho na haho gandya

**MONSTERS** were angry very and there and there started

kw'ikenya goi gike.  
to fight them themselves.

*The monsters were so very angry and they started to fight themselves, others died.*

(9) Gangi gucha! Limo duhu lyubatinda bose na lyubamila abose  
Others died! One only defeated all and swallowed all  
butandatu wabo.  
six others.

*Others died! only one monster defeated the other and swallowed all the other six.*

The above narrative starts with a controlling clause S1 that carries a past tense verb which is "ba-a-j-aga" to mean "went" and an adverb "buli lushiku" to mean "everyday" all of which marks the beginning of the narration. It is this independent clause that inflicts for tense and aspect. The same past tense marker [-a...-aga] is used in S96 in the verb "ga-tul-aga" which means "they put". As the narration goes on and on, the past tense marker changes from the suffixes -aga and -ile to new markers such as -ka and -ki throughout. These new markers {-ka-} and {-ki-} are clause chaining markers that links the dependent clauses to the controlling clauses. Consider S97, this sentence has more than one clause where by the main clause has a past tense verb "wa-la-tog-ile" to mean "she liked" which has an aspect suffix "-ile". The same sentence has another clause with a verb "ba-ka-neka" to mean "they left her" which has a clause chaining marker "-ka".

Now starting from S2 to the last sentence of the narration there is no controlling verb. All the verbs carry the clause chaining marker. The verb in S2 "a-ki-za" , S100 "ba-ki-ta" has a marker "ki-", S3 "a-ka-ngwisha", S101 "ga-ka-haya" has a marker "ka-", and so on up to the last sentence. This narrative is a demonstration that clause chaining in Kisukuma goes beyond a sentence to linking events. Starting from the beginning, the story is about an event

that involves a woman and seven monsters.

Clause chaining is also evident in other types of texts in Kisukuma such as procedural and expository. The following is a procedural text that the researcher will use to demonstrate clause chaining in Kisukuma. In the text, a doctor is giving procedures to Sukuma women on the right way to stop children breastfeed and introducing them to weaning. There are a number of events in the text that are all introduced by a past tense verb and followed by clause chains. The text is an evidence that clause chaining in kisukuma is event based.

#### (24) KAGIGIJE KA BANA

#### WEANING OF CHILDREN

##### **Basukuma Tukagijaga Bana Nanali?**

##### **When Do Sukuma People Stop Children from Breastfeeding?**

(10). Basukuma bingi **tukong'hyaga** ng'wana kushika ng'wana wageji  
Sukuma people many breastfeed a child up to a child has reached  
myaka ibili nulu idatu huna wagijiwa.  
years two even three then weaning.

*Many Sukuma women breastfeed their children for two or three years before stopping.*

(11). Kagigije ka makanza kit'aya **kati** kawiza na hado yaya.

Weaning of time like this is not good even little no.

*However, stopping the children at this time is not good at all.*

(12). Nguno yahoo ili giki: ng'wana ulu washisha ng'waka gumo, mabele

Problem it's is this: child when reaches year one, milk

ga ng'wa nina **gakamalaga** nguzu ijo **jikang'winhaga** ng'wana kufuluma

of the mother reduces nutrients that gives child nourish

chiza na mili gwa ng'wana kubiza ntelezu na nagunogu.

good and body of child to be NK and healthy.

*Because when a child reaches one year, her mother's milk loses nutrients to nourish a child and make a child healthy and with a good body.*

(13). Basukuma abali basabi ba ng'ombe **bitegeleji** chiza no,  
Sukuma people who are rich of cows understands good very,  
mabele ga ng'ombe umo **gakabizilaga** ulu ng'ombe yajilila kugija,  
milk of cow normally become when cow reaches weaning,  
**gakabupaga** gete.  
they lose nutrients very.

*For the rich Sukuma people who keeps cattle knows this well because the milk of a breastfeeding cow loses nutrients and becomes light as days goes on.*

### **Agijiwe Nanali Lulu Ung'wana?**

#### **At What Time Then Should a Child Stop Breastfeeding?**

(14). **Shigelile** ng'wana agijiwe ulu umala ng'waka gumo.  
It is advised a child to stop breastfeeding when finishes year one.

*It is proper for a child to stop breastfeeding at the age of one year.*

(15). Huna lulu shiliwa sha **kukalisha** kanigini kenako ili chiza  
Therefore now food of giving child that it is good  
uje kuli Muganga uyo uli nang'hwe hihi **akutongele** mbika  
you go to the doctors who your with near to advice you kind  
ki ya shiliwa **ishikigelile**, nulu hamo bebe ng'wenekili witegelegije,  
which of food NK, even or NK you yourself NK  
chiza lulu.  
nice now.

*Then it is also advisable to go to a nearby doctor so that he/she advises you on what kinds of food to give to a child or if you have that knowledge do it.*



## **Bugali, Ngilo Gete**

### **Ugali is Totally Forbidden**

(16). Tuliho Basukuma bingi abo **twiutilile** kunisha nigini bugali,  
Their Sukuma people others who deceive to feed a child ugali,  
numbu na muchele.  
sweet potato and rice.

*There many of us Sukuma who deceive ourselves by feeding children ugali, rice and sweet potatoes.*

(17). Kiti umuchele huyo **tukiganikaga** giki guli gwawiza kuli nigini  
Like rice is the one we think that is good to the child  
ndo, nene NDILEMA.  
young, I DISAGREE.

(18). Muchele goi gwike guti gwawiza na hado yaya, ichene  
The rice itself NK is not good even a little no, that is why  
ndimulomba mubasanye Bamuganga bing'we ku buli mhayo ugulolile  
I ask you to look for doctors your about every concern that you see  
buzubuku ng'hana ng'hana wa binigini.  
NK truly truly about children.

*Especially rice, many think it is the proper food for a young child, I disagree, rice is also not proper for a young child and that is why I urge you to go to doctors nearby so that they can advise you on what to do for a child to flourish.*

### **Kagigije Kise Kali Kinehe?**

#### **How Do We Stop Breastfeeding?**

(19). Kagigije kise **kale** kabubi wa ng'holo (bukatili).

Stopping a child breastfeeding our is bad of cruelty.

*Our stopping a child to breastfeed is bad and cruel.*

(20). Bashike **bakang'winjaga** nigini ha lubele, huna kamo na kamo

Women remove child from breast, then once and once

banemeja kong'ha kufumila henaho.

they refuse a child to breastfeed from that time.

*Women stop children from breastfeeding once and stops a child from breastfeeding from that day.*

(21). Lubele **balubila** magaka, nulu mashi ga ngoko, nulu makinhu

Breast they rub with aloe vera, even dropping of chicken, even things

gangi gabubi, angu ng'wana ogohe kulomba lunono.

other bitter, so that child fears to ask for breast milk.

*The breast is rubbed with aloe vera or chicken dropping or other bitter things so that a child will fear to ask for breasts to feed.*

(22). Kagigije kali giko KALI ka "**kikatili**" gete kuli ng'wana nigini.

Stopping breastfeeding like that IS cruel very to child young.

*Stopping a child from breastfeeding like that is very Cruel to a young child.*

### **Gijagi Giki:**

#### **This is a Better Way to Stop a Child Breastfeeding.**

(23). **Shigelile** ng'wana agijiwe ulu ng'wana wamala ng'waka gumo,

Understand that child is weaned when child completes year one,

ulu **ukilanijaho** ibi hado duhu, kukila ibudika lya ng'waka yaya.

when is late may it be a little only, beyond half of year no.

*A child should stop breastfeeding at the age of one and if is more, then let it not be more than half a year.*

(24). Ng'wana inhwe shiliwa isho Muganga **alakutongele** kiti  
Child to be given food that doctor has instructed like  
ng'homba isangijemo mabele ga ng'ombe.  
porridge mixed with milk of cow.

*A child should be given the kinds of food that the doctor has instructed such as porridge cooked with cow milk.*

(25). Ulu ung'wana **akiguta** atalilija hangi lubele yaya, kwike  
If the child is satisfied will not cry for again breast no, likewise  
nina atiz'unkingiligija lubele angu kunguno alilila!  
the mother should not give breast just because she is crying!

*If the child drinks and is satisfied he/she will not cry for the breasts again, likewise the mother should not breastfeed a child just because he/she is crying.*

(26). **Andyaga** kugeheja ng'hangala ja kung'ong'hya  
Start by reducing periods of breastfeeding her  
kiti giki: Lushiku lwa kwandya tugemele  
Reducing like this: day on first let's say  
ung'ong'hya kadatu duhu; lushiku ulwakulondela ugehya hangi,  
you breastfeed three times only; day NK you reduce again,  
lungi hangi lushiku ugehya hangi, nose yaya nulu kamo yaya, g'wana  
another again day you reduce, until not even once no, child  
ng'wenekili akwitulwa woya.  
herself will reach a point that she stops.

*You should reduce the breastfeeding periods as follows: The first day for example, you breastfeed thrice a day and then the next day you reduce and the other day the same, then you stop completely, the child him/herself will stop.*

(27). Ni buli imitugo **jitatulaga** magaka na mashikolo

But why domestic animals do not apply aloe vera and things

gangi kugija bana bajo?

other to stop breastfeeding children their?

*Why animals don't rub aloe vera and other bitter things in order to stop their children breastfeed?*

(28). **Utiz'ukalalwa** buliji wakwe, nguno hamo alilijiwa

Don't be annoyed by crying her, because maybe she is crying for

nota ya minzi.

thirst of water.

*Don't be annoyed by the child's cry, maybe he/she is crying because he/she is thirsty.*

(29). Ulu **ukasanga** makanza malihu gabitaga kufumila aho wali

If you find time long has passed from when she had

wang'wela ng'omba yakwe, waduja kung'winha hangi, nulu mabele ga ng'ombe

drank porridge her's, you can give her again, or milk of cow

masunga gasebije gusangijiwamo na tusukali twa kunonya; nulu chai

NK boiled put in and sugar for sweetening; or tea

ya mabele, ukumona wamanila kamo na kamo nulu na

of milk, you will see she gets used to little by little even with

makoye yaya.

troubles no.

*If time has passed from the time he/she has drank porridge try giving him/her porridge nor cow milk that are boiled and put some sugar to make it sweet nor milk tea and you will see the child used to that with no problems.*

Starting from the first event, "*Basukuma Tukagijaga Bana Nanali?*" "When Do Sukuma People Stop Children from Breastfeeding?", the doctor starts by giving information

on when the Sukuma people stops children from breastfeeding. This is the first event where in the first sentence S10 a past tense verb "*tu-ko-ng'hy-aga*" 'breastfeed'. In the same event when we look at sentence S11 to S13 all these sentences are chained together and they all possess clause chaining markers. In the S12 for example, the sentence has a verb "*ga-ka-mal-aga*" 'reduces' and "*jikang'winhaga*" 'gives'. Now in S13, the suffix *-aga-* in the verbs "*ga-ka-bizil-aga*" 'becomes' and "*ga-ka-bup-aga*" 'lose nutrients' is hereby used as habitual and not as the normal past tense marker in Kisukuma. These verbs are marked by a clause chaining marker *-ka-*. The chain breaks as the narrator given a new procedure.

Another new even is on the question "*Agijiwe Nanali Lulu Ung'wana?*" 'At What Time Then Should a Child Stop Breastfeeding?' The first sentence of the procedure is introduced by a past tense verb "*Shigelile*" 'It is advised' at the beginning of S14. The sentence following that is S15 is chained to the first sentence and therefore its verbs possess the clause changing marks such as *-ka-*, *-ku-* and *-ki-*. Another procedure that marks the beginning of a new event is introduced in S16. In this event, the doctor is forbidding Sukuma women to feed their children ugali or rice. As it is the case of the previous procedures, the first sentence starts with a past tense verb "*twihutilile*" 'deceive'. All the verbs that follows in the same procedure are linked to this sentence and therefore they use clause chaining markers and not past tense markers. This procedure breaks in the S18.

Moreover, another procedure starts from the S19. Here the doctor is giving procedures on to how a child should be introduced into weaning properly. The first sentence of the procedure is introduced with the past tense verb "*kale*" 'is'. The procedure goes on to S22 however, the chain is broken in S21 where a new event is introduced. In S21, the doctor speaks of the application of bitter things that women do in order to stop children from

breastfeeding. The sentence is introduced by a past tense verb "*balubila*" 'they apply'. S22 is chained to the previous sentence.

Lastly, he concludes by giving a way forward on to how Sukuma women should stop children from breastfeeding. This new procedure starts from sentence S23 to S29. The first sentence has a past tense verb "*shigelile*" 'understand that' which is a typical introduction of most advice in Kisukuma. The second clause of the same sentence has a verb with a clause chaining marker *-ki-*, "*ukilanjaho*" 'being late'. The chain continues up to sentence S25. Another new event starts in S26 where the doctor is giving a new procedure. The sentence starts with a past tense verb "*a-ndy-aga*" 'start'. Sentence S27 also marks the beginning of another event. Here the doctor is justifying his arguments by comparing what humans do in contrary to animals in the question of stopping breastfeeding. Sentence S28 and S29 are linked to sentence S27 above.

### **3.4 THE ORGANISATION OF CLAUSE CHAINING IN KISUKUMA**

The organisation of clause chains differs from one language to another language. In some languages, it may involve the use of many clauses in one sentence in which only one of the clauses which is the finite or independent clause is inflected for tense, aspect and mood (TAM). Other clauses that follow the independent clause are not inflected for tense, aspect or mood. Those clauses are called dependent clauses because they depend on the independent clause to pick tense and mood in order to have a complete meaning.

It should also be noted that clause chains are not limited to grammar. According to Haspelmath (2007:11), "*all languages seem to allow an indefinite number of coordinands,*" that is, the length of a coordinate sequence is not limited by the grammar, although it may be limited by other such as stylistic factors in a flexible way.

Now, different from other languages, clause chaining in Kisukuma goes beyond

sentence level to a paragraph. The chain covers an event even if it takes a whole paragraph or a passage. Consider example 20 above that is about the girl at the monsters well. In the example, the first sentence which is S95 starts with a past tense verb "*ba-a-ja-aga*" with a past tense marker "*a-...-aga*" and then the chain breaks in S96 and S97 because the three sentences are explaining different events. Every sentence that introduces a new event is normally inflected for tense, aspect and mood in Kisukuma. Then, after S97 all the following sentences are not marked with the normal past tense marker but rather clause chaining markers "*ka-*" and "*ki-*" throughout the passage until the chain breaks. Clause chaining in Kisukuma are mostly used in narration of past events.

In the narration about the women and the monsters, there are different events that are explained by the narrator. The first sentence of the story, 14, explains the tendency that these three women had which was going to the well everyday to fetch water. The sentence as it can be observed is presented by a past tense marker in Kisukuma. The second sentence 15 which has a main verb as well gives information on the owners of the well. The explanation of these does not go further in the next sentence. The verb in this sentence has a past tense marker just like the first sentence. Another event presented in the above given narration is about one of the girls and her love of the sweetness of the water which is the center of the whole story. Now, it is this part that clause chaining is witnessed in the story. Starting from sentence 16, the narrator explains the tragedy of one girl. The first clause in sentence 16 has a past tense marker followed by a clause with *-ka-*. All the sentences that follows, that is from sentence 16 to 22 no past tense marker is used but clause chaining markers only.

Clause chaining in Kisukuma is demonstrated by the morpheme *ki-* and *ka-* as it is mentioned above. However, these two markers occur in different environments. The *ka-* is a clause chaining marker that is used in the environment of dependency while the *ki-* is a

simultaneous clause chaining marker. Any of the two may occur at the beginning and as the only verb in a clause even though they all pick their tense and aspect from the controlling verb that is normally the first verb in the narration.

### 3.5 FOREGROUNDING AND BACKGROUNDING DISTINCTIONS

According to Dooley (2010), a major criterion to identify clause-chaining constructions is the difference between background and foreground clauses. In discourse, foreground clauses assert “mainline” information of whatever type characterizes the given discourse genre. In narrative specifically, foreground clauses assert sequential events that further the story. “Strictly speaking, only foregrounded clauses are actually narrated. Backgrounded clauses do not themselves narrate, but instead they support, amplify, or comment on the narration” (Hopper 1979:215). In non-narrative genres, foreground might be realized by such clause types as commands or descriptive statements. Foreground in narrative is not restricted to “key” events.

Background clauses provide cohesion, as “*linguistic means to signal coherence*” (Dooley and Levinsohn 2001:27). They are not required by the characterization of chaining, but commonly occur as adjuncts in it. Whereas all foreground clauses in chaining are coordinate or quasi-coordinate.

Kisukuma is a language that has a sequence of POST-NUCLEAR DEPENDENCE, where the dependent clauses follow the independent clauses. The narratives in Kisukuma starts with a verb that has explicit tense marker, usually the suffix *-aga* or *-ile*. Subsequently, verbs denoting those events which are on the main story line, that is, foregrounded events, are marked with the prefix *ka-* or *-ki*(replacing *aga-* or *-ile*).



