

**"A MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF DHOLUO COORDINATE
AND SUBORDINATE COMPLEX SENTENCES "**

BY:

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

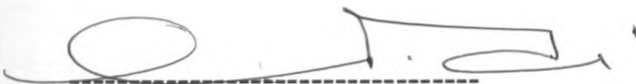


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DEDICATION

To my unforgettable and irreplaceable late mother, Victoria Aloo, for all that she was and still is to us. I just give God thanks for the woman I was so proud to call my mother. Rest in peace! Amen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am greatly indebted to my supervisors, Dr. Schroeder and Professor Omondi, for their most invaluable guidance as I did this work. Without their assistance and continual correction, it would not have been possible to finish this work. I am extremely appreciative to my friend and colleague Everlyn Oluoch who gave generously of her time to read my draft and pointed out on places that needed alteration. This study would not have been possible without the cooperation and encouragement from my nephew Fred who typed the whole work within such a short notice: his support and encouragement were very crucial. And to my friend, Sr. Angela Lyapa, Medical Missionaries Of Mary, 'Thank you for your unreserved love and support during the most trying moment of my life. May our God Keep you and bless you'.

Finally, I feel obliged to acknowledge my sincere gratitude to my congregation (The Franciscan sisters of St Anne) through Mother Mary Benigna Aoko, for giving me the opportunity to undertake this course and for their material and moral support.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY

KSN	-	Kisumu South Nyanza
BU	-	Boro - Ukwala
C	-	Complementizer
CP	-	Complementizer Phrase
CV	-	Consonant Vowel
GB	-	Government and Binding
AGRs	-	Agreement subject
AGR	-	Agreement
AGRo	-	Agreement object
AGRsP	-	Agreement Subject Phrase
AGRoP	-	Agreement Object Phrase
ADV	-	Adverb
AUX	-	Auxiliary
TNS	-	Tense
SPEC	-	Specifier
INFL	-	Inflection
PF	-	Phonological Form
POSS	-	Possessive
PREP	-	Preposition
NP	-	Noun Phrase
LF	-	Logical Form
UG	-	Universal Grammar
ASP	-	Aspect
VP	-	Verb Phrase
DP	-	Determiner Phrase
V	-	Verb
DS	-	Deep Structure

ATR	-	Advanced Tongue Root
SVO	-	Subject Verb Object
INF	-	Infinitive
IPA	-	International Phonetic Association
NOM	-	Nominative
ACC	-	Accusative
3P/SG	-	Third Person Singular
1P/SG	-	First Person Singular
2P/SG	-	Second Person Singular
3P/PL	-	Third Person Plural
COMP	-	Completive
TP	-	Temporary Prefix
TM	-	Time Marker
INCOMP	-	Incompletive
IMP	-	Imperative
STV	-	Stative Verb
RFL	-	Reflexive
LOC	-	Location
Tv	-	Trace of Verb
To	-	Trace of Object
Ts	-	Trace of Subject
FI	-	Full Interpretation

ABSTRACT

This study tests the adequacy of Chomsky's 1993 theory of the minimalist program in analyzing the complementizer phrase (CP) in Dholuo coordinated and subordinated sentences.

Chapter one contains an introductory section giving background information on Dholuo.

The theoretical framework of the minimalist program is explained here in the background of the Universal Grammar (UG).

Chapter two contains the preliminary information on some features of Dholuo like phonology and tense and aspect. This chapter also contains the core of the data on Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences.

Chapter three has the minimalist programs application of the data contained in chapter two taking a morpho-syntactic approach to Dholuo coordinate and subordinate sentences particularly testing the adequacy of the minimalist program in accounting for the CP as a feature responsible for the linkage in complex sentences.

Finally, chapter four contains the conclusions made from the analysis of the work.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter one presents a brief introduction to the language of the study, which is Dholuo, a western Nilotic language spoken by the Luo of Kenya. The other topics dealt with in this chapter which, form the basis of this study, are the introductory topics like the statement of the problem, the hypothesis, the objectives, the rationale and scope and limitation. The theoretical framework used in the analysis of the data in this work is Chomsky's 1993 minimalist program, which is discussed in the background of the philosophy of universal grammar. A brief history of the development of Generative Grammar is also discussed and lastly, the methodology used in the study.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.2 INTRODUCTION TO THE LANGUAGE OF STUDY

The Luo are one of the main groups of people who live in Kenya. They live mainly in the South west of the country around lake Victoria namely the districts of Siaya, Bondo, Kisumu, Nyando, Rachuonyo, Homa-bay and Migori. These are collectively known as Central and South Nyanza, both in Nyanza province. In addition, some Luo families, who moved out of Nyanza province and settled elsewhere, can be found in various parts of the country.

Some Luo also live in the nearby parts of Tanzania and Uganda. The language spoken by the Luo is referred to as Dholuo. It belongs to the Nilo-Saharan of the Eastern Sudanic family, specifically to the western Nilotic branch, which includes languages such as Acholi, Lango', Kamanum, Labor, Alur and the Padhola in Uganda as well as Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk in Sudan.

In the wider context, Eastern Sudanic itself is a Sub-branch of the Chari-Nile branch of the Nilo-Saharan. Tucker (1956) observes that Dholuo belongs to the Southern group of Lwo languages.

Stafford (1967) identifies two major mutually intelligible regional dialects based on the vocabulary and pronunciation namely, the South Nyanza and the Trans-Yala dialects. These distinctions are verified by Oduol (1990). She shows that Dholuo has regional characteristics that can be categorized objectively, syntactically and explicitly in to two dialects of Kisumu- South Nyanza (KSN) and Boro-Ukwala (BU) which correspond to Stafford (1967)'s South-Nyanza and Trans-Yala dialects respectively.

According to her, the (KSN) dialect is spoken in Kisumu, Nyando, Rachuonyo, Homa-Bay, Migori and some parts of Bondo districts. The Boro-Ukwala dialect is spoken in Boro and Ukwala divisions, Imbo, parts of Yala division and the whole of Siaya district. The Boro Ukwala dialect is a minority dialect and is generally avoided in publications, while the KSN dialect is found in the bulk of literature in Dholuo- including the Bible and readers in schools, according to Okombo (1997).

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study tests the adequacy of Chomsky's theory of the minimalist program in analyzing the complementizer phrase (CP) in Dholuo coordinated and subordinated sentences. The minimalist program is a development of Generative Grammar, which is essentially feature- driven. The features, which are either morphological, or lexical, are only moved for checking for their correctness in their syntactic positions and they can only appear in the structure if they are manifested in the language concerned.

1.4 HYPOTHESES

This study will test the following hypotheses:

1. Dholuo has lexical complementizers (CP) and a C head represents it.
2. The coordinated and subordinated sentences can share the subject in Dholuo coordinated and subordinated sentence.
3. The CP (C) heads the subordinated and coordinated clauses in Dholuo coordinated and subordinated sentence.
4. Coordinated and subordinated sentences in Dholuo have the same structure.

1.5 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study are:

1. The study will specifically deal with the complementizer phrase (CP) in the context of Dholuo coordinate and subordinate sentences like those of addition, contrast, concession, time relations, purpose, goal, consequence, condition and the complementary clause.
2. It will find out whether or not the minimalist program can be used to adequately analyze Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences. This is because Dholuo complex sentences have been studied using the other theories of Generative Grammar but not using the minimalist program, which is much newer.
3. The study looks into the morpho-syntactic structure of Dholuo coordinated and subordinated complex sentences.
4. The study aims at finding out the presentation of the subject in Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences, that is, whether it is morphologically or lexically represented in the sentences.

1.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

This study will concentrate on the morpho-syntactic analysis of Dholuo complex sentences (subordinate and coordinate clauses). Specifically it will look into the possibility of using the theory of the minimalist program in analyzing the morpho-syntactic structure of Dholuo coordinated and subordinated complex sentences. Thus the analysis will make use of sentences and not discourse.

The work will therefore leave out those components of grammar that deal with semantics, and phonetics, unless they have some bearing on the subject of the study, and concentrate only on the morpho-syntactic components of coordinated and subordinated sentences. It will also not go into the details of aspect and tense and tone but will highlight them in as far as they are concerned with the study.

1.7 RATIONALE

From the literature review, it was found out that some work has been documented in Dholuo complex sentences like Onditi (1987). **The syntax of complementation in Dholuo.** Omondi (1982) has also discussed in details the notions of coordination, subordination and complementation. There is no work documented on Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences that has been done in the framework of the minimalist program. This means that the area of complex sentences has not yet been adequately investigated and therefore, this study will be able to provide a worthwhile morpho-syntactic analysis of Dholuo coordinated and subordinated complex sentences.

1.8 THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.8.1 THE BACKGROUND OF UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR

Haegeman (1994:14) notes that Generative linguists have the idea that man is endowed with a language faculty, which makes it possible for him to learn language. This faculty has a general component called the I-language that is concerned with competence and the E-language, which deals with performance. The generative linguists believe that this is an innate capacity, which is common to all human beings.

Radford (1988:3) states that:

‘ Competence is the native speaker’s actual knowledge of the language, which enables him to comprehend the relationships of linguistic elements and to analyze, generate and describe the structure of the language in grammar’.

It is the native speakers’ awareness of formal patternings of their languages and the situational appropriateness of their language. A grammar of the language is the coherent system of rules and principles that are at the basis of grammatical sentences in a language according to crystal (1980:66). The generative linguists conceive of this grammar as a reflex of native speakers’ competence as the grammar is a representation of the native speakers’ internal linguistic knowledge. Linguistic competence is achieved despite inadequacies like slips of the tongue, hesitations and incomplete sentences.

Performance, which is seen to be in contrast with competence, is the specific utterance of speech in concrete situations according to Crystal (1980:254). It builds up structures of languages for proper usage and focuses more on cultural conventions and normative concepts. Performance is subject to psychology and other inter-linguistic disciplines such as ethno-graphy, social linguistics, pragmatics and other conventional analysis only to mention a few.

Generative Grammar specifies three conditions that a grammar must meet for it to be an adequate grammatical model Radford (1988:4) explains this in details. He explains that a grammar must reach, observational adequacy, which means that it must be able to distinguish those strings of words, which are sentences of the language in question. In other words it should provide a description of facts like the question rule and provide general rules and principles to explain why some sentences are not acceptable. The generative rules should lead to the prediction that some structures are grammatical and others are not.

A grammar reaches descriptive adequacy if in addition to describing the data, it can also provide an account for the native speaker's intuition and if it contains the general principles and processes that enables the native speaker to interpret sentences in his language and decide on the acceptability of the sentences.

A grammar or a theory reaches explanatory adequacy if it can account for the fact that the principles of the internal grammar can get to be known by the speakers that is, if it can account for language acquisition and provide good reasons for the rules of grammar.

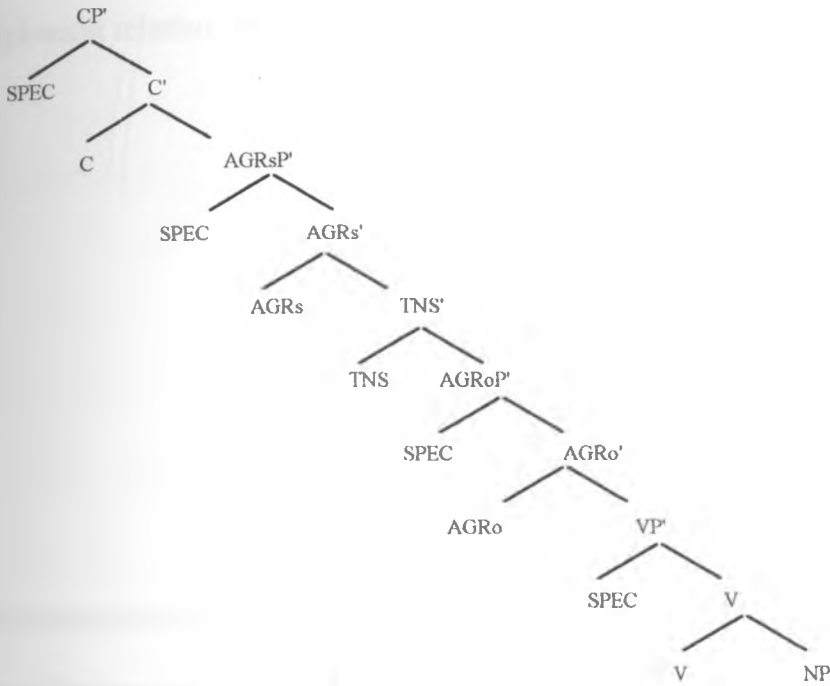
It is with this background of language learning and acquisition and that this study undertakes to examine the adequacy of minimalist program to account for the CP in Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences.

1.8.2 THE MINIMALIST PROGRAM

According to Cook and Newson (1988:312), the minimalist program is essentially a feature driven theory and is different from the other Generative Grammar theories before it in that unlike the others before, which operated on rules and modular principles, it has been minimized to more universal principles, which makes it possible for linguistics expressions to be represented at the surface level. In the minimalist program, the lexicon contains all lexical and morpho-syntactic information about nouns and verbs. This means that verbs are given their inflectional properties and forms in the lexicon and the already inflected verb is inserted in to the base position in the Verb Phrase (VP). The verb does not have to move anywhere to become inflected. Instead of the inflectional nodes adding inflections to bear verbs, they perform the function of checking that the inserted verb has the appropriate features when it moves into them.

