

**A MORPHOSYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF MOOD IN DHOLUO; THE MINIMALIST
PROGRAM APPROACH**

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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This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my husband Andrew, and my children Dotty, Audrey and Jerry.

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ABSTRACT

This study is a morphosyntactic analysis of mood in Dholuo. It also examines the content of the VP and role of tone in Dholuo mood constructions. The study sets out to find out how Dholuo mood is expressed, the modal structure and how it is affected by feature checking under Chomsky's minimalist program (1995).

Chapter one discusses the background to the language of the study, states the problem and objectives of the study, outlines the hypotheses, rationale and the theoretical framework of the minimalist program, and discusses the literature review and methodology.

Chapter two discusses the categories of Dholuo mood and possible word formation processes of inflection and derivation realized on the auxiliary.

Chapter three discusses the mood morphology to determine its morphosyntactic functions in the Minimalist program. The modal auxiliary, which precedes the main verb in a construction, is inserted into its base position in the VP. The inflectional nodes are for feature checking. Chomsky (1993) states that morphology plays an important role in the new theory. The operations in the computational system are driven by morphological and lexical necessity. The amount of movement that takes place in the structure building depends on how rich or weak the morphology of a language is.

The study concludes that this theory accounts for the features present in the Dholuo mood system with modifications to cater for the feature checking of Dholuo mood in terms of creation of a head for mood and aspectual tone for the auxiliary that derives from a noun, or tonal distinction where an auxiliary is used together with the verb from which it derives. This is in line with the idea that the minimalist program is based on feature checking and structure building; both processes are morphologically or lexically driven. The features build the structure. Morphemes are moved out of the lexicon to build the structure.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT, GLOSSES, AND TREE DIAGRAMS

3P/SG	-	Third Person Singular
ACC	-	Accusative
ADV	-	Adverb
AGR	-	Agreement
AGR _O	-	Agreement Object
AGR _{OP}	-	Agreement Object Phrase
AGR _S	-	Agreement Subject
AGR _{SP}	-	Agreement Subject Phrase
ASP	-	Aspect
BU	-	Boro-Ukwala
COMP	-	Completive
COND	-	Conditional
DP	-	Derivational Prefix
EP	-	Emphasis
FI	-	Full Interpretation
FT	-	Future
GB	-	Government and Binding
HHH	-	High Tone
HHL	-	High High Low Tone
IF	-	Infinitive
INC	-	Incompletive
INFL	-	Inflection
IP	-	Imperative
KSN	-	Kisumu South Nyanza
LF	-	Logical Form
M	-	Mood
M/TA	-	Modal /Temporal Adverb
MA	-	Modal Adverb
MMM	-	Mid Tone
MUH	-	Morphological Uniformity Hypothesis

N	-	Noun
NF	-	Near Future
NOM	-	Nominative
NP	-	Noun Phrase
NRP	-	Near Past
P	-	Preposition
PF	-	Phonological Form
PP	-	Prepositional Phrase
PRO	-	Pronominal Prefix
REL	-	Relative
RF	-	Remote Future
RFL	-	Reflexive
RP	-	Remote Past
SPEC	-	Specifier
SVO	-	Subject Verb Object
T	-	Tone
TA	-	Temporal Adverb
TM	-	Tone Mood
tm	-	Trace Mood
tm/ta	-	Trace Modal/Temporal Adverb
TNS	-	Tense
to	-	Trace Object
TP	-	Temporal Prefix
ts	-	Trace Subject
ttp	-	Trace Temporal Prefix
tv	-	Trace Verb
UG	-	Universal Grammar
V	-	Verb
VO	-	Verb Object
VP	-	Verb Phrase
θ	-	Theta

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Background to the language of study

Dholuo belongs to the Nilo-Saharan family of languages. The language group is divided into the Western, Eastern and Southern branches. It belongs to the Western Nilotic branch and some of the languages in this branch include Acholi, Lang'o, Alur, and Padhola. Speakers of these languages all migrated from their cradle land Sudan, and settled in Kenya and Uganda (Ochieng', 1985). In the Western Nilotic group, only Dholuo speakers settled in Kenya and the Northern part of Tanzania. Cohen (1974) records that the Luo began to settle in the Nyanza region of Kenya between 1500-1550 A.D. Adhiambo (1981), states that the Luo people live in Kisumu, Siaya, Nyando, Rachuonyo, Homa-Bay and Migori districts of Kenya.

At present speakers of Dholuo are found in most towns in Kenya. There are also Bantu-speaking communities such as Abasuba who according to Ayot (1979), have adopted Dholuo as their main language.

Dholuo, like any other language has dialects. Stafford (1967) notes the existence of dialects. It is agreed that the differences in dialects are limited to vocabulary and pronunciation. The differences in pronunciation are realized in the tone of different words and in the intonation pattern of utterances.

Adhiambo (1990) identifies the Kisumu-South Nyanza (KSN) and the Boro-Ukwala (BU) dialects. The Boro-Ukwala dialect is spoken in Boro and Ukwala divisions, Imbo and parts of Yala Division; all of Siaya District. She also identifies a form which developed because of 'accommodation between Dholuo dialects', a form she calls 'interdialects.'

These two dialects share all the segments and are mutually intelligible. The dialectal differences are not expected to affect the study because at morpho-syntactic level they are almost non-existent and do not impede intelligibility of the two dialects. This study is based on the Kisumu-South Nyanza (KSN) dialect because it is spoken in a wider geographical area and due to this; it is regarded as the standard form.

1.1 Statement of the problem

1. This study analyses how mood in Dholuo fits into the minimalist program.
2. It investigates what role;

- a) Tense¹, aspect and tone plays in Dholuo mood.
- b) The subject plays in a sentence with mood in Dholuo.

1.2 Hypotheses

The following hypotheses are stated:

1. The auxiliary takes the role of the verb and is moved for feature checking.
2. The full verb stays in the VP; it is not moved.
3. The agreement and aspect features are carried by the auxiliary.
4. Aspect and tone are feature-bearing heads in Dholuo.
5. Mood becomes an independent head in the theory.

1.3 Objectives

The objectives of the study are to: -

1. Attempt a critical investigation of mood in Dholuo by identifying all the options of modality.
2. Establish the types of mood in Dholuo and study the mood morphology to determine its morphosyntactic functions.
3. Determine how the morphosyntactic functions are affected by feature checking under Chomsky's minimalist program (1995).
4. Examine the minimalist program's postulation that the VP contains all the information of the sentence.
5. Examine the morphosyntactic role of tense, aspect and tone in Dholuo modal structure.

1.4. Rationale

The study is motivated by the fact that no documentation has so far been done on Dholuo mood. No study has also been undertaken in the minimalist program which is necessary because of its morphosyntactic approach. For the examination of the feature checking process, the minimalist program is able to explain the relationship between morphology, syntactic categories, and discourse functions adequately. The relationships are feature rather than structurally motivated.

¹ Dholuo has aspects, which are tonally marked, instead of tense.

The morpho-syntactic analysis of Dholuo mood in this program will contribute to Chomsky's quest for a theory of universal grammar and avail data for the linguistic study of Dholuo mood.

1.5 Scope and limitation

The study will concentrate on the analysis of Dholuo mood. It will not touch on tone and aspect in detail but in a limited way as long as they affect mood.

1.6 Theoretical framework

1.6.1 Philosophical background

In the generative grammar point of view, language is innate. Man is equipped with a language faculty, which comprises of a component called competence, also known as I-language, and performance, also known as E-language.

Competence is the tacit knowledge that one needs to know to speak a language. It is that knowledge of an ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogenous speech community who knows the language perfectly and it is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory, and limitations. It is the knowledge about a particular language that cannot be measured. This tacit knowledge of language is found in every speaker and it varies from individual to individual. Competence is a property of an individual that provides one with the ability to perceive relationships of linguistic elements and to analyse, generate and describe the structure of one's language in a grammar. One can then produce an infinite number of sentences using only a finite number of rules. Competence also allows the native speaker to make assessments about the grammaticality of expressions. His intuition helps him to judge the well or illformedness of grammatical sentences. It is the perfect knowledge of the rules unconsciously, that is, implicit knowledge.

Performance is the actual use of the language in concrete situations (Chomsky 1965). It is the employment of competence. Performance is the actual manifestation of competence in writing, understanding, listening, reading and speaking. It builds upon the structure of the language for proper language usage and focuses more on cultural and conventional normative concepts than on the grammaticality of sentences.

Generative grammar meets the conditions for an adequate grammatical model, based on these presuppositions because; it achieves observational adequacy in specifying the difference between

grammatical and ungrammatical sentences on phonological, morphological and syntactic grounds. The grammar as a model of competence can generate only the well-formed sentences of a language. It also strives for descriptive adequacy by formulating the rules and regulations of the language structure, which are based on the native speaker's intuition about well-formedness of the language properties. It accounts for the systematic relationships among the sentences of a language and attempts to define or describe the language in terms of word order, sentence formation and language typology. By providing good reasons for rules of the grammar, explanatory adequacy is achieved. These conditions have to be met by every grammar of a specific language according to Chomsky (1986). It strives for explanatory adequacy by giving us a principal way of how language is learnt by children and human beings.

Chomsky is searching for a universal theory of language, where specific grammatical descriptions of all the different languages contribute to developing the properties of universal grammar (UG).

1.6.2 The minimalist program

The minimalist program postulates that a linguistic expression is well represented only at interface (Chomsky 1993), which contains the phonological form (PF) and the logical form (LF). In transporting lexical or morphological information from lexicon to interface, several processes and guiding principles are involved.

1.6.2.1 The numeration process

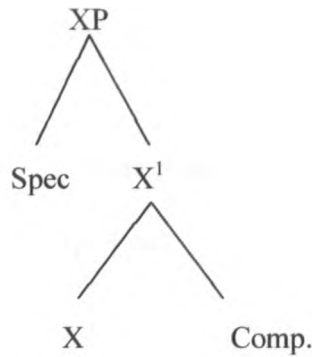
It explains the 'computational processes' from the lexicon to the syntactic representation.

All the lexical and morpho-syntactic information about nouns and verbs are found in the lexicon. In the process of numeration, a set of morphosyntactic and lexical items are taken from the lexicon. The morphemes then fill into structure building. The merge, a computational process takes place and combines the elements into projections and partial trees. It transports the information from the lexicon to the interface level which consists of the phonetic component (PF) and semantic component (LF). This is what used to be the surface level in GB. The structure building process in the minimalist program pursues a different goal than the projection principle did in GB. The deep structure in GB functioned as an internal interface between the lexicon and the syntactic representation. The information of the lexicon was then projected onto

deep structure level. The minimalist program deviates from GB by eliminating the projection principle and the deep structure level of GB.

The minimalist program keeps the specifier-head and head-head relationships of x-bar theory (Chomsky: 1993). The lexical items from the lexicon are transformed into a specifier-head or head-complement relationship (ibid). Leading to the following typical structure, known before as maximal projection (Chomsky 1981:29).

1.



It preserves the idea that all information is projected from the lexicon into a main concept for all phrases and presupposes a cross-categorical symmetry from all of them. The structure building process is driven by necessity. Structures are built only if licensed by morphological or lexical evidence of the language.

In the minimalist program, words are moved around for checking purposes. Inflectional features are checked by the checking process for their grammaticality. INFL no longer exists according to the split-INFL-Hypothesis (Pollock 1989), it is now separated into TNS, agreement subject (AGR_s) and agreement object (AGR_o) phrases. TNS and AGR phrases ascertain that properties of the verb are checked by raising them. Properties of the NP (Determiner phrase) are the case features. The checking process ensures that NP and VP are properly paired.

