NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN LUNYOLE GRAMMAR AND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

BY

ENOCH WANDERA NAMULEMU

A Linguistic Project Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Trasnlation Studies
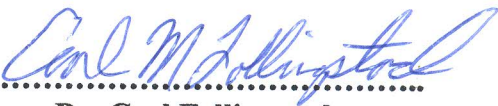
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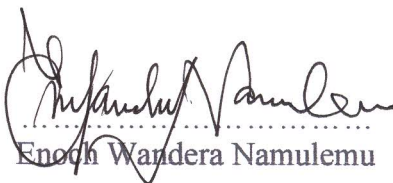
TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD IN LUNYOLE GRAMMAR AND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

I declare that the work presented herein is my original work and
has not been submitted to any other College or University
for academic credit

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of
Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology
or the Examiners

(Signed) ....
Enoch Wandera Namulemu

June 2004

ABSTRACT

Tense, aspect and mood play a crucial role in grammar and discourse of a language. This study focuses on the distribution of tense and aspect in Lunyole grammar and narrative discourse. Lunyole is one of those languages that highly grammaticalize the parameter of time. The language has a three tense system subdivided into eight distinct tenses and six aspectual categories. In this work, I give a detailed discussion of these tenses and aspect categories and how they function in the grammar and discourse of Lunyole.

Since this work is the first detailed study of this subject, I hope it will provide a foundation for those who will do further linguistic study of the Lunyole language in future. I also hope it will go a long way in helping the Lunyole Bible Translation and Literacy team understand the nuances of the tense/aspect system as it affects translation and literacy work.

TO

Florence my dear wife and all our children: Joel, Ebenezer, Sadayo, Benayo, Yonasani, Yosamu, Grace, Bob and Con; and all the Banyole people who have a passion for the development of their language.

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My deepest thanks and praise go God through Christ our Lord and Savior who called me to the Ministry of Bible Translation and even gave me the opportunity to study at NEGST so that I could be well equipped for His work.

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became tough; and to our children for their bearing with a father who always was not in position to give them the attention they needed when I was busy working on this project.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADV   Adverb

APP   Applicative

ASP   Aspect

ASS   Associative Marker

AUX   Auxiliary Verb

BEN   Benefactive

C   Noun Class

CAUS   Causative

COND   Condition

COP   Copula

CONJ   Conjunction

DEM   Demonstrative

DET   Determiner

DIM   Diminutive

EVID   Evidentiality Marker

FUT   Future

Fv   Final Vowel

HAB   Habitual Aspect

IDN   Idiophone

IMM   Immediate

IMM	Immediate
INF	Infinitive
INT	Intensifier
IRR	Irrealis
LOC	Locative
M	Mood
NEG	Negative Marker
OC	Object Concord
OPT	Optative Mood
PART	Partitive
PAST	Past tense
PROG	Progressive Aspect
POSS	Possessive
REC	Reciprocal
REL	Relativizer
S	Singular
SC	Subject Concord
Tm	Tense Marker
V	Vowel
Vst	Verb Stem

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Chapter one is a general orientation to the Lunyole language and Banyole people. It gives a brief overview of the origin of the people and their language (1.1), where they live (1.2), their population (1.3), the language family they belong to (1.4), the socio-linguistic situation (1.5), work previously done on the language (1.6), the purpose of the study (1.7) and the method used to conduct the study (1.8).

1.1 Name of the Language and its speakers

Lunyole is a Bantu language spoken by people called Banyole. These people who are predominantly farmers, also like to call themselves *Abalya lwoba* "mushroom eaters" and their language Lunyole or Olunyole. A Lunyole myth says that Munyole and Nanyole his wife, together with his brother Nanyumba, who are the ancestors of the speakers of this language migrated from Bunyifa in Kenya. While Munyole settled in the present day Bunyole and became the great grandfather of the Banyole, his brother Nanyumba moved on and settled in Busoga.

1.2 Geography

The Banyole live in a small strip of land in the eastern district of Tororo in Uganda. Their neighbors are: the Bagwere (a Bantu group) in the north, the Jopadhola, (a Luo group) in the south, the Bamasaba (a Bantu group) in the east and the Basoga (another Bantu group) in the west. The Banyole were forced to fight a bitter war with the Jopadhola when the latter were coming in to settle in their present homeland but have enjoyed good relationship with the three other neighbors as evidenced, for example, by intermarriage between them. This has influenced the dialect issue of Lunyole very much.

1.3 Demography

According to the 2002 population and housing census of Uganda, the population of people resident in Bunyole was 161,178 people. (Figure obtained from the records at Busolwe Sub county offices). However it is estimated that about 200,000 people within and outside the language area speak Lunyole. Many Banyole have migrated to other parts of Uganda where they have maintained their identity. Besides, some Banyole remained in towns where they work during the time of the mentioned census of 2002. Such factors suggest a higher estimate of people who speak Lunyole, i.e. 200,000. The Ethnologue suggests the same figure.

1.4 Language family

Lunyole belongs to the Bantu J language group of the Niger-Congo language family. In Uganda, the language is related to other so-called eastern Bantu languages

such as Luganda, the largest Bantu language group, Lusamya, Lugwe, Lugwere and Lusoga. It shares a lexical similarity of approximately 80% with Lusamya, 82% with Lugwe, and 66% with Luganda (Ladefoged, Glich and Crifer 1971, 71). Lunyole is also related to the Luhya family of languages in Kenya and has a lexical similarity of 61% with Lunyore, one of the Luhya languages of Kenya. As a mother tongue speaker of Lunyole, who has interacted with some Banyore and investigated the issue of lexical similarity between the two languages, my assessment is that the percetage in lexical similarity in the two languages could be much less than what Ladefoged put it.