### **3.6 CONCLUSION**

In many languages in Southeast Asia, Papua New Guinea, Australia and in other parts of the world, clause-chaining constructions are the common means of combining sequences of simultaneous or sequential events. According to Dooley, clause chaining constructions cannot be adverbial subordinate clauses because medial clauses are not presupposed, they are part of the sequence of events. Clause-chaining constructions show mixed behavior with respect to their status as subordinate or coordinate clauses.

This chapter has demonstrated different characteristics of clause chaining that are found in Kisukuma. The first section after introduction has demonstrated with examples how simple, coordination, subordination and co-subordination sentences are constructed in Kisukuma with examples. Thereafter, the morphosyntactic features of clause chaining in Kisukuma were presented. The organisation, backgrounding and foregrounding information have been explained.

## CHAPTER 4

### 4.0 THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION OF ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR IN KISUKUMA SENTENCES.

#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Role and reference grammar [RRG] (Van Valin 1993a, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997) is a structural functionalist grammar theory that was introduced by Van Valin and William Foley with the attempt of answering two basic questions that are; What will a linguistic theory look like if it were based on the analysis of languages other than English? and the second question was, How can the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems best be captured and explained? Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] is a theory that is inspired by both typological and theoretical concerns. It ranges from the perspective of extreme formalist at one end and radical functionalist at the other end. According to this theory, syntax is considered not being autonomous but rather motivated by semantic and pragmatics factors.

In this chapter the researcher is going to apply the LSC model to Kisukuma simple sentences, coordination, subordination, and cosubordination in order to see its applicability. A background of the theory plus the LSC model is already given in chapter 1 therefore this chapter will only demonstrate the application of the model in Kisukuma sentences. The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section 4.1 is on Role and Reference Grammar in Kisukuma simple sentences in which simple Kisukuma sentences will be fixed into the LSC model. Another section which is 4.2 is based on Role and Reference Grammar in coordination while 4.3 is on RRG in subordination. Again, the chapter will include a very important section 4.4 which is on RRG the Theory of cosubordination. Lastly is the conclusion of the chapter in section 4.5.

Before we go into the application of the theory in the language, it is important to familiarize with the following terminologies that are the same in syntax and semantics but they have different realisation in the RRG theory.

Semantic Element(s)	Syntactic Unit
Predicate	Nucleus
Argument in semantic representation of predicate	Core argument
Non-arguments	Periphery
Predicate + Arguments	Core
Predicate + Arguments + Non-arguments	Clause (Core + Periphery)

**Table 9:** *Semantic Units Underlying the Syntactic Units of the Layered Structure of the Clause* (Van Valin 1993).

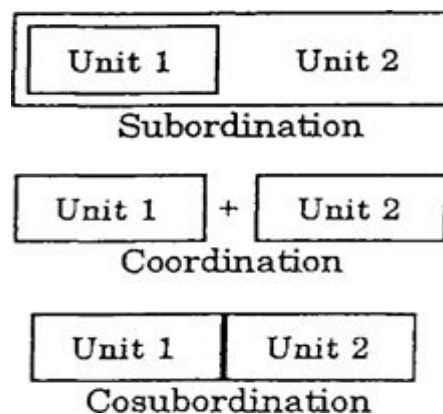
#### **4.2 THE NEXUS RELATIONSHIP AND THE LEVES OF JUNCTURE IN RRG**

Every linguistic theory that is ought to analyze complex sentences must be able to answer the following two questions; (a) What are the units involved in complex sentence constructions? (b) What are the relationships among the units in the constructions? In the attempt of answering those two questions, linguists have developed different theories. RRG is amongst those developed theories and it has to a great extent managed to provide the necessary answers. RRG has answered the questions in a manner that all the sub-clausal units in complex sentences that could not be accounted for by previous theories such as the GB theory are accommodated. The theory has tackled the first mentioned question by the use of

the layered structure of clause (LSC) whereby the nuclear, the core and the clause are considered the basic building blocks. Furthermore, RRG approaches the second question by the introduction of junctures and the relationship in them called the nexus relationships. The following is a brief explanation of what the levels of junctures are in RRG as well as the nexus relations in Kisukuma.

#### 4.2.1 NEXUS RELATIONS IN RRG

Syntactic relations between units are called ‘nexus’ in RRG. These nexus relations include the coordination, subordination as well as cosubordination. In traditionally grammar, only the coordination and subordination were considered the basic nexus relations. This has been contrasted by neo-grammerians such as Olson (1981) who suggested that, in languages like the Papua languages, there were constructions that were neither coordination or subordination something that postulated a new type of nexus named cosubordination. Other researches done by Foley & Van Valin 1984 and Van Valin (2005) also proved the existence of this new type of nexus. The following is a table that shows the unit relationships.



*Figure 5: Nexus Relations in RRG (Olson, 1981)*

The previous chapters have demonstrated that, cosubordination and the other two traditional types of nexus exist in Kisukuma. Following will be a presentation of both coordination, subordination as well as cosubordination of Kisukuma sentences in the LSC model.

#### **4.2.2 LEVELS OF JUNCTURE IN RRG**

This term is used to refer to the rules of interclause relationships that explains the grammatical level where bonding layer position includes the nucleus, core, or peripheral (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). These three layers that are under the LSC model are considered the three fundamental blocks of complex sentences in human language. The pattern for the construction of complex sentences involves combining nuclei with nuclei, cores with cores, or clauses with clauses Foley & Van Valin (1984), Van Valin (1993), Van Valin & LaPolla (1997). These are called levels of JUNCTURE in RRG that include the nuclear juncture, core juncture, and clausal juncture. However, there has been a development of the theory where a fourth type of juncture is introduced in the name '*sentencial juncture*'. Most of these junctures are found in complex sentences.

##### **4.2.2.1 THE NUCLEAR JUNCTURE**

A nuclear or the predicate is defined as having proportional content. This term is used in order to avoid the category of 'verb' which is considered problematic in some languages. A nuclear juncture is a construction in the LSC with more than one nuclear in one clause. This is a very complex construction where by one event is expressed by the use of more than one verb. These two nuclei are under one core. Two verbs follow one another in such constructions and they are both assumed to be a complex single nuclear. A good example of an English construction with a nuclear juncture that was given by VVLP (1997:442) is "*John forced open the door*". The sentence has two verbs which are 'forced' and 'open'. The

sentence has a subject argument '*John*' and an object argument '*the door*'. In between the two arguments of the core is a nuclear '*forced open*' there are two verbs in it.

To the best of my knowledge, this kind of construction is very difficult in Kisukuma because the language does not allow a construction where two or more bare verbs follow one another without any argument markers. This type of construction is very much common in languages with serial verbs. Kisukuma does not allow a series of verbs in a single core. This being the case, this research will not include nuclear juncture in the presentation of Kisukuma sentences in the LSC model.

#### **4.2.2.2 THE CORE JUNCTURE**

Core juncture is a construction where multiple cores exists in a single clause. An individual core may be internally complex by itself by for example having nuclear junctures in it. In this construction, each core is independent and has its own nuclear and arguments. Kisukuma language allows the combination cores in coordinate clauses, subordination and even in cosubordination. This will be demonstrated in the following sections.

#### **4.2.2.3 THE CLAUSAL JUNCTURE**

A sentence that involves the combination of multiple clauses is categorised as the clausal juncture in RRG. Clausal juncture is said to be the universal juncture in all the languages of the world and they can only be found in complex sentences. In this type of juncture, each clause has its own core and nucleus. This type of juncture can be seen in coordination, subordination as well as cosubordination in Kisukuma.

#### **4.2.2.4 SENTENCIAL JUNCTURE**

This juncture has been developed recently. A construction that has more than one sentence in it with multiple clauses is considered a sentential juncture in RRG. The multiple clauses in the sentence may also be having several core junctures in them. Sentential juncture are normally found in long and complex sentences. The narratives, procedural as well as expository texts that the researcher provided as data in the appendixes have a lot of sentential junctures. However, the presentation of junctures in this particular research paper will only base on the core and clausal level because of time and basing on the objective.

#### **4.3 THE INTERACTION OF THE JUNCTURES AND NEXUS IN KISUKUMA**

In the above sections, the researcher has presented on the three levels of junctures that are the coordination, subordination as well as the cosubordination. Section 4.2 was about the nexus relations. RRG theory suggests that the levels of juncture and the nexus relations interact. The interaction of the levels of junctures and the nexus relations results into nine possible juncture-nexus types in universal grammar. However, not all the nine juncture-nexus types will be available in a language. Of the nine levels of juncture, Kisukuma allows only six juncture-nexus types which are: core coordination, clausal coordination, core subordination, clausal subordination, core cosubordination, and clausal cosubordination. Section below will justify these distinctions with vivid examples.

#### **4.4 THE CONSTITUENT PROJECTION (CP) and THE OPERATOR PROJECTION (OP)**

The LSC model of RRG theory represents syntactic units in two projections which are the constituent projection and the operator projection. The representation of the constituent projection and the operator projection in RRG is so different and unique as

compared to the well known x-bar trees on the Generative Grammar. The constituent projection contains the argument and its predicate while on the other hand, the operator projection is the mirror of the constituent projection in such a way that the nucleus in the OP corresponds to the nucleus in the constituent projection.

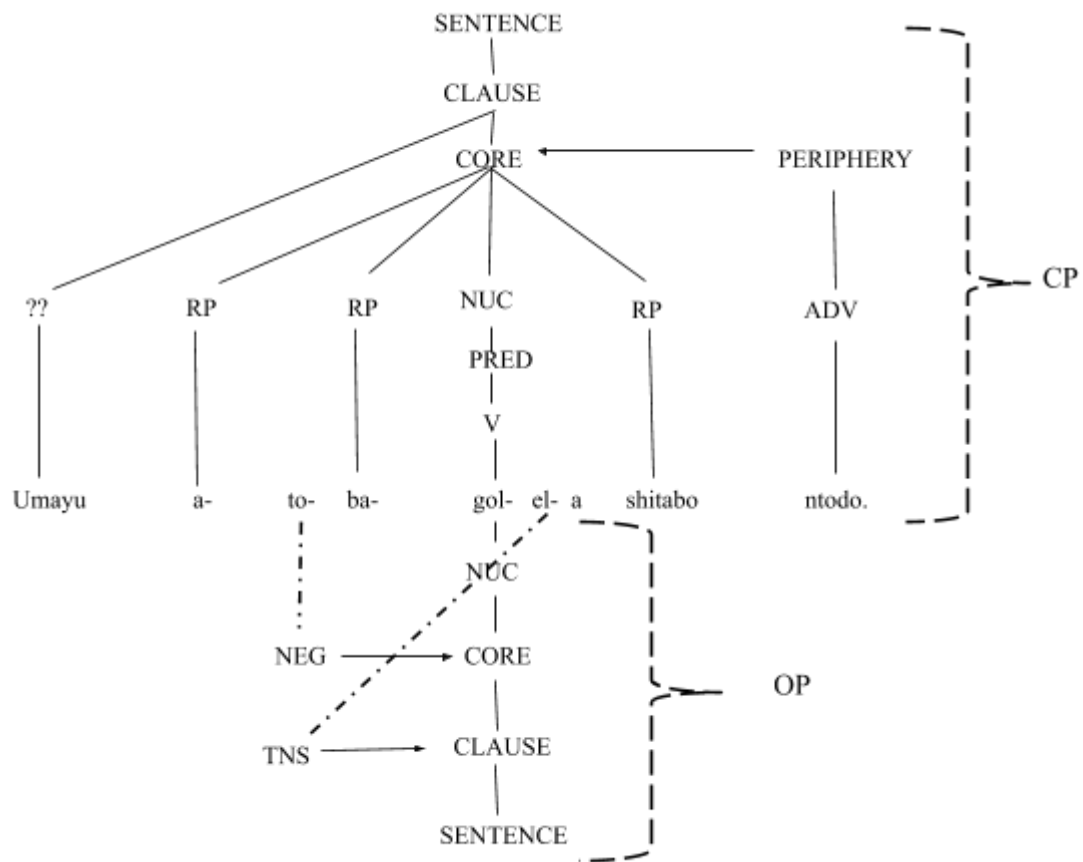
In Role and Reference Grammar, the Operator Projection is the only structural level that represents all the grammatical morphemes that do not bear referential meaning. Such morphemes include: tense, aspect, mood, directionals, illocutionary forces and others. This level does not capture the verbal categories such as number and person. On the other hand, the constituent projection rejects the idea of representing constituents that are only motivated by referential semantics. This being the case, auxiliary verbs as well as past participles are not linked in any node of the constituent structure in RRG. And because these elements only bare the grammatical and not the referential meaning, they are only related to the operator projection.

In this chapter, the researcher will demonstrate the syntactic representation of different Kisukuma clauses in only two levels that are the Constituent Projection (CP) and the Operator Projection (OP). The following is an example of a sentence that is represented in both the CP and the OP.

25. (a) Umayu atobagolela shitabo ntondo

*Mother will not buy books for you tommorow.*





**Figure 6: Kisukuma sentences with both the CP and OP.**

The figure above is a sample of a typical Kisukuma sentence represented in the LSC model. The syntactic units are represented in both the CP and the OP as shown in the above figure. The CP consist of the core, its arguments as well as the periphery. The first RP of the core is made up of the nominal subject '*umayu*' 'mother' and the prefix argument '*-a*'. The second argument is affix '*-ba*' 'you' which is the indirect object of the sentence. The nuclear is made up of the verb '*-gol-*' with other inflections that will be discussed in the OP. The argument after the predicate is the RP '*shitabo*' 'book' which functions as the direct object.

Lastly is the periphery that is attached directly from the core. The periphery in this sentence is an adverb of time '*ntondo*' 'tomorrow'.

The subject nominal in the first RP coexists with its coreference prefix argument marker. Haspelmath and Van Valin (2013) have both argued that the subject argument prefixes are not pronominals or pronouns because they lack the binding properties of pronouns. The current research extend their view to Kisukuma and regard the prefix as a “pronominal anaphora” [PA] as it was suggested by Van Valin (Van Valin 2013). It should also be noted that, RRG considers argument markers incorporated in the nucleus as core arguments, not as independent lexical nominals or pronouns that may stand in apposition. It is in this argument that the noun '*umayu*' is not considered part of the core but an independent lexical nominal that can even be deleted without affecting the message. The fact that the subject nominal cannot be realised in a LSC model is one weakness of the theory that will be discussed further on the conclusion of the chapter.

There are two OP that are marked on the figure above that are tense and negation. The tense is under the clause while negation is under the core. In most cases, the OP marks only tense and aspect in Kisukuma. The OP does not mark derivational morphemes such the *-ba-* which represents number and person in Kisukuma.

#### **4.5 ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR IN KISUKUMA SIMPLE SENTENCES**

As the researcher had suggested in the literature review of the language, not much has been researched in the language. The analysis of Kisukuma simple sentences in RRG approach is one of the areas that has not been researched. It is therefore prudent to start with a short analysis of simple sentences in Kisukuma before going into complex sentences. This section will analyse the simple transitive clauses, the intransitive clauses and the ditransitive

clauses in Kisukuma. The researcher will use the LSC model to show how elements in a simple sentence are marked. The CP and the OP will both be addressed.

#### 4.5.1 TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

Transitive verbs are verbs that have an object to receive the action and they normally take the direct object. They consist of an actor (subject) and the undergoer (object). The following are simple sentences from Kisukuma with transitive verbs;

26. (a) Nazugaga bugali.

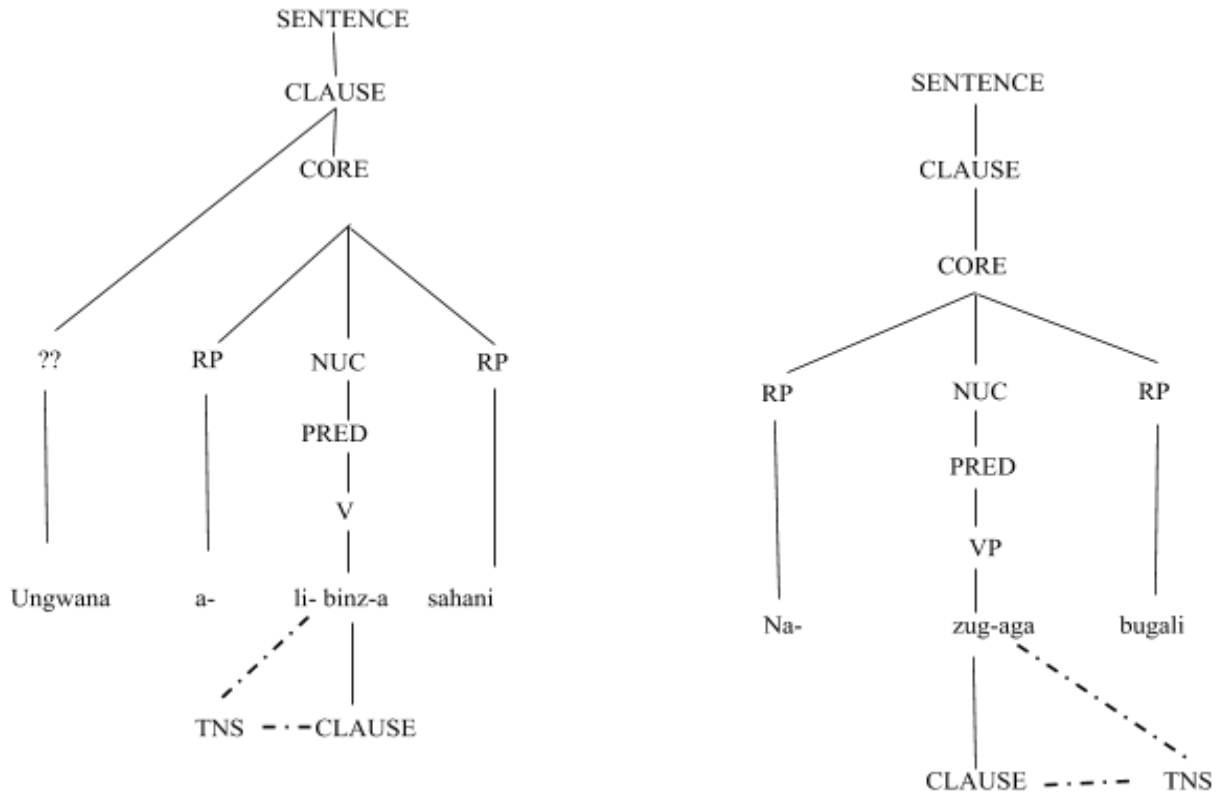
*I cooked ugali.*

(b) Ung' wana aliibinza sahani.