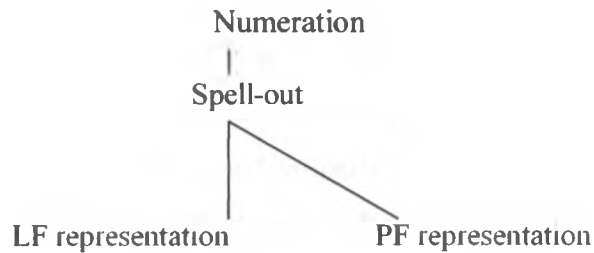
The minimal link conditions, the interacting principle of economy and the principles of procrastinate and greed direct movement. Reformulating the principle of Relativised minimality, the minimal link conditions state that movement is only possible into the nearest relevant position (Rizzi 1990, Chomsky 1993, 1995). Procrastinate ensures that movement only takes place if there is a need and if it is licensed by any morpho-syntactic or lexical evidence from a language. The last Resort advocates for the shortest move to the nearest relevant position.

Related to it is the last Resort Greed Principle. It states that an item moves only to satisfy its own need.

The spell-out process sorts out the phonological and semantic information for the structural descriptions. It checks grammaticality which is manifested in PF and LF. Logical (semantic) information can neither appear at PF nor can any phonological information appear at LF, otherwise the derivation crashes and the final structure becomes ungrammatical.

The computation process from lexicon to interface is represented below.

2.



In the new interface, the principle of full interpretation has been integrated into the spell out process and is now linked to the principle of economy. The F1 restricts the structure building process. Only lexically or morphologically licensed elements appear in the structure of a sentence. The θ -criterion turned out to be insufficient and arbitrary (Chomsky: 1993). Languages also work on the principle of Economy (Chomsky 1993, 1995) that interacts with other principles in the computational process before spell out into PF and LF. Derivations, through the Least Effort Condition, should be as economic as possible without any redundant step in the derivation, so that no superfluous symbol appears in the representation.

Spell out should take place after numeration and structure building process, sorting out semantic and phonological information according to the F1 principle. If it takes place too late, for example, after PF and LF, the representations on these levels are mixed up. If lexical items are inserted after spell-out, it cannot split the relevant information into the correct levels of interpretation.

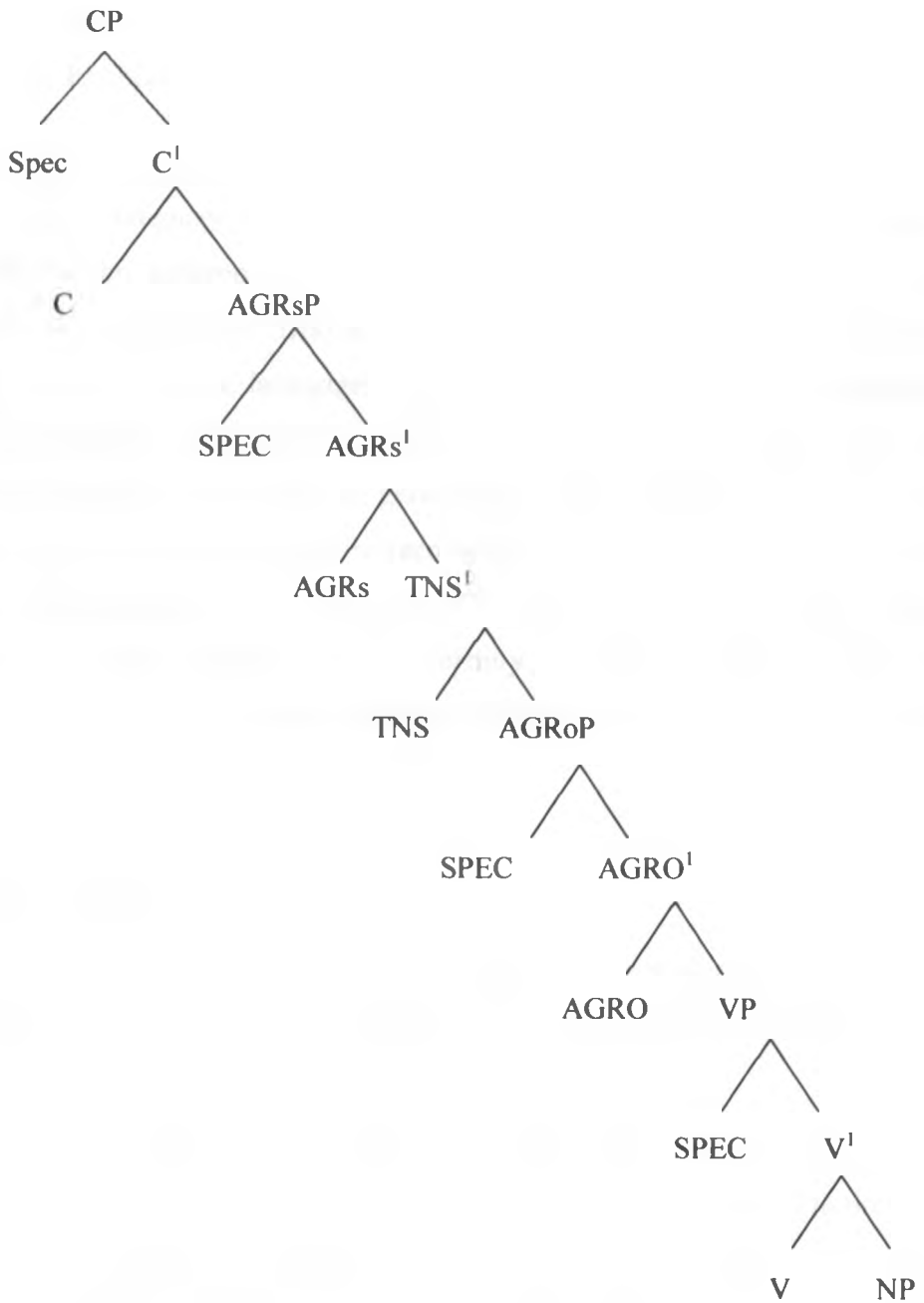
1.6.2.2 The role of morphology

As Chomsky states (Chomsky 1993), morphology plays an important role in the new theory. The operations in the computational system are driven by morphological necessity. In the structure building; the amount of movement that takes place depends on how rich or weak the morphology of a language is.

The role morphology plays in GB and the minimalist program differs. The morpho-syntactic features were placed onto the deep structure level under GB. A verb was selected in its root form from the lexicon and base-generated in the VP under INFL. Person, number, and tense inflectional morphemes were then base-generated under their respective inflectional heads (INFL). Verb movement took place in order to pick up these morphological features for the verb to appear grammatically correct on the surface structure level. Thus morphology and syntax were split in GB. On the other hand, the minimalist program's morpho-syntactic nature assumes that the verbs and nouns get their inflectional properties in the lexicon. The already inflected verbs and nouns with their morphology are placed in the VP. The division between deep and surface structure is eliminated because there is no more need for verbs and nouns to be projected at deep structure level to pick up their features and appear grammatically correct on surface structure level. The lexicon is no more a collection of roots and stems for verbs and nouns; it contains all the relevant inflectional morphology of the categories also.

The following new basic sentence structure (Chomsky 1993:7) reflects the morphology with its direct bearing on verbal inflection and case marking.

(3)



AGRs and AGRo are bundles of abstract features like gender, number, person, which distinguish the agreement-marking of the two functional roles of AGR-subject and AGR-object. This new program also takes into consideration languages, which have morphological object case-marking.

In the minimalist program no question is raised about the proper government of traces as government theory has been eliminated under this program.

1.6.3 The pro-drop parameter.

It concerns whether a language has declarative sentences occurring without apparent subjects. Even forms without an apparent subject are well formed. Languages which can drop their subjects are pro-drop languages. Dholuo is a pro-drop language. The pro-drop parameter describes the property of natural languages to drop the pronominal subject on sentence level. The pronoun is dropped and its content must be recovered or identified by other means. It has been shown that the nominal features of person, gender and number, attached to the verb (also called the ph-nominal features) are rich enough to recover the content of the missing subject. The idea was formulated in the standard theory (Jaeggli 1982, Rizzi 1982 and Chomsky 1982) and was later modified by the morphological uniformity Hypothesis (MUH) that related a morphologically uniform inflection paradigm to pro-drop languages (Jaeggli and Safir 1989).

1.7 Literature review

1.7.2.1 Dholuo studies.

The few earlier works done by Europeans in Dholuo language were simple grammars. They were not based on modern linguistics but were useful to non-native speakers interested in learning the language for various reasons (Stafford 1967).

Examples are: - An Elementary Luo Grammar (Stafford, 1967) Dholuo without tears (Malo, 1952), Elementary lessons in Dholuo (Huntingford, 1959), Luo-English Dictionary (Blount, 1971) and Dholuo Grammar (St Joseph's Society, 1938). These writers did not address the question of mood in any theoretical way. Their usefulness therefore lies only in their being valuable sources of data for this study. There is no study in Dholuo on a theoretical discussion of the Dholuo mood.

Works on Dholuo based on a modern linguistic theoretical approach to language description include; Omondi (1982), which analyses Dholuo syntactic structure. It is an analysis of the major units of syntax, using the theoretical framework of the standard theory in generative grammar. Ogutu (1989) analyses the syntax of Dholuo conditional sentence based on the extended standard theory approach of transformational grammar. Oduor (1998), A functional Analysis of Argument

Ellipsis in Dholuo investigates the null positions found in some surface constructions of Dholuo. Okoth (1982) in *Dholuo morphophonemics A Generative Framework*, attempts a detailed investigation of the “motivation for the morphophonemic alterations which are prevalent in Dholuo grammar,” (Okoth 1982: 12). Cases where the alternations carry relics of earlier stage of the language are examined, also where the alternations have a purely phonetic motivation, phonological or purely morphological reasons. The morphophonemics touches on the morphology of the language; hence it is significant to this study. In Okoth (1986) an in-depth study of Dholuo constituent order is given. The work provides insight into the nature of Dholuo verbs and nouns.

1.7.2.1 English Literature about mood.

Lyons (1968) defines mood in relation to an unmarked class of sentences, which express simple statements of fact, unqualified with respect to the attitude of the speaker, to what he is saying. He says simple declarative sentences of this kind are non-modal (unmarked for mood). In (Lyons 1977), he insists on the distinction between ‘mood’ and ‘modality’, where mood is essentially a grammatical category. He had previously noted (1968) three ‘scales’ of modality, those of ‘wish’ and ‘intention,’ of ‘necessity’ and ‘obligation,’ and of ‘certainty’ and ‘possibility.’ He provides no evidence that these are clearly marked grammatically in any known language as distinct ‘scales’. He gives a Latin example for the first and English example for the other two. The second two pairs are what Palmer (1979) and Von Wright call ‘deontic’ and ‘epistemic’ modality with which Lyons is mainly concerned in his later book. ‘Wish’ and ‘intention’ are only dealt with in a discussion of ‘non-factives,’ although it is clearly implied that factivity is related to modality, there is no indication of the precise way in which the basic notions of possibility and necessity will relate to ‘factive,’ ‘contrafactive’ and ‘non-factive.’

The basic distinction is nevertheless clear: ‘mood’ is a grammatical term, while ‘modality’ is a semantic term relating to the meanings that are usually associated with mood. Thus, the relation between mood and modality is like that between tense and time. It is observed that languages have grammatical categories, which we may call ‘moods,’ that relate to a whole variety of non-factual expressions. Some of these may be different from those we have already noted. In some languages, for instance, there are grammatical ways of expressing what is said to be so. German is one such language and the American Indian Menomini is another (Hockett 1968). Menomini

also includes in its system of mood reference to unexpected events and to unfulfilled intentions, as well as statement and question.

'Modality' is a semantic term, used in Palmer (1979) to refer to the meanings of the modal verbs. We have established the set of modal verbs as the grammatical category with which we are concerned, and do not need the term 'mood,' though there would be no obvious objection to describing each modal as one of the 'moods' of English. Mood is usually reserved for inflectional categories that exhibit modality-the subjunctive, optative, etc, as opposed to the indicatives. Zandvoort (1962) uses mood to distinguish between the subjunctive and indicative in English (marked by the absence or presence of final -s with the third person present tense form of the verb); and criticizes the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of auxiliary as 'a verb used to form the tenses, moods, voice, etc of other verbs.' He suggests that 'modality' is the proper term here and not 'mood.' The distinction being made is not between grammatical mood and semantic modality, but as far as we can gather, between the two grammatical-semantic categories of modal verb and mood. If that is so, it is not clear why he did not equally object to the term 'tense' and distinguishes the time characteristics of the auxiliaries from the inflectionally marked tenses of English, past and present. It is debatable whether the distinction between subjunctive and indicative is useful here, whether English has, in this narrow sense, any moods at all.