Most speakers of Lunyole enjoy limited bilingualism with Luganda, a major Bantu language group in Uganda. For decades since colonial days, Luganda has been the language of wider communication used both in schools and in the church. The Luganda Bible is currently being used in churches and other Luganda literature in schools especially in "mother tongue" literacy. Hence Luganda has had a lot of influence on Lunyole. Such influence and the intermarriage with other language groups have caused Lunyole to have many loan words from her Bantu neighbors. The following family tree is a modification of one in Hinnebusch, Nurse and Mould (1981, 213) showing the place of Lunyole among the Niger-Congo language family:
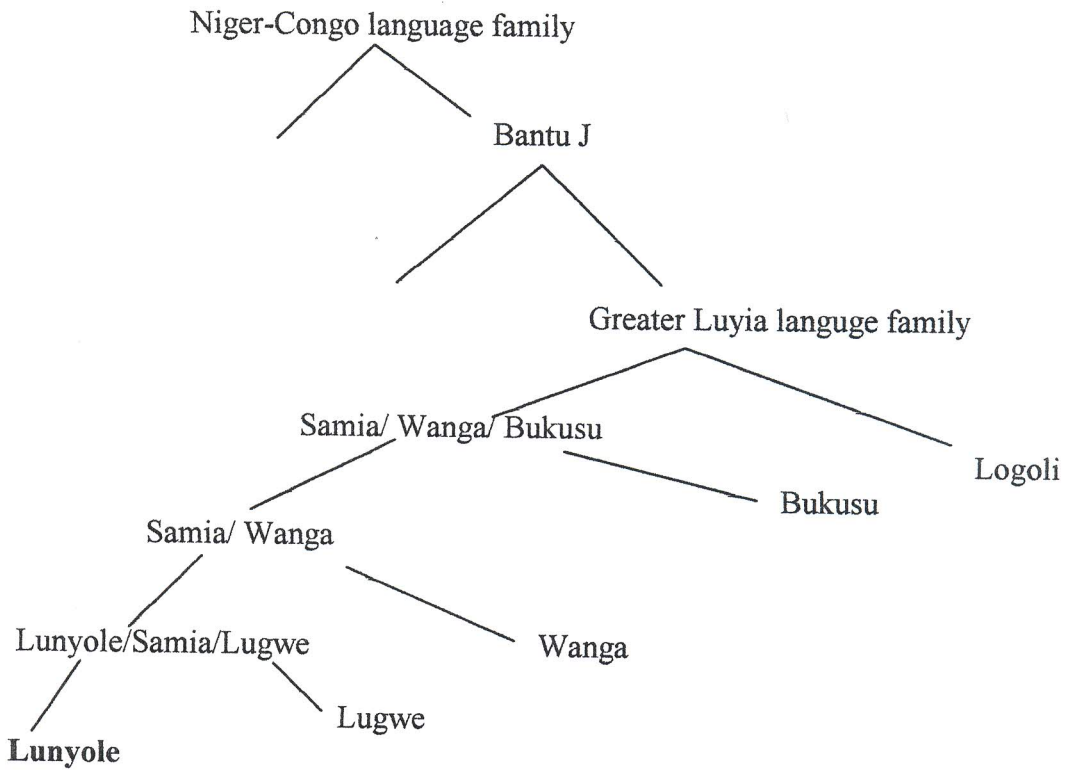
Figure 1. The Niger-Congo language family tree showing the Banyole.

1.5 Socio-linguistic situation

The major dialects of Lunyole are Lumenya that is widely spoken, Luhadyo, Lusabi, and Luwesa. However there is another dialect of Lunyole in the east at the border with the Bamasaba and Bagwere. This dialect of Lunyole has some influence of Lumasaba and Lugwere. There are both phonological and lexical differences in the dialects mentioned above. For example, where Lumenya and other dialects have [k], Luwesa has [g] e.g. *ohugega* 'to carry' is *ohukeka* in Luwesa, a difference in voicing. Similarly where Lumenya and others have [h], with the exception of the [h] sound in the infinitive of the verb *ohu-*, Luwesa has [s] e.g. *ehibange* "traditional cooking pot for cooking millet bread" is *esibange* in Luwesa, a difference in point of articulation.

There are also some lexical differences. For example *ohwagaana* "to meet" in Lumenya is *ohusaaŋana* in Luhadyo. Likewise *amahohooli* "sisal" in Lumenya and other dialects is *amahumbeeri* in Luwesa. However, in this lexical variation none of the words in one dialect mean something else in the other dialects. In any case, Banyole have agreed to use Lumenya dialect, which is widely spoken, to write the language.

1.6 Previous Linguistic Research

To the best of my knowledge, no previous academic study on this particular topic has been done in Lunyole. However an article on morphology and phonology of Lunyole by Henry F. Morris was published in the *Uganda Journal* in 1963. Another article *"Lunyole of the Bamenya"* written by C.M. Eastman was published in the Journal of African Languages in 1972.

Michael A. White with the Lunyole Language Association has published the *Lunyole – English and English – Lunyole word lists* showing the inflected stem of the verbs therein with their perfective aspect marker.

1.7   The purpose of this study

Lunyole is at present an unwritten language, which is undergoing development under the auspices of SIL International. The ultimate goal of the development of the language is translation of the Bible and literacy work, especially mother tongue instruction in primary schools, so that Banyole children can also benefit from the

current government policy on education. This policy encourages mother tongue instruction during the first four years of primary education.

As stated above nothing has been published on tense, aspect and mood in the grammar and discourse of the language. This work, therefore, seeks to give a detailed discussion of how tense, aspect and mood function in the grammar and discourse of Lunyole so that the Lunyole Bible Translation and Literacy team will understand the nuances of the tense/aspect system as it affects translation and literacy work.

This study is also aimed at providing a foundation for those who will do further linguistic study of the language in future.