*(The) child is breaking the plate.*

c. Nalibatola

*I am beating them.*



**Figure 7: Transitive Kisukuma sentences.**

Figure 7, is a typical representation of Kisukuma transitive clause in RRG tree. The tree shows both the Constituent Projection as well as the Operator Projection. As it can be observed from the above given example, the subject and the object can be lexical or morphemes. A transitive clause clause just like in 1(c) can also be realized as only bound arguments functioning as semantic arguments of the core. In the second tree of 1(a), the subject 'Na-' which is the subject of the clause is represented at the RP slot and the verb 'zug-aga' on the nuclear slot. Lastly is the object which is another argument under core that is marked as RP. As it can be observed in the second sentence, the subject is a combination of the nominal 'ungwana' 'the child' and the PA '-a'. The predicate includes the verb '-binz-a' 'break'. The last RP is the object 'sahani' 'plate'.

#### 4.5.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

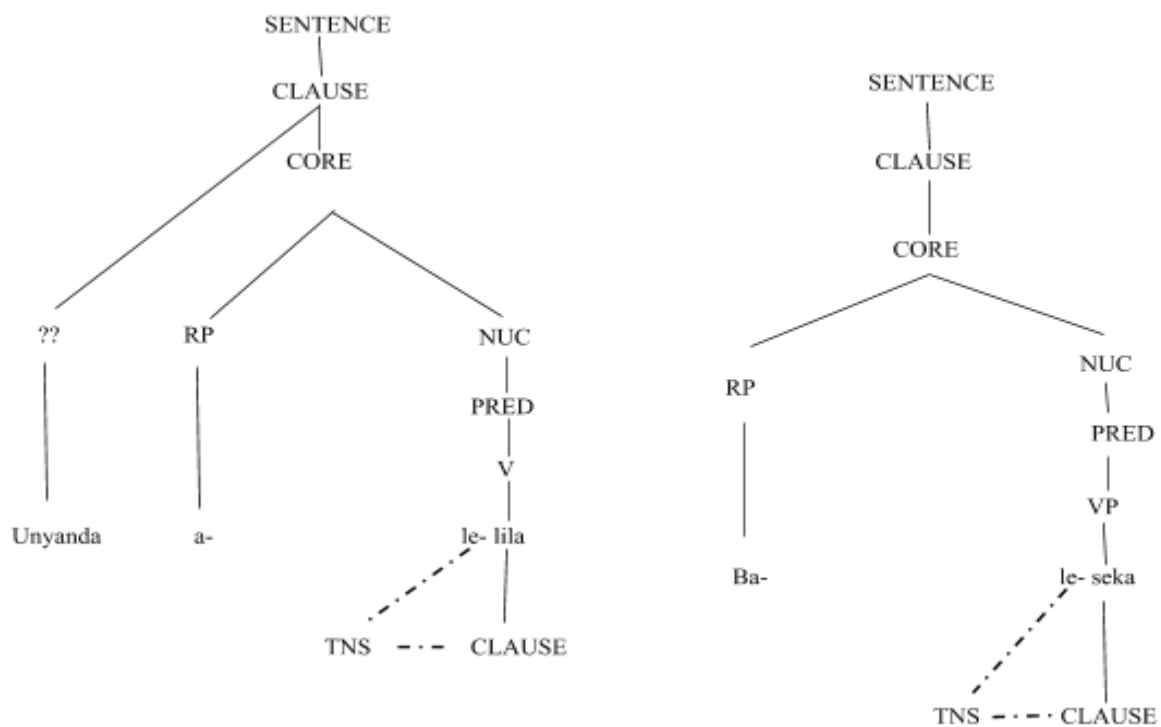
Kisukuma intransitive clauses are made up of only a subject but they lack the object. They only possess one syntactic argument plus a predicate. Good examples of Kisukuma intransitive clauses are;

27 (a). Unyanda alelila.

*(The) boy is crying.*

(b). Baleseka.

*Their laughing.*



**Figure 8: Intransitive Clauses in Kisukuma**

The above is a figure that represents two intransitive clauses in Kisukuma. As it can be observed, the clause can have a lexical or a morphological subject plus the predicate. These clauses only possess RP from the subject argument and not the object. In the first

sentence, the subject argument is made up of the nominal '*Unyanda*' 'the boy' and pronominal anaphora '*a-*'. The subject nominal '*Unyanda*' is not marked on the LSC model because, the theory considers the PA '*a-*' as the true argument of the clause while the nominal an adjunct. The second sentence has the pronominal anaphora '*ba-*' itself as the subject argument and no noun. The figure shows both the constituent projection and the operator projection.

#### 4.5.3 DITRANSITIVE

Just like the transitive verbs, the ditransitive verbs take a direct object but they add an indirect object. The indirect object always comes before the direct object and it usually refers to someone who benefits from the action. From a pragmatic point of view, these clauses always have the theme, the agent and the recipient. Good examples of ditransitive verbs in Kisukuma include '*gola*' 'buy' and '*tuma*' 'send' as shown in the following examples;

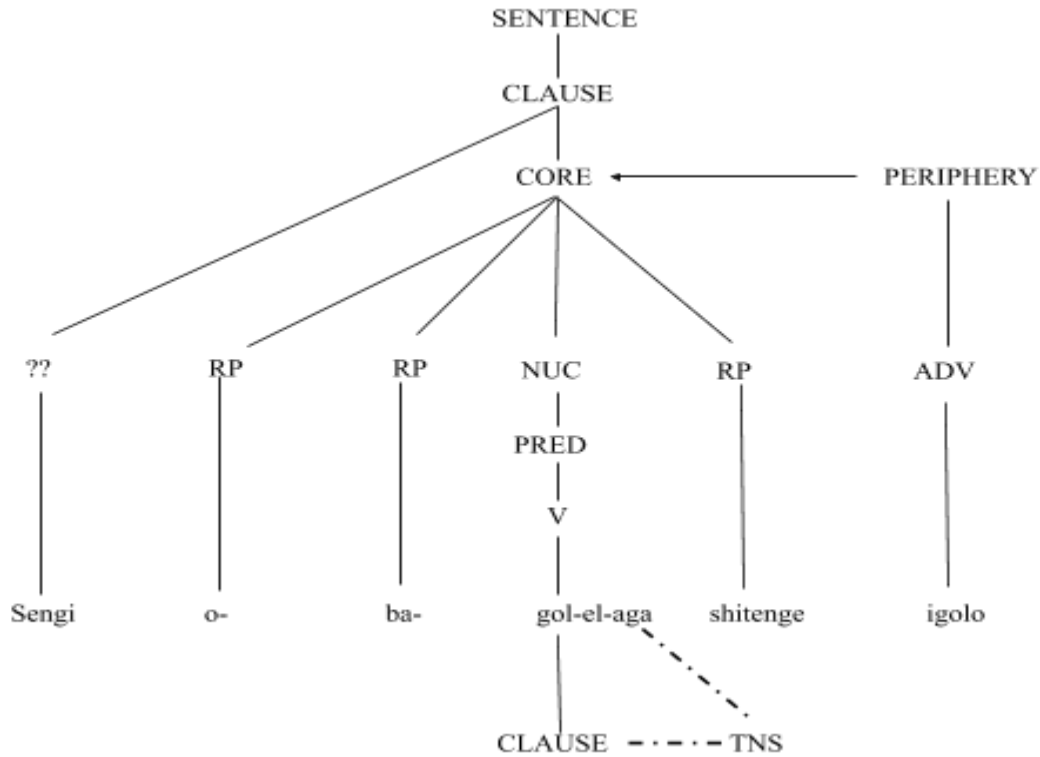
28. (a) Sengi onigolela shitenge igolo.

*(My)aunt has bought Kitenge for me yesterday.*

(b) Ntumage Juma igembe.

*Send Juma (to bring) the hoe.*

Now, consider the following tree diagram of the first example 3(a);



**Figure 9: Ditransitive Clause in Kisukuma with a Direct Core Argument**

The above figure shows that, there are three RPs, one nuclear (verb) and an adjective of time. Now, 'Sengi' 'aunt' together with the pronominal anaphor '-o' is the agent, the affix 'ba' 'them' is the recipient, while 'shitenge' 'kitenge' is the theme. On the left end there is an adverb 'igolo' 'yesterday' and there verb is 'golelaga' 'buy for'. The adverbial phrase is an adjunct because it can be deleted without destroying the sentence meaning. As it can be observed above, not all the constituents are represented on the LSC model. For example; the nominal 'sengi' is not marked under the core and it is considered core external even though it is the nominal subject. Again, the derivational affix *-el* which is a benefactive is also not realised in the operator projection. This shows the inadequacy of the theory to cater for other derivational elements in Bantu language.

#### 4.5.5 RRG's EXTRA CLAUSAL ELEMENTS

##### 4.5.5.1 PRE- CORE SLOT (PrCS) and POST-CORE SLOT (PoCS)

In a discourse-pragmatics context, different languages including Kisukuma obtain different information by the use of sundry invariable interrogative words, such as *buli* 'why', *hali* 'where', *naanali* 'when', *kee* 'what' or 'which', and *naani* 'who'. The question word '*kee*' is used for asking something talked about while the question word '*naanali*' 'when' asks for the time that the action was done or will be done. The question word *buli* signify that more explanations or clarification is needed in answering a certain given question. In a RRG tree, such kind of words are normally placed either at the beginning as pre-core slot or at the end as post-core slot. Both PrCS and the PoCS are daughters of the clause node. Both the PrCS as well as the PoCS can be single words or in other clauses they can appear as phrases. The following are examples in Kisukuma;

29. (a)Naani a-li-zug-a madoke mwijiko?

who AgrS-PRES-cook-FV 2banana in the kitchen?

*"Who is cooking bananas in the kitchen?"*

(b)Buli u-li-lil-a?

Why AgrS-PRES-cry-FV?

*"Why are you crying?"*

(c)Naanali na-kw-andy-a shule?

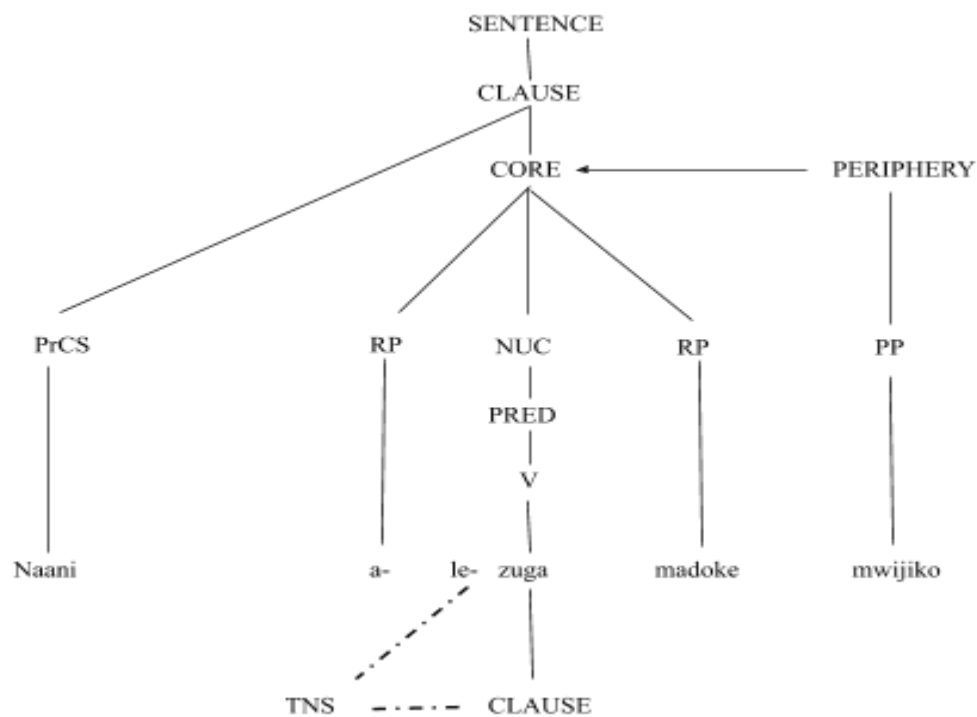
When AgrS-FUT-start-FV school

*"When will I start school?"*

(d)Alezuga kee?

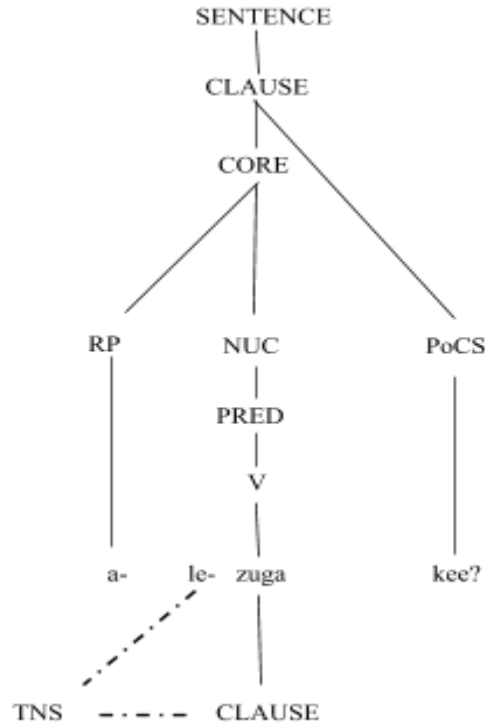
What is s/he cooking?





**Figure 10: Kisukuma Clause with a PrCS**

The above is a representation of a clause with a PrCS slot in the LSC. The clause has two arguments (RPs), the nuclear (verb), the core periphery as well as the Pre-Core slot. A typical Kisukuma clause can only have one PrCS in a sentence, however even if it allowed more than that, RRG allows only one PrCS in a single sentence. The PrCS is not part of the core but rather the clause and it is placed before the RP. Although not fully, the word in the PrCS can be shifted to the end to become a PoCs.



**Figure 11: Kisukuma Clause with a PoCS**

A Post-Core Slot is a slot placed under the clausal level and after the RP (if there) as it is shown in the above tree. The detached phrases, that is both the LDP and the RDP are motivated by discourse requisites such as correction of information given, emphasis on something, or clarification. Because of these functions, these phrases leave no room for misinterpretation of referents. In example 4(d) above, for example, the speaker wants more information of what is being cooked by using the Wh-word 'kee?' 'what?'.

#### 4.5.5.2 DETACHED POSITIONS IN RRG

In VVLP 1997, the notion of sentential juncture was introduced with the aim of capturing texts that could not be captured by the clausal juncture. The sentential juncture allows the so called detached positions. Detached positions captures the afterthoughts or any

additional information in a sentence. In other words, their compliments. The sentential juncture of the RRG has two detached positions which are; the Left Detached Position (LDP) as well as the Right Detached Position (RDP). As it has been said before, the detached positions are daughter nodes of the sentence node in the RRG tree. Their not part of the clause nor the core. The two nodes covers are the outermost layer of the LSC. The LDP and the RDP are in most cases prepositional clauses (PP) or adverbial clauses (ADV).