Von Wright's modes

In his pioneering work on modal logic (1951: 1-2), he distinguishes between four modes, which he sets out in a table and we are to assume, presumably, that the horizontal arrangement is significant. His purpose is to investigate their formal structure in terms of truth tables etc. A linguist's aim is to investigate the kind of modalities that are clearly recognizable in languages and systems which they exhibit. Below is the table.

Alethic modes/ Modes of truth	Epistemic modes/ Modes of knowing	Deontic modes/ Modes of obligation	Existential modes/ Modes of existence
Necessary	Verified	Obligatory	Universal
Possible		Permitted	Existing
Contingent	Undecided	Indifferent	
Impossible	Falsified	Forbidden	Empty

The alethic mode is the main concern of logicians. It has little place in ordinary language. Must, may be used to indicate alethic necessity. For example;

1. John is a bachelor, so he must be unmarried.

The term 'epistemic' has been used by linguists to refer to the use of modal auxiliaries; with reference to the use of may and must in the example below.

2. Henry may be here, he must be there.

Von Wright notes that the word possible is used in ordinary language in an epistemic sense, yet it belongs to the alethic mode in his system and the term epistemic mode is undecided. This is related to the fact that epistemic modality in language is usually, perhaps always, what Lyons (1977:792) calls 'subjunctive,' in that, it relates to an inference by the speaker, and is not simply

concerned with 'objective' verifiability in the light of knowledge. Epistemic necessity is indicated by must.

Deontic mode also has a place in ordinary language. The modal verbs are used to express what is obligatory, permitted or forbidden. Like epistemic modality, it is usually subjunctive, in that the speaker is the one who obliges, permits, or forbids. Von Wright's modality is 'absolute' but he recognizes that it can be 'relative,' that is, to some moral code or some person. Deontic modals are, thus, usually performative in the sense of Austin (1962).

The existential mode, according to Von Wright, is a matter of quantificational logic and is more concerned with some, any, and all, in ordinary language than the expressions of modality.

Wright admits that this mode has essential similarities with other modes of logic. It is of interest because of two reasons.

(a) 'Can' is used in an existential sense to mean 'some' (more commonly 'sometimes'). For example:

3. Lions can be dangerous.

(b) The rules for logical equivalence with negation in existential modality are closely paralleled in the other modalities, especially the epistemic.

Different scholars have dealt with modals and modality in many different ways, a clear indication of the complexity of the issues involved and of the difficulty of arriving at any simple and completely convincing analysis: Palmer (1979) aims at giving a general idea of the nature of the problem and of an approach to its solution, and to offer some guidelines for the organization of the analysis. He gives two starting points. By formal criteria, a set of modal verbs can be established; the formal status of six such verbs is hardly in doubt, but others are either marginal or problematic. Semantically it is assumed that the concepts of possibility and necessity are central to modality. A synthesis of the formal and semantic criteria will lead us to go beyond possibility and necessity.

1.7.2.3 The theoretical Literature

The theory of Generative Grammar, since its inception in 1957 has undergone a series of fundamental changes, culminating in the minimalist program of 1993 and 1995. The different stages of development were triggered by deepening insight and new data.

Arguing for a separation between phrase structures and transformations, which alter them, Chomsky in his first book, *Syntactic Structures* (1957) introduced the notions of Generative Grammar and writing rules. Based on this model, he developed the notion of deep structure and surface structure in his *Aspects of Theory of syntax* (1965). The latter is derived from the former by transformations. He also introduces the distinction between competence and performance. A model also known as 'Standard Theory.'

This theory underwent significant changes in the eighties. The changes were conceptualized in GB theory, described in Chomsky's lectures on *Government and Binding* (1981). Also known as 'Principles and Parameters,' the new approach became necessary as more language data were brought into the research program and forced the theory into parameterization. This model is still phrase structure based and retains the concept of deep structure and surface structure, but develops modules like x-bar theory, case theory, binding theory, bounding theory, control theory and government theory.

The phrase structure is projected from the lexicon onto deep-structure level by the x-bar theory. The θ theory and case theory explain how the semantic roles or case markings are assigned to the core constituents on sentence level. The relations of anaphors, pronouns, names and variables to possible antecedents are described by the binding theory. Bounding theory is concerned with the local restrictions on grammatical processes. Control theory deals with the referential dependency between an unexpressed subject PRO and an argument, and the head complement relationship of a phrase is described by the government theory. The basis for the frameworks of 'Filters and control' and 'on Binding' is provided by the interaction of these sub theories. GB theory also incorporates analyses of other languages, particularly Romance languages, using the pro-drop parameter.

The discussion of the philosophical framework of UG and language acquisition is resumed in Chomsky's book *Knowledge of language* (1986). It tries to answer issues like what the origin and nature of language is. Language is understood as an 'innate property of the brain, also called 'knowledge of language.' This internal language underlies and determines the use and understanding of language. The different stages of language learning are examined in the book, showing that principles and parameters approach of UG offers an adequate model for language acquisition at its different stages.

Palmer (1986) states that the distinction between mood and modality is similar to that between tense and time, gender and sex. There are some problems concerning both the terminology and the nature of mood and the way it relates, or is seen to relate, to modality.

First, the term 'mood' is traditionally restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology. It is formally a morpho-syntactic category of the verb like tense and aspect, even though its semantic function relates to the contents of the whole sentence. But traditionally its verbal nature is not in doubt. Jespersen (1924: 373) insists that it is a "syntactic not a notional category, which is shown in the form of the verb," and dictionary definitions usually refer to verbal inflection. Yet, modality is not expressed in all languages within the verbal morphology. It may be expressed by modal verbs (which are at least still within the verbal element of the sentence) or by particles which may well be quite separate from the verb. Because of the restriction of the term 'mood' to verbal morphology, Lyons can remark (1977: 848) "mood is a grammatical category that is found in some, but not all, languages." It is probably the case that formal markers of modality are found within the grammars of all languages, though not always within the verb. But if 'mood' is restricted in this way and not applied to grammatical systems that are not marked on the verb, there will be no general term for all the grammatical systems that are exponents of (semantic) modality, no term precisely parallel to 'tense,' 'number', or 'gender.'

Huddleston (1984:164) talks of 'an analytic mood system' when auxiliaries, rather than inflection, are the exponents of the grammatical system. This attractive solution will not be adopted here, because the alternative terminology is well established. If the term 'mood' is used solely to refer to inflectional categories, it will be necessary to refer to 'modal' systems or 'modal' categories that are no less grammatical, while restricting the term 'modality' to the typological category of grammar.

The second point that may to some extent justify the restricted use of the term 'mood' is that the moods of the familiar languages have a whole variety of semantic functions, and that the choice between them is determined grammatically more than by modal meanings. 'Mood' (subjunctive etc) and modality (can, may, must, etc.) are familiar terms in linguistics, according to Palmer (1986), but he says it is the first book to present a systematic and principled description, across a wide variety of languages, of what can be considered a single grammatical category.

The notion of modality is notoriously vague and a number of definitions have been proposed, encompassing the attitude or opinion of the speaker, speech acts, subjectivity, non-factivity, non-

assertion, possibility and necessity. Such definitions have often been language-specific. F. R. Palmer, by examining data (including data on evidentials) from many different languages-native American and Australian languages, for example, as well as Latin, Greek, English and others, is able to compare and contrast the ways in which modality is grammaticalized, its various functions, and its relation to other grammatical categories. Cross-Linguistic generalizations and theoretical conclusions arise from this typological approach that will interest the specialist as much as the advanced student. Mood and modality, written with F.R. Palmer's characteristic clarity and attention to detail, is a major contribution to our understanding of a basic topic in language studies.

In (Jespersen 1924: 313), his discussion of mood point is important. He says of the indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods:

They express certain attitudes of mind of the speaker towards the contents of the sentence, though in some cases the choice of mood is determined not by the attitude of the actual speaker, but by the character of the clause itself and its relation to the main nexus on which it is dependent. Further, it is very important that we speak of 'mood' only if the attitude of mind is shown in the form of the verb: mood thus is a syntactic, not a notional category.

He goes into detail about how English can express mood. There is further development in linguistic theory now such that mood and modality are put together.

1.8 Methodology

Data collection in this research will be from the researcher's own intuitive knowledge of the language, being a native speaker of Dholuo. The data gathered from informants for analysis will then be counter-checked with other native speakers for accuracy.

Carrying out library research on various works on Dholuo will also be necessary for purpose of data collection and analysis. It will also help in getting information on theoretical literature to facilitate data analysis within the theoretical framework.

Radio Ramogi, 107.10 FM will also be useful as a source of data, in situations where the KSN dialect, regarded as the standard form, is used in the broadcast media.

1.9 Summary

Chapter one discusses the background to the language of the study- Dholuo, outlines the hypotheses, states the problem and objectives of the study, outlines the rationale and the theoretical framework of the minimalist program, and discusses the literature review and methodology.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 Mood in Dholuo

2.1 Preliminaries

Before the description of the main topic 'mood in Dholuo' is started, some preliminary language features of Dholuo have to be introduced. These include consonants and vowels, sentence structure, tone/aspect, and the infinitive.

2.1.1 Consonants and vowels

Dholuo has twenty six consonants. Nineteen pure consonants, two semi vowels and five nasal compounds that function as unit phonemes.

Dholuo phonetic inventory of consonants

Dholuo consonant system is based on six points of articulation.

Place of articulation →						
Manner of articulation ↓	Labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
Stops	p b		t d	Ch j	k g	
Fricatives		f th dh	s			h
Liquids			l, r			
Glides	w			y		
Nasals	m mb	ndh	n nd	ny nj	ng' ng	

Adapted from Okoth, O. D. (1982:19) and Ngala, J. A. (1994:49).

The consonants in the table are written in Roman script. In the above inventory, manner of articulation, voicing and place of articulation is shown, with the voiceless segments placed above

their voiced counterparts, except nasals which are voiced (plus nasal compounds). The palatal obstruents /ch/ and /j/ are neither pure affricates nor stops. They are in between and could as well be presented as affricates. Here they are presented as stops to avoid use of diagraphs.

The phonetic inventory of Dholuo contains nine vowels and can be divided on the basis of the process of vowel harmony into two matching categories of four vowels each. The low vowel /a/ is considered neutral in terms of vowel harmony categorization. The orthography does not acknowledge the vowel harmony category difference and only has five symbols to represent the nine phonological vowels.

Below is a Dholuo vowel chart according to tongue position.

	+ATR	-ATR
Mid/Front	e	ɛ
High/Front	i	ɪ
Mid/Back	o	ɔ
High/Back	U	ʊ
Low	a	

2.1.2 Sentence structure

Dholuo sentence structure is basically SVO. See example with an overt noun phrase.

- (1) Otieno dhi dala
 Name-NOM go-IF-INC home

Otieno is going home.

Dholuo being a pro-drop language, the VS structure is possible when the declarative sentence occurs without an overt subject. According to Schroeder (2002) the pronoun is dropped and its content like the nominal features of person, gender and number, attached to the verb are rich enough to recover the content of the missing subject. The personal prefix marker *o-* is attached to the verb, so the verb has an inflectional morpheme and the contents of the dropped pronoun are recovered. More on the pro-drop parameter was discussed earlier in 1.6.3. Below, see example with a covert noun phrase.

- (2) O- dhi dala
 3P/SG- go-IF/INC home

He is going home

2.1.3 The infinitive

The infinitive is the base form in which verbs are given in the vocabulary and it usually consists of the root of the verb plus the suffix marker *-o*. See example.

- (3) Cham-o
Eat- IF
To eat.

There are a few exceptions that have *-i* as the suffix marker. See example.

- (4) Dh-i
Go-IF
To go.

In verbs ending in consonants the root is also the infinitive, as in the example below.