1.8   Methodology

As a mother tongue speaker of Lunyole, the author is the major source of data for this paper. I have also used a number of recorded and transcribed texts of narrative, hortatory and procedural texts. These texts, which include *Olugano lw'omwana oyu balanga baati Nakoma* 'the story of a child called Nakoma', and *Olugano lw'omuhaana omuŋoono* 'The story of a pretty girl', were collected from various dialect areas of Lunyole and were told by people of different age groups. Others are from the author himself. These include the following: *Olugano lwa Wanakamuna ni Namunyu* 'The story of clever Hare and Hyena'; *Olugano lwa Wanakamuna* 'The story of Hare'; *'Ehini hy'enjobe hirya owehalire* 'Patience pays' an experiencial narrative concerning two friends; *Ohwangalaŋo ehisinga obuhulu* 'Choosing right priorities' a sermon once preached by the author, which was recorded and transcribed; and

Ohulabbira omwana 'How to advise a child'. Some people wrote out some of the texts themselves. These however, were edited for orthographic consistency.

Information has also been gathered through interviews with other speakers of the language from different dialect areas and from different age brackets. For analysis of tense and aspect in Lunyole narrative discourse I have concentrated on two oral narrative texts – 'The story of a child called Nakoma' which was told by Beatrice Namugwere, a woman of 90 – 95 years of age; and 'The story of a pretty girl' told by Mary Bbutu, a woman of about 50 –55 years of age.

CHAPTER TWO

A BRIEF PHONOLOGY STATEMENT

Chapter 2 is a brief overview of the phonology of the Lunyole language. In it we shall look at the inventory of phonemes in Lunyole (2.1), orthographic status of the language (2.2), tone issues (2.3), word patterns (2.4), and morphophonemics (2.5).

2.1 Inventory of phonemes

Lunyole has 55 phonetic consonants and 5 phonetic vowels each of which can be either short or long. These long vowels are interpreted as V, rather than VV. Tables 1 and 2 show the phonetic consonants and vowels respectively.

	Labial	Lab. Dent	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glo-tal
Plos vls	p pʷ pʲ		t tʷ tʲ		k kʷ	
Vd.	b bʷ bʲ		d dʷ dʲ		g gʷ	
Prenas.	ᵐb ᵐbʷ ᵐbʲ		ⁿd ⁿdʷ ⁿdʲ		ᵑg ᵑgʷ	
Affr vls				t͡ʃ t͡ʃʷ		
Vd.				d͡ʒ d͡ʒʷ ⁿd͡ʒ		
Fric. vls		f	s sʷ sʲ			h hʷ hʲ
Vd.	β βʲ	v	z			
Nasal	m mʷ mʲ		n nʷ nʲ	ɲ ɲʷ	ŋ ŋʷ ŋʲ	
Appr lat			l lʷ lʲ			
Cent.	w			j		

Table 1. Phonetic consonants in Lunyole.

8

		Front Unrounded	Central	Back Rounded
Close	short	i		u
	Long	i:		u:
Mid	short	e		o
	Long	e:		o:
Open	short		ɑ	
	long		ɑ:	

Table 2. Phonetic vowels in Lunyole

2.2 Orthography

The orthography of Lunyole is still in the process of development. The Lunyole Language Association has recently published a tentative orthography statement with the approval of an SIL International linguistics consultant. The orthography is based on the Lumenya dialect. It has been decided that Lunyole phonemes will be orthographically represented by the corresponding graphemes as presented in Table 3.

Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme
/ɑ/	ɑ	/f/	f	/lʲ/	ly	/t/	t
/ɑ:/	ɑɑ	/g/	g	/m/	m	/tʷ/	tw
/b/	bb	/gʷ/	gw	/mʷ/	mw	/tʲ/	ty
/ᵐb/	mb	/ᵑg/	ng	/mʲ/	my	/u/	u
/ᵐbʷ/	mbw	/ᵑgʷ/	ngw	/n/	n	/u:/	uu
/ᵐbʲ/	mby	/h/	h	/nʷ/	nw	/v/	v
/ß/	b	/hʷ/	hw	/nⁱ/	ni	/w/	w
/t͡ʃ/	c	/hʲ/	hy	/ɲ/	ny	/z/	z
/t͡ʃʷ/	cw	/i/	i	/ɲʷ/	nyw		
/d/	d	/i:/	ii	/o/	o		
/dʷ/	dw	/d͡ʒ/	j	/o:/	oo		
/dʲ/	dy	/ⁿd͡ʒ/	nj	/p/	p		
/ⁿd/	nd	/d͡ʒʷ/	jw	/pʷ/	pw		
/ⁿdʷ/	ndw	/k/	k	/pʲ/	py		
/ⁿdʲ/	ndy	/kʷ/	kw	/s/	s		
/e/	e	/l/	l	/sʷ/	sw		
/e:/	ee	/lʷ/	lw	/sʲ/	sy		

Table 3. Lunyole Phonemes and their equivalent orthographic symbols.

2.3 Tone

Lunyole is a tone language. The language bears:

(i) Lexical tone (that contrasts meaning of words) as in:

/òhúsíngá/ 'to mortgage' – low high high high tone

/óhùsìngá/ 'to defeat' – high low low high tone

(ii) And grammatical tone (that contrasts words in grammatical meaning) as in:

/gàlímíré/ 'he dug' (yesterday) – low high high high tone.

/gálìmìré/ 'he dug' (the day before yesterday) – high low low high tone.

The above examples show how grammatical tone can play an important role in differentiating tense and aspect in the main verb of a Lunyole sentence. In the verb *yembire* the high tone on the last syllable of (1) marks the hodiernal past tense. In (2), the high tone on the last two syllables contrasts with (1) and marks the recent past tense.

(1)   E kwaya yefe **yembiré** bulaŋi.

        Our choir sang well (some time today) – hodiernal past tense.

(2)   E kwaya yefe **yembíré** bulaŋi.