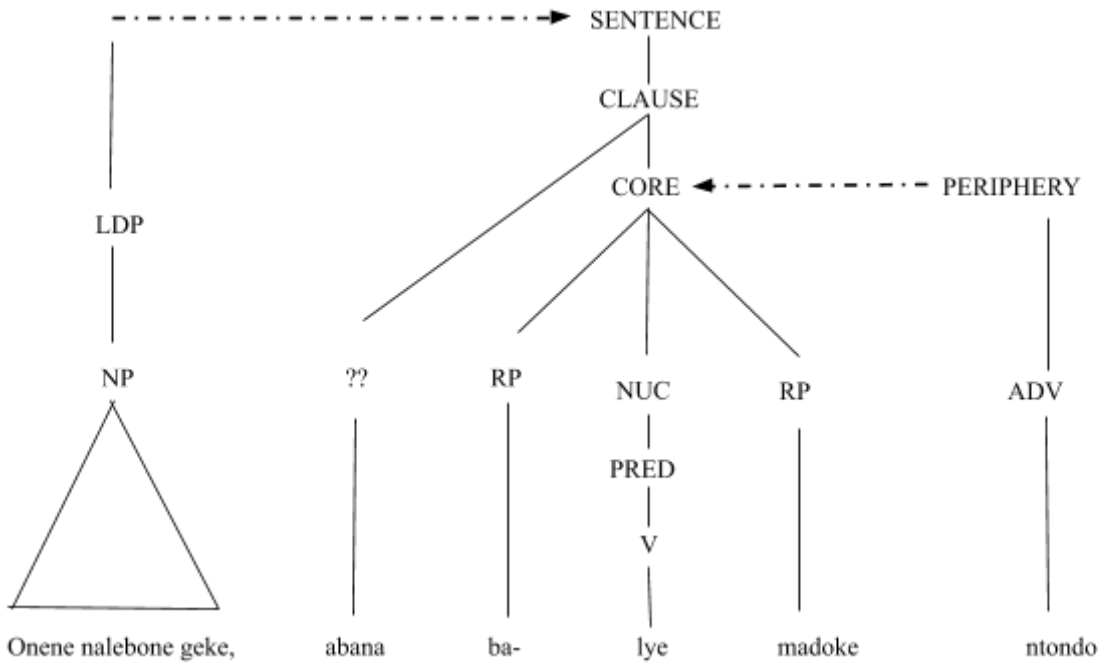
The detached positions in RRG are very evident in Kisukuma complex sentence as the following example shows.

30. (a) Onene nalebona geke, abana balye madoke ntondo.

*In my view I see that, Let the kids eat bananas tomorrow.*

(b) Ili gike, nambonaga Maria lelo dilu nuu Yohana akababoba bana kushule igolo.

*It is this way, I have seen Maria today morning and Yohana saw the kids at school yesterday.*



**Figure 12: Kisukuma Clause with a LDP**

Figure 12 represents a clause in Kisukuma that has the LDP. The LDP above is detached from the sentence and not the clause hence it is the daughter node of the sentence and not the clause or even the core. The LDP in the above sentence is an NP which is optional because even if it was deleted the sentence will still make sense. On the clausal node, the subject argument includes the noun '*abana*' 'the kids' and pronominal anaphor '*ba-*' which is the RP. Then there is the predicate '*lye*' 'eat' and the object argument (RP) '*madoke*' 'bananas'. Another element represented in the above figure is the periphery. The periphery is the adjective '*ntondo*' 'tomorrow'. The periphery is also an optional element and just like the LDP it can be deleted and the sentence will still make sense.

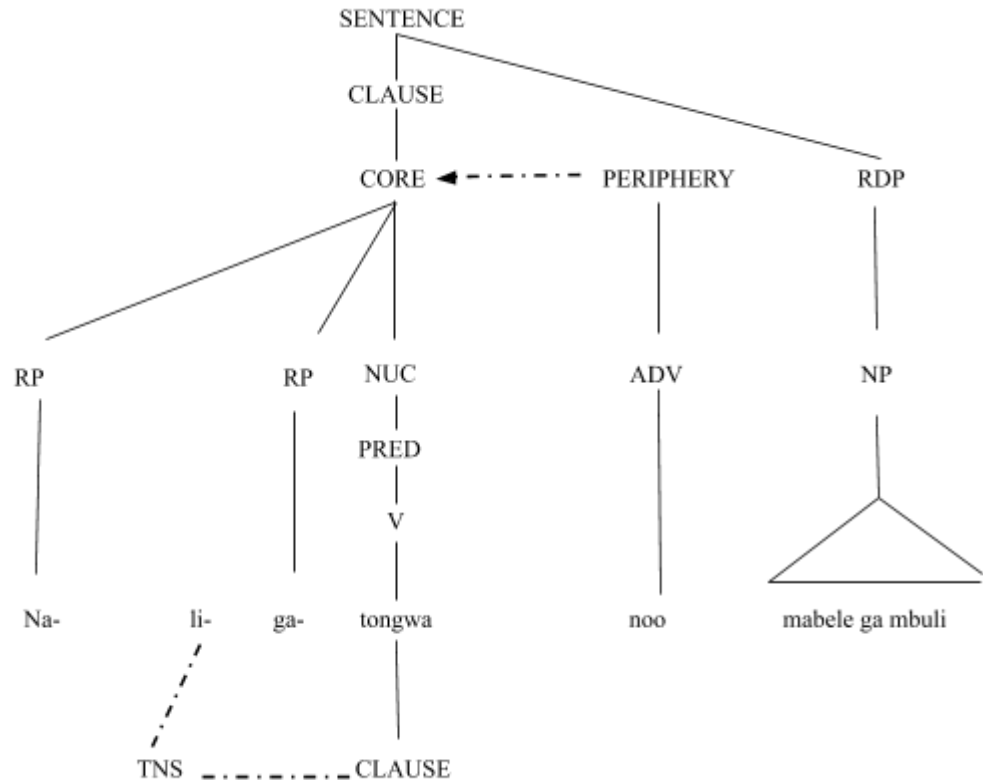
The following is an example of a sentence in Kisukuma with a RDP;

31. (a) *Naligatogwa noo, mabele ga mbuli.*

*I love it so much, goat milk.*

(b) UKabula wasomaga shitabu, Masalakulangwa.

*Kabula has read the book, Masalakulangwa.*



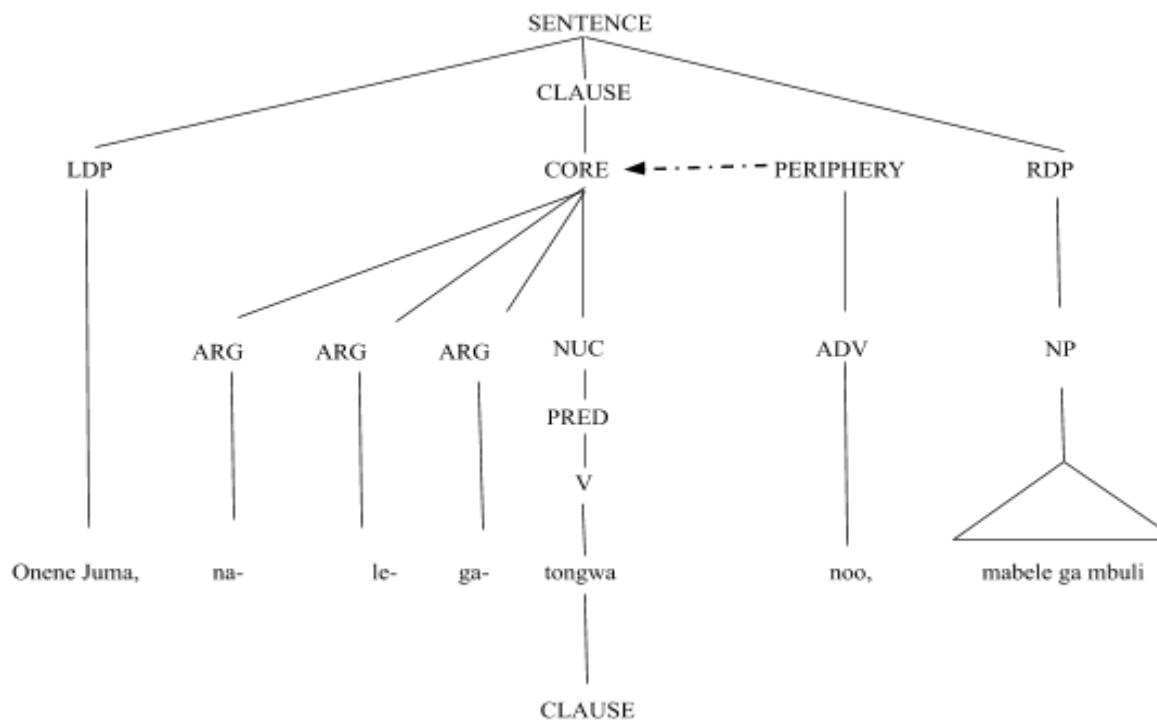
**Figure 13: Kisukuma Clause with a RDP**

The above figure represents the RDP. Just like the LDP it is also an optional element that can be deleted and in context a person will still understand the meaning. It is also the daughter node of the sentence and not the clause or core. In the sentence, the RDP is an NP. As it is shown, the periphery which is a node from the core has preceded the RDP. The subject argument has two elements that are followed by the predicate.

The following is an example of a clause with both the LDP and the RDP;

8. (a) Onene Juma, nalegatogwa noo, mabele ga mbuli.

*I Juma, I so much love, goat milk.*



**Figure 14:** A constituent projection of Kisukuma sentence with both the LDP and the RDP

#### 4.6 ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR IN COORDINATION

Coordination is a complex structure that links together two or more independent clauses using coordinating conjunctions or pauses. The elements that are joined are normally of equal importance. Coordination allows a writer to give equal weight to the two ideas that are being combined, while subordination enables a writer to emphasize one idea over the other. Chapter 3 has discussed coordination, subordination and cosubordination in detail and with examples. The following is the core and clausal juncture representation of coordination in Kisukuma.

#### 4.6.1 CORE JUNCTURE IN COORDINATION

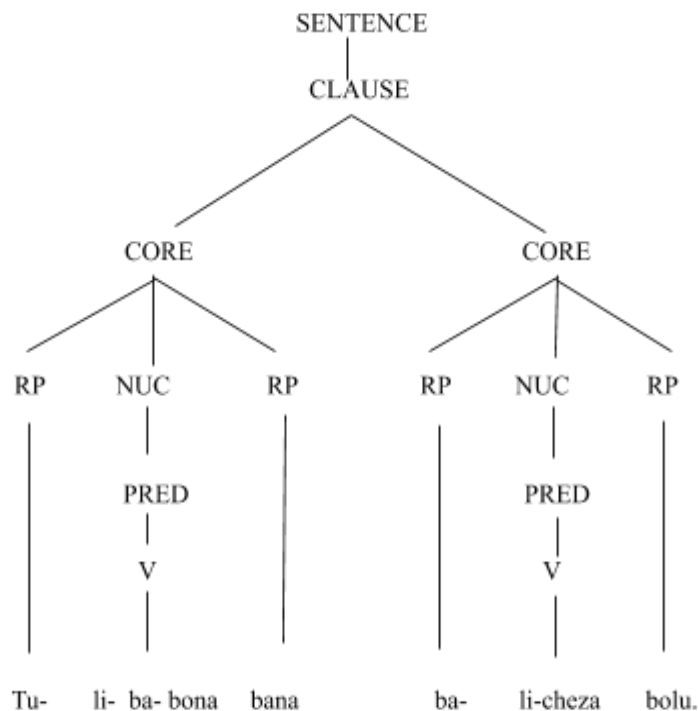
Consider the following example;

32. (a) Tulibabona bana, balecheza bolu.

*We see the children, they are playing football.*

(b) Nakonhadekeja mayo anigolele shilatu konada ntondo.

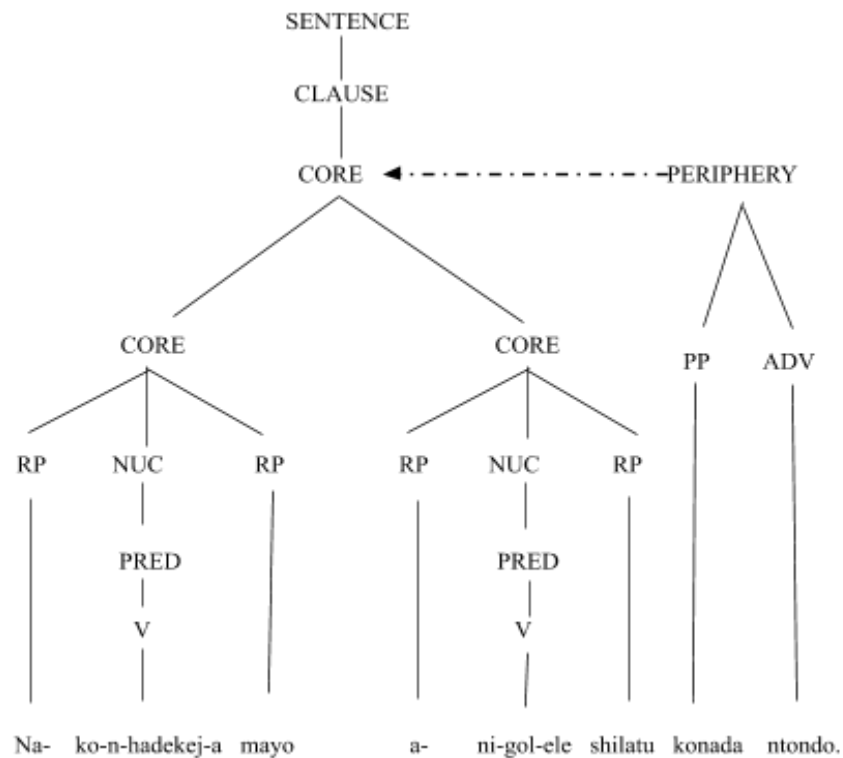
*I will convince mother she buys me shoes at the market tomorrow.*



**Figure 15: Core Juncture in Coordination**

The figure above represents a sentence that is made up of multiple cores. The clause 'Tulibabona bana balecheza bolu' 'we see the children playing football' has two cores which are 'Tulibabona bana' 'we see the children' and 'balecheza bolu' 'they are playing football'. And as it is presented in the figure above, each core is independent with its own nuclear and arguments. The initial core has its own pronominal anaphor 'Tu-' 'We' and the second one a

PA 'ba' 'they'. They both have different nucleus, that is, 'libabona' 'see' for the first core and 'licheza' 'play' for the second core. Finally, both cores have the object arguments RPs which are 'bana' 'children' and 'bolu' 'football' respectively.



**Figure 16: Core Juncture in Coordination with a periphery**

The above coordinate clause has two independent clauses. The two clauses have two different cores and one with a periphery on it. Their both daughters of the main clause. Now, the core of the first clause is made up of two RPs and the nuclear. The first RP which is the subject argument is the PA 'na-' and the second RP which is the object argument is the noun 'mayo' 'mother'. The nuclear predicate of this clause is 'konhadekeja' 'to convince'. The second clause is made up of two RPs, nuclear as well as a periphery. The subject argument RP which is a PA is 'a-' while the object argument RP is 'shilatu' 'shoes'. The nuclear of the core is



'nigolele' 'buy'. Finally is a periphery that is attached to the second core with two elements which are the prepositional phrase and the adverbial. The PP in 'konada' 'at the' ,market and the ADV is 'ntondo' 'tomorrow'.

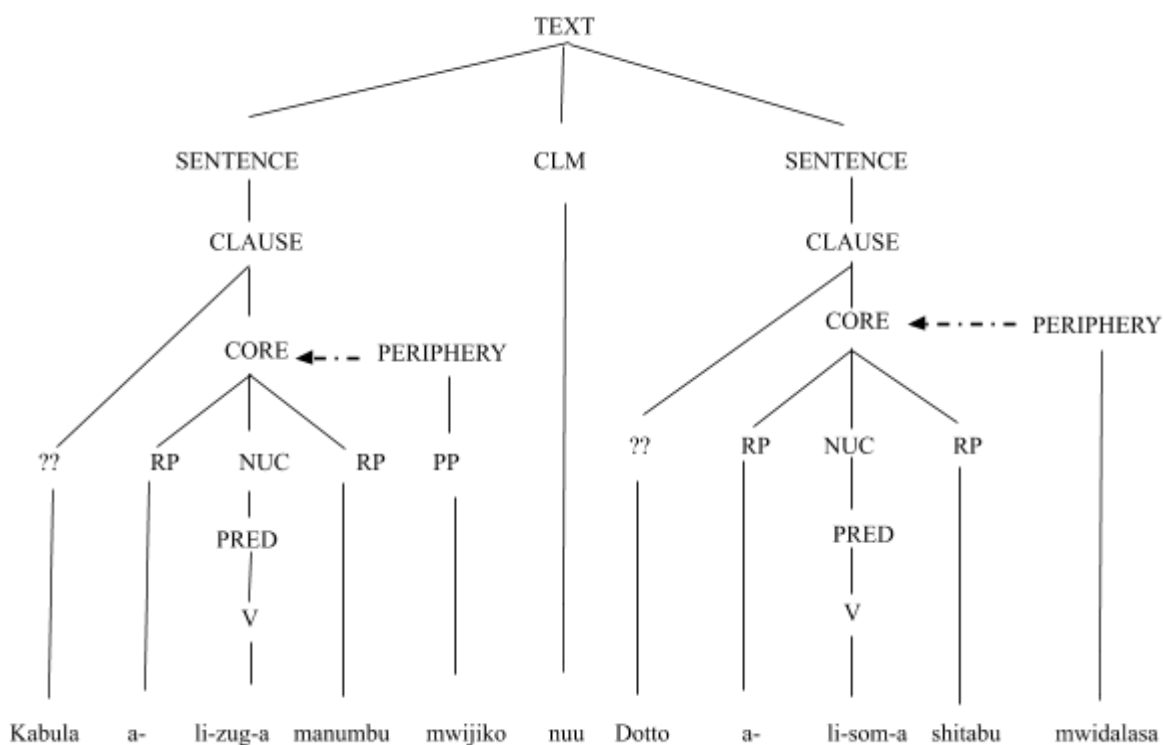
#### 4.6.2 CLAUSAL JUNCTURE IN COORDINATION

10. (a) Nzugu wangu ni' shikombe, hangi unenele sahani.