- (5) Wuok
To -get- out
To get out.

The characteristic tone pattern of the infinitive form of the verb is a mid tone. For example,

- (6) Tūr-ō
Break-IF
To break

2.1.4 Aspect and tone

Dholuo is a grammatical tone language although tones are not represented in the orthography. This leads to some lexical ambiguity where minimal pairs are involved but Dholuo speakers differentiate the meanings of such words depending on the context in which they are used. In Dholuo, tone based on minimal pairs are not very many and those that exist, as Okoth O. D. (1986) states, rarely, if ever belong to the same semantic field. In my aspect description I refer to Comrie's description of aspect, Comrie (1976). Ochola, E. A. (2003) states that there are two aspects in Dholuo, the imperfective and perfective. Imperfective/incomplete aspect is used for actions still taking place or which are habitual while the perfective/complete aspect is used for actions completed at the time of reference. There is a tonal difference between the imperfective and perfective verb. Both verbs have a high tone but the distinction occurs in the infinitive marker where there is a high tone in the imperfective (7a) and a contrastive low tone in the perfective verb (7b).

- (7a) Ó- téd- ó chiemo
3P/SG-cook-IF/INC food

He is cooking food.

- (7b) Ó- téd- ò chiemo
3P/SG-cook-IF/COMP food

He cooked food.

To express the future, the temporal prefix *n-* is prefixed to the person and verb.

See example of future with temporal prefix *n-*.

- (8) Otieno n- ó- dhí
name-NOM FT- 3P/SG- go-IF/INC

Otieno will go.

This does not apply to the incompletive construction as shown below.

- (9) Otieno dhi
name-NOM go-IF/INC

Otieno is going.

This example in the incompletive neither takes a temporal prefix *n-* which is used with the future as in (8), nor does it take the temporal particle ‘*ne*’² for the completive. See sentence in the completive.

- (10) Otieno ne o- dhí
name-NOM COMP 3P/SG- go-IF

Otieno went.

However, this temporal particle ‘*ne*’ in the completive can be contracted and incorporated into the verb to become ‘*no-*’, through the phonological process of fusion where the ending ‘*e*’ is lost, see the following example.

- (11) Otieno n- ò - dhí.
name-NOM COMP-3P/SG- go-IF

Otieno went.

See also (14) and (16) for constructions with auxiliary. Example (11) will look like the future construction where the temporal prefix *n-* is attached to the person, *no-*. In a construction with an overt subject or a non overt one, the difference between example (8) and (11) is tonal, where the

²Note that example (9) is in the Incompletive. ‘*Ne*’ is a temporal particle for the usual completive verb forms. It is a contracted form of the aspect particles of the perfective ‘*nene*’ for remote past and ‘*nende*’ for immediate/near past (within the same day).

future verb (8) has a high tone on the pronoun prefix and root, while the completive (11) has a low tone on the pronominal prefix and root.

Temporal adverbs, ‘*ang*’/‘*wang*’ and ‘*chieng*’ can also be used with the future to indicate how far in the future the action will be. They are placed before the temporal prefix and the verb with the pronominal. The temporal adverb ‘*ang*’ or ‘*wang*’ distinguishes time span in the near future (within/later the same day) and ‘*chieng*’ distinguishes remote future. See examples.

- (12a) Ang’/wang’ n- o- dhi (kawuono)
 NF TP-3P/SG-go-IF INC (today)

He will go (in the near future/today)

- (12b) Chieng’ n- o- dhi
 RF TP-3P/SG-go-IP/INC

He will go (in the remote future).

See also temporal adverbs in constructions with auxiliaries in (17a) and (17b).

2.2 Auxiliaries

After the preliminary language features have been settled, the description of mood in Dholuo follows. Generally mood, as defined in chapter one as a grammatical category, is expressed through auxiliary verbs. There are three kinds of auxiliaries. One derived Dholuo modal auxiliary, as will be illustrated shortly, inflects for person, agreement and tonally for aspect, see sentences (23) and (26). The others are; one lexical auxiliary, see 2.2.1, and some auxiliaries that become lexicalized after finishing their derivational process after incorporating a derivational prefix and an infinitive suffix and in some instances a reflexive morpheme, see 2.2.2 and 2.2.3. The third category is modal adverbs. In the following section the three different kinds of auxiliaries are described. Modal auxiliary verbs are used with the main verbs to add a kind of mood to the sentence to suggest the perspective of the speaker and show the reality, intentionality or irreality of an action. For example in English; may, might, will, would, can, could, shall, should and must. They have the following properties, (c.f. Ouhalla: 1991, Radford: 1992). They are always finite (i.e., appear in present or past tense forms), do not inflect for subject-verb agreement morpheme -s, always take infinitive verb forms as their complements, never occur in non-finite clauses because they do not have non-finite verb forms, can be directly negated by the negative particle (not), can undergo inversion in interrogative clauses, do not permit arguments of their own, do not occur as infinitive complements as verbs do and do not have the base form of the non-modal

verbs. This might not always be the same with other languages but modal elements have common properties like: Firstly, they encode modal notions such as: possibility, probability, ability, intention, obligation etc. Secondly, they take verbal expressions as complements. The Dholuo verb inflects for aspect (tonally), person, and agreement while the English verb inflects for tense, aspect, mood, agreement and person.

The difference between the Dholuo full verb and the auxiliary is that the auxiliary occurs before the main verb, it neither inflects for aspect, person and agreement like the verb. It is only the auxiliary ‘nyalo,’ see (2.2.2), which derives from a noun that behaves like a full verb. It also inflects for aspect (tonally), person and agreement.

2.2.1 Lexical auxiliaries

These kinds of auxiliaries are lexical words which express mood without any derivation or inflection.

In this category there is only one, the auxiliary ‘nyaka.’³ This auxiliary which means ‘must’ or ‘ought to’ is an auxiliary verb implying a sense of obligation, necessity, duty, rules and compulsion.

‘Nyaka’ can be used with all aspects. See how ‘nyaka’ is used with the completive aspect in the past.

- (13) Nyaka ne ó- dhi
Must TP 3P/SG- go-IP/COMP

He had to go.

The temporal particle ‘ne’ is placed before the main verb. This can be incorporated into the verb through the phonological process of fusion where the vowel ending ‘e’ is lost. See example.

- (14) Nyaka n- ó- dhi
Must TP-3P/SG-go-IP

He had to go.

When the constructions start with an auxiliary, there will be ambiguity between (14) for completive and (16) for future if the temporal particle of the completive ‘ne’ is contracted and incorporated into the verb to become ‘no’ like the future where the temporal prefix *n-* is prefixed to the person and the verb ‘no-,’ unless a temporal adverb is added to the future construction, to indicate future. There is also no tonal distinction. So in written Dholuo one should stick to (13) for

³ ‘Nyaka’ also has other meanings like ‘up to,’ ‘including’ which are prepositions and ‘until,’ ‘since’ which are conjunctions.

completive constructions and (16) for future. In speech, if (14) and (16) are used, there will be no ambiguity as the speakers can place them in the right context for completive and future. This is unlike in (8) and (11) where the construction could start with an overt subject or a pronominal and the temporal particle ‘*ne*’ of the completive is contracted and incorporated into the verb to become ‘*no*’ to look like the future. Here there is no ambiguity between the two constructions due to the tonal distinction as illustrated in that section.

The incomplete aspect is used for action still in progress; therefore, the particle ‘*ne*,’ which is only used with completive, is not used.

If ‘*nyaka*’ is followed by ‘*to*,’ it is very strong and final. See the following example.

- (15) Nyaka (to) ó- dhí
 Must EP 3P/SG-go-IP/INC
He must go.

Generally the future is rendered by prefixing a temporal prefix *n-* to the verb.

- (16) Nyaka n- ó- dhí
 Must TP -3P/SG- go-IF/INC
He will have to go.

The temporal adverbs, see also preliminaries, when used with mood, the auxiliary is always first in basic sentence structure. See examples.

- (17a) Nyaka ang’/wang’ n- ó- dhí (kawuono)
 Must NF TP-3P/SG-go-IP INC (today)
He will have to go (in the near future/today).

- (17b) Nyaka chieng’ n- ó- dhí
 Must RF TP -3P/SG- go-IP/INC
He will have to go (in the remote future)

Note there is a difference between the constructions 13-17 and 8-11. All examples in 13-17 have no overt subjects; the auxiliary ‘*nyaka*’ heads the sentences. Examples 8-11 have overt noun subjects. In these sentences the subject heads the sentences.

2.2.2 Derived auxiliaries

These auxiliaries are derived from full verbs. For example, the original verb ‘*nego*’- to kill, is changed into ‘*onego*’ the auxiliary. See the following examples of the full verb in the incomplete and completive. The difference between them is the tone pattern.

(18a) Ó- nĕg- ó
 3P/SG-kill- IF/INC

He is killing.

(18b) Ne ó- nĕg- ò
 TP 3P/SG-kill- IF/COMP

He killed.

(18a) shows the HHH tone pattern while (18b) shows the HHL tone pattern and the tonal difference between these verbs lies in the infinitive marker where that of the incomplete verb has a high tone pattern as opposed to that of the complete verb with a low tone pattern.

The following shows the derived auxiliary.

(19) Ō- nĕg- ò ó- dhí
 DP -necessary-IF 3P/SG-go-IF/INC

He should go.

The derivational prefix (DP) *o-* in the above modal verb originally developed from the prefix *o-* which changed into DP. The infinitive marker is also fused. The prefix no longer functions as a third personal pronoun but as a DP. Hence the fusion of the prefix and the infinitive suffix marker make a full auxiliary. The auxiliary also has a different tone pattern like MMM. The tone on the verbs in examples (18a) and (18b) changes to M⁴ tone in the auxiliary (19).

The modal verb has the meaning: to be necessary, must, have to, it is convenient, fitting and ought. It also adds the idea of obligation. The auxiliary ‘*nyaka*’ is a stronger prohibitive than ‘*onego*’ (see 2.2.1).

Similarly, ‘*oromo*’ derives from the full verb ‘*romo*’- to suffice. Illustrated below in (20a) and (20b) are the full verbs in the incomplete and complete.

(20a) Chiem-o ó- róm- ó
 Food -IF-PRO-suffice-IF/INC

The food is enough

(20b) Chiem-o ó- róm- ò
 Food- IF PRO-suffice-IF/COMP

The food was enough.

The following shows the derived auxiliary:

⁴ The mid tone pattern marks the auxiliary.

- (21) Ō- rōm- ō ó- chiém
 DP- fit- IF 3P/SG-eat-IF/INC

He ought to eat.

The difference between (20a), (20b) and (21) is tonal. The tone marking on the auxiliary is MMM⁵. The difference in tone pattern of the incomplete verb and the complete one is the change of tone on the infinitive suffix marker which is high in the incomplete and low in the complete. Refer to (20a) and (20b).

'Oromo' is a modal auxiliary used in the sense 'it is time to.' It expresses the ideas of; ought to, should and obligation.

'Nyalo' falls in the same category. Stafford (1967) and St. Joseph's society (1938) think that it derives from the full verb 'nyalo' - to be able to, but in my opinion it derives from a noun 'nyalo' - ability to do something, see example below.

- (22) En gi nyāl- ō
 3P/SG with ability-IF

He has the ability (He is able).

The following shows 'nyalo' the derived auxiliary which is inflected for person unlike the other auxiliaries which do not have a person marking which is usually on the full verb. It changes from a noun to an auxiliary.

- (23) Ó- nyāl- ó nén- ó ot
 3P/SG-able- IF/INC see- IF/INC ACC-house

He can see the house.

The difference between the above two sentences is tonal. The auxiliary, in the incomplete construction (23), has a different tone pattern from the other auxiliaries. Its tone marking resembles the one of the incomplete full verb. It has a high tone marking on the person marker and the auxiliary with the infinitive suffix marker taking the high incomplete tone pattern. See tone marking of an incomplete verb.

- (24) Ó- téd- ó
 3P/SG- cook-IF/INC

He is cooking.