        Our choir sang well (yesterday) – recent past tense.

Even without marking of tone, the Lunyole reader is able to understand the correct tense and hence the meaning through the context in the discourse. Hence tone is not marked in the Lunyole orthography.

2.4 Allophonic rules

The following typical allophonic process occurs in Lunyole:

The phonetically similar segments [l] and [ɾ] are allophones of a single phoneme. [l] occurs word initially and after non-front vowels, [ɾ] only comes after front vowels [i] and [e].

Hence: /l/ → [ɾ] / i, e___ *ohulira* 'cry'

[l]/ elsewhere. *Lera* 'carry on lap'

The palatalized /l/ [lʲ] and /r/ [rʲ] behave in a similar manner.

Hence: /lʲ/ → [rʲ] / i, e--- *erya* 'marriage'

[lʲ] elsewhere *amalya* 'marriages'

2.5 Word patterns

Lunyole has a V and CV syllable patterns. The following are the most common word patterns:

Monosyllabic words:

V   /é/ 'at'   /hú/ 'on'

Disyllabic words:

V.CV   /èsé/ 'me'

CV.CV   /hùlá/ 'grow'

Trisyllabic words:

V.CV.CV   /étèbé/ 'chair'

CV.CV.CV   /wàwàlú/ 'crested crane'

Quadrisyllabic words:

V.CV.CV.CV   /ógùhàsì/ 'a fat woman'

2.6 Morphophonemics

"When the sounds of morphemes vary as a result of being adjoined to other morphemes, the pattern is referred to as MORPHOPHONEMICS" (Burquest 1993, 81). Meanwhile, Crystal defines 'morphophonemics' as the ˌphonological or grammatical factors that affect the appearance of phonemes in certain environments

(Crystal 1980, 250). In Lunyole these occur both across word boundaries (2.6.1) and across morpheme boundaries (2.6.2).

2.6.1 Across word boundaries with words

In Lunyole like in many of the African languages, when two vowels come together, one of the vowels is deleted – a process called vowel elision. In the orthography when this occurs the elided vowel is replaced by an apostrophe.

Hence V → ∅/__V

/si/ + /ɑlomɑ/ is pronounced /s'ɑlomɑ/

'not' 'he speaks'   'he does not speak'

In natural speech of Lunyole words tend to run into one another causing vowel elision. The final vowel of the preceding word is deleted.

/ɲd͡ʒɑ/ + /od͡ʒe/ + /ɑmɑːd͡ʒi/

'come'   'go get'   'water'   is pronounced as /ɲd͡ʒod͡ʒɑmɑːd͡ʒi/

2.6.2 Across morpheme boundaries

Morphophonemic changes occur in some sounds when a nasal prefix is attached to the root of the word.

/l/ → /d/ /n__

[òhúlómá] 'to speak'   [ndómá] 'I speak'

[j] → [d͡ʒ]/ɲ

[òhújáβá] 'to dig up'   [ɲd͡ʒáβá]

In some cases the phoneme [n] is lost.

[h] → [k]/n___

[ohuhola] 'to do'   [kola] 'I do'

[ŋ] → [P]/n___

[ohuŋa] 'to give' .   [pa] 'I give'

2.6.3   Coalescence

Coalescence is the merging of segments to become another distinct segment.
(Burquest 2001, 178) In Lunyole when two different vowels in two different linguistic
units come together they coalesce.

/ia/ ➔ /a/,   /ie/ ➔ /e/,   /io/ ➔ /o/,   /iu/ ➔ /u/

The coalescence may result in either vowel deletion or vowel lengthening.

2.7 Summary

Lunyole is a tone language and still in the process of developing her
orthography. However, it has been decided that tone will not be marked in the
orthograthy because even without marking tone the reader can make out the correct
meaning of words from the context. Phonological processes such as vowel elision are
common at word boundary level affecting the final form of the affected word.
Morphophonemic changes also occur in some sounds when a nasal prefix is attached to
the root of the word.

CHAPTER THREE

TENSE

This chapter defines tense and discusses its distribution in Lunyole. In it we define tense (3.1), absolute tense (3.2), explain how the Banyole divide the timeline into a time frame of eight different tenses – the present tense (3.2.1), four distinctive past tenses (3.2.2), three distinctive future tenses (3.2.3) and a relative tense (3.3).

3.1 Definition

There are several definitions of tense depending on the theoretical point of view of the linguist. Comrie defines tense as a "grammaticalized" location in time, usually relative to the time of reference (1985, 9). Payne defines tense as "the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time; usually the moment the clause is uttered" (1997, 236). According to Saeed, tense allows a speaker to locate a situation relative to some point in time, most likely the time of speaking (1997, 114). The reference point in time can be time of performing the speech act (the 'now' of the speech act), referred to as absolute tense, or some other point in time, which is referred to as relative tense (Givon 1984, 273). Hence, because a speaker relates references to space and time to the 'here and now' in the course of making an utterance; tense is said to be deictic.

Tense reflects the human categorization of the world and different languages divide the time line differently, which results in many different tenses. Some languages have two tenses – past and non-past or future and non-future. Others have three – present, past and future.

Lunyole has a tense system of three basic tenses – past, present and future. However, Lunyole further divides its time line, according to its understanding of the time frame. This results in five more tenses. The past is further sub divided into four distinct past tenses: immediate, hodiernal, recent and distant past; and the future tense is sub divided into three distinct future tenses: immediate, near and distant future tenses making a total of eight distinct tenses. Table 4 shows the time frame in relation to these tenses. These tenses can also be shown on a time diagram as in figure 2.

Tense	Time frame
Distant past	from the end of the day before yesterday to eternity past.
Recent past	from the day before yesterday to today's sunrise.
Hodiernal past	from today's sunrise to a few moments ago
Immediate past	a few moments ago
Present	Now
Immediate future	from now to sunset of today
Near future	tomorrow
Distant future	from sunset of the day after tomorrow to eternity future.