*Come quickly with a cup, then bring me a plate.*

(b) Kabula alizuga manumbu mwijiko nuu Dotto alisoma shitabu mwidalasa.

*Kabula is cooking sweet potatoes in the kitchen and Dotto is reading a book in the classroom.*



*Figure 17: Clausal Juncture in Coordination with a coordinating conjunction*

The above figure represents a sentence that is made up of two finite clauses that are joined together with a conjunction '*nuu*' 'and'. All the two joined clauses are made up of cores with periphery. The first clause has a core that bears a subject argument, an object argument plus the periphery. The subject argument in this sentence includes both the nominal 'Kabula' and the PA '*a*'. The predicate verb in this clause is the '*le-zuga*' 'is cooking' in which the root verb is '*-zug-*' 'cook' while the prefix '*le-*' denotes the tense and the suffix '*-a*' is the final vowel. Following the predicate is the object argument RP '*manunmbu*' 'sweet potatoes'. The first clause has a periphery that is directly attached to the core. The periphery in this clause is a PP '*mwijiko*' 'in the kitchen'. The same is the case for the second clause where there is a subject argument made up of the nominal 'Dotto' and the PA '*a*'. The nucleus consist of a predicate '*lisoma*' in which there is a tense affix '*-li*', a root verb '*-som-*' 'read' and a final vowel '*-a*'. Following the nucleus is the object argument '*shitabu*' 'book' and finally the periphery PP '*mwidalasa*' 'in the class'. The two clauses are independent and their joined together by a coordinating conjunction '*nuu*' 'and'.

#### **4.7 ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR IN SUBORDINATION**

Subordination joins two sentences with connected ideas by combining them into a main clause (a complete sentence) and a subordinate clause (a construction that relies on the main clause to complete its meaning). Basically, a subordinate clause is a complex clause, that is made up of more than one clause in which one clause is independent. This type of clause can have more than one dependent clause as it was mentioned in the previous chapter. One can generate an infinite number of subordinate clauses in Kisukuma. Now, the following is a core and clausal juncture representation of subordinate clause in an LSC model .

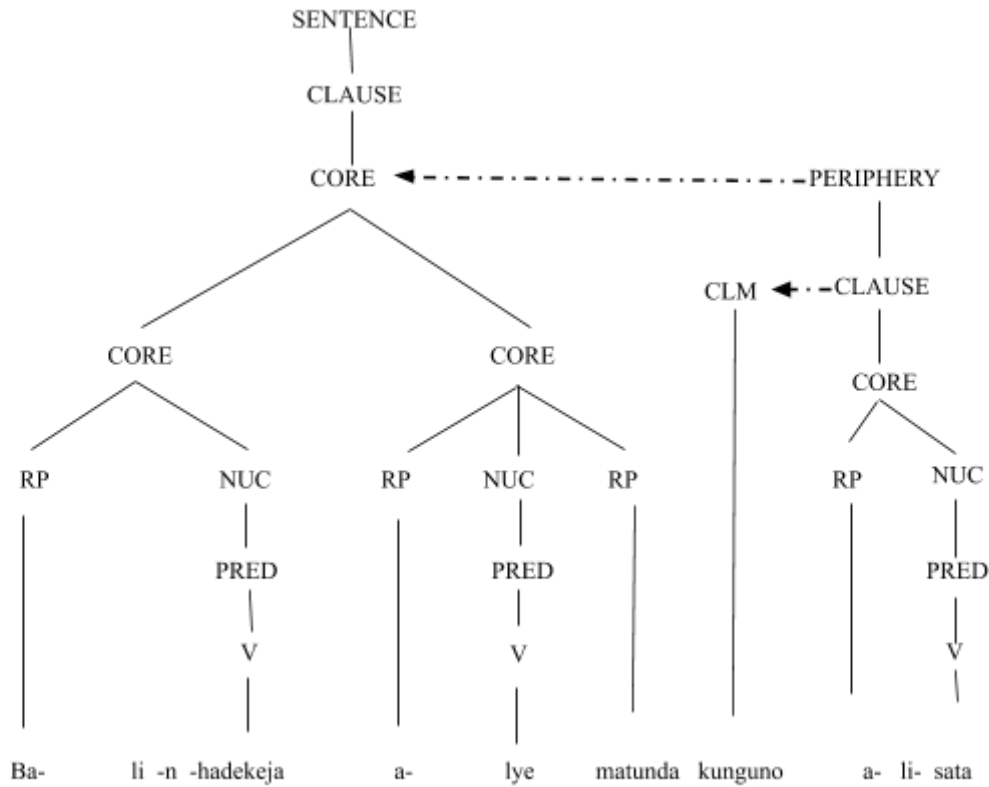
##### **4.7.1 CORE JUNCTURE SUBORDINATION**

33. (a)Balinhadekeja alye matunda kunguno alisata.

They are forcing her/him s/he eats fruits because s/he sick.

(b) Akandya kusalila.

S/he started to pray.



*Figure 18: Core juncture subordination*

#### 4.7.2 CLAUSAL JUNCTURE SUBORDINATION

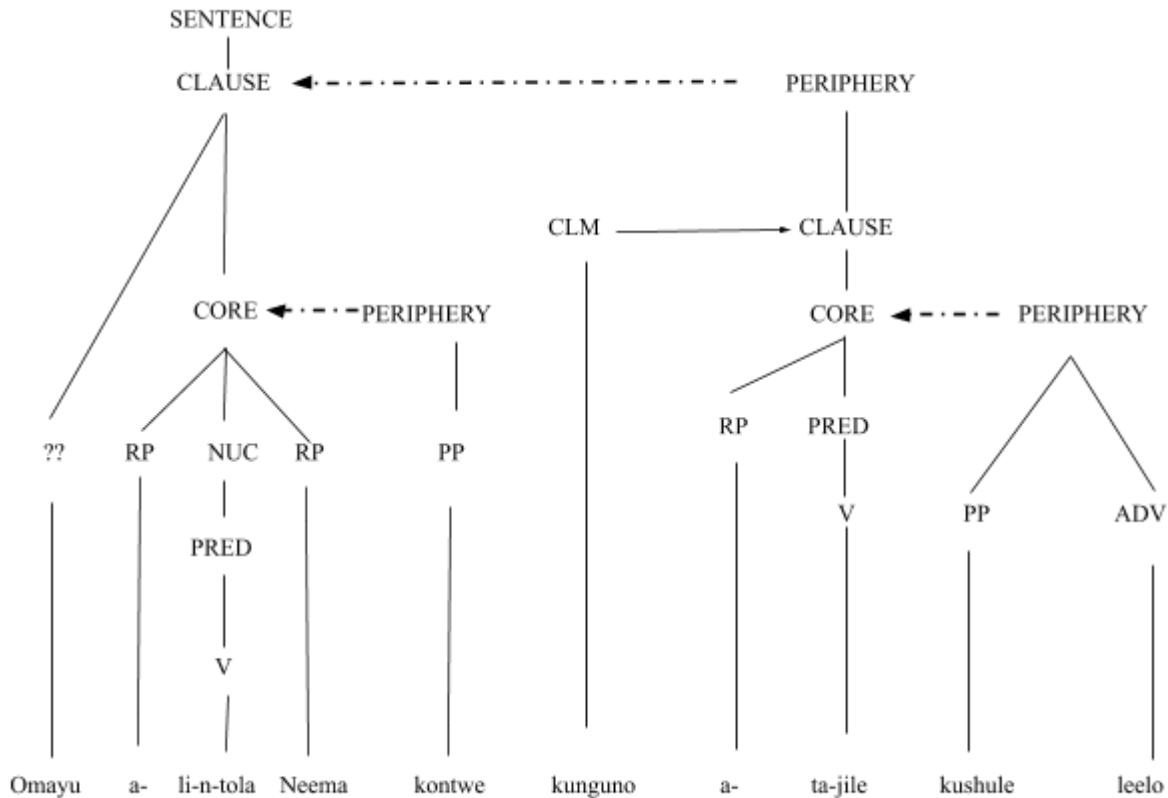
In RRG, subordination is considered as either “peripheral subordination” or “daughter subordination” (Van Valin 2005; 2007). Now, consider the following example of clausal subordination in Kisukuma in which the first clause has an adverb '*Aho*' 'when' and the second clause '*nguno*' 'because'.

34. (a) Akana kakandya kulila aho kabona lushinge.

*The child started crying when s/he saw the injection.*

(b) Omayu alintola Neema kontwe kunguno atajile kushule leelo.

*The mother is beating Neema because she did not go to school today.*



**Figure 19: Clausal Juncture in Subordination (Ad-clausal)**

The above ad-clausal subordination has two clauses, one dependent and another one a subordinate clause that starts with a subordinating conjunction 'kunguno' 'because'. The first main clause consists of the subject argument, the nucleus and the periphery all of which are nodes attached to the core except for the nominal subject. The subject argument is a combination of both the nominal 'Omayu' 'the mother' and pronominal anaphor 'a-'. The nucleus predicate has a verb 'li-n-tol-a' 'is beating' in which there are different morphemes

such as the tense marker 'li-'. A prepositional clause (PP) is attached directly to the core of that clause because it modifies the verb of the first clause. The PP tells more on where the mother hit Neema. What is interesting in the Ad-clausal representation is the second subordinate clause.

Now, the second clause starts with a subordinating conjunction '*kunguno*' 'because' which signifies a typical beginning of a reason clause. The whole clause is actually modifying the first clause by telling the reason as to why Neema was beaten by her mother. Because the clause is a modifier, it is identified as a periphery of the first clause as it is shown in the above figure. Under the periphery is where we have the clause, the core, the argument and the periphery of the reason clause. As it has been mentioned, the second clause starts with a clausal linkage marker (CLM) '*kunguno*' 'because' which is branched from the clause and not the core because it links the two clauses.

#### **4.8 ROLE AND REFERENCE GRAMMAR THE THEORY OF COSUBORDINATION**

More recently, the existence of cosubordination as a third type of linkage (next to coordination and subordination) has been called into question, most particularly by one of its early proponents Van Valin (2005) and in support of their argument, Bickel (2010). Foley & Van Valin (1984) argue that the distinction between coordination and subordination is not a primitive one, but actually results from the combination of two independent parameters, that is (a) the question of whether one clause is *embedded* within another or not, and (b) whether a clause is *independent* or not (cf. also Matthiesen & Thompson 1988, who distinguish the parameters (“hypotaxis” and “embedding”). In their argument they added that, there is a type of “nexus” in which the attached clause is dependent on, but not embedded within its attachment category. Following (Olson 1981 [1], Foley & Van Valin 1984 [2], Van Valin 2005), they use the term “**cosubordination**” for such cases.

There is an advancement of this argument whereby Van Valin and Lapolla (1997:455) argue that the clauses which show operator dependency are a crossbreed of coordination and subordination. In addition to that, Foley & Van Valin (1984) modification is based on the theory Role and Reference Grammar. They signified that the theory has a layered structure of clause (LSC) comprising of a “nucleus” (predicate), a “core” (predication/predicate plus arguments) and a “periphery” (other elements like adjuncts) that would cater for most of the elements that were previously ignored in other theories especially in languages other than European languages.

Operator dependency is considered an obligatory distinguishing feature that shares the operators across the units of juncture in a coordination (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997). It should also be noted that, in coordination, the non-matrix units are always dependent upon the matrix units. Sharing is obligatory in the construction. The dependency in cosubordination is not adverbial like it was in subordination but rather inflectional. In Kisukuma, the inflectional morphemes *-ka* and *-ki* (clause chaining markers) make a clause dependent to another clause. All the clauses with these markers are always dependent upon the previous clause that has the normal past tense marker for tense, aspect and mood marking. The following is the representation of core cosubordination and clausal cosubordination in a LSC model.

#### **4.8.1 CLAUSAL JUNCTURE COSUBORDINATION**

Consider the following sentences;

13. (a) Hamwisho gwa ngwaka, abanzengo bitaga lubanza bakachagula ntemi.

*At the end of the year, the villagers had a meeting they elected a king.*

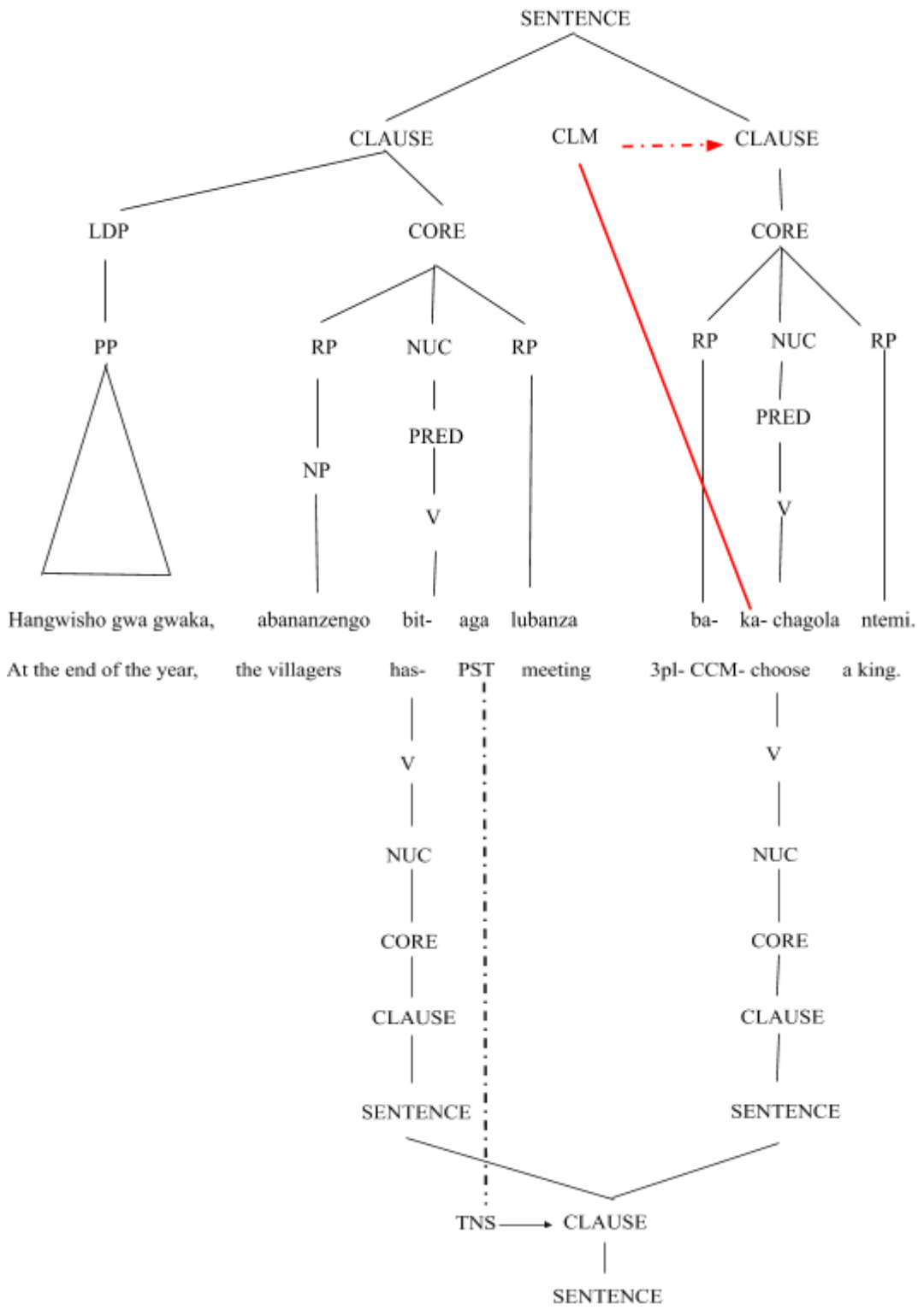


Figure 20: Clausal Juncture in Cosubordination

Cosubordination is considered a crossbreed of the coordination and subordination as the above example demonstrates. There are two clauses in the above figure in which the first clause is independent and the second one is dependent. Now different from subordination, in cosubordination the dependency is not adverbial but inflectional. What makes the second clause a dependent clause is the existence of a clause chaining marker *-ka*. Clause chaining shows dependency in cosubordination. Again, different from other constructions, the tense in cosubordination is shared across the clauses. The tense in the first clause which is marked by the past tense suffix *-aga* is therefore shared with the next clause.