The following is Chomsky's new basic sentence structure: (Chomsky 1993:17)

(1)

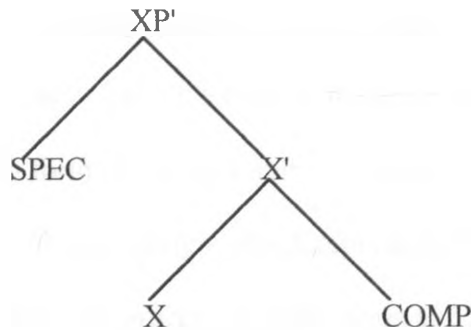


For example a verb moves to tense (TNS) to check that it has the right tense and to agreement (AGR) position to check that it has the right agreement features. If the checking procedure is satisfied, then a grammatical sentence results. Movement is only for checking purpose and the inflections, which originate in the lexicon and are checked against their syntactic positions to which they move in the structure. In GB, the deep structure was an internal structure between the lexicon and syntactic representation. The information on the lexicon was projected on to the deep structure levels. In the minimalist program, the structure building process has done away with the projection principle and

the deep structure level of the GB's T-model. Although the minimalist program has kept specifier head and head to head relationship of X-bar theory Chomsky (1993:6).

Words from lexicons were typically transformed into specifier (SPEC) head or head complement relation. See the diagram below: Haegeman (1994:105)

(2)



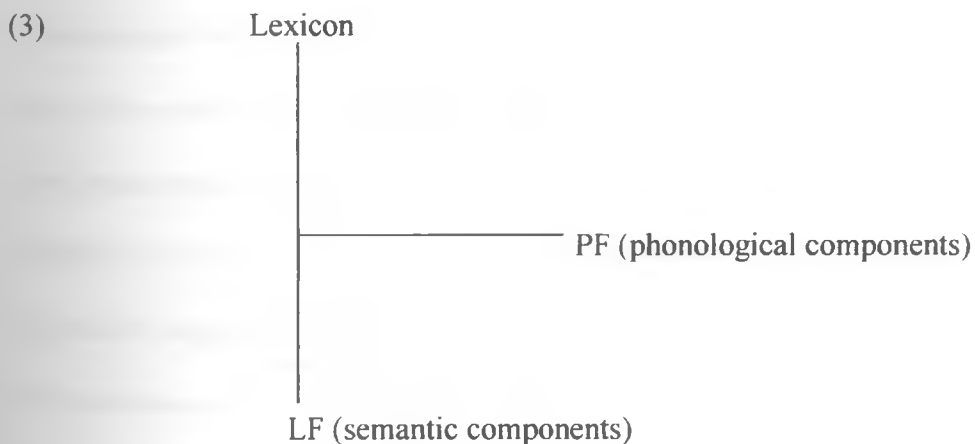
This was a standard plan that was typical for all phrases. The tree above represents the levels of expansions for all phrase structures. Each of the levels identifies a level of phrasal expansion.

In the minimalist program, the structure building process replaces the projection principle and the Deep Structure (DS) level of the GB T- model found in Chomsky (1981).

In GB, linguistic systems were conceived to have external surface levels, which had semantic and phonological components called the Logical Form (LF) and the Phonological Form (PF) respectively and there was also perceived to be another basic information about them, which was at the internal level called the (DS) the deep structure.

The minimalist program has questioned the three levels of LF, PF and (DS) and suggests that only two are necessary since language is a mapping between sound and meaning Cook and Newson (1988; 318). The minimalist program emphasizes the surface level, the element that constitute these levels and the computations by which they are constructed.

The interface levels are to be the only levels necessary. Thus according to Cook and Newson, only LF and PF are necessary. What has remained is a lexicon and a computational system, which forms LF and PF representations from lexical information. The following is the ideal minimalist design, which represents the selection of the items from the lexicon by a computational process of numeration and the two levels of (PF) and (LF) that is the phonological and the semantic levels, which are really necessary: Cook and Newson (1988:314).



In this diagram, the lines represent the computations that form the Logical Form and the Phonological Form representations, drawing from the Lexicon.

1.8.3 MOVEMENT AND MORPHOLOGY

In GB movement was triggered by various notions like, WH, V-movements caused by AGR and TNS, word order changes like in passivization, etc. In the minimalist program, the need for checking the features is what causes the features to be moved. The movement of features is part of the structure building process as the creation of nodes or heads is part of the process of moving the elements into them. TNS and AGR are now bundles of abstract features, and these abstract inflexional features are checked for their correctness in their syntactic positions in the structures. The movement to AGR and TNS are to check the features and to make sure that they do not appear at the PF.

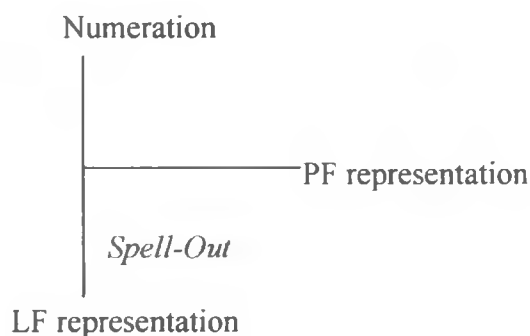
The structure building process starts by selection of a set of lexical items from the lexicon from which the structural description is to be built. This set of lexical items is called **numeration**. Items cannot be left in the numeration unused if a grammatical sentence is to be the result. Cook and Newson (1988:319). It is important to note that this minimalist program framework does not allow for unnecessary elements in the structure of the sentences and that whatever appears in the structure must have a role to play, semantically, syntactically or phonologically. That is why the verbs are formed in the lexicon together with all their features, which must be checked at some point of the derivation.

The computation builds structure by selecting elements from the lexicon and combining them in relevant ways. This is according to native speaker's competence of the language in question. The computation must be two fully formed structural representation, one at LF and one at PF. The process of spell out controls the structure building process because specifically semantic information (LF) is not allowed to appear at PF and phonological information is also not allowed to appear at LF.

A derivation converges at each of the interface levels if such conditions are met otherwise; it crashes Cook and Newson, (1988:321). Convergence is the stage at which LF and PF representations make sure that they contain only the information of the relevant sort in order to satisfy the principle of Full Interpretation (FI). The principle of Full Interpretation and Spell –Out are integrated within the Principle of Economy to control the structure building process such that no unnecessary element appears in the structure. The following diagram represents the convergence:

Cook and Newson (1988:320).

(4)



It was mentioned earlier that the minimalist program is essentially feature driven and that whatever happens at the computational level including movement, is triggered by the morphology of the language concerned.

After the computational process, then the process moves to the building of individual trees from lexical items and then combining them to form larger trees. When the convergence has taken place and the lexical items have been merged by spell out, then the process moves to movement. Movement is part of the computational system because the computational process also moves the elements in the trees as it builds them up.

For example, the Creation of the specifier node will be part and parcel of the process of moving an element or feature into it. This is so because elements are moved into structural positions created by the process itself. The process, which moves element, is called **move**. This movement is constrained by (minimal link condition) which accepts movements into the nearest relevant position (Cook and Newson (1988; 312). They are then checked for their correctness in their syntactic positions.

Case features, now found in the Determiner Phrase (DP), are also checked properly for their NPs by raising them to SPEC/AGRsP and AGRoP. Case marking has been reduced to case checking (case theory) as in the minimalist program, case theory essentially involves checking case features of the Determiner phrase (DP). Proper case assignment is done through the noun –specifier head relationship of their respective heads. Schroeder (2002:18)

Languages with strong agreement (AGR) force verb movement to do away with abstract features before the process of spell out and weak ones do not force verb movement as no features have to be checked and the verb thus appears straight away at PF and LF levels..

In GB, the verbs were generated from the VP under their lexicon heads. Other features of the verb like morphemes and tense were also generated in the same way. The verb only moved in order to pick them so that the sentence could be grammatical at the surface level. The details of this have been explained in Schroeder (2002:16).

Agreement markings of subject and object are now differentiated by Agreement subject (AGRs) and Agreement object (AGRo) respectively, which are now feature containing bundles.

1.8.4 The Theoretical Review

This summary of the development in Generative Grammar has been done in details by Schroeder (2002:5).

Cook and Newson (1988) observe that the minimalist program is part of the development and changes that Generative Grammar has undergone since its inception by Chomsky in 1957.

In 1957 Chomsky introduced the theory of Generative Grammar in his book **Syntactic Structures**. In this book he argued for the separation between phrase structures and the

transformations that are responsible for them. Here he developed the notion of the Deep and Surface structures in **Aspects of the theory of syntax** all found within the theory known as The Standard Theory.

The theory of Government and Binding was conceptualized in the eighties in Chomsky's **Lectures on Government And Binding** (1981). This theory was also called Principles and Parameters. This theory was built on the base of Phrase Structures and maintained the concepts of Deep and Surface structures and developed other notions which were interrelated like X-Bar, Case Theory, Binding, Bounding, etc.

The latest theory, which is the minimalist program, maintains that there should be simplicity in making general statements about languages and advocates that the important representations are at the interface levels of the Phonological form (PF) and the Logical form (LF) since language is a merge of sound and meaning.

1.8.5 PRO DROP PARAMETER

Pro-drop parameter, which is also related to the complementizer phrase, (CP) is the parameter, which differentiates languages, which do not allow subject pronouns to be omitted or suppressed and those, which do.

It has been suggested that pro-drop languages always have a rich system of Verb-Agreement. They are also called Null Subject languages. This follows the notion that if a pronoun is dropped, its content must be recovered or identified by other means in the verb. Consider the following Dholuo subordinate complex sentence of reason:

(1a) Onyango mor nikech o- kal -o
 Name -NOM. happy-STV because 3P/SG - pass-INF

Onyango is happy because he has passed.

Here the subject 'Onyango' is not repeated in the subordinate clause because its repetition would amount to redundancy in Dholuo. Instead, the overt subject is represented by the pronominal morpheme for third person singular in Dholuo.

1.8.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

The earlier works of Dholuo grammar were written by people who were interested in providing accounts for beginners learning the language for elementary use. They were meant to assist missionaries and foreigners who had to acquire a working knowledge of the language for everyday interaction with native speakers but may not have special knowledge of linguistic jargon as Stafford (1967) states. They were accurate enough and the material found them is very useful in this study. Such works include: Malo, (1952), **Dholuo without Tears.**

Tucker A.N, (1960). **A grammar of Kenya Dholuo With Vocabulary**, Gregersen E.A, (1961) **Luo. A Grammar.** Hunting ford G.W, (1969) **Elementary Lessons In Dholuo**, Starford, (1967) **An Elementary Luo Grammar With Vocabularies** and Blount, (1971) **Luo English Dictionary.** All these are useful as data for this study.

The works that have been done based on modern theoretical approach to language description which are also very important for reference in this work include:

Omondi (1982). **The syntactic structures of Dholuo.** This work contains a thorough analysis of Dholuo syntactic structures using the theoretical framework of Standard Theory of Transformational Grammar. In this work, there is detailed basic information on Dholuo phonology, morphology and it essentially touches on all basic syntactic structures of Dholuo from first principles. Verb morphology found in this work is very useful in this study, which is essentially morpho -syntactic. This work has a detailed analysis of

Dholuo coordinate and subordinate sentence structures and the details of complementation are also found in this work. Is equally important for this work.

Okoth (1982). **Dholuo Morphophonemics in Generative Framework** is an investigation of Morphophonemic's alterations found in the language. It concentrates on morphology and phonology and examines the phonetics and morphological motivations for these changes. This work gives the rationale for any single processes whose effects are shown in different morpho syntactic paradigms finally coming up with elaboration of the theoretical issues raised during the analysis.

Okoth (1997). **A function paradigm of Dholuo constituent order** is a thorough account of Dholuo constituent order, which combines the explanatory resources of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in the framework of Functional Grammar. This work includes those grammatical elements in Dholuo, which constitute the constituents. The connectives discussed in this work provide a useful insight in this work, which is on Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences. The detailed discussion on tense and aspect in Dholuo is very resourceful because the morphology of the verb is also very essential in this work. It is important in establishing whether Dholuo has morphological tense marking or not.

Onditi T.L.S. (1987). **The Syntax of Complementation in Dholuo**. This work takes the Government and Binding approach in describing the complement structures in Dholuo using the theory of Transformational Generative Grammar. It addresses the relationship

between the pronominal NPs and their markers on the verb in Dholuo sentences and also examines the phenomenon of movement in Dholuo sentence with the complement clause using the theta and bounding theory. This is important as it addresses movement from the perspective of GB while this work approaches movement from the perspective of the minimalist program, which treats movement differently. It also addresses the dependent issues of Phonetically Null and the Phonetically non-Null and their relationship in the sentence structure.

Oduol J.O. (1990), **Dholuo Dialects (Synchronic - states and some historical inferences)** this presents the varieties of Dholuo, which constitute regional dialects on the basis of composition, and characteristics of Dholuo speaker. This work takes a social linguistic approach or orientation in the identification and analysis of the dialects features. The analysis shows that there are systematic regional differences in Dholuo Phonology grammar and vocabulary, which characterize given regions by their unmarked occurrence. The dialect features, which are identified, provide dialect groupings on the basis of which we make historical inferences. This work is important in understanding the background of the language of the study, which is, Dholuo. It deals with lexical items of the noun class in relation to dialectical variations. Her also work describes the semantic aspect of the noun in Dholuo.

Adhiambo J.H.A (1981). **The major phonological processes in Dholuo** presents an in-depth analysis of Dholuo vowel system and the major phonological processes found in

the language. Okoth (1977) complements Odhiambo's work by adding Dholuo tonal dimension to it.

Ogutu. E (1989). **The syntax of Dholuo conditional sentences provides** the syntactic description of the conditional sentences of Dholuo using the theoretical framework of Extended Standard Theory and certain notions of the Revised Extended Standard Theory. It deals with the functions, semantic and the syntactic constituents of Dholuo conditional sentences.

Nimura N. (1996). **A prosodic Study of Dholuo.** This work attempts a comprehensive grasp of the prosody of Dholuo adopting Auto- segmental Phonology as the general theoretical model. She has based the analysis on tone, syllables segmental features, etc. The analysis in this work is very important in providing an understanding of aspect and tone in Dholuo as it explains tone in details.

Oduor (1998). **A functional Analysis of Argument Ellipses in Dholuo** is an investigation of the null positions in some surface constructions in Dholuo. It provides a syntactic interpretation of the Elliptical constructions in Dholuo.