Table 4. Lunyole Tenses and their corresponding time frames.

PAST					FUTURE
Far Past			Now		Distant Future
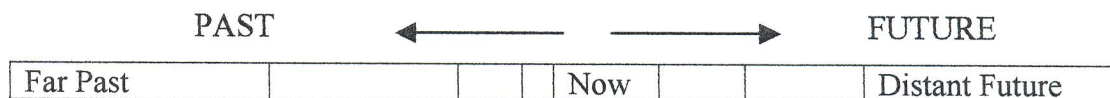
Figure 2. Lunyole time diagram.

3.2 Absolute Tense

This is a term that is used to refer to tenses that take the present moment "now" as their deictic center. However, according to Comrie absolute time reference is impossible because "the only way of locating a situation in time is relative to some other already established time point and the present moment is just one of an infinite number of such time points that could be chosen as reference point" (Comrie 1985, 36)

3.2.1   Present Tense

The present is the moment of time between past and future. Comrie calls it "a coincidence of the time of the situation and the present moment" (Comrie 1985, 36). In many discourse situations that moment passes very swiftly. For that matter, though Lunyole seems to have four different present tenses only one can be referred to as actual present and the rest can be treated as aspects. Present tense may imply a habitual or repetitive action. The tense is unmarked in Lunyole.

(3)   Hadali asoma ehitabo

Hadali	a-	som	-a	ehi-	tabo
Hadali	3S	read	Fv	C7	book

'Hadali reads a book.'

(Hadali can and does read a book, even though he may not be reading it now.)

The present tense is also used with three aspects: progressive (continuous), persistive and habitual. The most common use is with the progressive (continuous) aspect, which uses the auxiliary verb *li* 'to be'. (See 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2)

3.2.1.1 *The historical present*

The historical present tense expresses an action in a way that would appear as if it were going on at the time of writing or speaking. The speaker's intention is to present the action to the hearer in a vivid manner. This tense is common in Lunyole story telling. It is a common feature in the mainline of the story. More on the historical present tense will be discussed in chapter 7.

3.2.2   The Past Tenses

Past tense means the "location of the situation prior to the present moment" (Comrie 1985, 36). There are four past tenses in Lunyole: immediate past, hodiernal past, recent past, and distant past. With the exception of the immediate past, the boundaries of these tenses are flexible depending on the aspect placed on the verb. The prefix *ha-* is used to mark immediate past, and it must be accompanied with the suffix *–nga*. The past tense where exact time is not very important is marked by prefix *a-*. This is the general past tense. It is used to note that the event took place but the time frame is not important. It is used with the recent past and distant past. The perfective suffixes *–ire, -aye,   -eye, -iye, -oye, -uye, -ise, -isye and –e,* depending on the verb root, verb extensions and morphophonemics, without the *a-* prefix on the verb stem

marks a hodiernal event (see examples). The hodiernal is not marked as past tense, even though the event has been completed.

3.2.2.1 The immediate past tense

In Lunyole the immediate past tense describes an event that has just happened, that is to say, a short while ago. The time frame of this tense can be within approximately an hour of the speech act depending on the context. For example, if one may be speaking about someone having left for a place, the use of this tense will give the implication that he has not gone very far or has not reached his or her destination.

The immediate past tense is marked by prefix *ha-* on the verb stem and must be accompanied with the *–nga* suffix.

(4)   Omuhaana gahasagulanga mu nyumba.

omuhaana	ga-	**ha-**		sagul	-a	**-nga**	mu	nyumba
girl	3S	IMM PAST		sweep	Fv	ASP	LOC	house

'The girl has just been sweeping the house'.

3.2.2.2 The hodiernal past tense

The hodiernal past tense in Lunyole marks events that happened during the time between the beginning of today to a few moments ago. As stated above this form of past tense is not marked but the verb is marked with an aspectual perfective suffix since the action is viewed as completed as in (5). In some verbs in Lunyole, the difference between hodiernal and recent past tense is marked by tone only as in

example (6) which is in hodiernal and (7) in recent past, or by past time adverbials *ejo* 'yesterday' or *ejuusi* 'the day before yesterday'.

(5)   Omuhaana   asaguye mu nyumba.

omuhaana   a-   ∅   sagul **-uye** mu   nyumba.

girl   3S- PAST   sweep PERF LOC house.

'The girl swept the house (earlier on today).'

6)   Ekwaya yefe yembiré

e-   kwaya y-   efe   y-   emb   -ire

C9   choir C9   POSS C9-   sing   -PERF (hodiernal)

'Our choir sang (earlier today).'

(7)   Ekwaya yefe yembíré.

e-   kwaya y-   efe   y-   emb   -ire

C9   choir C9   POSS C9-   sing   -PERF (recent past)

'Our choir sang (yesterday).'

3.2.2.3 The recent past tense

In Lunyole this tense marks events that happened anytime between yesterday and the end of the day before yesterday. It is marked by the general past tense marker *a-* prefix as in sentence (8). The exact time of the occurrence of the event is not important but past tense adverbials *ejo* 'yesterday' as in (9) and *ejuusi* 'the day before yesterday' as in (10) may be used to indicate the exact day the event took place. This 'recent past' can also be expressed in terms of last month or the month before last month or even last year and the year before last year depending on the time unit in

focus as in (11). In this case the referential demonstratives *ogwo* 'that' and *gula* 'that one yonder' are used to indicate the month or the year the event took place.

(8)   Maama ganyiiyire amabbooni.

maama   g   **a-**   nyiiy -ire   amabbooni

Mother   3S   PAST cook   PERF   potatoes

'*Mother cooked potatoes.*'

In (8) above, the cooking is perceived by the Lunyole speaker to have taken place either yesterday or the day before yesterday, a recent past event. If the speaker wants to be specific about the time he will use the following sentence or one may mark tone on the verb to distinguish the tense in focus.