The general tone marking on the auxiliary is the mid tone pattern, see example:

⁵ The mid tone pattern runs through the auxiliary 'oromo'.

- (25) Nyākā ó- ring- í
Must 3P/SG-run - IF/INC

He must run.

The auxiliary ‘nyalo,’ used in the completive also has a different tone pattern from the other auxiliaries. See example of the auxiliary ‘nyalo’ which can also be used in the completive.

- (26) Ó- nyál-ò nèn-ò ot
3P/SG-able-IF/COMP see-IF/COMP ACC-house

He could see the house.

Although the normal tone pattern for the auxiliary is MMM, the above example of ‘nyalo’ has the tone characteristics of the completive full verb, which usually is HHL. The person marker and the auxiliary take the high tone marking with the infinitive suffix marker taking the low tone completive marking.

‘Nyalo’ is a morphologically derived auxiliary that expresses the ideas of condition, possibility, ability and permission.

2.2.3 Derived auxiliaries with reflexives

Okoth (1997) quotes Lyons (1968:361) which states that in a reflexive construction the subject and object refer to the same person or thing. Okoth (1997) further states that Dholuo reflexive verbs are marked by -RV where -r- is the reflexive morpheme and -v is a word final vowel, which is normally a person marker. -e is the unmarked form, and according to Stafford (1967), the form ending in -e is given as the citation form of a reflexive verb. Below is an example of a reflexive verb.

- (27) O- hiny-o- re
3P/SG-hurt- IF/COMP-RFL

He has hurt himself.

There are two derived auxiliaries with reflexives as discussed below.

The auxiliary ‘nyalo’ can also occur with the reflexive marker -re to become ‘nyalore.’ It belongs to this group of derived auxiliaries that additionally have the morphological reflexive. This is marked by suffixing the reflexive marker/morpheme -re as shown below.

- (28) Ka nyál- ó- ré to ó- bí
 If possible- IF-RFL then 3P/SG-come-IP/INC

He should come, if it is possible.

The derivation of the auxiliary ‘nyalo’ from the noun has been discussed under derived auxiliaries. This auxiliary additionally takes the reflexive suffix/marker. The auxiliary has the high tone pattern of a verb unlike the other auxiliaries.

‘Nyalore’ has the sense ‘to be possible.’

The auxiliary ‘owinjore’ derives from the verb ‘winjo’- to hear. The following full verbs in (29a) and (29b) illustrate the incomplete and complete aspects.

- (29a) Ó- wíj- ó
 3P/SG-hear-IF/INC

He is hearing.

- (29b) ó- wíj- ò
 3P/SG- hear- IF/COMP

He has heard.

There is also a reflexive verb ‘winjore’- to be reconciled with, which with the inflection of person becomes ‘owinjore’ See example.

- (30) Sani ó- wíj- ó- ré kod Otieno.
 Now 3P/SG-reconciled-IF- RFL with ACC-name

He is now reconciled with Otieno.

Below is an example of the derived auxiliary which occurs with the reflexive marker –re.

- (31) Ō- wīj- ō- rē ó- dhí
 DP- suitable that- IF- RFL 3P/SG-go-IP/INC

He ought to go.

The difference between (29a), (29b), (30) and (31) is tonal. The tone marking on the constructions with the full verb have a high tone pattern but the difference between the incomplete and complete is the change of tone on the infinitive suffix marker which is high for the incomplete (29a) and low for the complete (29b). The tone marking is MMM however in (31) for the auxiliary.

This auxiliary is similar in meaning to ‘oromo’ and it expresses the ideas ‘ought,’ ‘to be suitable,’ and it also implies/conveys a sense of obligation or necessity, duty, rules, and to be convenient.’

'Owinjore' and 'Oromo' can substitute each other. 'Owinjore' without the reflexive marker –re 'Owinjo' is only a verb as illustrated in (29a) and (29b).

It is considered to sound ungrammatical to use 'owinjo' without the reflexive marker –re, (which is a verb) for an auxiliary. See example.

- * (32) Ō- wīnj- ō ó- dhí
 DP-suitable that-IF 3P/SG-go-IP/INC
He ought to go.

Therefore, the auxiliary 'owinjore' is not like its counterpart 'nyalore' that has a related auxiliary without the reflexive marker –re, 'nyalo.'

2.2.4 Expression of mood using modal adverbs

The last category that is expressed here is the auxiliaries that are lexical and act like adverbs. These are two modal adverbs used to express hesitancy or doubt as mood constructions. These are 'kamoro,' and 'chalo.' They are placed at the beginning of the sentence. See examples.

- (33) Kamoro ang' e- n- o- lim gi
 ADV sometimes/perhaps NF 3P/SG-TP- 3P/SG/AGR visit-IP/INC 3P/PL
Perhaps he shall visit them (today).
- (34) Chal- o k- o- biro tim- o ma- ber
 ADV- perhaps/seems-IF COND-3P/SG-going to do- IF/INC REL-good
Perhaps he will do well / It seems as if he will do well.

2.2.5 Summary

As discussed, the following are the three mood categories identified.

There is one lexical auxiliary, 'nyaka.'

There are also derived lexical auxiliaries involving the two word formation processes which include derivation and inflection. Under derivation the word class is changed from full verbs to auxiliaries, with one exception derived from a noun. Derivational affixes are added to those that derive from verbs and the noun. The auxiliaries take the infinitive form and only the derived auxiliary 'nyalo' inflects for person. Derived auxiliaries have morphological similarities with full verbs and a noun but the difference lies in the tone inflection. The auxiliary 'nyalo' has inflectional tone distinction in the person and the auxiliary, like the full verb. While for the derived prefix in the other auxiliaries derived from the verb, tone inflection is on the derivational prefix and the auxiliary. Some derived auxiliaries also take the morphological reflexive.

Mood can also be expressed by use of modal adverbs, which are used to express hesitancy or doubt as mood constructions of which two have been identified and discussed.

The auxiliary precedes the main verb as seen in the constructions with normal and derived auxiliaries. The same applies to modal adverbs used to express mood.

Also described in this chapter was the tonal difference between incomplete and complete aspect.

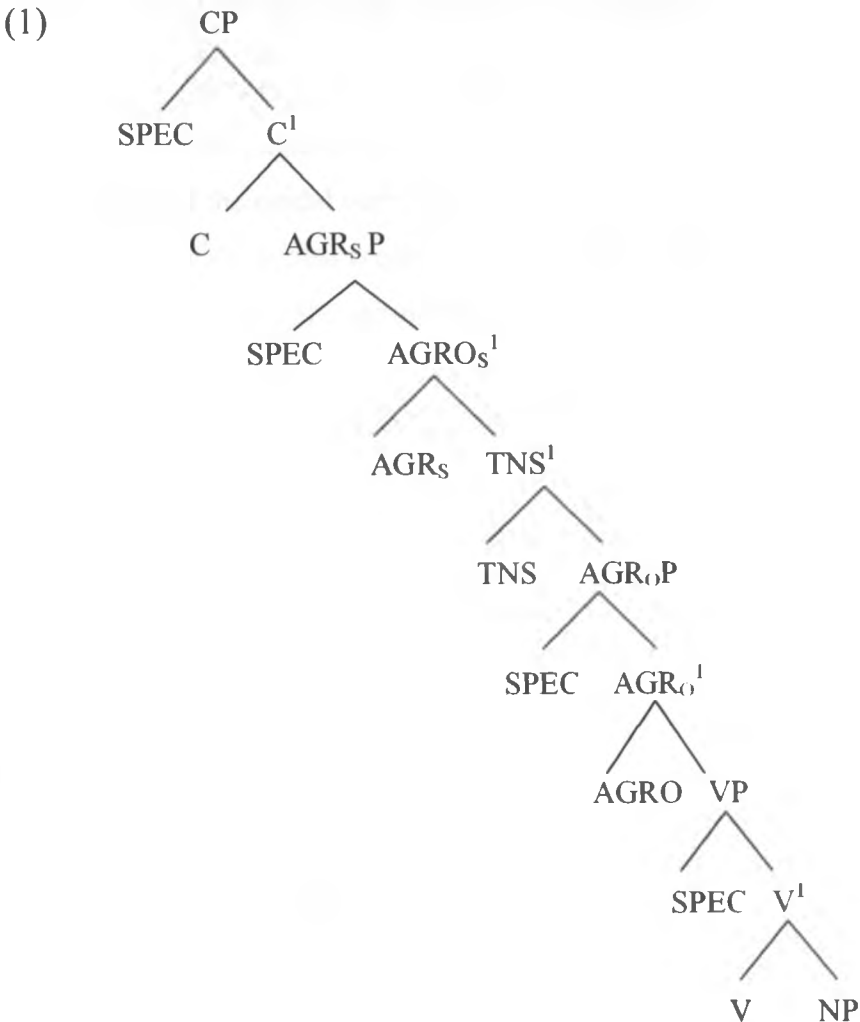
CHAPTER 3

3.0 Dholuo mood in the minimalist program

In this chapter, the morphosyntactic functions of the modal verb are discussed in the minimalist program. It will also discuss nominative-accusative case marking, modal and main verb movement, agreement and aspectual features.

3.1 The basic sentence structure represented in the minimalist program

The following is the basic sentence structure proposed by (Chomsky 1993:7)



The above structure represents the morphology of a typical SVO Dholuo sentence.

Subject and object in Dholuo behaves in the following way. Dholuo case features are not morphological and the nouns move out of the VP to keep the SVO structure, because there is no

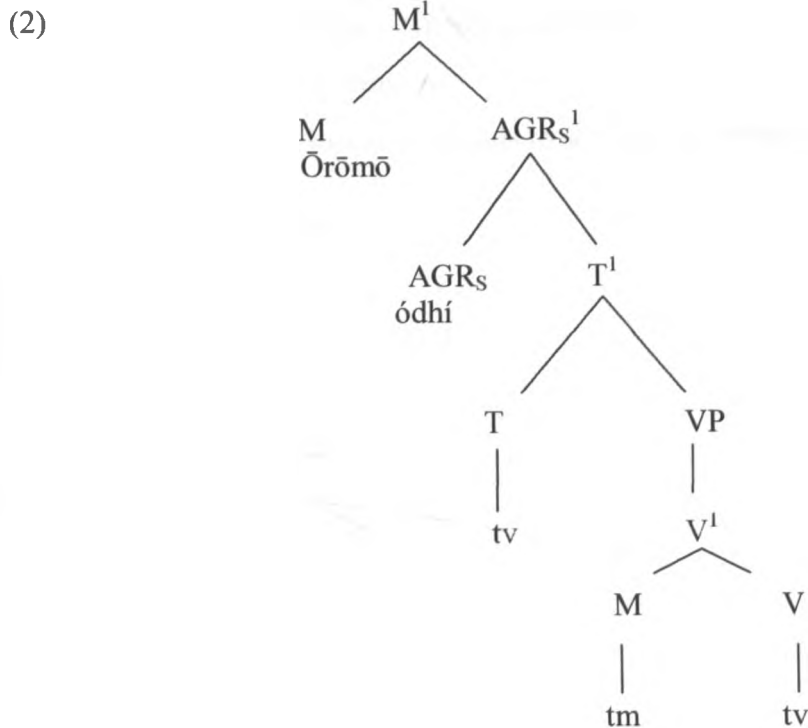
overt morphological feature case marking. The bundles of features AGR_S and AGR_O are checked for agreement features. So the subject and object in Dholuo move out of the VP for nominative and accusative structural case features to be checked under the specifier of $AGR_S P$ and specifier of $AGR_O P$.

The modal verb in Dholuo and the main verb are all in the VP. The modal verb precedes the main verb. To apply feature checking, there is no place for the modal verb in the proposed sentence structure, so a head is created for its lexical feature checking (M/M^1), preceding the $AGR_S P$, because the modal verb always precedes the main verb, and the main verb moves to (AGR_S^1/AGR_S) for agreement checking. See example 1.

- (1) \bar{O} - rōm- \bar{o} ó- dhí
 DP- fit- IF 3P/SG-go-IF/INC
 He ought to go.