The first clause starts with a LDP which is a PP that is attached to the core. The first core of the first clause is made up of two RPs and the predicate. The two arguments includes the subject argument NP '*abananzengo*' 'the villagers' and the object argument '*lubanza*' 'a meeting'. The predicate of that clause is '*bitaga*' 'had'. The second clause is what makes cosubordination interesting. The clause is also made up of two RPs and a predicate. The subject RP is a PA '*ba-*' that is followed by a predicate '*ka-chagol-a*' and lastly the object RP '*ntemi*' 'a king'.

One of the weaknesses of the RRG theory is that the theory does not show the dependency relationship in cosubordination with clause chaining markers. Of course the theory suggests that the past tense marker is shared across the clauses but the LSC does not mark clause chaining. Note that, the red labeled lines are self generated by the researcher.

#### **4.8.2 CORE JUNCTURE COSUBORDINATION**

Consider the following example;

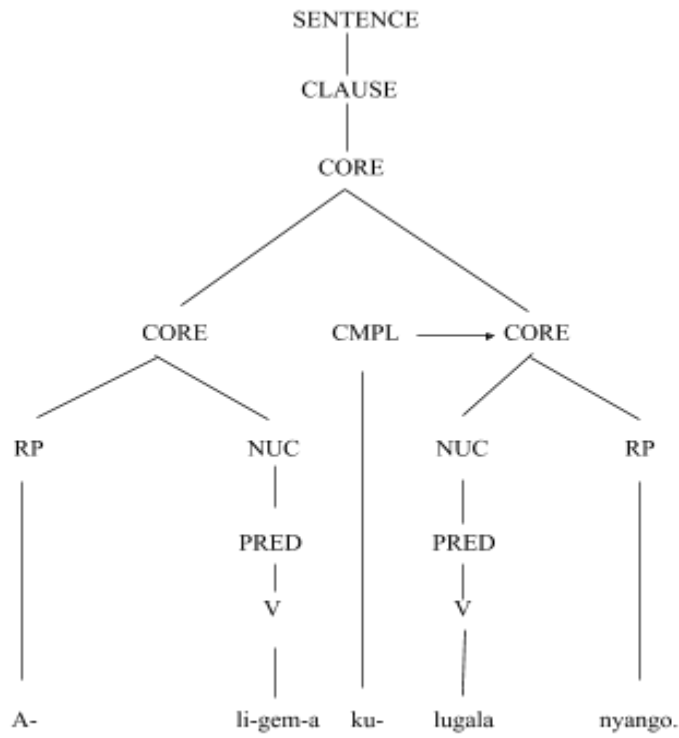
34. (a) *Aligema kulugala nyango.*

*S/he is trying to close the door.*

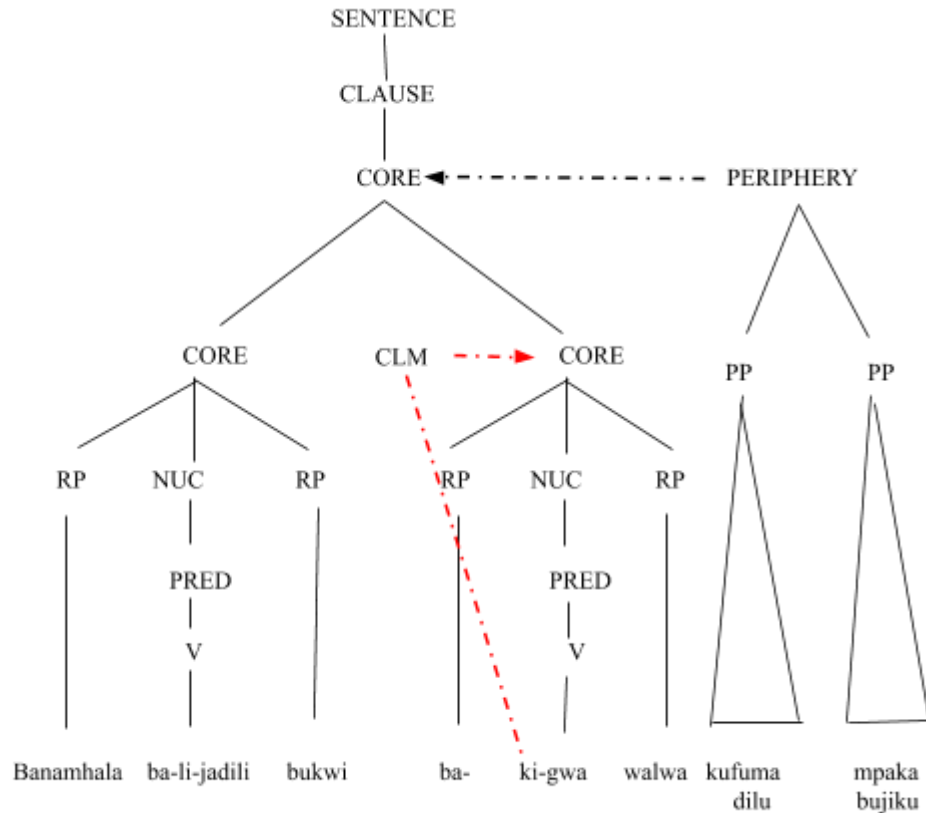


(b) Banamhala balijadili bukwi bakingwa walwa kufuma dilu mpaga bujiku.

*(The) elders are bride price they have been drinking alcohol from morning to night.*



**Figure 21: Core Juncture in Cosubordination with CMPL**



**Figure 22: Core juncture cosubordination with a periphery**

As it has been demonstrated in figure 22 above, a core juncture cosubordination has multiple cores in which one or more is dependent on the other. So the above is one clause that has two cores in it. The first core of the above clause is '*banamhala balejadili bukwi*' '(The) elders are discussing bride price' and the second core is '*bakingwa walwa kufuma dilu*' 'they are drinking alcohol from morning to night'. The first core of the clause has the subject RP made of the nominal '*banamhala*' 'the elders' and the PA '*ba-*', a nuclear '*lijadili*' and an object RP '*bukwi*' 'bride price'. The second core of the same clause starts with a PA '*ba-*' followed by a nuclear '*ki-ngwa*' and ends with an object RP '*walwa*' 'alcohol'. Now, the periphery as it is shown is branched from the mother core and not any of the daughter cores. This is because it modified the whole clause and not one of the daughter cores. It should also

be noted that, the verb of the second core has a clause chaining marker '*-ki*' that shows dependency.

Figure 21 is a short yet cosubordination in Kisukuma. The dependency of the cores is presented by the CLMP morpheme *-ku*. The first core of the clause is made up of one RP which is a PA '*a-*' and the predicate verb '*ligem-a*' 'trying' followed by the morpheme *-ku* from the second core that links these two cores. The second core is made up of one object RP '*nyango*' 'door' and the nucleus '*lugala*' 'close'.

#### **4.9 CONCLUSION**

This chapter was based on the application of the RRG theory in the language. The chapter had nine sections with different contents. The section after the introduction was about the nexus relationship and the levels of juncture in RRG. Section 4.2 presented on the levels of juncture in general and it also gave information on which among the levels of junctures is available in Kisukuma. The interaction between the levels of juncture and the nexus relationship are discussed in section 4.3. The researcher has also presented on the OP and the CP that are very important concepts in the theory. All the above mentioned sections were giving preliminary informations on things that were later used in the presentation of Kisukuma sentences in the LSC model. Section 4.5, 4.6, 4.7 and 4.8 discussed the application of RRG theory in simple sentences, coordination, subordination and cosubordination respectively.

This chapter has proved RRG to be the best framework that has captured most of the elements in Kisukuma sentences. Most of the inflections in Kisukuma verbs such as tense, aspect and mood are marked in the OP of the LSC model. The CP is also strong and it has managed to mark most of the words in the sentences. However, as the researcher has

discussed in the above sections, this theory could not accommodate all elements of the language in both the OP and the CP. The constituent projection for example could not mark the nominal subject that is available in most of Kisukuma clauses. This nominal subject consequently precedes the pronominal anaphor (PA) which is marked as the subject argument of the core. Another weakness is on the OP. The OP of RRG theory as shown above has nicely marked the verb inflections such as tense and aspect however all the derivations are not catered for. In cosubordination the theory has also proven weakness in its inability to show the dependency nature of clauses. The clause chaining marker is not marked in the LSC model.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 INTRODUCTION**

The current chapter provides a summary of the whole research that will then lead to the conclusion of the findings as well as recommendations for further research based on the analysis and which are not within the scope of the current study. The conclusion will signify whether the findings of the research provide key answers to the research problem and whether they agree with the specific objectives of the research. This chapter is arranged in only two sections whereby 5.1 will give a summary of the research and conclude the findings based on the three specific objectives provided in chapter 1 and 5.2 where recommendations for further studies will be given.

#### **5.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION OF THE RESEARCH**

The primary aim of the current research paper was to analyze clause chaining in Kisukuma within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar Theory. The data supplied were collected from the Sukuma newspaper LUMULI, a book titled "*Imani za Jadi za Kisukuma Katika Misemo, Hadithi, Methari na Desturi za Maisha*" as well as self generated data from the researcher as a native speaker. The researcher used a total of 20 text in which 9 were narratives, the other 9 were expository and only 2 procedurals. It should be noted that, there were a number of examples that were self generated by the researcher.

Different languages of the world with different morpho-syntactic features mark clause chaining differently. That being a fact, the first objective of this research was to investigate the morpho-syntactic features of clause chaining in Kisukuma. Now, before going into the

morpho-syntactic features of clause chaining in Kisukuma, the researcher gave a grumpy understanding of the morpho-syntactic analysis of the language. The chapter gave an in depth analysis of the nine noun classes that are found in Kisukuma. There was also a presentation on some of the verb as well as noun derivations and even more importantly the tense and aspect of the language. All this gave the preliminary knowledge of the language before going into the other chapter where there is only the application of that knowledge.

RRG theory suggests three types of clause linkage which are coordination, subordination and cosubordination. RRG calls the clause linkages nexus. Coordination in Kisukuma is very common where two independent clauses are matched together by the use of coordinating conjunctions in Kisukuma such as "*nulu*" 'or', "*aliyo*" 'but', "*nuu/na*" 'and', "*na hangi*" 'furthermore', "*hangi*" 'again', 'then', "*huna*" 'then' and others. Different types of subordination are also common in the language where subordinating conjunctions such as "*ulu*" 'if', "*kunguno*" 'because', "*iki*" 'since', "*aho*" 'when', "*kiti*" 'as if' and others are used to match the main and the subordinate clause. What is very interesting and the center of the research is the new type of nexus, cosubordination. This is a more recent type that was not accounted for in other grammatical theories. The chapter has provided a lot of evidence proving the existence of cosubordination in Kisukuma as clause chains.

This research paper was challenging the account of clause chaining as either narrative tense, consecutive tense, conjunctive participle or converbs as it was suggested by previous scholars. Furthermore, the research has proven that clause chaining can only be found in cosubordination and not coordination or subordination in Kisukuma. Also, narrative texts as well as the procedural texts employ the use of clause chaining to a greater extent. Clause chaining in Kisukuma has two markers that include the simultaneous marker *-ki* as well as the dependent marker *-ka*. Sentences with these marks are normally dependent on the first clause

verb for tense, aspect and mood marking. It is also very evident that the clause chains are preceded by the finite clause, and therefore, they come after the main (controlling) clause and hence the direction of the clause is post-nuclear. Unlike other languages where clause chaining is sentence based, clause chaining in Kisukuma is event based. A good example was provided in the procedural text where in every procedure, the first verb of the controlling clause will be inflected for tense, aspect and mood and all the other sentences following that clause are dependent to the controlling clause.

The study was also set to investigate the applicability of RRG theory in Kisukuma clause linkage. Role and Reference Grammar claims to be a theory of complex clauses that is applicable for all languages of the world. This research has proven that, although not fully, RRG theory offers a suitable framework for Kisukuma which is a Bantu SVO language. The noun and verb inflections are well presented in the LSC model of the RRG theory. All the three types of nexi were presented on the RRG tree however for clause chaining a modification of the theory had to be suggested.

Despite the fact that the theory has managed to a great extent to analyze and present different constituents on the LSC model, there are some constituents in Kisukuma that fail to be accounted for. Starting with the subject argument in the constituent projection, the theory can only accommodate the pronominal anaphor (PA) which is normally a prefix but it fails to mark the nominal subject that normally precedes that PA. The researcher used question marks (??) to show that constituent. Another weakness of the model in relation to data from Kisukuma is on the operator projection. The operator projection in RRG caters for the inflectional grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, directional and modality leaving out the derivatives. Derivational morphemes such as benefactives, instrumentals, and others should in fact be part of the operator projection but they are not and therefore it makes it



difficult to mark some other morphemes in Kisukuma. Clause chaining markers are also not catered for in the theory.

In conclusion, as it has been mentioned above RRG is a theory that was developed to cater for typological diverse languages such as those without verb phrases and or grammatical relations. This typological orientation of the theory has enabled the researcher to analyze a language like Kisukuma that was not accommodated by previous theories like the generative grammar models of Chomsky. The theory was very helpful in the analysis of coordination, subordination and cosubordination, however in cosubordination a modification of the theory is open for discussion.

## **5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

Because of reasons such as time and objectives, the current research paper was could not include all the aspects on the topic and the theory. The following are a number of things based on this research that are interesting and they need to be explored.

Firstly, To the best of my knowledge, this is the only Bantu research on clause chaining. The subject is premature in this language family and therefore I urge for other researchers Bantu languages other than Kisukuma to research this aspect. Other researches of clause chaining in other Bantu languages will enable a comparative study of this property in Bantu languages.

Secondly, the current research paper was based on the syntactic analysis of clause chaining in Kisukuma using RRG approach. However, the theory offers both the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic presentation. It will therefore be interesting if other researchers will analyze clause chaining basing their arguments on semantics and pragmatics. Also, the

researcher was looking into the applicability of the theory itself in terms of its syntactic presentation, there is also room to look for the applicability of the theory in semantics as well as pragmatics in Kisukuma and other languages.

Thirdly, in analyzing the morpho-syntax of Kisukuma nouns and verbs, there were instances where one morpheme would represent several categories. For example, the suffix "*-aga*" can be used as a past tense marker and habitual marker. This raises interesting questions like "in what environment, "*-aga*" suffix is used as a past tense marker and where it is used as an habitual marker?" Therefore, other researchers could look into this aspect.

Fourthly, again, the application of the theory in the language failed in a number of ways. RRG theory could not fully analyze cosubordination in Kisukuma. More research is also needed in order to come up with a theory that will cater for all the categories in cosubordination of Bantu languages such as the clause chaining marker and the nominal subject.

Fifthly, only three types of texts were used as data in the current research project. There is therefore a need to explore clause chaining in other types of texts other than narratives, expository and procedural texts in Kisukuma and in other related languages.

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## **7.0 APPENDIX**

Narr6: SHIMBA NA NG'HUNGULUME

Ha wandijo, mu shiku ja kale, aho giti yali di di di, ndimu jose jali jizengile mu chalo: Shimba, Subi, Mbogo, Mhuli na jingi... Shimba wali Ntemi. Sha lushiku lumo, Muna-Ng'hungulume akabi wa kwandya kunduka Shimba: " Fumaga ng'wikungu, naliza nazengileko, ku nguno nene, Muna-Ng'hungulume, nail ntale kukutinda bebe. Shilaka shane shikilile shilaka shako!!" N'ihaha Muna-Ng'hungulume akahilaga na shilaka shikali giki: " KOKOLIKO !!!" Shimba akashosha na kuhilima sha k'ogohya. Hangi akakumya: " Gashinaga, bebe Ng'hungulume, uli na bubu, w'iganika kinehe? Nzugu duhu, tw'ikenye nang'ho!" Ng'hungulume akashosha aho nsamilija wa Muna-Ng'hungulume akiza kung'wila mihayo ya Shimba, ak'idubula inana limo mu nkila gwakwe na kuhaya giki: " Ntwalilage Muna-Shimba inana lyenili, ulu aladuje kunenhela kitisho, nane nazunye nguzu jakwe!" Shimba nang'we ak'idubula wiyene lwitinga lwa ha lunginilinginza lwakwe na kung'wila Nsamilija: "Shili aha, ntwalilage lwitinga ulu Ng'hungulume!" Huna Ng'hungulume ak'idubula hangi inana lya wiza gete kukila lingi na kuhaya: "Tukumale! Shimba ati na manana giti gane nulu nguzu giti jane. Afumeko nulu ntondo dilu nakw'iolecha kwakwe! Alole kiya!!"