(9)   Maama ganyiyire amabbooni olw'ejo

maama ga- **a-**   nyiy   -ire   amabbooni   olwa ejo.

Mother 3S PAST cook   PERF   potatoes   CONJ yesterday

'*Mother cooked potatoes yesterday.*'

(10)   Bbaaba gaagobooye ejuusi.

bbaabba   ga-   a-   gobol -oye   ejuusi

father   3S   PAST return PERF   the day before yesterday

'*Father returned the day before yesterday.*'

(11)   Bob gatandihire ohusoma omwaha ogwo

Bob ga- tandih -ire   ohu- som -a omwaha   ogwo

Bob 3S begin   PERF   INF   read Fv year   DEM

'*Bob began schooling last year (lit. that year).*'

3.2.2.4 The distant past tense

In Lunyole the distant past tense describes an event in the past, which may or may not be relevant to the situation at the time of speaking. It is marked by the general past tense morpheme **a-** that is prefixed on the main verb, as in (12) below.

(12)   Omuhasi ganyiiya emere

omuhasi ga- **a-**   nyiiya emere
woman   3S PAST   cook   food

'The woman cooked food.'

The sentence (13) can have within in it the implication of last growing season as the time referred to. In this case the event is relevant to the prevailing situation.

(13)   Nalima maido aye si gaamire

n- **a-**   lim -a maido   aye   si   ga- a-   m   -ire
1S PAST dig   Fv groundnuts CONJ NEG C6 PAST do well PERF

'I cultivated groundnuts but it did not do well.'

To summarize, tense marking for these four past tenses in Lunyole, is shown in Table 5 using the verb *ohugula* 'to buy' with first person plural.

Tense Marking on verb	Verb form in 1st person plural
Distant Past (P_4) **a- …-a**	Hw-a-gul-a *we bought*
Recent Past (P_3) **a- …-ire**	Hw-a-gul-**ire** *we bought*
Hodiernal Past (P_2) **Ø …-ire**	Hu-gul-**ire** *we bought*
Immediate Past (P_1) **ha- …-nga**	Hwa-**ha**-gula-**nga** *we have just bought*

Table 5. Past tense marking on Lunyole verb

3.2.3   The Future Tenses

Future tense is the "location of the situation after the present moment" (Comrie 1985, 36). There are three future tenses in Lunyole: immediate future, near future, and distant future. They are each morphologically marked with a different morpheme on the verb.

The immediate future is marked with the prefix *na-*. The near future is marked with the prefix *naha-* and the distant future is marked with the prefix *li-*. The future may also be stated periphrastically using auxiliary verbs such as *ohutiina* 'to go' and *ohwenda* 'to want'. In these cases, there is no future morpheme placed on the verb, but often other words implying future such as *ejo* 'tomorrow', *ejuusi* 'the day after tomorrow' and *esabbiti eyiija* 'next week' added to the sentence. However in Lunyole, the time adverbials *ejo* and *ejuusi* can mean both 'yesterday' and 'the day before yesterday' respectively or 'tomorrow' and 'the day after tomorrow' respectively. The context will always determine which tense the adverbial is expressing.

3.2.3.1 The morphological futures

What I am referring to here, as "morphological futures", are those future tenses that have distinct morphemes to mark them in the morphology of the Lunyole verb.

3.2.3.1.1   The immediate future tense

The immediate future tense in Lunyole marks an event that will take place some time after now but within the same day of speaking. It is marked by prefix *na-* on the main verb stem.

(14)   Hunatiine e Busolwe hwagula sukaali.

Hu-	**na-**	tiin	-e	e	Busolwe	hwa-	gul	-a	sukaali.
1P-	FUT1	go	-Fv	C23	Busolwe	1P	buy	-Fv	sugar

We will go (within today) to Busolwe and buy sugar.

3.2.3.1.2   The near future tense

The near future in Lunyole marks an event that will take place any time between tomorrow at sunrise and the end of the day after tomorrow. This tense is marked by the prefix *naha-*

(15)   Abaana banahatandihe ohusoma olwabbalaza

Abaana	ba-	**naha-**	tandih	-e	ohu-	som	a	olwabbalaza
children	3P-	FUT2	begin	Fv	INF	read	Fv	Monday

The children will begin school on Monday.

(15) above will only be grammatically correct if the time of speaking is the Saturday before the Monday on which school will open. If one was speaking on the Sunday before the Monday on which school will open, the time adverbial *ejo* 'tomorrow' would be more natural.

This kind of future is sometimes not used in the literal sense of it, that is, to indicate an event that will take place any time between tomorrow and the end of the day after tomorrow. It may be used to indicate that the action may or may not take place dependent on other factors such as in loose talk. Sentence (16), which is an extract from the story of a child called Nakoma, is a good example of such a use.

(16) Nga aba-saaye ba-mu-loma ba-ati, Nakoma leha hu-**naha**-hugul-ir -e

CONJ C2 parents 3P 1S tell 3P DEM Nakoma stop 1P FUT buy BEN Fv

aha-biindi ahandi oba hu-**naha**-hu- bumb –ir -e aha-ndi.

C12 pot   another or 1P FUT INF make BEN Fv C12 another

And her parents said to her, "Stop (crying) we will buy for you another small

pot or we will make another for you."

That Nakoma's parents used the immediate future tense does not mean at all that they were literally going to buy for her another small pot in the near future. It was just a way of consoling her.

At times the near future tense is used to focus on the day an event will take place in the future especially in making an inquiry about the same. For example, in (17) the implication is the day the addressee will go to Nairobi, not the time.

(17)   Onahatiine ŋaali e Nairobi?
        O- **naha**- tiin -e ŋaali e Nairobi

        1S FUT2 go   Fv when C23 Nairobi

        'When are you going to Nairobi?'