Atoh (2001). **Semantic Analysis of Dholuo Nouns: The Semantic Field Approach** presents the semantic properties of Dholuo noun and their relationships in the sentence.

Ocholla A.E, (2003) **A morphosyntactic analysis of Dholuo verbal system** provides an analysis of Dholuo verbal system using the minimalist program. This work highlights all the possible inflections and derivations realized on Dholuo verb.

1.9. METHODOLOGY

The analysis will include knowledge of theory therefore library research is needed in order to be equipped with the knowledge on the claims and principles of minimalist program theory. Being a native speaker of Dholuo, this study is going to rely heavily on the writer's intuition for the generation of data. Since intuition alone is not enough, verification and consultation of other native speakers of Dholuo will be necessary. There will be data analysis within the theoretical framework and also discussion with other linguists.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 DHOLUO COORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE COMPLEX SENTENCES

2.1 Introduction

This section starts with a brief introduction to complex sentences in general. This is necessary because the study is on the complementizer phrase (CP) in the context of coordinate and subordinate complex sentences of Dholuo. The chapter also contains a brief insight into Dholuo phonology introducing the reader to Dholuo phonemes since the written language makes use of them. Some aspects of morphology of Dholuo verbs are discussed next because the theory used in the study is morpho-syntactic. There is also Dholuo sentence structure since the study is based on the relationship found in the sentence brought about by the complementizer. Finally, there is a description of Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences.

A complex sentence is a sentence in which one or more of the clauses is functioning as an element of the whole sentence. The clauses are in a hypotactic relationship in that they form a hierarchy in which the subordinate is a constituent. Hypotactic relationship means that they have different syntactic status, one being dependent upon the other.

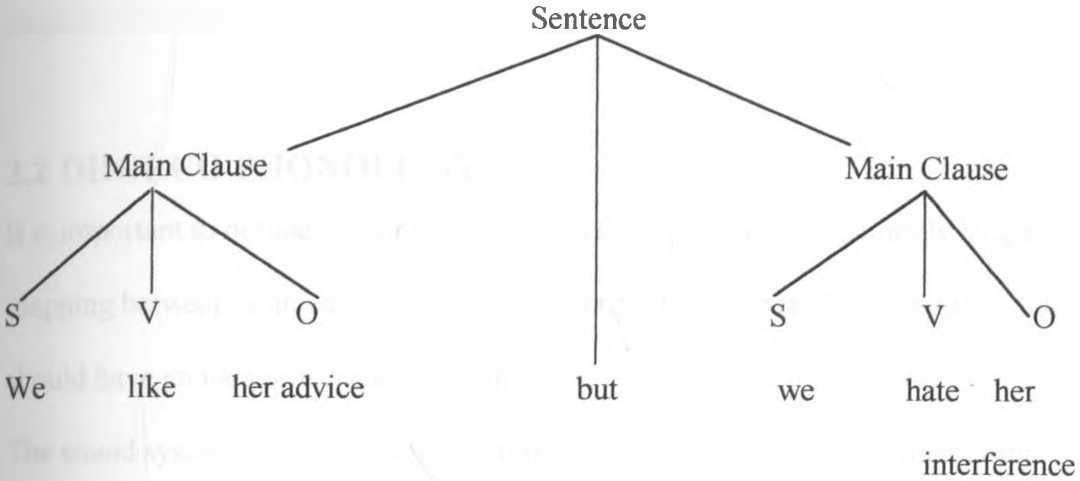
Subordinate is usually contrasted to coordinate linkage, where the units are equivalent.

The markers of the linkage in subordination are the subordinating conjunctions or the subordinators. Coordination refers to a construction where two or more sentences phrases

or words are coordinated or conjoined, Quirk et al (1985:918). Coordination refers to linkage of units or constituents of the same level.

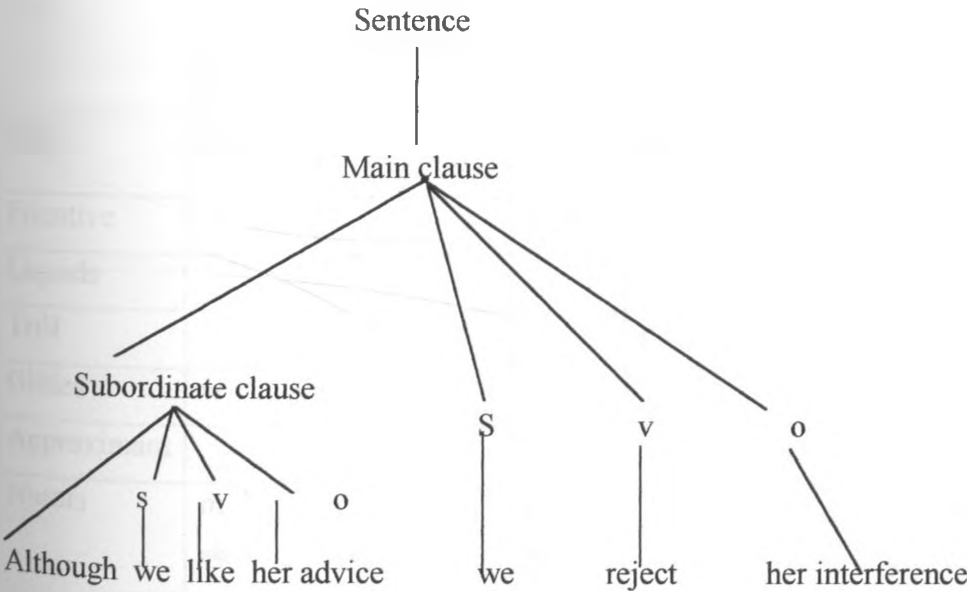
The following diagram shows two main clauses, which are coordinated, Quirk et al (1985:91).

(5)



Subordination is shown in the diagram below:

(6)



In the first diagram, the units are constituents of the same level of the constituent structure and are independent, where as in the second diagram, the subordinate, ‘although, we reject her advice’ is a constituent of the super ordinate which is the whole clause. Therefore, it is dependent and functions as one of its elements. Since the study is based on coordinate and subordinate sentences, their definition is basic for this study if they are to be properly identified and described in Dholuo.

2.2 DHOLUO PHONOLOGY

It is important to outline Dholuo phonemes in this study because naturally language is a mapping between sound and meaning and in order to understand the language, the reader should have an idea of its sound system.

The sound system of Dholuo consists of the two major classes of consonants and vowels like all other languages. The other elements include, tone, vowel and harmony.

The following is an IPA representation of Dholuo consonant.

(7)

	Bilabial	Labiodentals	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b			t d	tʃ dʒ	k ɡ	
Fricative		f	θ ð	s			h
Liquids			l				
Trill				r			
Glides	w						
Approximant					j		
Nasals	m mb	nð	n nd		ɲ nɳ	ŋ ng	

The distinctive features of vowels are backness and height and the Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) features. Below is an IPA chart showing Dholuo vowels, Omondi (1982:17)

(8)

i		u
I		ʊ
e		o
ɛ		ɔ
	a	
	ɶ	

Vowel harmony is a system that dictates that all the vowels in a word are either all open or closed. For example all the vowels in the following words are either all open or closed.

See the examples below:

(2a) /O w u o y o/ - 'cowdung'

(b) /ɔ w ʊ ɔ y ɔ / - 'he has spoilt'

(c) /ɲ i e l o/ - 'python'

(d) /ɔ ɲ I ɛ l ɔ / - 'he has pushed'

2.2.1 Vowel Elision

This is a phonological process whereby when a word, which ends in a vowel, precedes a word beginning with a vowel, the word final can optionally be elided. See the examples below:

(3a) Ne odok - Nodok

(b) Ka owuok – Kowuok

(c) Nende idhi _ Nidhi

2.3 SOME ASPECTS OF DHOLUO VERB MORPHOLOGY

The verb morphology is basic to this study because the theory used in this study is feature driven. The base form of the verb, which is the infinitive usually, has a disyllabic structure of CVCV, which has a low tone pattern. See the following examples:

(4a) Lúw- ò
Follow-INF

To follow

(b) Rít -ò
Wait-INF

To wait

(c) Kál -ò
Pass-INF

To pass

(d) Tùg-ò
Play-INF

To play

(e) Kéth-ò
Spoil-INF

To spoil

There are also other monosyllabic patterns of the infinitive form that can be regarded as irregular.

(5a) Dák
To live

(b) ì
To wrestle

(c) ò
To overflow

(e) Kè
To disperse

(f) á
To leave

There are some verbs that have the *ni* infinitive forms. See the examples below:

(6a) Tèt- ní
Shiver- INF

To shiver

(b) póp- ní
Boil- INF

To boil

(c) Búr - ní
Flood- INF

(d) Yièng - ní
Shake - INF

Even what is referred to as the irregular form of the infinitive have their related forms which have the *-o* suffix like *dak (dago) o (olo) a (ayo) ke (keyo) bet (bedo)*. The infinitives used above can be used both transitively and intransitively. See the examples below:

(7a) Akomo rí t- ò Oganga.
Name.NOM wait - INF Name.ACC.

Akomo is waiting (for) Oganga.

(b) Akomo rí t -ò
Name.NOM wait - INF.

Akomo is waiting.

(8a) Jí key- ò loo
People.NOM scatter INF soil.ACC.

People are scattering the soil.

(b) Jí kée
People.NOM scatter INF

People are scattering.

(9a) Yamo tèt -ò piny.
 Storm.NOM shake INF earth.ACC.

The storm is shaking the earth.

(b) piny tèt -ní
 Earth.NOM shake -INF

The earth is shaking.

Omondi, (1982). States that 'The non-infinitive form of the verb is marked by tone' this is high unlike the low tone in the infinitive form. This involves prefixing and suffixing for different grammatical reasons. The non- infinitive forms, must occur with their subjects. See examples below:

(10a) á p ó n - ó olemo
 IP/SG - pick INF fruits..ACC.

I am picking the fruits.

(b) í p ó n - ó olemo
 2P/SG pick. INF fruits..ACC.

You are picking the fruits.

(c) ó - p ó n - ó olemo.
 3P/SG pick - INF fruits..ACC.

He is picking the fruits.

2.4 DHOLUO SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Dholuo has an SVO structure in which the noun heads the sentences. It was explained before that Dholuo verbs can function both transitively and intransitively. The following are examples of Dholuo sentences:

(11a) Achieng' luok -o nyathi
Name-NOM bath INF-INCOMP baby-ACC.

Achieng' is bathing the baby.

(b) Achieng' luok -o
Name-NOM wash- INF-INCOMP.

Achieng' is washing.

(c) Owang' tug -o adhula
Name-NOM play INF-INCOMP soccer-ACC.

Owang' is playing soccer.

(d) Owang' tug -o
Name-NOM play INF-INCOMP

Owang' is playing.

(e) Gweno modh -o pi
Hen-NOM drink INF-INCOMP water-ACC.

The hen is drinking water.

2.5 TENSE IN DHOLUO

It is important to note that Dholuo does not have morphological tense markers but items, which relate messages, which are relevant to speech context in times of time. Okoth (1997:32) notes,

‘The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance. Lyons (1968:305). The following are tense markers in Dholuo as illustrated by Okoth (1997:32)

(12a) sání (koro)- Now

(b) Nénde (aye) -Near past

(c) Néné - distant past.

(d) Nyóró - Yesterday

(e) Nyóchá- the day before yesterday

(f) Kíny - tomorrow

(g) órúchá - the day after tomorrow

(h) áng’/wáng’ near future (within the same day)

Sani means 'now' as shown in the examples below:

(13a) O- kaw -o chiemo sani
3P/SG take INF food.ACC. now. ADV.

He has taken the food (now).

(b) Atieno wuoth -o sani
Name-NOM walk- INF now.ADV.

Atieno is walking (now).

(c) Sani o- lem -o
Now.ADV. 3P/SG pray-INF.INCOMP.

He is praying(now)

Nende refers to recent past.

(14a) Jakuo nende o- bir -o
Thief-NOM TP 3P/SG come- INF.COMP.

The thief came (a while ago)

(b) Koth nende chwe
Rain-NOM TP pour-INF-INCOMP

The rain was pouring (a while ago).

(c) Nyathi	nende	ywak
Baby	TP	cry-INF-INCOMP

The baby was crying. (a while ago).

Kawuono means ‘today’ as shown in the examples below:

(15a) O	-ol	kawuono
3P/SG	tired-STV	today..ADV.

He is tired(today).

(b) Kawuono	o	-rieny
Today. ADV.	3P/SG	shine-INF-INCOMP

It is shining today.

(c) Ocholla	o-	kumo	kawuono
Name-NOM	3P/SG	gloomy.STV.	today.ADV.

Ocholla is gloomy today.

Nyocha means (the day before yesterday). See the example below:

(16a) Adita	nyocha	o-	yiech
Basket	TM	3P/SG	torn-STV

The basket got torn the (day before yesterday).

(b) Ogalo nyocha tuo
 Name-NOM TM sick.STV.

Ogalo was sick (the day before yesterday).

(c) Owinyo nyocha o- lal
 Name-NOM TM. 3P/SG lost-STV

Owinyo got lost (the day before yesterday)

Nene refers to (remote past). See the examples below:

(17a) Nyaroya nene o- dhoth
 Calf-NOM TP 3P/SG suck-INF-INCOMP

The calf suckled (a long time ago).

(b) Tiende nene o- tur
 Leg-NOM. TP 3P/SG break-IMP

The leg broke (a long time ago)

(c) Kwara nene o- ked -o
 Grandfather-NOM TP 3P/SG fight INF-COMP

Grandfather fought (a long time ago).

There is also *kiny* which refers to tomorrow; See the examples below:

(18a) O- biro mos-e kiny
 3P/SG will-AUX greet-3P/SG.ACC tomorrow.ADV.

He will greet him tomorrow.

(b) Owade kiny n -o -dhi thieth
 Name-NOM tomorrow TP 3P/SG go-INF-INCOMP treatment-ACC

Owade will go for treatment tomorrow.