See position of the modal verb in the following tree:

A tone head (T^1/T) is also created for tone of the normal verb. It distinguishes aspect marking on the verb. See 2.1.4 for the distinction of tone in aspect.



The main verb moves from its base position in the VP to (T¹/T) to check its incomplete aspectual features. Aspect in Dholuo and tone are at the same morphological level. T¹ has been used as a substitute for ASP¹. The verb then moves to (AGR_S¹/AGR_S) to check its agreement features. The modal verb moves to (M¹/M) for lexical feature checking. The minimalist program does not allow redundant features for the checking process is morphologically driven. AGR_S has no specifier since there is no overt subject. Only inflectional and lexical features present are included in structure building.

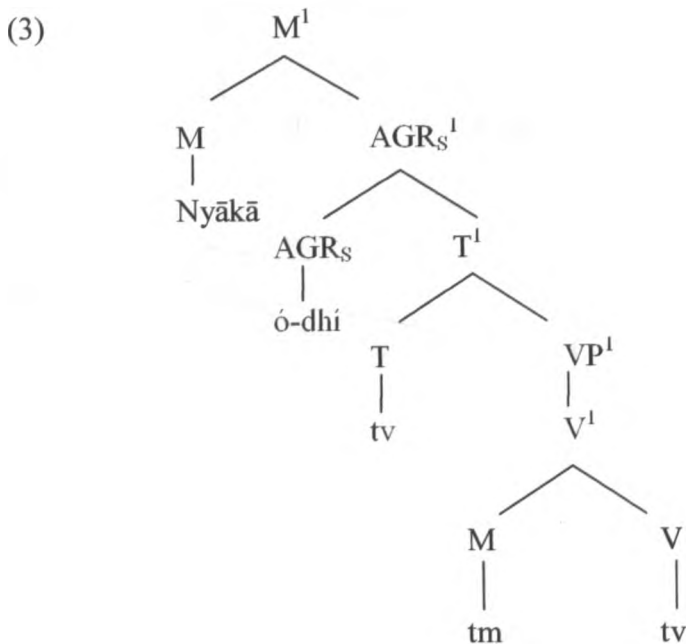
The next section discusses the different mood categories in the minimalist program. See section 2.2.1-2.2.4.

3.2 The lexical auxiliaries

Dholuo has one lexical auxiliary which is ‘nyaka’ which means ‘must’ or ‘ought to.’ This lexical auxiliary has no inflectional features of aspect and agreement. See section 2.2.1. The tone of ‘nyaka’ does not change whether it is complete or incomplete as discussed in 2.2.5. See example of incomplete.

- (2) Nyākā ó- dhí
 Must 3P/SG-go-IP/INC
He must go.

The sentence structure that corresponds to sentence (2) above is as follows.



There is no specifier position in the VP because there is no overt subject. The verb moves from the base position in the VP, to (T¹/T) to check aspectual features, then to (AGR_S¹/AGR_S) for checking of agreement features of person. The modal verb which has lexical features moves from VP to (M¹/M).

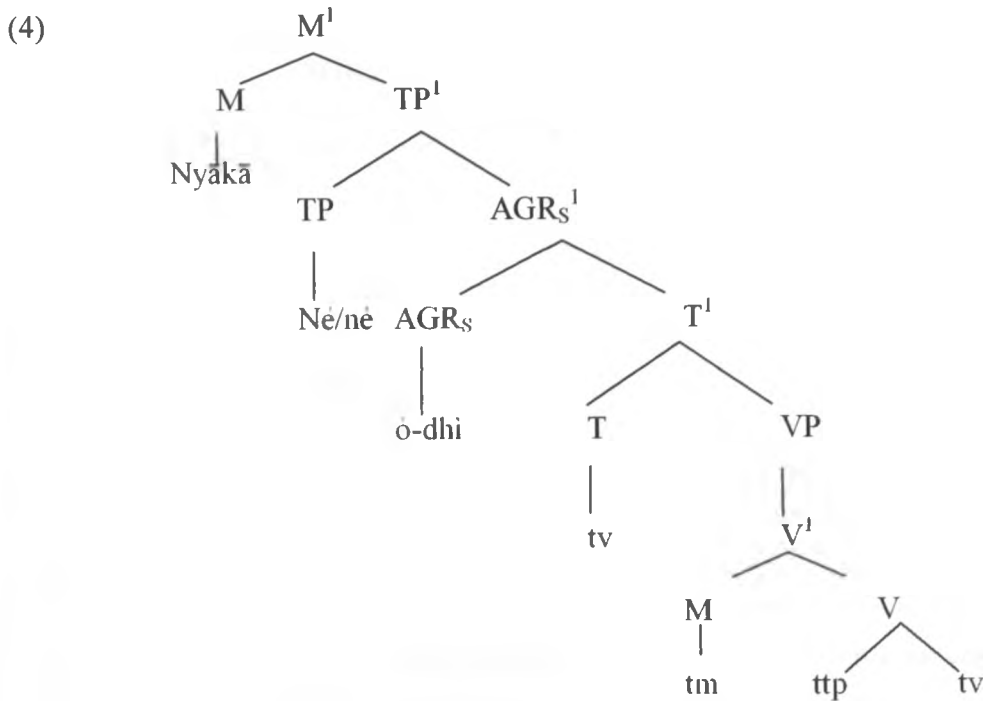
The tone of 'nyaka' does not change whether in the completive or incomplete. There is also the necessity of distinguishing between remote and near past tonally. The remote and near past only occur with completive. The temporal particle 'ne' is placed before the main verb and it is the one that bears the tonal features to determine whether it is near past (high tone 'né') or remote past (low tone nè). See examples of completive.

(3a) Nyaka né o- dhi
 Must NRP 3P/SG-go-IP/COMP
He had to go.

(3b) Nyaka nè o- dhi
 Must RP 3P/SG-go-IP/COMP
He had to go.

The sentence structure that corresponds to (3a) and (3b) would be as follows.

A new head for the temporal particle (TP¹/TP) is created for the checking of its near or remote past features.



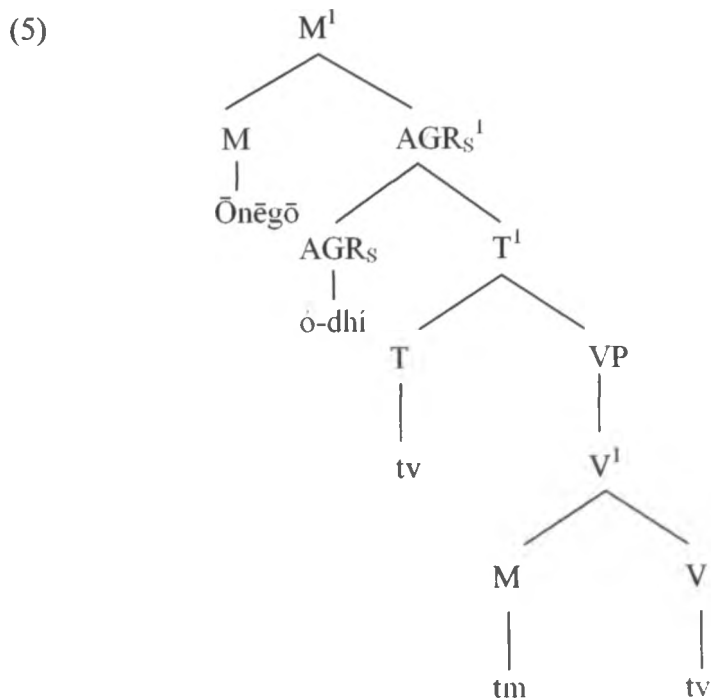
The tone head (T^1/T) distinguishes the complete aspect marked on the verb. The verb moves from its base position in the VP to (T^1/T) and (AGR_S^1/AGR_S) for the checking of agreement features of person. The temporal particle moves up to (TP^1/TP) to check the near or remote past features. The modal verb, a lexical morpheme, moves from the VP to (M^1/M).

3.3. The derived auxiliaries

The auxiliaries 'onego' and 'oromo' which are derived from full verbs become lexicalized after the derivational prefix *o-* and the infinitive suffix marker *-o* have been incorporated into the auxiliary and the derivational process is complete. There are no morphemes to be checked off. See example.

- (4) \bar{O} - nēg- \bar{o} ó- dhí
 DP-necessary-IF 3P/SG-go/IF
He should go.

The following diagram represents the above sentence.



The main verb moves from inside the VP first to (T^1/T) to check the incomplete tonal aspect features for the construction which is marked on the verb, and then it moves to (AGR_S^1/AGR_S) to check its agreement features. The verb has merged with the person marker which is incorporated

into it. The auxiliary ‘*onego*’ moves from inside the VP to (M¹/M). The derivational prefix and infinitive markers have been lexicalized and the auxiliary becomes a lexeme, no morphological feature checking is needed for the modal auxiliary.

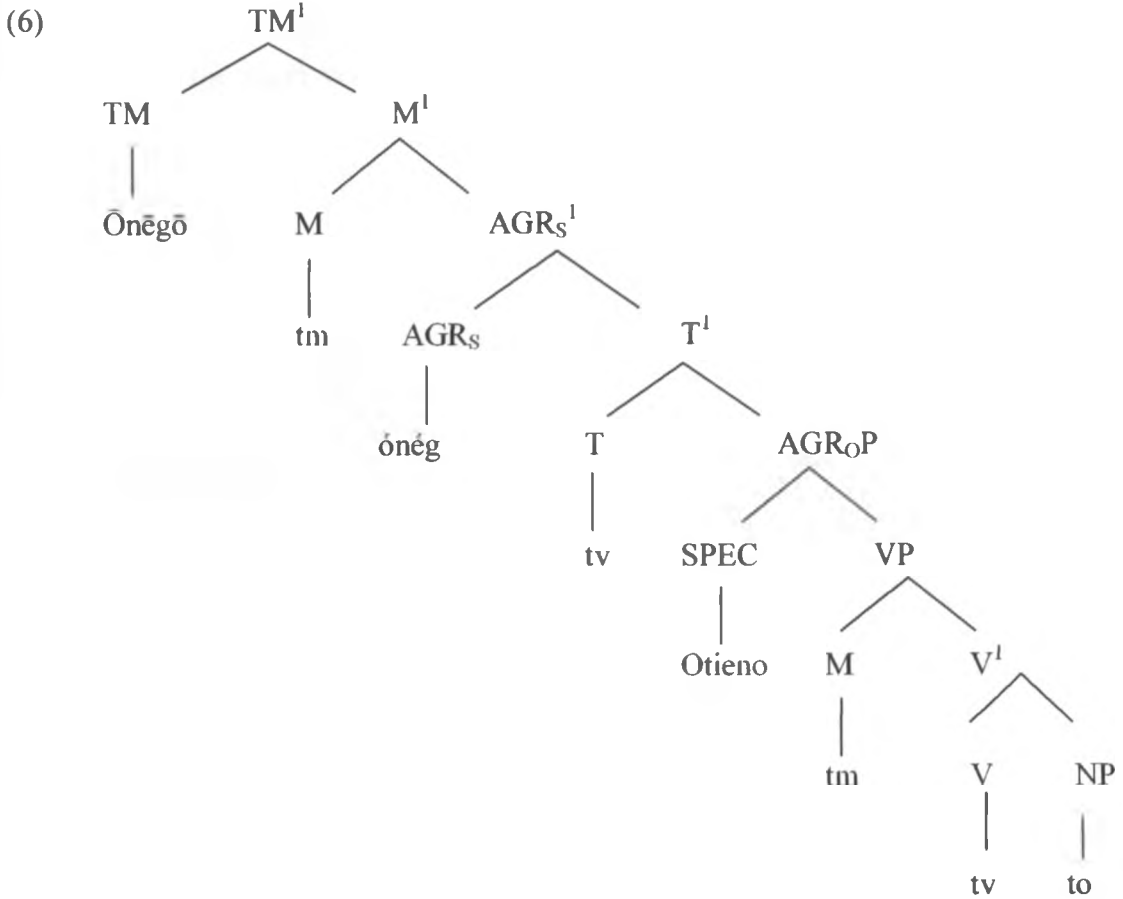
As stated earlier, the derived auxiliaries have related verbs from which they are derived. For example, the original verb ‘*nego*’ - to kill, is changed into the auxiliary ‘*onego*.’ The verb and the auxiliary could be used in one construction. See example.