3.2.3.1.3   The distant future tense

The distant future tense marks an event that will take place any time from the end of the day after tomorrow to eternity future. This tense is marked by the prefix *li-* as in (18). As already stated, the specific time can be roughly indicated by time adverbials implying future, which are syntactically added, e.g. *esabbiti eyiija* 'next week' and *omwaha oguuja* 'next year' as in (19).

(18) N'otegoboleho balihubbinga mu somero.

Ni   o- ta- egobol -e -ho ba- **li-**   hu- bbing -a   mu   somero

CONJ 2S NEG reform Fv LOC 3P FUT3 2S expel Fv LOC school

If you do not reform you will be expelled from school.

(19) Namwano alitiina e Nairobi omwaha oguja.

Namwano a- **li-**   tiin   -a   e   Nairobi omwaha oguja.

Namwano 3S FUT3 go   Fv   C23 Nairobi year   next.

Namwano will go to Nairobi next year.

Tense marking for these three morphological future tenses in Lunyole, can be summarized in the Table 6 using the verb *ohugula* 'to buy' with first person plural.

Tense Marking on verb	Verb form in 1st person plural
Immediate Future (F_1) **na-**	Hu-**na**-gule *We shall buy*
Near Future (F_2) **naha-**	Hu-**naha**- gule *we shall buy*
Distant Future (F_3) **li-**	Hu-**li**-gula *We shall buy*

Table 6. Future tense marking on Lunyole verb

3.2.3.2 The Periphrastic future tenses

In Lunyole the periphrastic future tense is not marked in the verb but only in adjuncts, specifically adverbials. It expresses an intention. In the construction of a sentence with periphrastic future it may appear that the speaker is in the process of doing the action. In this type of construction an auxiliary verb is used without morphological tense markers. However, the time frame is made certain by the time adverbials like *ejo* 'tomorrow', *omwaha oguuja* 'next year' etc.

3.2.3.2.1   The immediate future tense:

This future tense periphrastically uses auxiliary verbs such as *ohutiina* 'to go', and *ohwenda* 'to want'. There is no future morpheme placed on the verb.

(20)   Ndi **hutiina** ohugula amagi.

n-	li	hutiina	ohu-	gul	-a	amagi.
1S-	be	AUX:go	INF	buy	Fv	eggs.

'*I am going to buy eggs (sometime today).*'

At times, depending on the context, the above sentence may also indicate that I am on my way now just as I speak. The context in this case will make the distinction.

(21)   **Nenda** hutiina mu hibuga.

n-	enda	hu-	tiina	mu	hibuga.
1S-	AUX:want	INF	go	LOC	town.

'*I want to go (am going) to town.*'

(22)   Embusi **yenda** hufa.

Embusi	yi-	enda	hu-	fa.
goat	C5	AUX:want	INF	die.

'*The goat is going to (will) die.*'

(This timeframe is open-ended due to the uncertainty of when death will come.)

3.2.3.2.2   The near future tense

The near future also periphrastically uses auxiliary verbs such as *ohutiina* 'to go' and *ohwenda* 'to want', again, without the future morpheme placed on the verb. But often other words implying future such as *ejo* 'tomorrow', *ejuusi* 'the day after tomorrow' or *esabbiti* eyiija 'next week' are added as in (23).

(23) Ndi **hutiina** hugula amagi olwejo.

n-   li   **hutiina**   ohu-   gul   -a   amagi   **olw'ejo**

1S-   be AUX:go INF-   buy   Fv   eggs   (day) of tomorrow

'I am going to buy eggs tomorrow'. (I intend to go and buy eggs tomorrow)

3.2.3.2.3   The distant future tense

This future also periphrastically uses the auxiliary verbs such as *ohutiina* 'to go' and *ohwenda* 'to want' without the future morpheme on the main verb, but often a time adverbial implying a time in the distant future such *omwaha oguuja*, 'next year' *ebiseera ebyomumoni* 'future times' are added as in (24).

(24) Ese n'omuhasi wange hutiina huguluha hutiine mu Amereka omwaha oguuja.

Ese   ni   omuhasi wange **hutiina** hu- guluh -a hu- tiine mu

I   CONJ wife   POSS AUX:go INF fly- Fv 1P- go LOC

Amereka **omwaha oguuja**.

America year   next.

'My wife and I are going to fly to go to America next year.'

3.3   Relative Tense

Relative tense is where the reference point for location of a given situation is "some point in time given by the context". (Comrie 1985: 56). The reference point in this case may not necessarily be the present moment. It is a tense that is interpreted relative to a reference point provided in the context. So, for relative tenses, one is required to identify the reference point compatible with the context. Relative tense,

like the absolute tense, uses time adverbials to locate the situation relative to the point of reference.

Apart from time adverbials, Lunyole also uses relative pronoun *aŋa* 'at/by the time' to express relativity in time, and the verb *ohuba/ li* 'to be' to relate it with the main event. In this case *li* is used for past and *ohuba* for non-past time reference. At times the particle *ni* 'when' is used. The weakness with the relative tense in Lunyole is that it does not locate the exact point in time when an event must have taken place as seen from the following examples. In (25) the exact day or time is not mentioned - a planting season is usually a month long.

(25) Hadali bamusaaye ni bamwa obule.

Hadali ba-	mu-	sal	- aye	**ni**	ba-	mwa	obule
Hadali 3S	3S	give birth	PERF	when	3S	sow	millet

'Hadali was born during the time of sowing millet.'

In (26) the exact time the father of the speaker came back is not specified. Nyole families do not have a specific time for supper. Suppertime extends from around 8 p.m. to around 10 p.m. depending on how quick the process of preparation of the supper goes. So the time reference in this case is relative to whatever time it was when they were having supper.