(c) Sungu kiny n -o -om -e
 Name-NOM tomorrow.ADV. TP 3P/SG bring 3P/SG-ACC

Sungu will bring him tomorrow.

Orucha means (the day after tomorrow). See the examples below:

(19a) N o- kel penj orucha
 TP 3P/SG bring-IMP exam TM

He will bring the exam. (the day after tomorrow).

(b) Sawo n o- rum orucha
 Feast-NOM TP 3P/SG end-IMP TM

The feast will end. (the day after tomorrow).

(c) Mkara n o- raw orucha
 Name TP 3P/SG call in TM

Mkara will call in. (the day after tomorrow).

Ang' / wang' means near future (within the same day). *Ang'* and *wang'* are interchangeable. See the examples below:

(20a) Chacha wang' / ang' n o- goy -e
 Name-NOM TM TP 3P/SG beat 3P/SG.ACC

Chacha will beat him.

(b) Gor wang' / ang' n - o- lo
 Name-NOM TM TP 3P/SG-win-IMP

Gor will win.

(c) Jatelo wang' / ang' n - o- wuo
 Leader-NOM TM TP 3P/SG talk.IMP.

The leader will talk.

The remote future is represented by *chieng'* as in the example below:

(21a) Chieng' n- o- tiek
 Remote future TP 3P/SG finish.IMP.

He will finish. (in the distant future).

(b) Kapusa chieng' n o- par
 Name-NOM TM TP 3P/SG remember-IMP

Kapusa will remember. (in the distant future).

Dholuo has another way of expressing future represented by the auxiliary *biro*, which translates as 'going to' which combines with the main verb. See the example below:

(22) Waya biro kel -o mbuta
 Aunt will . AUX. bring – INF Nile perch.ACC.

Aunt will bring Nile perch.

Nende and *nene* can both be contracted to *ne*, which is referred to in this work as (TP). The difference between distant past and recent past can then only be distinguished tonally as in the following examples:

(23a) Ne' o- ywak
 TP 3P/SG cry-INF-INCOMP

He was crying. (a while ago).

(b) Ne' o- ywak
 TP 3P/SG cry-INF-INCOMP

He was crying. (a long time ago).

The contraction is as a result of the process of vowel elision that takes place if a word beginning with a vowel follows the words *nende* and *nene* this is explained by, Omondi (1982: 19). See the examples below:

(24a) Ne o- ywak — noywak

(b) Ne i- ywak — niywak

(c) Ne a- ywak — naywak

Ayè, which represents 'recent past', can also be reduced to àà, because of the same process. See the examples below:

(25a) Ayè a loso chiemo -àà loso chiemo
 TP 1P/SG prepare.COMP food.ACC.

I was preparing food. (a while ago)

(b) Ayè- i- los-o chiemo -īī loso chiemo
 TP 2P/SG-prepare-INF.COMP food.ACC.

You were preparing food. (a while ago).

(c) Aye -u -los -o chiemo -ùù loso chiemo
 TP 2P/SG prepare-INF.COMP food.ACC

You prepared food. (a while ago).

(d) Aye o- los -o chiemo -òò loso chiemo
 TP 3P/SG prepare-INF food.ACC

He prepared food. (a while ago).

Some of these adverbials get so reduced to the verb such that it is possible to mistake them for inflectional morphemes of the verbs.

The question is whether or not the markers of time used above can be regarded as tense morphemes. Since there is no systematic grammatical contrast expressed by the time relations, it is possible to say that words like those listed above are only temporal adverbs more specifically, point time adverbs and not tense markers. Thus Dholuo does not have morphological tense markers as Lyons notes:

‘There is a tendency among linguists to regard as tense markers, only linguistic elements which occur as affixes (bound morphemes)’, Lyons (1968:305).

Thus aspect is clearer in Dholuo than tense. This clarification is important in this study because in the minimalist program sentence structure, the verb moves to check its tense features if they are correct.

2.6 ASPECT IN DHOLUO

At this juncture its important to show that time is marked by aspect in Dholuo and that it is tonal. Tone is a very wide area, which is also complicated. This section only deals with tone marking on the verb to explain briefly how aspect is marked in Dholuo.

There are two aspects of completive and incompletive in Dholuo and the difference is only brought about by tone. The incompletive refers to completed action or actions that are not going on at the time referred to by the speakers and the verbs in this aspect basically have high tone on the vowels. see the examples below:

(26a) Anyango b̄ar -ó yien
 Name-NOM split -INF IN COMP firewood-ACC.

Anyango is splitting firewood.

(b) Owila miel -ó thum
 Name-NOM dance- INF.INCOMP music-ACC.

Owila is dancing the music.

(c) Jabungu dwár -ó tuoro
 Name-NOM search INF.INCOMP sisal-ACC

Jabungu is searching for sisal.

(d) Obado púdh -ó lum
 Name-NOM uproot-INF.INCOMP grass.ACC.

Obado is uprooting grass.

(e) Jonyo lów -ó chiewo
 Name-NOM chase INF.INCOMP porcupine.ACC.

Jonyo is chasing the porcupine.

(f) Biega chik -ó bie
 Name-NOM trap -INF.INCOMP ants.ACC.

Biega is trapping the ants.

The completive aspect, which refers to actions that are not going on at the same time referred to by the speaker, has a basic low tone on all the syllables. There is a low tone on the prefix, which is the person. There is a higher tone on the root and a low tone on the suffix. The high tone on the root remains the same as in the incomplete. See the examples below:

(28a) Anyango ó- bār -ó yien
 Name-NOM 3P/SG split -INF/COMP. firewood.ACC.

Anyango has split firewood.

(b) Rombo ò- káw -ò nyathi ne
 Lamp-NOM 3P/SG take INF/COMP. lamb- POSS

The sheep has taken its lamb.

(c) Sibuur ò- rúť -ò e- bungu
 Lion-NOM 3P/SG roar- INF/COMP PREP jungle-ACC

The lion has roared in the jungle.

(d) Nyangolo ò- púdh -ò obuolo
 Name-NOM 3P/SG uproot-INF/COMP mushroom.ACC.

Nyangolo has uprooted the mushroom.

(e) Jagero ò- mák -ò winyo
 Name-NOM 3P/SG catch INF/COMP / bird.ACC.

Jagero has caught a bird.

(f) Oremo ò- búľ -ò oduma
 Name-NOM 3P/SG roast INF/COMP maize.ACC.

Oremo has roasted the maize.

It is important to note that the rules for making the features of the subject on the verbs depends on whether the subject NP contains a subject pronoun or not as Omondi (1982:46) states. The verb agrees in person with the subject NP This is explicit and clear with personal pronouns. See the examples below:

(29a) An a - ring - o.
 I.1P/SG.NOM IP/SG run INF.INCOMP.

(I) I am running.

(b) In I - ring - o
 You.2P/SG You - run - INF.INCOMP.

(You) you are running.

(c) En o - ring - o
 He.3P/SG. he - run INF.INCOMP.

He he is running.

(d) Gin gi - ring - o
 They.3P/PL. they - run - INF.INCOMP.

(They) they are running.

Thus the verbs in this aspect basically have high tone as illustrated on the pronominal prefix and the infinitive suffix. Complete and incomplete aspect is marked tonally in Dholuo

2.7 COORDINATE SENTENCES

Coordination, which refers to constructions where two or more sentences, phrases or words are coordinated or conjoined, is important for this study because the coordinators are responsible for the linkage which is one of the elements that this study is investigating.

Dholuo has three coordinators *gi*, *kendo* which translate as 'and' and *to* which means both 'and' and 'but'.

Coordination has been discussed in details by Omondi, (1982:169).

gi is used to conjoin NPs. See the examples below:

(30a) Awuor gi Ouma
 Name and Name

Awuor and Ouma

(b) Achayi gi Ageng'o
 Name and Name

Achayi and Ageng'o

Kendo which means both ‘and’ and ‘again’¹ is used to conjoin sentences particularly with the same subject. *To* which translates as both ‘and’ and ‘but’ is used to conjoin those sentences with, different subjects. Since the study is in the context of coordinate and subordinate complex sentences, the function of *gi* is not going to be part of the study because it coordinates nouns and noun phrases.

2.7.1 Addition

The following are examples of addition using *kendo*; *Kendo* is used to express addition in which the subjects are the same either overtly or covertly.

See the examples below:

(31a) Akuru ne o- ywak kendo ne o- par - o - re
 Dove-NOM TP 3P/SG cry-INF and TP 3P/SG worry 3P/SG -RFL

The dove cried and worried (himself).

(b) Ochieng’ ne o- pad -e
 Name-NOM TP 3P/SG slap-3P/SG-ACC

Kendo ne o- gwey -e
 And TP 3P/SG kick 3P/SG-ACC

Ochieng’ slapped and kicked him.

¹ ‘Again’ has a semantic connotation so its meaning is not discussed in this study.

(c) Rateng' o- kwal-o chiemo kendo
 Name-NOM 3P/SG steal-INF food and

o- pog -o ji
 3P/SG divide INF.COMP. People.ACC.

Rateng' has stolen food and distributed to people.

(d) Ne o- lim -o onyango
 TP 3P/SG-INF visit -INFCOMP Name-NOM

kendo ne o- miy -e diel
 and TP 3P/SG give 3P/SG-ACC goat.ACC.

He visited Onyango and gave him a goat.

To is also used particularly when actions take place at the same time. The following are examples of such sentences coordinated by *to*. The verb in both sentences is in the incompletive aspect. See the examples below:

(32a) Atieno ring -o to wer
 Name-NOM run- INF.INCOMP and sing-INF

Atieno is running and singing.

(b) O nind- o to o- wuoy- o.
 3P/SG sleep -INF.INCOMP and 3P/SG talk- INF.INCOMP.

He is sleeping and talking.

(c) O- reg -o to o- gwey -o mach.²
 3P/SG grind-INF.INCOMP and 3P/SG mind INF.INCOMP fire.ACC

She is grinding and minding the fire.

(d) O- pir -o to o- ted -o
 3P/SG baby-sit INF.INCOMP and 3P/SG cook -INF.INCOMP

She is baby-sitting and cooking.

However it is even possible to have *to* and *kendo* used together³ .

Eka is used to conjoin sentences when there is need to show sequence of actions. See the following examples.

(33a) Otieno ne o- tiek- o tich
 Name – NOM TP 3P/SG finish -INF work

Eka ne o- dhi dala
 and then TP 3P/SG go INF COMP home. ACC.

Otieno finished the work and then he went home.

² Omondi (1982:169)

³(33a) Atieno ring -o to kendo wer
 Name-NOM run INF-INCOMP and also sing-INF

Atieno is running and is also singing.

(b) Akinyi ne o- ywey -o ot
 Name-NOM TP 3P/SG sweep –INF.COMP house.ACC.

eka ne o- dhi puodho
 and then TP 3P/SG go-INF garden.ACC.

Akinyi swept the house and then she went to the garden.

(34a) Ne o- bul -o gweno eka
 TP 3P/SG roast INF.COMP chicken then

o- ted -o kuon
 3P/SG cook INF. COMP ugali

She roasted the chicken and then she cooked ugali.

(b) Anyango ne o- luok -o nyathi eka
 Name-NOM TP 3P/SG bath INF.COMP baby then

Auma ne o- kaw -e
 Name-NOM TP 3P/SG take 3P/SG-ACC

Anyango bathed the baby and then Auma took it.

In examples (a) above *eka* expresses the sequence of the actions of ‘finishing’ followed by ‘going home’.

2.7.2 Contrast

To which also translates as ‘but’ is used to conjoin coordinate sentences of contrast. *To* was used before to mean ‘and’ in simultaneous actions of addition. See the examples below:

(35a) Ogutu ne o- many- e
Name-NOM TP 3P/SG look for 3P/SG ACC.

to ok- ne o- yud - e.
but NEG TP 3P/SG find 3P/SG.ACC.

Ogutu looked for him but he did not find it.

(b) Obura tiy -o to o- dhier
Name-NOM work-INF.INCOMP but 3P/SG poor-STV

Obura works but he is poor.

(c) Okinyi tug -o to mama luong -e
Name-NOM play-INF.INCOMP but mother-NOM call 3P/SG-ACC.

Okinyi is playing but mother is calling him.

(d) O- wuoy -o to ji lem -o
3P/SG talk INF.INCOMP but people-NOM pray -INF.INCOMP.

He is talking but people are praying.

2.8 SUBORDINATE SENTENCES

This section shows the logical relations in subordinate clauses.

2.8.1 Concession

Dholuo subordinate clauses of concession are introduced by, *kata*. Which translates as (Although /though). See the examples below:

(36a) O- pek- kata o- tin.
3PS/SG heavy.STV although 3P/SG small.STV.

It is heavy although it is small.

(b) O ting' - o Nyathi kata o - ol.
3P/SG carry - INF.INCOMP baby although 3P/SG tired.STV.

She is carrying the baby although she is tired.

(c) Onyango law -e kata o- ywak
Name-NOM chase 3P/SG-ACC although 3P/SG cry-INF-INCOMP

Onyango is chasing her although she is crying.

(d) Jabedo bir -o kata o- lagi
 Name-NOM come-INF-INCOMP although 3P/SG refuse

Jabedo is coming although he has refused.

Kata used even if the subject are different. See the examples below:

(37a) Ojwang' biro nen e
 Name NOM will.AUX see 3P/SG.ACC.

 kata Oracha tuo
 although Name.NOM sick.s-STV

Ojwang' will come to see her although Oracha is sick.

(b) Radul o- dhi rang - o
 Name.NOM 3P/SG go INF search INF.COMP.

diend - e kata wang' - e ram e.
 goat -POSS although eye - POSS hurt 3P/SG.ACC.

Radul has gone to look for his goat although his eyes are hurting him.

(c) Jowi law -o lee
 Buffalo-NOM chase INF animal-ACC

kata Sibuur rut -o
 although lion-NOM roar-INF-INCOMP

The buffalo is chasing the animals although the lion is roaring.