(5) \bar{O} -*nēg*- \bar{o} \acute{o} - *nēg* Otieno
 DP- necessary-IF 3P/SG-kill ACC- name

He ought to kill Otieno

The following tree structure represents the construction (5) above.

Tone is the difference between the main verb and the auxiliary in the above sentence. Hence the creation of a new tone modal head (TM¹/TM) is needed. In constructions where the tone of the auxiliary never changes whether in the completive or incomplete, this head is not included since there is no structure building in such cases.



The object moves from the NP position in the VP to (SPEC/AGRoP) to check its accusative structural case features. The verb first moves from inside the VP to (T¹/T) to check the incomplete tonal aspect features of the sentence. Then it moves to (AGRs¹/AGRs) to check its agreement features. The lexicalized auxiliary also moves out of the VP to (M¹/M). It then moves to the tone head (TM¹/TM) to distinguish its characteristic tone pattern which distinguishes it from the related main verb.

The derived auxiliary ‘nyalo’ which derives from a noun ‘nyalo,’ - ability to do something, inflects for person unlike the other derived auxiliaries. See example below.

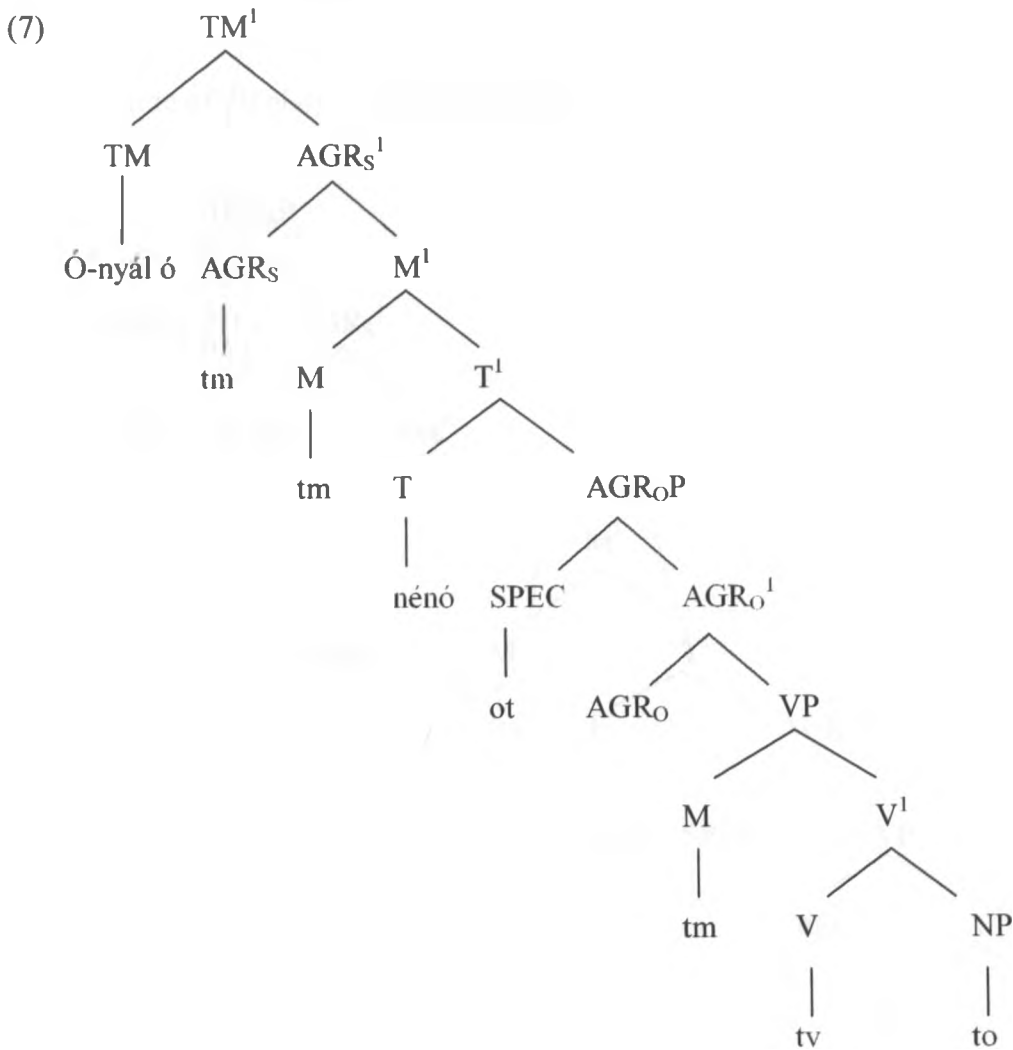
- (6) Ó- nyál- ó nén-ó ot
 3P/SG-able-IF see-IF/INC ACC-house

He can see the house.

Tone as a suprafix is the last to check so it heads the agreement head. Tone features of the auxiliary are also acquired by the incorporated agreement prefix.

See the feature-checking structure for (6) below.

The head (AGR_S^1/AGR_S) is used for the modal verb as agreement features of the auxiliary are checked, but the main verb does not move to $AGRS$, as it has no morphological agreement features.

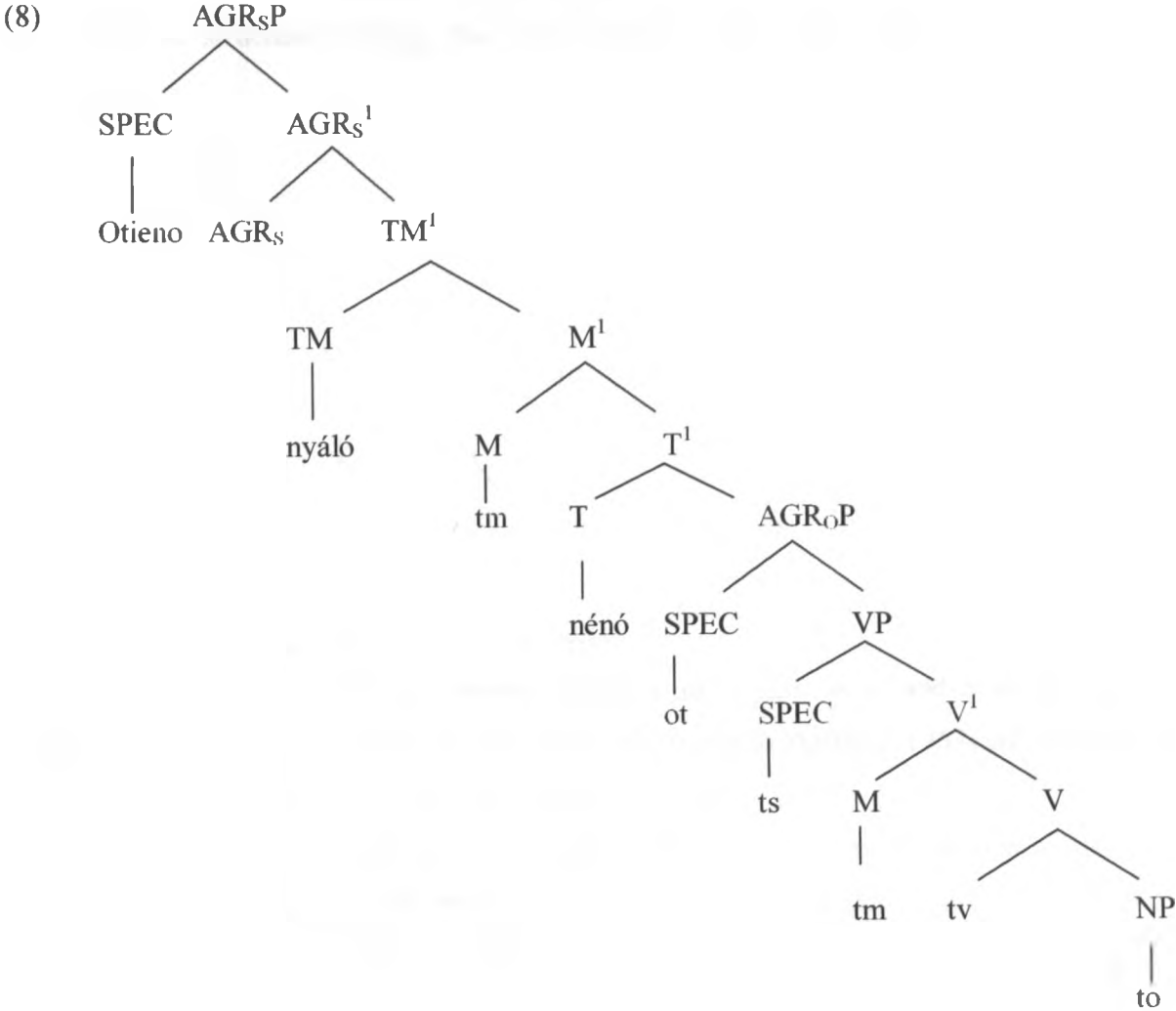


The object moves from the NP position to the (SPEC/ AGR_{OP}) to check its accusative case features. The verb moves out of its V- position to (T^1/T) to check its aspectual tone features. The auxiliary moves out of the VP to (M^1/M) then it moves to check its agreement features in the (AGR_S^1/AGR_S) head. Finally it moves to (TM^1/TM) to check its high tonal modal features. This is unlike the other derived auxiliaries with the derivational prefix that take the MMM tone pattern both in the completive and incompletive.

'Nyalo' inflects for person when used with a covert subject. When there is an overt subject it does not inflect, thus has no agreement features but it inflects tonally for aspect, see example:

(7) Otieno nyál- ó nén-ó ot
 Name-NOM able-IF see-IF/INC ACC-house
Otieno can see the house.

The structure of (7) above would be as follows.



The object moves from the NP position to (SPEC/AGRoP) to check its accusative case features as a lexical morpheme. The verb moves from the VP to (T'/T) to check its aspectual tonal features. The auxiliary moves from the VP to its structural position (M'/M). Then it moves to

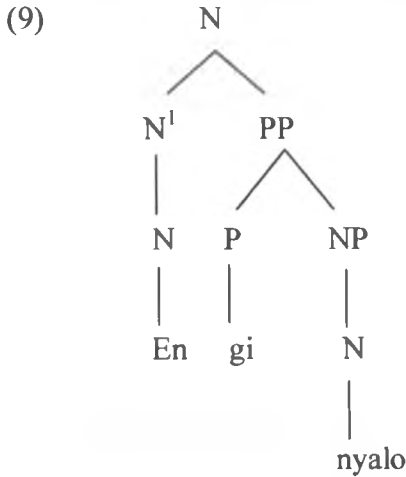
(TM¹/TM)⁶ to check its high tone modal features. The subject moves from its VP position to (SPEC/AGR_SP) to check its nominative case features.

The related noun 'nyalo' - ability to do something, from which the above auxiliary derives, when used in a construction, can form a verbless sentence which does not conform to the basic sentence structure (1). See example.

- (8) En gi nyāl- ō
3P/SG with ability-IF

He has the ability. (He is able).

According to structure building, the above sentence is a noun phrase. Below is its phrase structure.



3.4 The derived auxiliaries with reflexives

According to Okoth (1997) the Dholuo reflexive morpheme is r- and a word final vowel; normally a person marker. The unmarked forms according to Stafford (1967) are the form ending in e- given as the citation form of the reflexive suffix '-re.'

There are two derived auxiliaries that additionally have the morphological reflexive. The reflexive morpheme -re is suffixed to the derived auxiliaries 'nyalo(re)' and 'owinjo(re).' Take the example of 'owinjore' - ought to. It derives from the verb 'winjo' - to hear.