Shimba akakalalila inana lyenilo na akabula giki atinabona lukangala lungi shinhu git'isho. Akahaya: "Gash! tukubona dilu!" Dilu gete, bujiku butali, walalolile ipande lya Kiya na busunduhazu. Ikanza lyenilo, Ng'hungulume akahila kabili: "Kokoliko!! Kokoliko!!!" Huna lulu, Shimba akabona ilunde giti myoto, hangi igili lya moto lik'ika ku shilaka sha Muna-Ng'hungulume. Upela wangu wangu hamo na Ndimu jose jakwe ja ng'wipolu. Muna-Ng'hungulume akwiza uzwikwa "Ndeji" Shimba weyi akabatema Bana-Ndimu ba bubu ng'wipolu. Bakabiza ba bubu na bakali ku nguno ya Ng'hungulume ya "maguhu-abili".

107. Ha wandijo, mu shiku ja kale, aho giti yali di di di, ndimu ***From the beginning, in days of old, when the dark was di di di, animals jose jali jizengile mu chalo: Shimba, Subi, Mbogo, Mhuli, na jingi... all had built in the jungle: Lion, leopard, buffalo, elephant, and others...***

108. *Shimba wali Ntemi.*

*The Lion was the King.*

109. *Sha lushiku lumo, Muna-Ng'hungulume akabi wa kwandya kunduka*

*Then day one, the cock had become the first to insult Shimba:*

*“Fumaga ng'wikungu, naliza nazengileko, ku nguno nene, the Lion:*

*“Come out **sijui**, I am coming I have built there, because I,*

*Muna-Ng'hungulume, nali ntale kukutinda bebe, shilaka shane shikilile*

*The cock, I am greater than you, voice my is greater shilaka*

*shako!!” voice your!!”*

110. *N'ihaha Muna-Ng'hungulume akahilaga na shilaka shikali It is now*

*that the cock crew with voice a high pitched giki:*

*“KOKOLIKO!!!” like this: “KOKOLIKO!!!”*

111. *Shimba akashosha na kuhilima sha k'ogohya.*

*The lion replied by roaring that is caring.*

112. *Hangi akakumya: “Gashinaga, bebe Ng'hungulume, uli na Again*

*he was surprised: “So, you cock, you have bubi, w'iganika*

*kinehe? Nzugu duhu, tw'ikenye nang'ho!” wickedness, thought how? Come*

*only, **let us fight** with you!”*

113. *Ng'hungulume a-ka-shosh-a aho nsamilija wa Muna-Ng'hungulume Cock*

*Sbj-Pst-reply-fv when intrigue of the cock a-ki-z-a*

*ku-ng'wila mi-hayo ya Shimba, a-ki-dubul-a Sbj-Narrt-come-fv*

*Inf-tell C2- confrontation of lion, Sbj-Narr-remove-fv inana*

*li-mo mu n-kila gwakwe na ku-hay-a giki: feather C5-one from C2-tail his and Inf-say-fv this:*

*“N-twa-li-la-ge Muna-Shimba inana lyenili, ulu a-la-duje*



*“Sbj-take-Pst-him lion C5-feather this, if Sbj-Ft-able ku-nenhela  
kitisho, nane na-zunye nguzu jakwe!”*

*Inf-bring like this, and I Sbj-agree power his!”*

114. *Shimba nang’we ak’idubula wiyene lwitinga lwa ha  
lunginilinginza The lion and him removed himself feather of the mane  
lwakwe na kung’wila Nsamilija: “Shili aha, ntwalilage lwitinga his  
and told the intrigue: “It is here, take it to him feather ulu  
Ng’hungulume!” this the cock!”*

115. *Huna Ng’hungulume ak’idubula hangi inana lya wiza Then  
cock removed again a feather that is beautiful gete kukila lingi  
na kuhaya: “Tukumale! Shimba ati na very more than any other and  
said: “Let us go finish! The lion don’t have manana giti gane nulu nguzu  
giti jane. feathers like mine nor power like mine.*

116. *Afumeko nulu ntondo dilu nakw’iolecha kwakwe! Alole Let  
him come out even tomorrow morning sijui his! let him look  
kiya!!”*

*East!!”*

117. *Shimba a-ka-kalalil-a i-nana lyenilo na a-ka-bul-a  
Lion Sbj-Pst-observe-fv C5-feather that and Sbj-Narr-thought-fv  
giki a-ti-na-bon-a lu-kangala lungi shinhu git’isho. that  
Sbj-Neg-see-fv C6-impressing other something like that.*

118. *Akahaya: “Gash! tukubona dilu!” Dilu gete, He said:  
“Oooh! we will see morning!” morning very early, bujiku butali,*

walalolile ipande Iya Kiya na busunduhazu. the night still there,  
he saw on the side of East and **sijui**.

119. Ikanza Iyenido, Ng'hungulume akahila kabili: "Kokoliko!!  
Kokoliko!!!", Time that, cock crowed twice: "Kokoliko!!  
Kokoliko!!!", huna lulu, Shimba akabona ilunde giti myoto, hangi igili  
Iya moto therefore, lion saw **sijui** like fire, again **sijui** of  
fire lik'ika ku shilaka sha Muna- Ng'hungulume. come out  
with the voice of the cock.

120. Upela wangu wangu hamo na Ndimu jose jakwe He  
run fast fast maybe with wild animals all his ja ng'wipolu.  
of the jungle.

121. Muna-Ng'hungulume akwiza uzwikwa "Ndeji" Shimba  
weyi The cock came crowned "A crown" the lion him  
akabatema Bana-Ndimu ba bubi ng'wipolu. rulled wild  
animals that are bad in the jungle.

122. Bakabiza **ba** bubi na bakali ku nguno ya They  
become those which are bad and angry because of Ng'hungulume  
ya "maguhu-abili". the cock of "two-legs".

#### **Narr 7: THE LION AND THE COCK**

*At the beginning, in old days, when dark was even darker, all wild animals were living in one village: lion, leopard, buffalo, elephant, and others. The lion was the king. Then one day, the cock was the first to insult the lion: "Come out of the jungle, I am coming where I live because I am greater than you, My voice is also greater than yours!" And even now the cock*

*normally crows with a high pitch like this, “KOKOLIKO!!!” The lion replied by roaring with a scaring voice. The lion was surprised: “ So, you cock, your this cruel...what have you thought? Come and let us fight!”*

*The cock left until their intrigue came and told the cock about the lion, the cock took one of his tail feather and said: “take this feather to the lion and if he will bring me one like this, I will agree that he is greater than me.” The lion then took a feather out of his mane and gave it to the intrigue and said: “ here it is. Take this feather to the cock.” Then the cock took the most beautiful feather and said: “let us finish! The lion has no beautiful feathers like me and has no powers like me. Let him show off in the next morning and look at the east.” The lion looked at the feather and said, he had never seen something like that even once. He said: “So, we will see in the morning.” Eerier in the morning, when it was still dark, the lion was looking at the east with sorrow and heard the cock crowing: “KOKOLIKO KOKOLIKO!!!”*

*Then the lion saw a fire like crowd and then a ball like crowd fire falling from the above following the cocks voice. The lion and other wild animals ran. The cock came and was crowned the king. The lion then become the king of all wicked wild animals. They become so wicked and harsh because of a two legged cock.*

#### **Narr 8: LIMI NA NG’WEJI**

*Limi na Ng’weji bakalagana kubulaga bana babo kunguno bali na bana bingi no! Aliyo Ng’weji atashikije bulagane wabo hambunu Limi ak’ita giko: akababula. Hanuma, Ng’weji akab’inja bana bakwe bali b’ibisile. Kufuma ibanza lyenilo, BA MAGULU ABILI bali na sonda ningi no ng’wigulu.*

**123. Limi na N-g’weji ba-ka-lagan-a ku-bula-ga bana Sun  
and C2 moon 3<sup>rd</sup>Pl-Pst-agreed-fv Inf- kill- Pst C1 children babo  
kunguno ba-li na bana bingi no! their because  
they have - Pst with C1 children many very!**

124. Aliyo N-g'weji a-ta-shik-i-je bu-lagane wabo  
 Unfortunately, C2-moon Sbj-neg-keep-Ref-Pst c8-promise their  
 hambunu Limi a-k'i-ta giko: a-ka-ba-bul-a. while sun  
 sbj-Narrt-do that way: Sbj-Pst-3<sup>rd</sup>Pl-kill-fv.

125. Ha-numa, N-g'weji a-ka-b'inj-a b-ana bakwe Loc-  
 behind, C8-moon Sbj-Pst-Remove-fv C1-children hers ba-li  
 b'i-bis-i-le.

Sbj-Pst they-hide-Rec-Pst.

126. Kufuma i-banza Iyenilo, BA MA-GULU A-BILI ba-li  
 From instance that, OF C9-LEGS Det-TWO Sbj-be

na sonda ningi no n-g'wigulu. and  
 stars many very on-sky.

### THE SUN AND THE MOON

*The sun and the moon agreed on killing their children because they had so many children. However, the moon did keep the agreement. On the other hand, the sun kept the agreement and killed all her children. Later, the moon took out her children that she had hidden. From that time, people have many stars on the sky.*

**Exp1(9.12.51) pg2: KUFUNGA KWA BATEMI BAKRISTU BOSE BA SUKUMALAND**

*Badugu bane, ndimumanya kiti umo tukamala kukubegeja mhayo gwise gwa bufungi, haha lulu ndimumanya giki, tukwandya kufunga mu ng'weji gwa Desemba (mili) na giko ndibalomba abatemi ba kristu bichane bashike mutalehe 13.12.1951 kwenuko nyegeji, Ng'wanza. Na talehe 14.12.1951 tukwandya kifungo chiswe. Huna gulichene umhayo u yo gwalonjiwe na Siswe Baba Musenyere wise J. Blomjous. Tunombe Mungu abose abatemi, Bakiya, Bang'weli, Badakama na Basukuma atulinde tubone kusanja abose*

*mu lushiku lwenulo lwa tarehe 13.12.1951, uwigali, n'uwa magulu, abose tubelile kulumana lushiku ulo namalaga kuluhaya h'igulya.*

*Nene ndugu wing'we uyo amutogilwe gwa, Ntemi William Nghumbu Ng'wana Kabuta wa Ng'hung'hu Maswa.*

#### **THE FASTING OF ALL SUKUMA CHRISTIAN KING'S IN SUKUMALAND**

*1. Ba-dugu bane, ndi-mu-many a kiti umo tu-ka-mala ku-ku-begeja mhayo  
Cl2people my 1Sg-2Pl-inform like the way 1Pl-Narr-finish Inf-2Sg put on order  
agenda gwise gwa bufungi, haha lulu ndi-mu-many-a giki, tukwandya kufunga  
mu*

*ours of fasting, this time inform that start fast on ng'weji  
gwa Desemba (mili) na giko ndi-ba-l-omba abatemi bakristu month  
of December and thus plead kings christians bichane ba-  
shik-e mutalehe 13.12.1951 kwenuko Nyegezi, Ng'wanza. my fellow come  
on date 13.12.1951 there Nyegezi, Mwanza.*

*My dear people, I am informing you like the way we agreed about our fasting agenda, this  
time, I am informing you that, we will start fasting on the month of December and thus I  
plead my fellow Christian kings to come on the date 13.12.1951 at Nyegezi, Mwanza.*

*2. Na talehe 14.12.1951 tukwandya kifungo chiswe. and date 14.12.1951  
start fast ours.*

*And on the date of 14.12.1951 we will start our fasting.*

*3. Huna gulichene umhayo uyo gwalonjiwe na Siswe Baba Musenyere  
So that is how agenda that arrange by Reverent Father Bishop wise  
J. Blomjous. our J. Blomjous.*

*So that is how the agenda has been arranged by our Revelent Father Bishop J. Blomjous.*

**4. Tunombe Mungu abose abatemi, Bakiya, Bang'weli, Badakama na Basukuma Pray God all kings, of East, of West, of South and of North atulinde tubone kusanja abose mu lushiku lwenulo lwa tarehe 13.12.1951, protect be able meet all on day that of date 13.12.1951, uwigali, n'uwa magulu, abose tubelile kulumana lushiku ulo namalaga one with a car and by foot all supposed to meet day that finish kuluhaya h'igulya. say above.**

*Let us pray to God all the Kings of the East, of the West, of the South and of the North for protection so that we will be able to meet all on that day of 13.12.1951, for those with cars and those on foot were all supposed to meet on the day I have said above.*

**Nene ndugu wing'we uyo amutogilwe gwa, Ntemi William Nghumbu Ng'wana Kabuta wa Ng'hung'hu Maswa.**

*Yours who loves you much, King William Nghumbu, son of Kabuta of Ng'hung'hu Maswa.*

#### **Exp3(12.3.52) pg9: NGOKO YA MAGULU ANE**

**Biswe kunu Misungwi, Bulima, tulikumya no kunguno ya kubona ngoko ya byalilwe ya magulu ane. Banhu bingi no bakilola, na buli munhu akidima na kwilola. Mhayo gwenuyo tutinagubona na kamo kufuma myaka yose ngoko kubyalwa na magulu ane getegete. Ng'ombe jene tulijibona ja magulu adatu gwa kane gulebile, ng'ombe ili giko ikitanangwa: nyamandwa. Kwike kubona ngoko ya magulu ane husolo.**

#### **A FOUR LEGGED CHICKEN**

**5. Biswe kunu Misungwi, Bulima, tulikumya no kunguno ya kubona We here Misungwi, Bulima supprise very because of see ngoko yabyalilwe ya magulu ane. chicken hatched with legs four.**

*We, here at Misungwi, Bulima we are very surprised for seeing a hatched chicken with four legs.*

**6. Banhu bingi no bakilola, na buli munhu akidima na kwilola.**  
*People many very see, and every person touch and look it.*  
*Very many people saw it, and every person touched and looked at it.*

**7. Mhayo gwenuyo tutinagubona na kamo kufuma myaka yose ngoko**  
*action that never see even once from years all chicken*  
*kubyalwa na magulu ane getegete. hatched with legs four*  
*completely.*

*We have completely never seen such kind of a thing in all the years, a chicken hatched with four legs.*

**8. Ng'ombe jene tulijibona ja magulu adatu gwa kane gulebile, Cows them**  
*see with legs three the fourth defected, ng'ombe iligiko ikitanangwa:*  
*nyamandwa. cow of this kind called: "nyamandwa".*

*For cows, we have seen them with three legs, however the fourth limb is defected, such kind of a cow is called "Nyamandwa".*

**9. Kwike kubona ngoko ya magulu ane husolo.**  
*But see chicken with legs four first time.*  
*But to see a chicken with four legs, it is the first time.*

*William son of Walwa.*

**Prc 1: KATOGEJE KA BANA.**

*Natogilwe nageme kushosha mhayo ugo wandikile Lameck Makalanga Bogohe, mu Lumuli lwa ng'weji gwa Agosti. Babyaji bichane benabo bakahuba, nguno bakaleka kumuja untolwa n'untoji. Ambu ikale ulu namugi uhaya kuntoja ng'wana wakwe, wandyaga tame kungw'ila giki: "Ng'wana wane, kobaga nkima utole". Huna lulu ng'wana wita chene, huna lulu ulu upandika, ung'wila umyaji giki: "Baba napandikile, nantogilwe ng'wana mbati".*

*Huna lulu butuma nkombe. Untolwa nang’hwe ubujiwa na babyaji bakwe giki: “Ulitogwa ukutolwa?” Ulu ntolwa ulema, ahene badugije kung’hadikija. Hene ukung’hadikija ntolwa iti chiza. Mhayo gwenuyo ni bagwoyage, ku nguno: mbizo ilatema mpunzi. Na hangi baleke kwigonga masabo mingi, nguno yali iti chene ikale mu si ya Busukuma.*

*Lucas Jibundu,*

*Butunga, Seke.*

*127. Natogilwe nageme kushosha mhayo ugo wandikile*

*I would like to try to reply on the subject that has been written by Lameck Makalanga Bogohe, mu Lumuli lwa ng’weji gwa Agosti.*

*Lameck Makalanga Bogohe, in Lumuli of month of August.*

*128. Babyaji bichane benabo bakahuba, nguno bakaleka kumuja*

*Parents my fellow those who are mistaken, because they do not ask untolwa n’untoji. the married and the marring.*

*129. Ambu ikale ulu namugi uhaya kuntoja ng’wana wakwe, **sijui***

*old days when the father wants to marry child his, wandiyaga tame kungw’ila giki: “Ng’wana wane, kobaga nkima utole”. he starts first by telling him this: “Child my, find a woman to marry”.*

*130. Huna lulu ng’wana wita chene, huna lulu ulu upandika, ung’wila*

*Then now the child does that, then again when he finds, he tells umyaji giki: “Baba napandikile, nantogilwe ng’wana mbati”. the parent this: “Father I have found, I love the child so and so”*

*131. Huna lulu butuma nkombe.*

*Then now they send a matchmaker.*



132. Untolwa nang’hwe ubujiwa na babyaji bakwe giki:  
The one to be married and her is asked with her parents this:  
“Ulitogwa ukutolwa?” Ulu ntolwa ulema, ahene  
“Do you like to be married?” when the one to be married refuses, **thereafter** badugije  
kung’hadikija.  
can be forced.

133. Hene ukung’hadikija ntolwa iti chiza.  
However, to force the one to be married is not good.

134. Mhayo gwenuyo ni bagwoyage, kunguno: mbizo ilatema Issue  
that should be stopped, because: an adze may cut mpunzi. the  
carver.