(d) Koth chew kata chieng rieny
 Rain-NOM pour although sun-NOM shine-INF-INCOMP

Although it is raining the sun is shining.

It is possible to combine *kata* with *to* to mean 'al though----- but'. *To* was used before to mean 'and' in simultaneous actions. See example (32) *Kata* alone was used in example (36) Used with *kata*, it adds an extra contrast to although. See the examples below:

(38a) Kata nyathi o - yieng'
 Although baby.NOM 3PS/SG satisfied.STV

to o- chiem - o
 but- 3P/SG - eat- INF.INCOMP.

Although the baby is satisfied (but) it is eating.

(b) Kata rapur o- tur to
 although hoe.NOM 3P/SG break PASS but

Odanga dhi puodho
 Name.NOM go -INF.INCOMP garden.ACC.

Although the hoe is broken (but) Odanga is going to the garden.

(c) Kata ne piny o- lil to
 Although TP it.NOM 3P/SG dark STV but

ne o - bir - o
 TP 3P/SG come - INF.COMP

Although it was dark (but) he came.

(d) Kata o- her -e to
 Although 3P/SG love 3P/SG-ACC but

o- kwal -e
 3P/SG steal 3P/SG-ACC

Although he loves her (but) she steals from him.

It is possible to combine *to*, *kata* and *kamano* as one unit of conjunction to mean, “even if it so” or “even if it is like that”. *Kamano* replaces a whole clause and it is used when

referring to the whole statement in the first sentence placing emphasis on it. See the examples below:

(39a) Oganda ne o - mew to kata kamano
 Name.NOM TP 3P/SG rich STV. but although so

Ne o - luor - o ji.
 TP 3P/SG respect - INF.COMP people.ACC.

Oganda was rich although she respected people.

(b) Ne o - neg- e to kata kamano ne o - ler.
 TP 3P/SG kill 3P/SG. but although so TP 3P/SG innocent.STV.

He was killed even though he was innocent.

(c) Mama ne o - um- o chiemo to kata kamano
 Mother.NOM TP 3P/SG cover INF.COMP food. ACC but although so

guok ne o - hel -e.
 dog.NOM TP 3P/SG uncover 3P/ SG.ACC.

Mother covered the food even though the dog uncovered it.

(d) Pala ne o - ng'ad - e to kata kamano
 Knife.NOM TP 3P/SG cut- 3P/SG but although so

ne o - ted - o
 TP 3P/SG cook INF.COMP

Mother covered the food even though the dog uncovered it.

It would be ungrammatical to use the phrase *to kata kamano* at the beginning of the complex sentence structure because the phrase is only used to introduce the second sentence when referring to the first sentence. The following example is ungrammatical.

*(40) To kata kamano ne o - ler
 but although so TP 3P/SG innocent

ne o - neg - e
 TP 3P/SG kill 3P/SG.ACC.

**But although so he was innocent, he was killed.*

It is possible to move the conjunctions to different positions as fits different situations but since the study is not on semantics or pragmatics only one combination of *to kata kamano* is dealt with here just to show that it is possible to have the three conjunctions together.

2.8.2 Time relation

Clauses of time relations are introduced by *ka*, whose meaning ranges from ‘when’, ‘while’ ‘whenever’ and ‘if’. ‘If’ is not dealt with here because it is discussed in conditional sentences later in this work. *Ka* is used whether the subject is the same or not. See the following examples:

(41a) Ne o - bil -e ka ne o - ted - e.
 TP 3P/SG- taste - 3P/SG when TP 3P/SG cook - 3P/SG.ACC

She tasted it when she was cooking it.

(b) Bulu - ne o - toy - o agulu ka
 Name.NOM TP 3P/SG break - INF /COMP pot.ACC when
 ne o - rudh - e.
 TP 3P/SG scrub - 3P/SG

Bulu broke the pot when she was scrubbing it.

(c) Ouma ne o - hiny -o tiend - e ka
 Name.NOM TP 3P/SG hurt -INF.COMP leg POSS when
 ne o - tug - o
 TP 3P/SG play - INF.COMP.

Ouma hurt himself while he playing.

(d) Akuru ne o - bir -o ka
 Dove.NOM TP 3P/SG come - INF.COMP when

Opuk ne - nind - o
 Tortoise TP - sleep - INF.COMP.

The dove came when the tortoise was sleeping

2.8.3 Location

Subordinate clauses of location are introduced by *kama*, which means ‘where’ *ma* is a relative pronoun and *ka* is the subordinator of location. It is combined with *ka* to mean ‘where’

See the examples below:

(42a) Nyang’oro ne o - yud -e kama ne
 Name.NOM TP 3P/SG find 3P/SG.ACC where TP

Opala ne o - lwar - e .
 Name.NOM TP 3P/SG drop 3P/SG.ACC.

Nyang'oro found it where Opala had dropped it.

(b) Jopuonj ne o - chop - o kama ne
 Teachers.NOM TP 3P/SG reach - INF.COMP. where TP

aora o- gik -e
 river.NOM 3P/SG end - 3P/SG.ACC.

The teachers reached where the river ended.

(c) Awiti o - ng'ey - o kama
 Name-NOM 3P/SG know INF.COMP. where

o - pand - e
 3P/SG hide 3P/SG.ACC

Awiti knows where she has hidden it.

(d) Otigo ne o- nyis -o Odawo
 Name-NOM TP 3P/SG tell INF.COMP. Name-ACC

kama ne o- mod -o e yien
 where TP 3P/SG fetch INF.COMP. PREP firewood

Otigo told odawo where she had fetched the firewood.

2.8.4 Reason

Dholuo subordinate clause of reason is introduced by *nikech/nimar/nikwop*, which are synonymous, and all of them translate as ‘because’. Sometimes their difference in use is dialectical. Certain regions tend to use one more than the other although *ni* is also used to introduce complements and also means ‘that.’ Its use in the subordinators is inherent and it cannot be separated from the words. See the examples below:

(43a) Awiti	ne	o-	tywak	
Name-NOM	TP	3P/SG	cry-STV	
nikech	ne	o-	dhi	dala
because	TP	3P/SG	go-INF-INCOMP	home-ACC

Awiti cried because she was going home.

(b) Jawar	ne	o-	tho		
Savior-NOM	TP	3P/SG	die.STV		
nikech	ne	o-	her	-o	ji
because	TP	3P/SG	love	-INF.COMP	people.ACC.

The savior died because he loved people.

(c) O- chiem -o nikech
 3P/SG eat INF.COMP because

o- nen -e
 3P/SG see 3P/SG.ACC

He is eating because he has seen her.

(d) Mwanda ring -o
 Antelope-NOM run INF-INCOMP

nikech sibuor law -e
 because lion-NOM chase 3P/SG.ACC

The antelope is running because the lion is chasing it.

2.8.5 Purpose

Subordinate clauses of purpose are introduced by *mondo* or *nimondo*, which means 'in order that'. *Ni* in *nimondo* means 'that' prefixed to the word *mondo* and is optional.

See the examples below:

(44a) Ne o- kel- e Nairobi
 TP 3P/SG bring 3P/SG.ACC LOC.ACC

mondo (ni)mondo o- thiedh- e.
 in order that 3P/SG- treat 3P/SG.ACC

He brought her to Nairobi in order that he may treat her.

(b) Yesu ne o- bir -o
 Jesus-NOM TP 3P/SG come -INF.COMP

(ni)mondo o- war -piny.
 in order that 3P/SG save- world.ACC.

Jesus came in order that he may save the world.

(c) Nyasaye ne o- chwey -e
 God-NOM TP 3P/SG create 3P/SG.ACC

(ni)mondo o- her -e
 in order that 3P/SG love 3P/SG.ACC

God created him in order that he may love Him.

(d) Ne	o-	luong	-e	(ni)mondo
TP	3P/SG	invite	3P/SG.ACC	in order that

nyithindo	o-	nen	-e
Students	3P/SG	see	3P/SG-ACC

He invited her in order that the students may see her.

The example below shows that it is possible to use *mondo* alone and the meaning is still the same:

(45) Ne	o-	kel	-e	Nairobi
TP	3P/SG	bring	3P/SG.ACC	place-ACC

Mondo	o-	thiedh	-e
in order that	3P/SG	treat	3P/SG-ACC

He brought her to Nairobi in order that he may treat her.

2.8.6 Consequence

Subordinate clauses of consequence are introduced by *miyo*, which also means ‘give’. *Omiyo* has an indefinite *o-* prefixed to *miyo* and it is also used to indicate consequence. *Ema omiyo* is a clause, which means ‘which gives it cause’. It is reduced to

emomiyo by the process of vowel elision. They can all be used synonymously to introduce clauses of consequence. See the examples below:

(46a)	Okumu	ne	o-	keth	-o	tich
	Name-NOM	TP	3P/SG	spoil	INF.COMP	job
	Omiyo	ne	o-	ring	-o	
	thereby	TP	3P/SG	run	INF.COMP	

Okumu spoiled his job thereby running away.

(b)	Ogila	ne	o	-	kwal	- o	dhiang'
	Name.NOM	TP	3P/SG	-	steal	-INF.COMP	cow
	emomiyo	ne	o	-	dhi		Mombasa.
	Thereby	TP	3P/SG		go.INF.COMP		Place.ACC.

Ogila stole the cow thereby running to Mombasa.

(c)	Nyathi	tuo	- emomiyo	o	-nind	-o
	Child.NOM	sick.STV	thereby	3P/SG	sleep	-INF.INCOMP.

The child is sick thereby sleeping.

(d) Achupa ne o- lal emomiyo ne
 Name.NOM TP 3P/SG lost.STV thereby TP

o- luw -o ndara.
 3P/SG follow- INF.COMP road.ACC.

Achupa was lost thereby following the road.

In all these cases above, the subjects are the same and the same subordinators are used.

2.8.7 Goal

Nyaka which is also a modal auxiliary indicating compulsion or necessity is used to introduce subordinate clauses of goal in Dholuo. It means ‘until’ and ‘up to’. The following are examples of the use of *nyaka*:

(47a) Ne gi chwad- o ruodh- wa
 TP 3P/PI cane- 3P/SG lord- POSS

nyaka ne o- th o.
 until TP 3P/SG die-STV.

They caned our lord until he died.

(b) Ne o- nan -o
TP 3P/SG persevere-INF.COMP.

nyaka ne o- tiek -o.
until TP 3P/SG finish INF.COMP.

He persevered until he finished.

(c) Ogweno ne o- chwak -o ring'o
Name-NOM TP 3P/SG boil INF.COMP meat-ACC

nyaka ne o- chiek
until TP 3P/SG cooked-STV

Ogweno boiled the meat until it was cooked.

(d) Ne o- goy -o koko nyaka
TP 3P/SG make INF.COMP noise-ACC until

Ne ji o- bir -o kony -e
TP people 3P/SG come INF.COMP help 3P/SG-ACC.

She made noise until people came to help her.

Nyaka also means 'since' in relation to time as seen in the examples below:

(48) Ngwala o- se tuo
Name –NOM 3P/SG COMP STV sick

nyaka ne o- dog koru.
since TP 3P/SG return LOC-NOM.

Ngwala has been sick since she returned to Koru.

2.9 Conditional sentences

Ka, which means both ‘if’ and ‘when’, is used to indicate condition in Dholuo conditional sentences. The examples in this study will only include the use of ‘if. There are different degrees of probability associated with what the aspect of the verb supposes. Conditional sentences can be grouped under two heads: hypothetical and non-hypothetical conditional sentences.

2.9.1 Non-hypothetical condition

When the condition is non- hypothetical or possible of fulfillment then *ka* is used to introduce the conditional clause to signal the condition. That is in the unmarked form.

See the examples below:

(49a) Ogola		biro		riemb -o
Name-NOM		will-AUX.		expel INF.INCOMP

oracha	ka	o-	fuwo
name-ACC	if	3P/SG	stupid-STV

Ogola will expel Oracha if he is stupid

(b) Rabilo		biro		many -e
Name-NOM		will-AUX		search 3P/SG-ACC

ka	o-	lal
if	3P/SG	lost-STV

Rabilo will look for it if it is lost.

(c) Akong'o		biro		kom -o
Name-NOM		will-AUX		plant INF.INCOMP

ka	koth	o-	chwe
if	rain-NOM	3P/SG	fall-INF.COMP

Akong'o will plant if it rains.

(d)	Japidi	biro	hoy	-o	nyathi
	Babysitter	will	sooth	INF.INCOMP.	baby.ACC.

ka	mama	o-	dek	-o
if	mother-NOM	3P/SG	delay	INF.COMP.

The babysitter will sooth the baby if mother delays.

It is possible to combine *Ka* with *to* in non-hypothetical conditional clause. *To* was also used in coordinate sentences to mean ‘and’ and ‘but’ and also in subordinate clauses of concession to strengthen the contrast. In conditional sentences it means ‘then’ as it indicates the consequence, which results after the condition in the first sentence is fulfilled. See examples below:

(50a)	Ka	Jaketch	o-	dhi	dala
	If	Name-NOM	3P/SG	go-IMP	home.ACC.

to	o-	biro	nen	-e
then	3P/SG	will-AUX	see	3P/SG-ACC.

If Jaketch goes home (then) he will see him.

(b) Ka Tiany o- kwiny -o
 If name-NOM 3P/SG provoke INF.INCOMP

Dula to Mijwa biro goy -e
 Name-NOM then Name-NOM will-AUX beat 3P/SG-ACC

If Tiany provokes Dula (then) Mijwa will beat him.

(c) Ka Obong'o o- mak -o ondiek
 If Name-NOM 3P/SG catch INF.INCOMP hyena.ACC.

to o- biro tong' -e
 then 3P/SG will-AUX cut 3P/SG-ACC

If Obong'o gets the hyena (then) he will cut it.