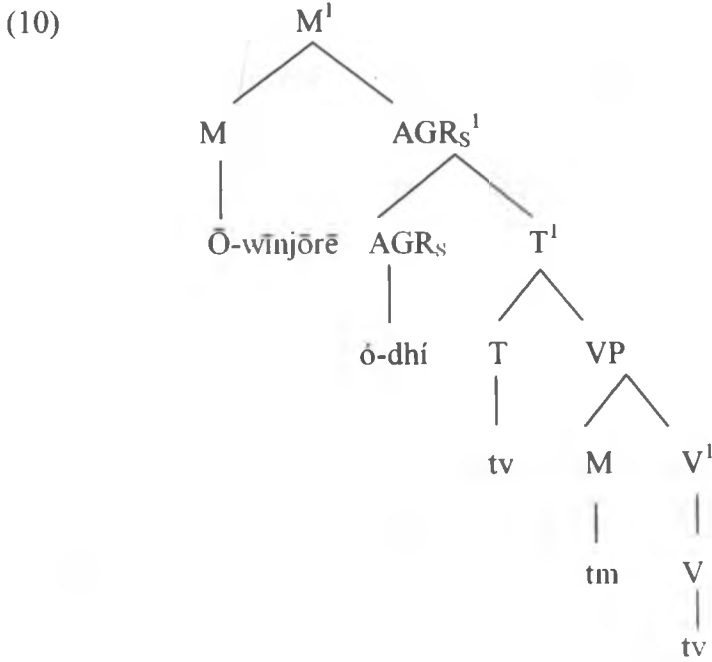
- (9) Ō- wīnj- ō- rē ó- dhí
DP-suitable-IF-RFL 3P/SG- go-IP/INC

He ought to go.

⁶ There is a difference in tone between the auxiliary and the verb. The auxiliary picks up its modal tonal features in TM. See chapter 2.

The sentence structure for sentence (9) above would be as follows.

There is no head for (RFL¹/ RFL) to check the reflexive features of the auxiliary because it is incorporated. Once the DP and the reflexive marker are added to the auxiliary during the derivation process, the process is complete and the auxiliary becomes lexicalised. See 2.2.2.



The verb first moves from the VP to (T¹/T) to check aspectual tonal features and then to (AGR_S¹/AGR_S) to check its agreement features. The auxiliary moves out of its position in the VP to the (M¹/M).

A normal verb needs a reflexive head as shown in 2.2.3 unlike the tree above (10) where there is no head for reflexive features of the auxiliary. See example.

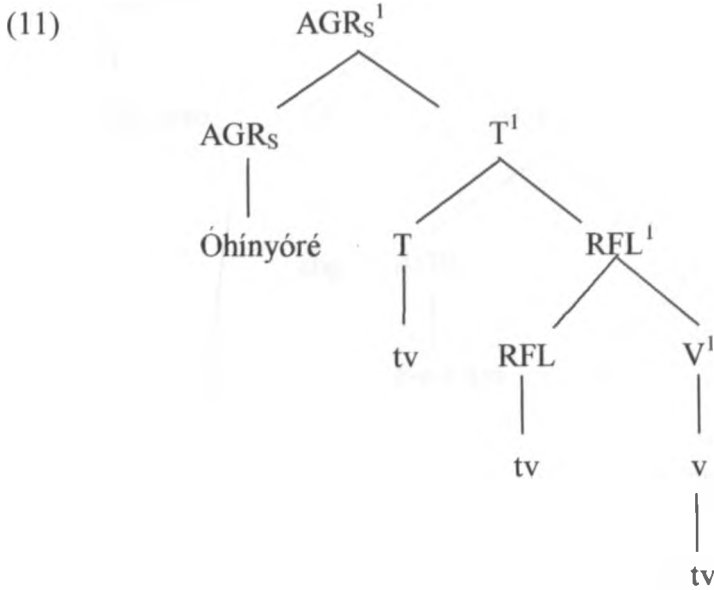
(10) O- hiny-o- re
3P/SG-hurt-IF/COMP-RFL

He has hurt himself.

The structure for ten above would be as follows.

In a reflexive construction the subject and object refer to the same person and thing, hence there is only the subject head (AGR_S¹/AGR_S) for checking of subject and agreement features,

but a reflexive feature head (RFL¹/RFL) is created.



The verb moves out of the VP to check its reflexive features. It then it moves to (T¹/T) to check aspectual tonal features and finally it moves to (AGR_s¹/AGR_s) to check its subject agreement features.

3.5 Expression of mood using modal adverbs

There are two lexical items used to express hesitancy or doubt which have a different auxiliary category but are mood constructions. They are ‘kamoro’ and ‘chalo’ and are placed at the beginning of the sentence. See example with ‘kamoro.’

(11)

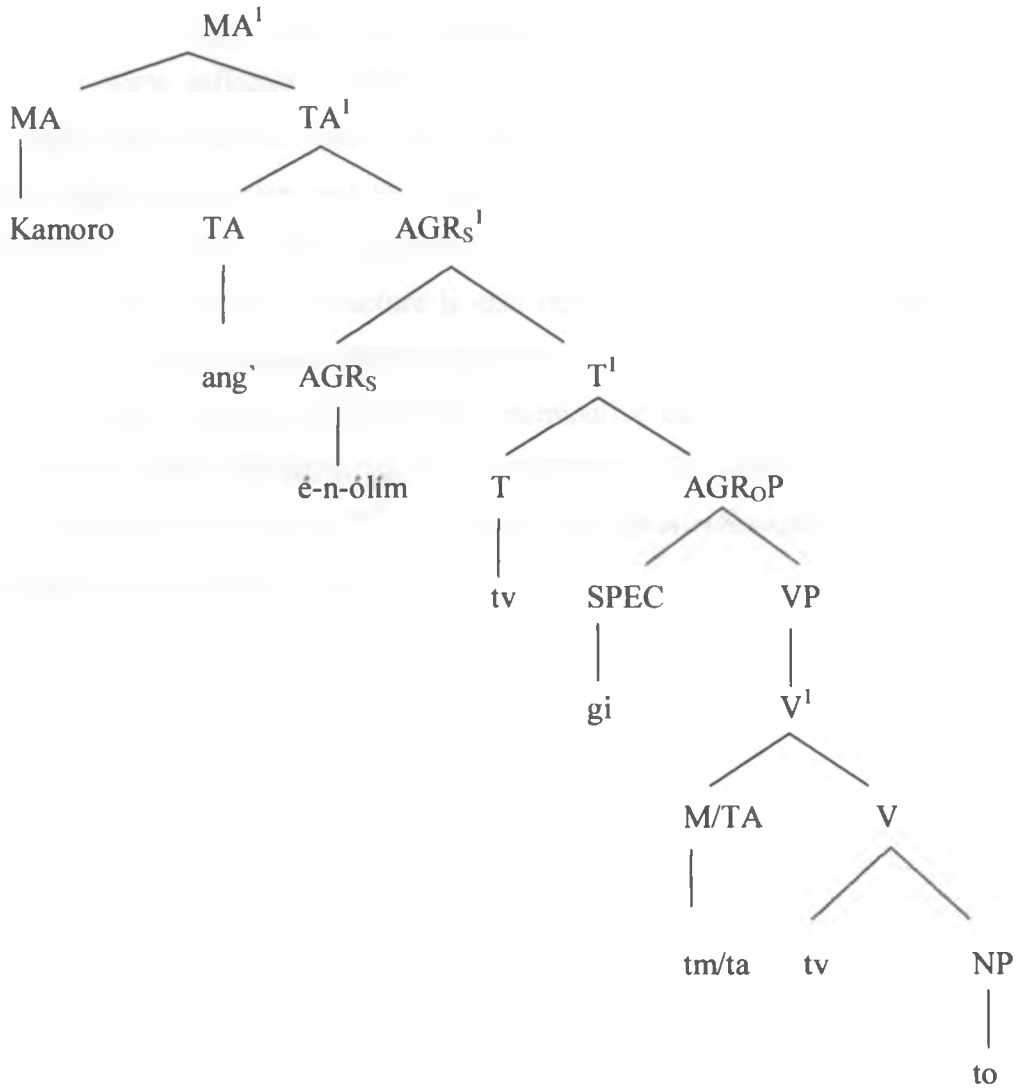
Kamoro	ang'	e -	n-	o	lim
ADV-sometimes/perhaps	NF	3P/SG-	TP-	3PSG/AGR	visit-IP/INC
gi					
3P/PL					

Perhaps he shall visit them.

The structure for (11) would be as follows.

According to feature checking the new heads temporal adverb TA and modal adverb MA are created.

(12)



The verb moves from its position inside the VP to (T¹/T) to check its tone features, then to (AGR_S¹/AGR_S) to check its agreement features. The temporal adverb moves to (TA¹/TA) to check its features. The modal adverb moves from the VP to (MA¹/MA) for feature checking. The object moves from the NP position in the VP to (SPEC/AGR_{OP}) to check its accusative case features.

3.6 Summary

This chapter discussed mood morphology to determine its morphosyntactic functions. It examined the nominative-accusative case marking system, the movement of the main verb and the modal verb that precedes it from their base position in the VP and agreement and aspect feature checking, which are tonal. The structure building fits into the basic sentence structure of

(Chomsky 1993:7) which reflects the morphology of SVO languages like Dholuo. For mood constructions some inflectional heads are introduced for lexical feature checking for mood (M^1/M) and tone (TM^1/TM) after the $AGR_S P$ where the tone of the auxiliary varies in the completive and inceptive, and for tonal distinction in a situation where an auxiliary is used together in a construction with a related verb. The inflectional node for tense (TNS^1/TNS) that is in Chomsky's basic sentence structure is also replaced by (T^1/T) since Dholuo does not have tense but aspect which is tonal. Dholuo case features are structural and to keep the structure, the subject and object move out of the VP for nominative case features to be checked under the specifier of the $AGR_S P$ and the accusative case features to be checked under specifier of $AGR_O P$. The main verb always moves to (T^1/T) for aspectual feature checking and to (AGR_S^1/AGR_S) for checking agreement features of person.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 Conclusion

This study was aimed at analyzing how mood is expressed in Dholuo, to determine how the morphosyntactic functions are affected by feature checking under Chomsky's minimalist program, to establish the role of aspect (tonal) in Dholuo mood and to examine the contents of the VP. The following conclusions have been established by the study.

Dholuo modal auxiliaries can be classified into three categories; lexical auxiliaries, derived auxiliaries, being the majority, and mood expressed using modal adverbs.

It also became evident that Dholuo derived modal auxiliaries undergo the formation process of derivation and one, derived from a noun, undergoes the process of inflection for person, agreement and aspect.

Dholuo modal auxiliaries occur in the VP with the main verb, which they precede.

Only one Dholuo modal auxiliary is marked/inflects morphologically for tone (aspectual distinction is tonal), person and agreement like the main verb. The other modal auxiliaries are structural and they are also tonal in the sense that they have a characteristic mid tone pattern. So to a large extent Dholuo mood is tonal and tone is a structural morpheme. Completive aspectual tone is marked on the main verb or with a temporal particle. While incomplete tone is always only marked on the main verb. There is only one derived auxiliary, 'nyalo,' that inflects for aspect, person and agreement. In structure building it moves to check its agreement and tonal features.

Instead of the (TNS/TNS¹) projection, Dholuo has a projection, which is not found in the proposed sentence structure of SVO languages. This is the (T/T¹) or (ASP/ASP¹) projection. In this study (T/T¹) has been used since Dholuo has an aspect system, which is tonal, and they are at the same level. This has been used for aspectual distinction for the main verb. Dholuo also has a head for the modal auxiliary (M¹/M) since mood becomes an independent head in the theory and a head (TM¹/TM) to distinguish the characteristic mid tone of the auxiliary from the tone of the verb from which the auxiliary is derived, if the auxiliary and the related verb are used together in a construction. The head (TM¹/TM) is also for the aspectual distinction of one auxiliary, which derives from a noun.

The VP does not contain all the information of the sentence as seen in the verbless sentence of the NP.

The minimalist program can account for Dholuo modal features through feature checking, which is morphologically driven for structure building.

4.1 Suggestions for further research

Though not directly concerned with semantic features and tone, the study established that some words have more than one word class or tonal inflection leading to ambiguity in meaning determination. Future research needs to be done on this under the minimalist program.

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