135. Na hangi baleke kwigonga masabo mingi,  
And again they should stop demanding for bride price huge nguno  
yali iti chene ikale mu si ya Busukuma. because it was  
not like that in old days in the world of Sukuma people.

#### **MARRIAGE PROCEDURE FOR OUR CHILDREN**

*I would like to answer to what Lameck Makaranga wrote on the Lumuli of August. My fellow parents, those who don’t involve their children (man and woman) on the issue of their marriage their wrong.*

*1. Long ago, if a man wants to marry his child then he would tell him this: “my son, find a woman and marry.”*

*2. Then the son will do so and then when he finds the one he wants to marry, he will tell his father this: “Father, I have found and I love a certain girl.”*

*3. Then they send a matchmaker.*

4. *The woman will then be asked by her parents this: “do you like to be married?” If she agrees, then cows will be followed from the mans home. If she refuses, she may be forced. However, to force someone for marriage is not a good thing, this should stop because, an adze may cut the carver. And again, the parents should stop demanding huge amount of bride price because it was not the custom in Sukuma land.*

*Lucas Jibundu,  
Butunga, Seke.*

#### **Proc 2: KAGIGIJE KA NG’WANA**

*Bingi mukatogwa kusombokelwa na nyanzulo yane ku mhayo gwa kagigije ka bana.  
Bagehu bitegelegije na bingi batitegelegije kagigije ka bana.*

*Basukuma Tukagijaga Bana Nanali?*

*Basukuma bingi tukong’hyaga ng’wana kushika ng’wana wageji myaka ibili nulu idatu huna wagijiwa. Kagigije ka makanza kit’aya kati kawiza na hado yaya. Nguno yahoo ili giki: ng’wana ulu washisha ng’waka gumo, mabele ga ng’wa nina gakamalaga nguzu, ijo jikang’winhaga ng’wana kufuluma chiza, na mili gwa ng’wana kubiza ntelezu na nagunogu. Basukuma abali basabi ba ng’ombe bitegeleji chiza no, mabele ga ng’ombe umo gakabilaga ulu ng’ombe yajilila kugija, gakabupaga gete.*

*Bamuganga tulimala tubona ng’hangala ningi giki ulu kanigini kabyalwa kakusangwa kali na nguzu ningi na bazubuku wawiza gete wa kutoga gete. Nigini akongeza kufuluma chiza kushika akumala ng’waka ngima aliditima duhu. Lelo ulu wandya kudima ng’waka gwa kabili, wandya kuganda na kudomela na kusatilasatila, suso yakwe yagaluka gete, oya n’ukugalukija giki alikula nulu yaya, nose wanoga wapandikwa na ba kubyalwa numa yakwe.*

*Basukuma ulu twabona makoye gali giko, tukakwijaga mamihayo. Bangi bakuhaya: angu witalile mako, nguno nina atutembelaga mu nhungwa jawiza; nulu ng’wana aligonyeziwa lusi, nina wabukije nda, wapondekeliwe ng’wana atali ndo. Mihayo yose kiti*

*yenyo ikenhaga makoye mu makaya na widumu, ng'hana ng'hana mu witoji wa kipagani, kamo kamo nulu mu Bakristu.*

**Agijiwe Nanali Lulu Ung'wana?**

*Shigelile ng'wana agijiwe ulu umala ng'waka gumo. Huna lulu shiliwa sha kukalisha kanigini kenako ili chiza uje kuli Muganga uyo uli nang'hwe hihi akutongele mbika ki ya shiliwa ishikigelile, nulu hamo bene ng'wenekili witegelegije, chiza lulu.*

**Bugali, Ngilo Gete**

*Tuliho Basukuma bingi abo twihutilile kunisha nigini bugali, numbu na muchele. Kiti umuchele huyo tukiganikaga giki guli gwawiza kuli nigini ndo, nene NDILEMA. Muchele goi gwike guti gwawiza na hado yaya, ichene ndimulomba mubasanye Bamuganga bing'we ku buli mhayo ugulolile buzubuku ng'hana ng'hana wa binigini.*

**Kagigije Kise Kali Kinehe?**

*Kagigije kise kali ka bubu wa ng'holo (bukatili). Bashike bakang'winjaga nigini ha lubele, huna kamo na kamo banemeja kong'ha kufumila henaho. Lubele balubila magaka, nulu mashi ga ngoko, nulu makinhu gangi gabubi, angu ng'wana ogohe kulomba lunono.*

*Kagigije kali giko KALI ka "kikatili" gete kuli ng'wana nigini.*

**Gijagi Giki:**

*Shigelile ng'wana agijiwe ulu ng'wana wamala ng'waka gumo, ulu ukilanijaho ibi hado duhu, kukila ibudika lya ng'waka yaya. Ng'wana inhwe shiliwa isho Muganga alakutongele kiti ng'homba isangijemo mabele ga ng'ombe. Ulu ung'wana akiguta atalilija hangi lubele yaya, kwike nina atiz'unikingiligija lubele angu kunguno alilila!*

*Andyaga kugeheja ng'hangala ja kung'ong'hya. Ugehye ng'hamagala kiti giki: Lushiku Iwa kwandya tugemele ung'ong'hya kadatu duhu; lushiku ulwakulondela ugehya hangi,*

*hangi lushiku lungi ugehya hangi, nose yaya nulu kamo yaya, ng'wana ng'wenekili akwitulwa woya.*

*Ni buli imitugo jitatulaga magaka na mashikali gangi kugija bana bajo? Utiz'ukalalwa buliji wakwe, nguno hamo alilijiwa nota ya minzi. Gemaga kung'winha minzi ga kung'wa, nulu hamo ng'hana hangi watubaga. Ulu gusangwa makanza malihu gabitaga kufumila aho wali wang'wela ng'omba yakwe, waduja kung'winha hangi, nulu mabele ga ng'ombe masunga gasebije gusangijiwamo na tusukali twa kunonya; nulu chai yam abele, ukumona wamanila kamo na kamo nulu na makoye yaya. LEKAGI KUGIJA BANA BING'WE MU KUBANYAJA (KIKATILI).*

*F.Z. Ntwale.*

*136. Bingi mukatogwaga kusombokelwa na nyanzulo yane ku mhayo  
Many of you like to be educated through forum mine on the issue  
gwa kagigije ka bana. on weaning of children.*

*137. Bagehu bitegelegije na bingi batitegelegije \_kagigije ka bana.  
Few act on and others don't act on weaning \_of children.*

*Basukuma Tukagijaga Bana Nanali?*

*138. Basukuma bingi tukong'hyaga ng'wana kushika ng'wana wageji  
Sukuma people many breastfeed a child up to a child has reached  
myaka ibili nulu idatu huna wagijiwa. years two even three then  
weaning.*

*139. Kagigije ka makanza kit'aya kati kawiza na hado yaya.  
Weaning of time like this is not good even little no.*

*140. Nguno yahoo ili giki: ng'wana ulu washisha ng'waka gumo, mabele  
Problem it's is this: child when reaches year one, milk*

ga ng'wa nina gakamalaga nguzu ijo jikang'winhaga ng'wana kufuluma of the mother reduces nutrients that gives child nourish chiza na mili gwa ng'wana kubiza ntelezu na nagunogu. good and body of child to be **sijui** and healthy.

141. Basukuma abali basabi ba ng'ombe bitegeleji chiza no, Sukuma people who are rich of cows understands good very, mabele ga ng'ombe umo gakabizilaga ulu ng'ombe yajilila kugija, milk of cow normally become when cow reaches weaning, gakabupaga gete. they loose nutrients very.

142. Bamuganga tulimala tubona ng'hangala ningi giki ulu kanigini Doctors we end up seeing **sijui** many like this when child kabyalwa kakusangwa kali na nguzu ningi na bazubuku wawiza gete is born and found is with strength a lot and **sijui** nice very wa kutoga gete. of loving very.

143. Nigini akongeza kufuluma chiza kushika akumala ng'waka A child will add to nourish well up to when she finishes year ngima aliditima duhu. whole is blossoming only.

144. Lelo ulu wandya kudima ng'waka gwa kabili, wandya kuganda Today when you start reaching year of second, starts becoming thin na kudomela na kusatilasatila, suso yakwe yagaluka gete, oya n'ukugalukija and unhealthy and become sick, **sijui** hers changes a lot, stops showing giki alikula nulu yaya, nose wanoga wapandikwa na ba kubyalwa that she's growing or not, until stops reached with those born numa yakwe. behind her.

145. Basukuma ulu twabona makoye gali giko, tukakwijaga mamihayo.  
Sukuma people when we see problems like that, we develop blabbermouths.

146. Bangi bakuhaya: angu witolile mako, nguno nina  
Others say: isn't not so she has done **sijui**, because the mother  
atutembelaga mu nhungwa jawiza; nulu ng'wana aligonyejiwa lusi, nina  
do amble on **deeds** good; or even child **sijui** **sijui**, the mother  
wabukije nda, wapondekeliwe ng'wana atali ndo. **has carried**  
pregnancy, **sijui** child still young.

147. Mihayo yose kiti yeniyo ikenhaga makoye mu makaya na blabbermouths  
all like this brings problems in homes and widumu, ng'hana  
ng'hana mu witoji wa kipagani, kamo kamo misunderstanding, truly  
truly in marriages of pagans, once once nulu mu Bakristu. even of  
Christians.

**Agijiwe Nanali Lulu Ung'wana?**

148. Shigelile ng'wana agijiwe ulu umala ng'waka gumo.  
It is advised a child to be weaned when finishes year one.

149. Huna lulu shiliwa sha kukalisha kanigini kenako ili chiza  
Therefore now food of giving child that it is good uje kuli  
Muganga uyo uli nang'hwe hihi akutongele mbika you go to the  
doctors who your with near to advice you **kind** ki ya shiliwa  
ishikigelile, nulu hamo bene ng'wenekili witegelegije, which of food  
**sijui**, even or **sijui sijui sijui** chiza lulu. nice now.

**Bugali, Ngilo Gete**

150. Tuliho Basukuma bingi abo twihutilile kunisha nigini bugali,  
We are Sukuma people others who enjoy to feed a child ugali,  
numbu na muchele. sweet potato and rice.

151. Kiti umuchele huyo tukiganikaga giki guli gwawiza kuli nigini  
Like rice is the one we think that is good to the child  
ndo, nene NDILEMA. young, I DISAGREE.

152. Muchele goi gwike guti gwawiza na hado yaya, ichene The rice  
itself sijui is not good even a little no, that is why ndimulomba  
mubasanye Bamuganga bing'we ku buli mhayo ugulolile I ask you  
to look for doctors your about every concern that you see buzubuku  
ng'hana ng'hana wa binigini. sijui truly truly about children.

*Kagigije Kise Kali Kinehe?*

153. Kagigije kise kali ka bubi wa ng'holo (bukatili).

Weaning our is bad of cruelty.

154. Bashike bakang'winjaga nigini ha lubele, huna kamo na kamo Women  
remove child from breast, then once and once banemeja  
kong'ha kufumila henaho. they refuse a child to breastfeed from  
that time.

155. Lubele balubila magaka, nulu mashi ga ngoko, nulu makinhu  
Breast they rub with aloe vela, even dropping of chicken, even things  
gangi gabubi, angu ng'wana ogohe kulomba lunono. other bitter,  
so that child fears to ask for breast milk.

156. Kagigije kali giko KALI ka "kikatili" gete kuli ng'wana nigini.

Weaning that is like that IS cruel very to child young.

**Gijagi Giki:**

157. Shigelile ng'wana agijiwe ulu ng'wana wamala ng'waka gumo,  
Understand that child is weaned when child completes year one,  
ulu ukilanijaho ibi hado duhu, kukila ibudika lya ng'waka  
yaya. when is late may it be a little only, beyond half of year  
no.

158. Ng'wana inhwe shiliwa isho Muganga alakutongele kiti Child  
to be given food that doctor has instructed like ng'homba isangijemo  
mabele ga ng'ombe. porridge mixed with milk of cow.

159. Ulu ung'wana akiguta atalilija hangi lubele yaya, kwike  
When the child is satisfied will not cry for again breast no, likewise  
nina atiz'unkingiligija lubele angu kunguno alilila! the mother  
should not give breast just because she is crying!

160. Andyaga kugeheja ng'hangala ja kung'ong'hya.  
Start by reducing periods of breastfeeding her.

161. Ugehye ng'hamagala kiti giki: Lushiku lwa kwandya tugemele  
Reducing should be like this: day on first let's say  
ung'ong'hya kadatu duhu; lushiku ulwakulondela ugehya hangi,  
you breastfeed three times only; day sijui you reduce again,  
lungi hangi lushiku ugehya hangi, nose yaya nulu kamo yaya, g'wana  
another again day you reduce, until not even once no, child  
ng'wenekili akwitulwa woya. herself will reach a point that  
she stops.



162. Ni buli imitugo jitatulaga magaka na mashikolo  
But why domestic animals do not apply aloe vela and  
things gangi kugija bana bajo? other to stop  
breastfeeding children their?

163. Utiz'ukalalwa buliji wakwe, nguno hamo alilijiwa **Sijui**  
crying her, because maybe she is crying for nota ya minzi.  
thirst of water.

164. Gemaga kung'winha minzi ga kung'wa, nulu hamo ng'hana  
Try to give her water of drinking, nor maybe truly  
hangi watubaga. again is hungry.

165. Ulu gusangwa makanza malihu gabitaga kufumila aho wali  
If you find time long has passed from when she  
had

wang'wela ng'omba yakwe, waduja kung'winha hangi, nulu mabele ga ng'ombe  
drank porridge her's, you can give her again, or milk of cow masunga  
gasebije gusangjiwamo na tusukali twa kunonya; nulu chai **sijui** boiled put  
in and sugar for sweetening; or tea ya mabele, ukumona wamanila  
kamo na kamo nulu na of milk, you will see she gets used to little by little  
even with makoye yaya. troubles no.

#### **PROCEDURES OF STOPPING A CHILD TO BREASTFEED**

*Many will like to be informed on the procedures of stopping a child from breast feeding.  
Few know the ways of stopping a child from breast feeding while many do not know.*

**When Do Sukuma People Stop Children from Breastfeeding?**

*Many Sukuma women breastfeed their children for two or three years before stopping. However, stopping the children at this time is not proper because when a child reaches one year, her mothers milk loses nutrients to flourish a child and make a child healthy. For the Sukuma people who keeps cattle knows this well because the milk of a breastfeeding cow looses nutrients and becomes light as days goes on. Us doctors, we usually see that, when a child is born will be strong and health. The child will continue with good health until one year. When the child starts the second year, he/she starts getting thin, weak and sick, his/her health changes completely and he/she stops growing until he/she looks the same as those born after him/her.*

*We Sukuma, when we face such a problem, we start talking, some will say: the mother of the child has started affairs with other men other that the father of the child, or the mother has bared another pregnancy while the child is still small and breastfeeding. Such kind of gossips normally bring troubles in families especially in pagan families and some Christian families.*

#### ***At What Time Then Should a Child Stop Breastfeeding?***

*It is proper for a child to stop breastfeeding at the age of one. Then it is also advisable to go to a nearby doctor so that he/she advices you on what kinds of food to give to a child or if you have that knowledge do it.*

#### ***Ugali is Totally Forbidden***

*There many of Sukuma who feeds their children ugali, rice and sweet potatoes. Especially rice, many think it is the proper food for a young child. I DISAGREE. Rice is also not proper for a young child. That is why I urge you to go to doctors nearby so that they advice you on what to do for a child to flourish.*

#### ***How Do We Stop Breastfeeding?***

*We normally use cruel ways to stop kids from breastfeeding. Mothers stop kid from breast feeding once and for all and stops a child from breast feeding from that day. The breast is*

*rubbed with aloe vera or chicken dropping or other bitter things so that a child will fear to ask for breasts to feed. That kind of stopping a child from breastfeeding is very "Cruel to a child."*

*This is a Better Way to Stop a Child Breastfeeding.*

*A child should stop breast feeding at the age of one and if is more, then let it not be more that half a year. A child should be given the kinds of food that the doctor has instructed such as porridge cooked with cow milk. If the child drinks and is satisfied he/she will not cry for the breasts again. And again, the mother should not breastfeed just because the child is crying. The mother should also reduce the breastfeeding rungs to the child and not makoye yaya. to stop abruptly. You should reduce the breastfeeding rungs as follows: The first day for example, you breastfeed thrice a day and then the next day you reduce and the other day the same. Then you stop completely. The child him/herself will stop.*

*Why animals do not rub aloe vera and other bitter things in order to stop their children breastfeed? Do not care about the child's cry, maybe he/she is crying because he/she is thirsty. Try to give the child water. Nor maybe he/she is sick. So, if time has passed from the time he/she has drank porridge try giving him/her porridge nor cow milk that are boiled and put some sugar to make it sweet nor milk tea and you will see the child used to that with no problems. STOP WEANING CHILDREN CRUELLY.*

*F.Z. Ntwale*