(d) Ka o- tug -o to
 If 3P/SG play INF.INCOMP. then

o- biro nen -o
 3P/SG will-AUX see INF.COMP.

If he jokes then he will see.

2.9.2 Hypothetical condition

This represents unreal condition of some hypothetical consequence, that is, it expresses a wish or what one would have wanted to happen but did not happen or an unreal situation that is not possible of fulfillment like wishing that one was an angel. Both the 'if' and the main clauses are introduced by *dine/da*⁴.

Dine is a reduction from *di nende* or *di nene* and *da* is also a reduction from *da aye*. This was explained under aspect in this work. The difference between *dine* and *da* is aspectual as *dine* is used in reference to distant past and *da* refers to recent past. See the examples below:

(51a) Dine	-o	luw	- o	Naivasha
If	3P/SG	follow-INF.COMP		PLACE-ACC
dine		o - nen- o		magwar
would have AUX-	3P/SG	see INF-COMP.		Zebra- ACC.

If he had followed Naivasha, he would have seen Zebras.

⁴ *Dine/da* in the impossible condition performs the major function of modality, that is, it is used to express possibility or capability. This also serves for very unlikely suppositions, which are impossible to fulfill.

(b) Dine Nyasaye wey -e
 If God-NOM leave 3P/SG-ACC

dine apaka o- yway-e
 would have-AUX currents 3P/SG-sweep-3P/SG-ACC.

If God had left him, the currents would have swept him off.

(c) Dine Owinyo o- pidh -o puoth- e
 If Name-NOM 3P/SG plant INF.COMP garden POSS

dine o- kay -o bel
 would have-AUX 3P/SG harvestINF.COMP millet.

If Owinyo had planted his garden, he would have harvested millet.

(d) Dine en winyo
 If be bird-ACC

dine o- fuy -o
 would -AUX 3P/SG fly INF.COMP

If I were a bird I would fly.

Da is used particularly with reference to recent past events like events that happened within the same day. See the examples below:

(52a) Da o- dhi Kisumu
 If 3P/SG go-INF.COMP place-ACC

da o- nen -o nam
 would-AUX 3P/SG see INF.COMP lake.ACC.

If he went to Kisumu he would see the lake.

(b) Da en Jathieth da o- thiedh -e
 If be doctor-ACC would-AUX INF.COMP treat 3P/SG.ACC

If he were a doctor he would treat her.

2.9.3 The complementary sentences

Complementation is associated with completing the action specified by the verb.

There are other *ni* complementizers that introduce noun phrase complements such as:

(53) Nyang' o- mak -o ng'ato ni Arogo
 Crocodile-NOM 3P/SG caught INF.COMP somebody that Name-ACC.

The crocodile has caught someone (that) Arogo.

Since the study is on the complementizers in Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences, attention is paid to complimentary clauses introduced by *ni* which means

'that'. It is important to note that the word *ni* or that usually occurs with abstract verbs such as *wach* (say) *paro* (idea, imagine) *gombo* (desire or wish) etc. Omondi, (1982:263).

The following examples shows normal NP object:

(54) Adongo o- ng'ey -o Muhoroni
Name-NOM 3P/SG know INF.COMP place-ACC

Adongo knows Muhoroni.

The examples below show that the subordinate clauses take the place of NP objects to complement the verbs. See the examples below:

(55a) Adongo o- ng'ey -o ni o- dich
Name NOM 3P/SG-knows- INF.COMP that 3P/SG busy – STV

Adongo knows that she is busy.

(b) Asino ne o- wach -o ni
 Name-NOM TP 3P/SG say INF.COM that

o- dhi nam
 3P/SG go-IMP lake.ACC.

Asino said that he was going to the lake.

(c) Oure o- ng'ey -o
 Name-NOM 3P/SG know INF.COMP.

ni yamo o- lok -o
 that tide-NOM 3P/SG change -INF.COMP.

Oure knows that the tides have changed.

(d) Aoko ne gal -o ni
 Name-NOM TP imagine INF.COMP that

diend -e o- lal
 goat POSS 3P/SG lost

Aoko imagines that her goat is lost.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF DHOLUO COORDINATE AND SUBORDINATE COMPLEX SENTENCES

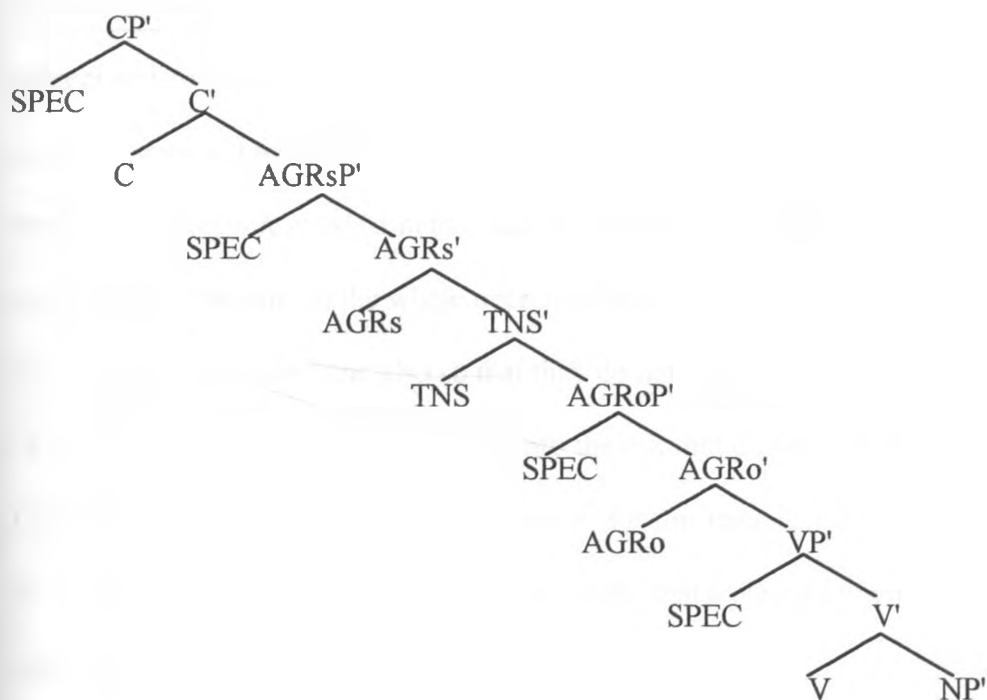
This chapter contains the minimalist program's application of Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences described in chapter two. The concern of this section is the (CP) in these complex sentences in Dholuo.

3.1 THE BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Below is the new basic sentence structure of the minimalist program by Chomsky.

Chomsky (1993:7).

(9)



The basic structure, which contains the Logical Form (LF) and Phonological Form (PF) representations, starts from the lexicon because the elements of the lexicon will determine the content of any legitimate expression in a language, (Cook and Newson 1988:319). According to them, the lexical items build the structural description in the sentence. The minimalist program is a progression of the Transformational Generative Grammar and the movement operation is part of the computational system Cook and Newson (1988:312). This is described in chapter one. The lexical items drive the whole system movement and structure building and their morphological operations are driven by morphological necessity, and all the features must be checked in their heads.

In the basic structure above, there are two agreement elements; one for subject AGRsP (Agreement Subject Phrase) and one for AGRoP (Agreement Object Phrase). AGRs and AGRo are instances of nominal features of subject and object. AGRs is associated with subject and AGRo is associated with object. This is because the extended projection principle says that a sentence must have a subject Cook and Newson (1988:325). Verbs are assumed to be inserted from the lexicon complete with all their features, which are checked at some stage in the whole operation only to find out if they are correct in their syntactic positions and also so that they do not appear at the surface level.

“Checking is done by the verb moving into the relevant element”. Cook and Newson (1988:328). According to Cook and Newson, for this reason, a verb that has tense move to TNS to have those features checked off. Verbs that have agreement features of subject and object move to AGRs and AGRo.

The basic sentence structure in the minimalist program has an SVO design and Dholuo being SVO structure where nouns head the sentences, fits very well in this structure. See the examples below:

(56a) Akoth o- luok -o nyathi
 Name-NOM 3P/SG bath INF-COMP baby-ACC

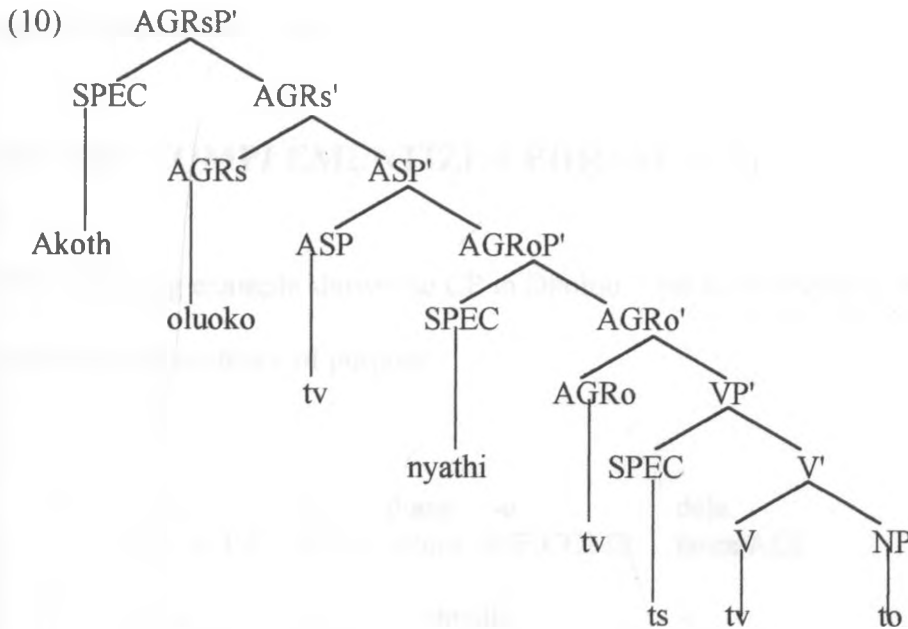
Akoth has bathed the baby.

(b) Akoth o- luok -o
 Name-NOM 3P/SG wash INF-COMP

Akoth has washed.

The above sentences are transitive (56a) and intransitive (56b) structurally. Note that 56b is underlyingly transitive but it is used intransitively. In this, the structure building process is triggered by movement for checking which is feature- driven according to principles of the minimalist program. The TNS/TNS' which is found in the original basic sentence structure is changed to ASP/ASP'. See structure (10) below. This was explained earlier in this work and is because Dholuo does not have morphological tense marking but expresses time relation using aspect marking.

The following structure represents the sentence (a) above:



The structure building process begins by selection of all the items from the lexicon. In the minimalist program, all the items are placed within the VP. The first position in this structure is the SPEC/AGRsP' to which subjects move for the purpose of checking if the items are correct in their syntactic positions.

Checking is done by the verb moving into the relevant element. (Cook and Newson 1988:328). This necessitates, for example, that a verb that has tense features moves to TNS to have those features checked. Case checking is done in the specifier position of AGRoP and AGRsP.

The verb of example (56a) moves to ASP/ASP' and to AGRs/AGRs' to check its aspectual and agreement features respectively. The object moves from its VP to

SPEC/AGRoP' to check its proper accusative case and this is because in the minimalist program, case theory has been reduced to case checking through specifier head relationship of their respective heads.

3.2 THE COMPLEMENTIZER PHRASE (CP)

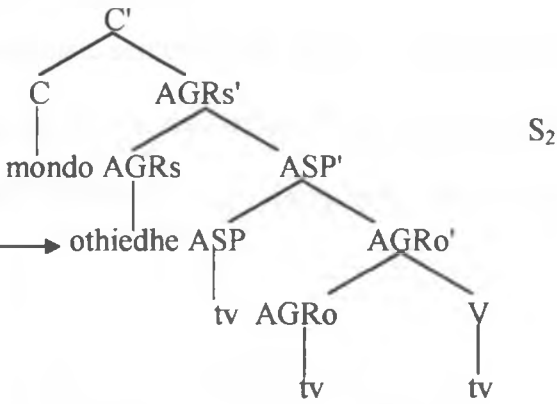
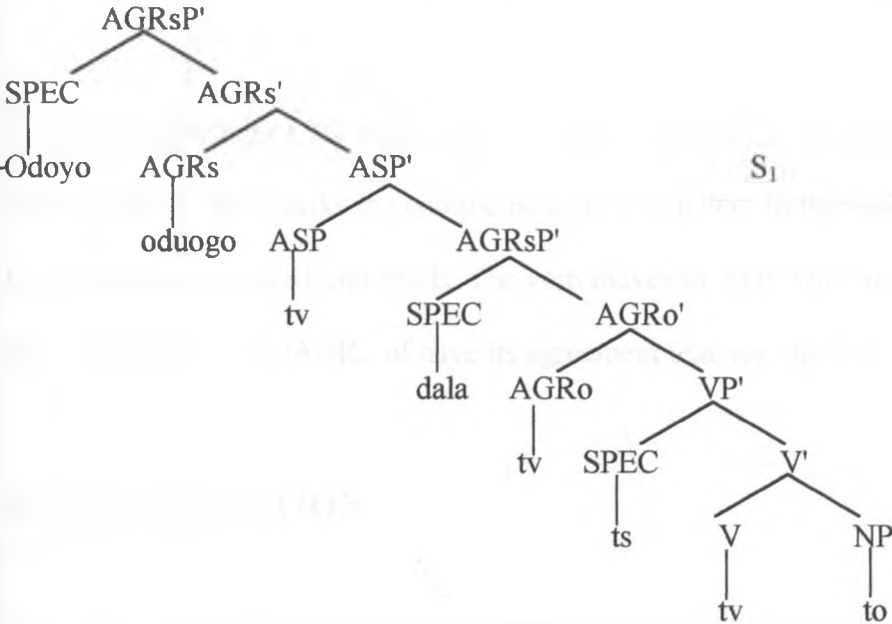
The following example shows the CP in Dholuo. This is an example of Dholuo subordinated sentence of purpose.

(57) Odoyo	o-	duog	-o	dala
Name-NOM	3P/SG	return	INF.COMP	homeACC.
 mondo	 o-	 thiedh	 -e	
In order that	3P/SG	treat	3P/SG-ACC	

Odoyo has returned home in order that he may treat her.

Below is the structural representation:

(11)



In the first sentence above, the subject moves to SPEC/AGRsP' to check its proper nominative case. The verb moves to ASP/ASP' to check its features of aspect and to AGRs/AGRs' to check its agreement features. The object moves from its NP position in the VP to SPEC/AGRoP' to check its proper accusative case.

In this structure, it can be seen that the overt subject is not repeated in the second sentences because it has an antecedent in the first. It is represented morphologically in the second. sentence. The arrow shows the relationship between the lexical subjects, *Odoyo* and the morphological subject prefixed to the verb in the second sentence.

In the second sentence, the complementizer moves to C/C' head. The example above shows that a C head marks the complementizer in Dholuo. In the minimalist program, lexical items are moved into heads. The verb moves to ASP/ASP' to check its aspectual features and to AGRs/AGRs' to have its agreement features checked.

3.3 COORDINATION

Dholuo coordinated sentences are combined by lexical items. For example, *kendo* joins coordinate sentences of addition with the same subject. In this case, the subject is not repeated in the second sentences if it is overt in the first sentence and the subject in the second sentence is always morphological. See the example below:

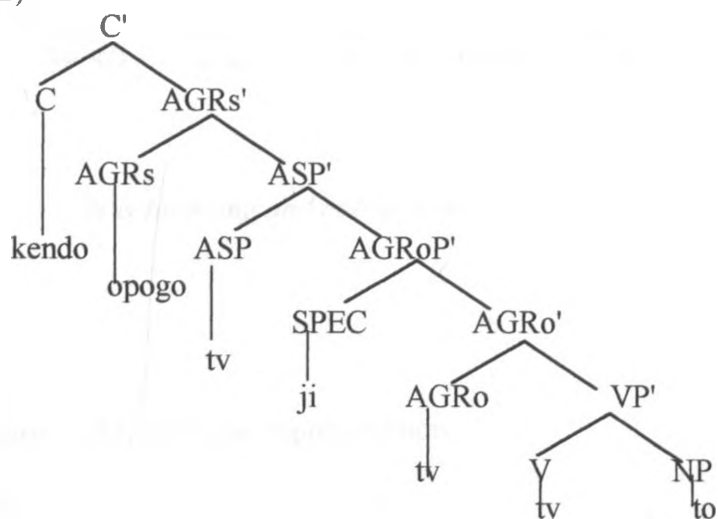
(58) Rateng' o- kwal -o chiemo kendo
 Name-NOM 3P/SG steal INF.COMP food-ACC and

 o- pog -o ji
 3P/SG divide- INF people-ACC

Rateng' has stolen the food and divided to the people.

Below is the structural representation:

(12)



The complementizer moves to C/C' and the verb moves from VP to ASP/ASP' to check its aspectual features and to AGRs/AGRs' to check its agreement features. The object moves from NP position in the VP to SPEC/AGRoP' to check accusative case. The subject in this kind of coordination with *Kendo* is always morphological because it refers to an antecedent in the first sentence i.e. *Rateng'*.

To is used to coordinate sentences of addition particularly when the actions in both the first and second sentences are taking place simultaneously. The verb in this case must always be in the incomplete aspect because of that simultaneity of action. because of that, a new head with the complete aspect has to be created in structure(13). See the example below:

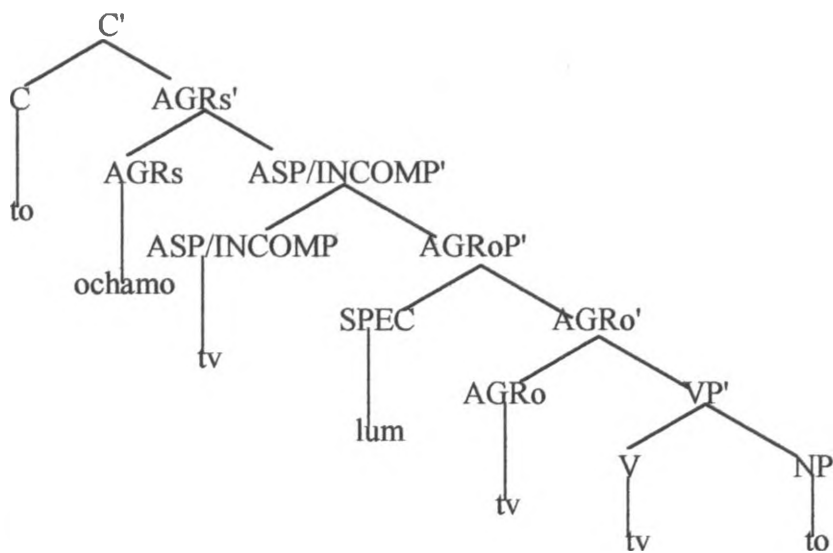
(59) O- ret - o to
 3P/SG rush - INF.INCOMP and

o- cham -o lum
 3P/SG eat INF. INCOMP grass.

It is hurrying and eating grass.

Below is the structural representation:

(13)



The complementizer moves to C/C'. The verb moves to ASP/INCOMP' and to AGRs/AGRs' to check its aspectual and agreement features respectively. The object moves from its NP position to SPEC/AGRoP' to check its accusative case as well.

3.4 SUBORDINATION

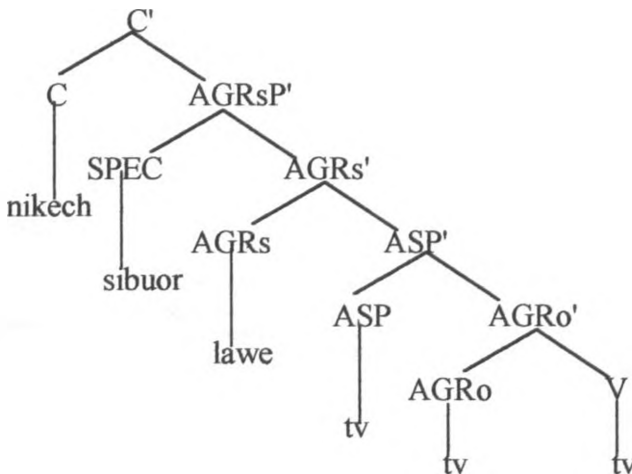
In subordination, the elements are in a hypotactic relationship. That is, they form a hierarchy in which the subordinate is a constituent of the whole sentence. The following is an example of a subordinate clause of reason:

(60) Mwanda	ring	-o	
Antelope-NOM	run-	INF-INCOMP	
nikech	sibuor	law	-e
because	Lion-NOM	chase-3P/SG.ACC.INCOMP	

The antelope is running because the lion is chasing it.

The following is the structural representation:

(14)



The complementizer moves to C/C' for checking. The subject moves to SPEC/AGRsP'.

The verb moves to ASP/ASP' to check its aspectual features and to AGRs/AGRs' to

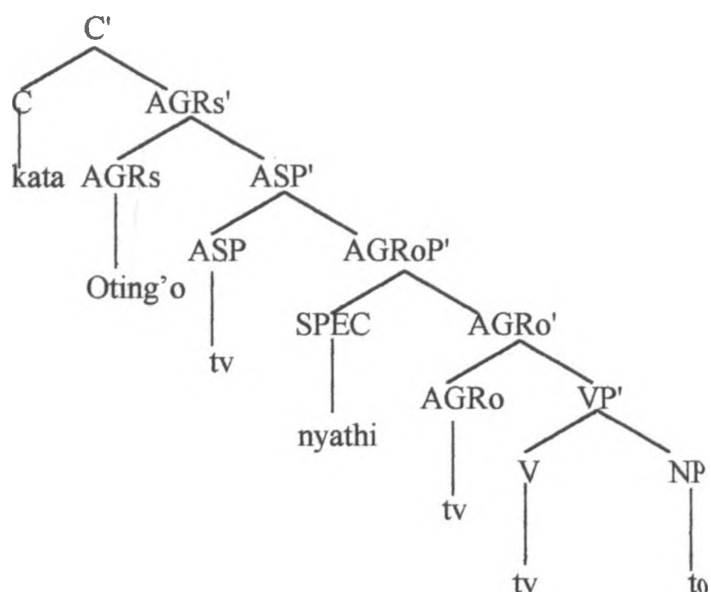
check its agreement features. The object also moves to AGRs/AGRs to check its accusative case as it is suffixed to the verb. It is important to note that Dholuo coordinated and subordinated complex sentences have the same structure, which is SVO. There are different ways of representing subordinated clause of concession in Dholuo. Subordinate clause of concession *kata* is used to introduce the subordinate clause. In this case, it is the complementizer and takes the complementizer head. See the example below:

(61) O- luok -o kata o- ting' -o nyathi
 3P/SG wash-INF-INCOMP although 3P/SG carry INF.INCOMP baby-ACC.

She is washing although she is carrying the baby.

See the structure below:

(15)



The complementizer moves to C/C' for checking. The verb moves ASP/ASP' and to AGRs/AGRs' to check aspectual and agreement and features. The object moves to SPEC/AGRoP'.

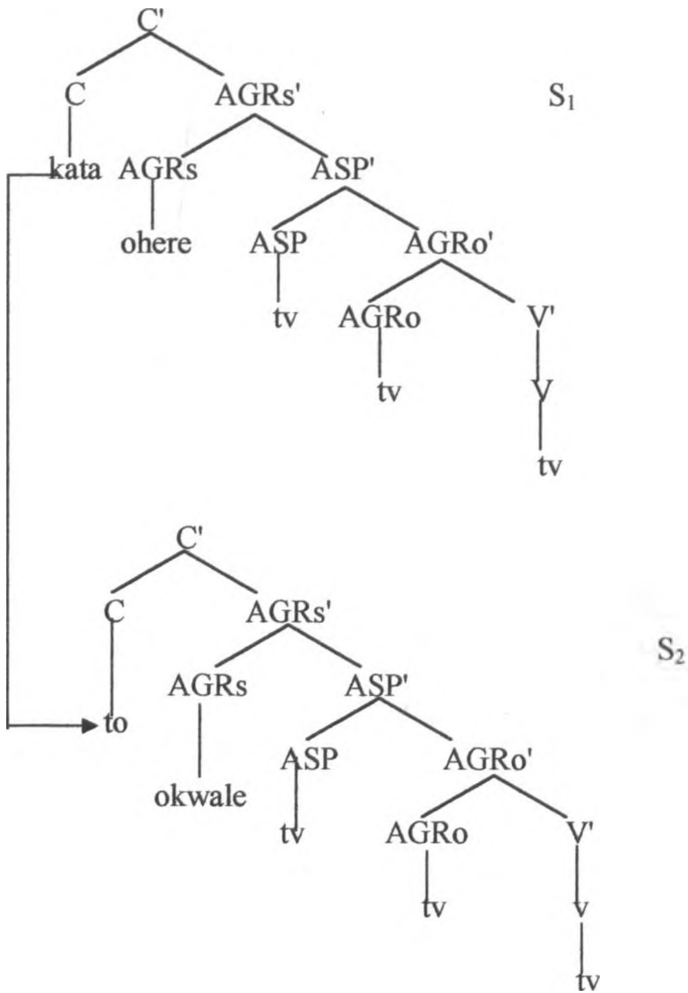
It is possible to combine *to* with *kata*. Here *to* means 'but'. In Dholuo, it strengthens the contrast. See the example below:

(62) Kata	o-	her	-e	to	o-	kwal	-e
Although	3P/SG	love	3P/SG.ACC	but	3P/SG	steal	3P/SG.ACC

Although he loves her (but) she steals (from) him.

Below is the structural representation:

(16)



In the first sentence, the first complementizer moves to C/C' for checking. The verb moves to AGRs/AGRs' to check its agreement features and to ASP/ASP' to check its aspectual features. Both the subject and object are prefixed and suffixed to the verb respectively. The movement is the same in first and the second sentences. The morphological objects in both the first and second sentences leave traces of the verb at AGRo/AGRo'. The arrow shows that the two complementizers co-occur in this kind of construction.

In Dholuo it is possible to combine *kata* with *to* and *kamano*. *Kamano* replaces a whole sentence here as it means ‘even if it is so’ or ‘even if it is like that’. *Kamano* focuses on the whole of the first clause and for that reason it gets its own head built on the structure as well. In this case, *to* specifies the complementizer because they occur together in the first sentence together with *kamano* which focuses on the whole sentence, so a specifier position for C is built.

Ne is the temporary prefix in Dholuo, which marks aspect and differentiates distant from recent completive aspect in this work. See chapter two, example (23). The temporary prefix (TP) also gets its head as is licensed by the language. See the example below:

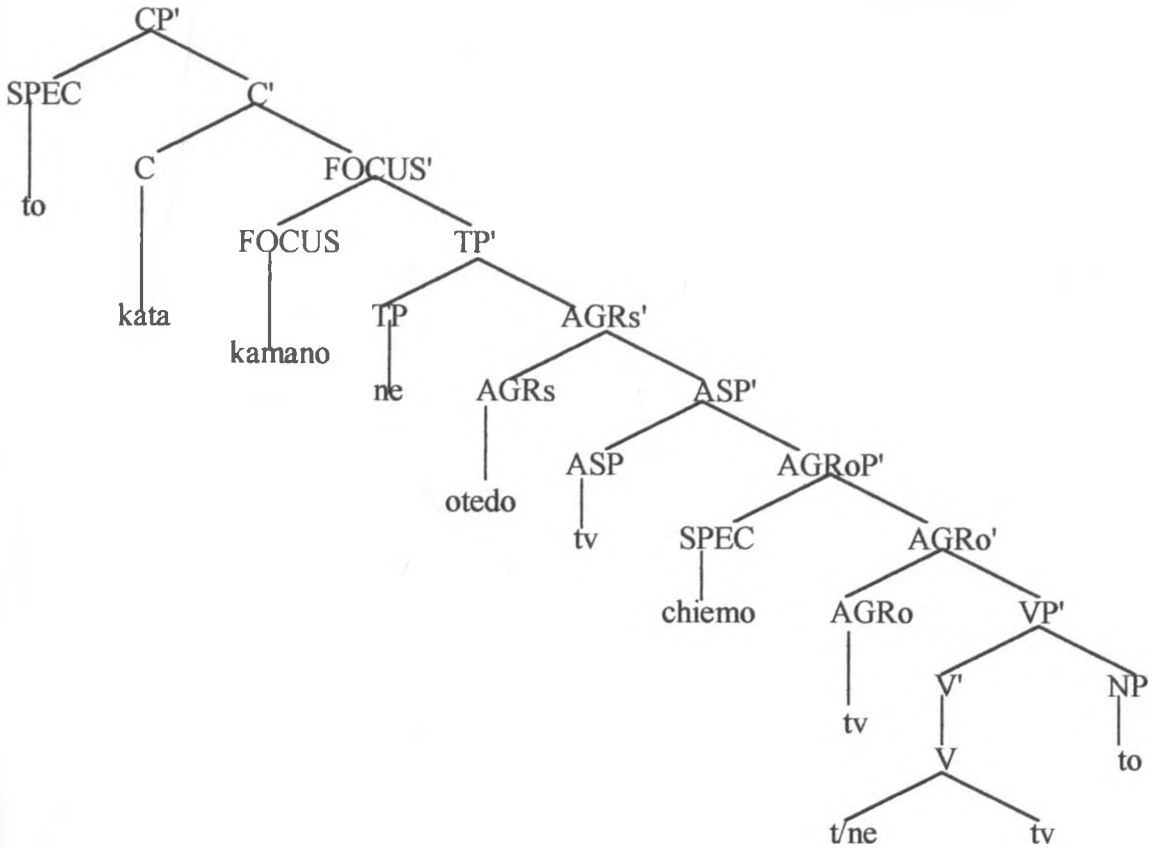
(63) Pala ne o- ng’ad -e
 Knife-NOM TP 3P/SG cut 3P/SG.ACC

to kata kamano ne o- ted -o chiemo
 but although even if so TP 3P/SG cook- INF.COMP food.ACC.

She was cut by a knife (but even if it was so), She cooked food.

See the structural representation:

(17)



The first conjunction *to* now moves to SPEC/CP' because it specifies the contrast, *kata*, which moves to C/C' as it is the complementizer. *Kamano* moves to FOCUS/FOCUS' head because it focuses on the whole of the first clause for that reason it gets its own head. All these features are checked in their heads for their correctness in the structure.

The temporary prefix *ne* is checked at TP/TP'. The verb moves to ASP/ASP' to have its aspectual and to AGRs/AGRs' to have its agreement features checked. The object moves from its place in VP to SPEC/AGRoP' to have its accusative case checked.

Dholuo conditional sentences can be hypothetical, that is representing an unreal condition, or non-hypothetical representing a real situation that is possible of fulfillment. In the non-hypothetical conditional sentence, *ka* can be combined with *to*. The difference that exists between the non-hypothetical conditional sentence and the hypothetical one is that the verb in the non-hypothetical conditional sentence is in the incompletive aspect. *To* combined with *ka* means 'then'.

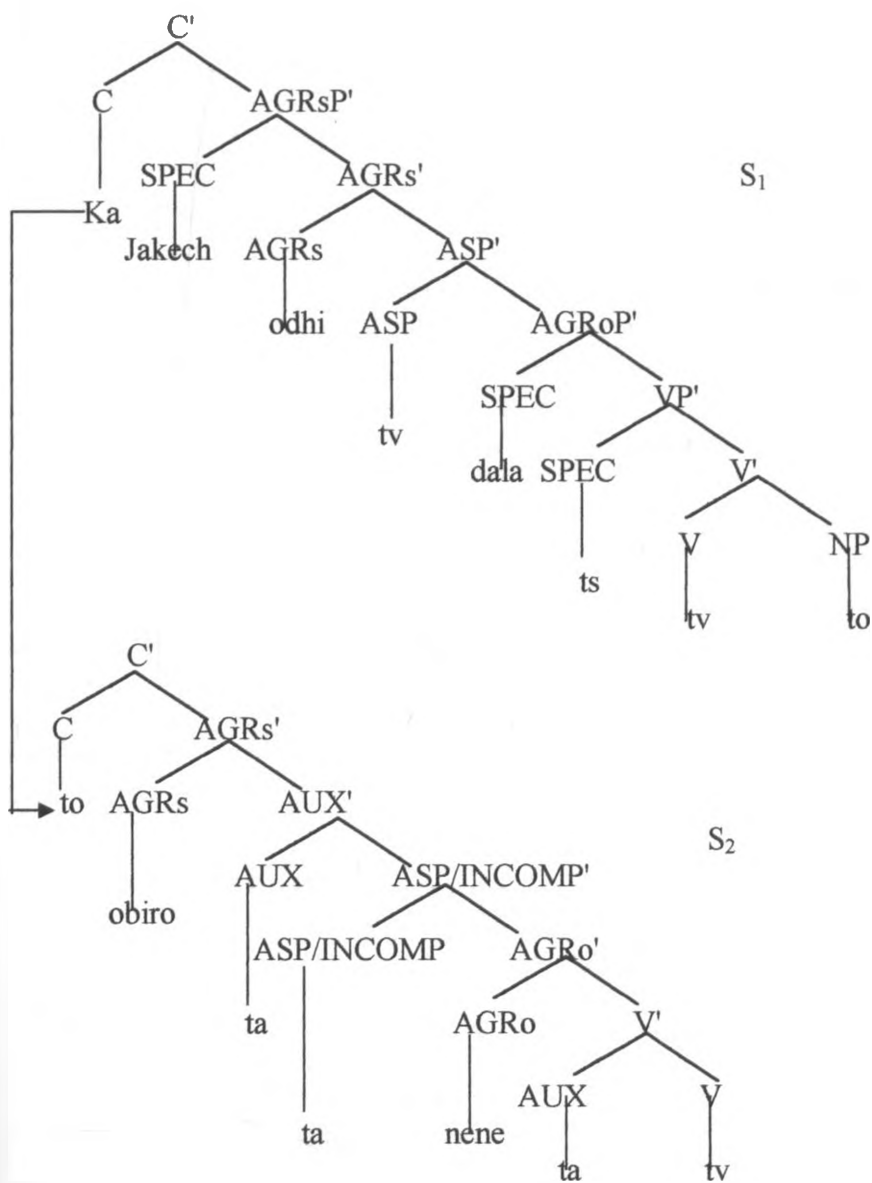
Here it is also possible to use an auxiliary verb *biro*, which is an alternative way of representing the future apart from *ang'wang'* representation. The morphological person is prefixed to the auxiliary verb and it becomes necessary for it to have its own head in AUX/AUX'. See the following example:

(64) Ka	Jaketch	o-	dhi	dala	
If	Name-NOM	3P/SG	go-INCOMP	home.ACC	
to	o-	bir	-o	nen	-e
then	3P/SG	will.AUX-INCOMP		see	3P/SG.ACC

If Jaketch goes home, then he will see him.

See the following structural representation:

(18)



In the first sentence, the complementizer moves to C/C' to check its feature. The subject moves from VP to SPEC/AGRsP' to check its nominative case. The verb moves to

ASP/ASP' to check its aspectual features and to AGRs/AGRs' to check its agreement features. The object also moves to SPEC/AGRoP' to check its proper accusative case.

In the second sentence the complementizer moves to C/C' for checking and the auxiliary verb moves to AGRs/AGRs' since it has the morphological subject prefixed to it, and to AUX/AUX' because it is an auxiliary verb and requires that head in the structure. The auxiliary verb also moves to ASP/INCOMP' position to check the features of aspect, which is in the incomplete. The morphological object is suffixed to the main verb and so it moves to AGRo/AGRo' position. The arrow shows the co-occurrence of *to* and *ka* in this kind of construction.

The difference between hypothetical and the non- hypothetical conditional sentence is in the aspect of the verb. The aspect is completive in the hypothetical conditional sentence that does not represent a real situation or just a wish, which is not possible of fulfillment.

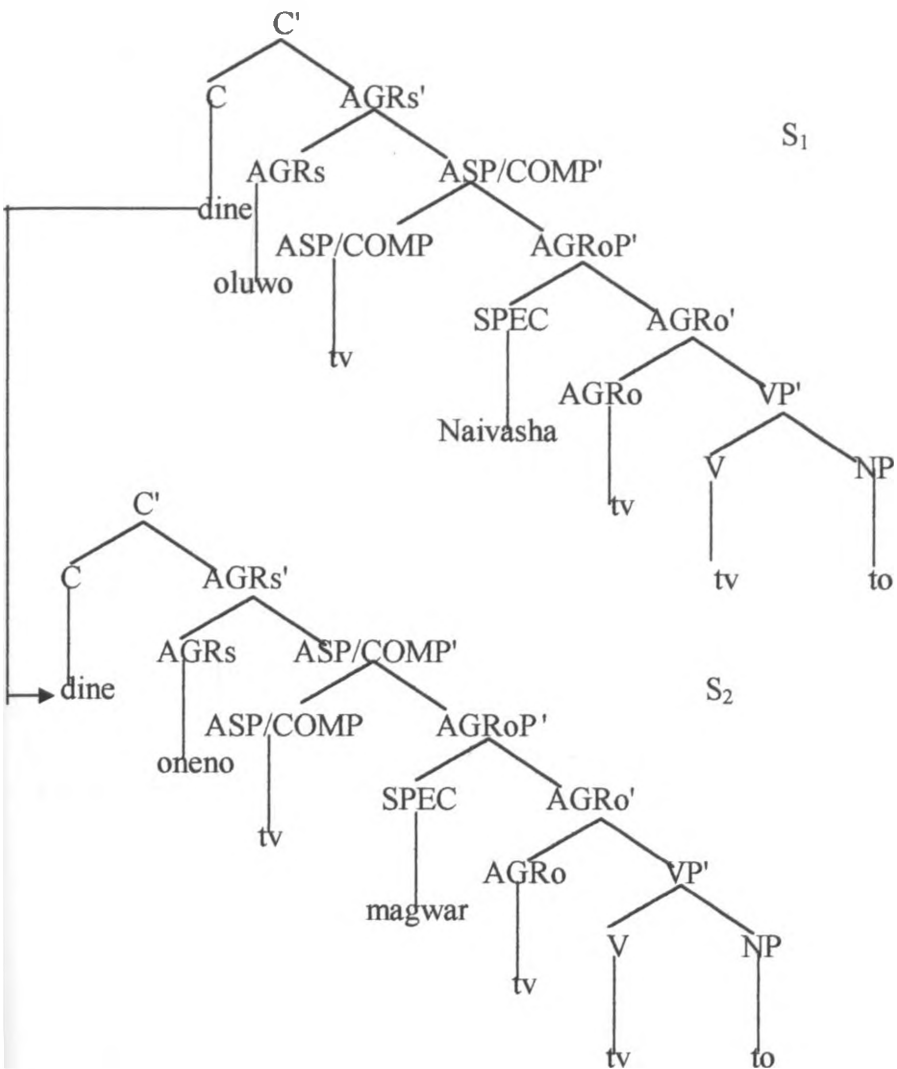
See the following example:

(65) Dine	o-	luw	-o		Naivasha
If	3P/SG	follow	INF-COMP		PLACE.ACC
dine	o-	nen	-o		magwar
would have.AUX.	3P/SG	see	INF. COMP		ZebrasACC

If he had followed Naivasha, he would have seen Zebras.

See the structure below:

(19)



The structure of the first sentence is the same as that of the second sentence. In the first sentence, the complementizer moves for checking at C/C' while the verb moves to ASP/COMP' to check its aspectual features and to AGRs/AGRs' to check its agreement features. The aspect in this case has to be completeive.

The object moves to SPEC/AGRoP' to check its accusative case. The same movement for checking and structure building takes place for the second sentence. The arrow shows that the two complementizers introduce each sentence.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 CONCLUSION

The concern of this study was to look into the possibility of analyzing the CP in Dholuo coordinated and subordinated complex sentences using Chomsky's theoretical framework of the minimalist program.

It was discovered that the minimalist program could adequately be used in the analysis of the CP (C) in Dholuo coordinate and subordinate complex sentences.

It was also discovered that Dholuo marks the complementizer by a C most of the time because the complementizers in Dholuo are single lexical items in the unmarked forms. This necessitated an alteration in Chomsky's original basic sentence structure, which had a CP head. Thus the C/C' head was used instead of CP/CP' head.

However, there was a case in which three complementizers are grouped together because that was seen to be a possibility in Dholuo. But it is a marked case, in such cases there are two complementizer and a specifier.

In case of the main and subordinate clauses for example in conditional sentence structure, both sentences have a complementizer i.e. a C.

Both the coordinate and subordinate complex sentences had the same structure, which is SVO. This fitted correctly onto Chomsky's original basic sentence structure, which has a design that is typical for SVO structures like Dholuo.

However, there was a different structure in the conditional clause as a result of the difference in aspect, which occurs between the hypothetical, and the non-hypothetical conditional sentences. The non- hypothetical conditional sentence made use of *biro*, which is an auxiliary verb and is an alternative way of presenting the future apart from *ang'/wang'* in the main clause. This necessitated the creation of an AUX/AUX' node to check the presence of the auxiliary verb. Dholuo does not have morphological tense marking but marks time in terms of aspect. That meant that there had to be changes in Chomsky's original basic sentence structure. TNS was replaced by ASP/ASP'.

4.1 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Since the study was not concerned with word order in complex sentences, it would be worthwhile to look in to it using the same theory. The relative clause is another element of the complex sentence that can be investigated.

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