(26) Aŋa bbaabba gagoboleeye hwali hulya ehy'egulo

Aŋa	bbaabba	ga- gobola	-eye	hu- a-	**li**	hu-	lya	ehy'egulo
at time	father	3S come back	PERF	3P PAST	be	3P	eat	supper

'By the time father came back we were eating supper.'

In (27) the day, month, year or exact time in the future when the referent will get married is not stated but it is relative to the time the speaker will have become an old man.

(27)   Aŋa olireetera omuhasi ndiba sahuluŋire.

Aŋa   o- li-   leet -er -a omu- hasi   n- li- **ba** sahuluŋ -ire.

When 3S FUT bring APP Fv C1   woman 1S FUT be old   PERF

'By the time you get married I will be old.'

In (28) the time adverbial *ni wahyeye* literally 'when the day broke', meaning 'the following day' marks the exact time of the action of her 'coming back'. The reference point for this time adverbial is 'two nights'.

(28)   Gaŋenyuhireyo ebiri ni wahyeye ng'agobola

g- a-   ŋeyuh -ire -yo ebiri **ni**   **wa-** **hyeye**   nga   a- gobola

3S PAST sleep PERF LOC two   CONJ C14 day break CONJ 3S return

'She slept there two nights the following day she came back.'

3.4 Summary

As we have seen in the discussion above, Lunyole has a tense system of three major tenses: past, present and future. These tenses are further divided according to understanding of time by the Banyole to make eight distinctive tenses. Table 7 shows these tenses, the time frames they represent and how they are marked on the verb.

TENSE	TIME FRAME	PREFIX
Present tense	Now	ø
Immediate past	A few moments ago to approximately one hour ago	ha-
Hodiernal past	From today's sunrise to between a few moments ago to approximately an hour ago.	ø
Recent past	From the day before yesterday sunrise to today's	a-
Distant past	From the end of the day before yesterday to eternity past	a-
Immediate future	From now to the end of today	na-
Near future	Tomorrow to the end of the day after tomorrow	naha-
Distant future	From the end of the day after tomorrow to eternity future.	li-

Table 7. Morphemes that mark various tenses in Lunyole.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASPECT

Chapter four discusses another verbal category – aspect. Lunyole has six main aspectual categories – perfective, anterior, imperfective, habitual, progressive, and persistive. We begin with the definition of aspect (4.1), and then we discuss perfective aspect (4.2) and anterior aspect (4.2.1). With imperfective aspect (4.3), we discuss progressive aspect (4.3.1), present progressive (4.3.1.1), progressive continuous (4.3.1.2), progressive past continuous (4.3.1.3) and progressive future continuous (4.3.1.4). Persistive aspect (4.3.2) includes present persistive (4.3.2.1), past persistive (4.3.2.2), and future peristive (4.3.2.3). Habitual aspect (4.3.3) along with present habitual (4.3.3.1), past habitual (4.3.3.2), immediate past perfective habitual (4.3.3.3), recent past perfective habitual (4.3.3.4) and future habitual (4.3.3.5). This is followed by completive aspect (4.3.4), and iterative aspect (4.3.5) to complete the survey. The chapter is summed up by contrasting aspect and tense (4.3.6).

4.1 Definition

Comrie says, "Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." (1976:3) In other words, aspect shows the way in which the internal constituency of the event is viewed, for example, whether it is seen as a whole and completed from the outside or from within and incomplete. According to

Payne, "Aspect describes the internal temporal shape of events or states." (Payne 1997, 238). In this view aspect is a grammatical category that refers primarily to the way grammar marks the duration or a type of temporal activity denoted in a verb.

Since aspect relates the time of an event to some other time, in the hypothesis of relevance, it is more relevant to the verb than tense. (Hopper and Traugott 1993,43). In Lunyole verb morphology, the aspect is marked as a suffix on the verb root for the perfective and habitual aspects, and a prefix on the verb root for the persistive aspect.

In Lunyole aspectual categories are complexes of tense and apect. There are at least six main aspectual categories: perfective, anterior, imperfective, habitual, progressive, and persistive. Others are the completive and iterative aspects.

4.2 Perfective Aspect

"In perfective aspect the situation is viewed in its entirety, independent of tense" (Payne 1997, 239). "Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation" (Comrie 1976, 16). In other words, it presents an event as an undifferentiated and time bound whole without regard to the internal constituency of the event. It takes an exterior view of the event as a whole. "The perfective is also defined in terms of being resultative, that is to say, indicating the successful completion of a situation" (Comrie 1976, 20).

In Lunyole the perfective aspect marks a completed action and works together with the hodiernal and recent past tenses. It is marked by the suffix –ire, which

changes to *-aye, -eye, -iye, -oye, -uye, -ise, -isye and –e* according to the derivational process on the verb root.

In (29) and (30) the "dancing" is viewed as a completed action.

(29)   Hwahinire owiire wosi wosi.

hu-   a-   hin   **-ire**   owiire wosi   wosi.

1P   PAST   dance   PERF   night   all   all

We danced all night.

(30)   Hwahiniriye owiire.

hu-   a-   hin   -ir   **-iye**   owiire.

1P-   PAST   dance   APP   PERF   night.

We danced non-stop last night.

4.2.1   Anterior Aspect

Anterior aspect, which is also called "perfect" or "retrospective", refers to an action that took place earlier on and produced a state which either lives on or whose consequence or relevance still lives on. In other words the situation occurs before the reference time but is relevant to the situation at the reference time. This reference time is not the moment the speaking. (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994,316ff).

In Lunyole, this aspect describes a sequence of actions that took place in the past, the second action coming after completion of the first one. It is marked by the auxiliary verb *li* or *ohuba* 'to be'.

In (31), the rains came after the action of digging had been completed, a state of affairs that may carry some relevance for both the speaker and hearer, for example, having the garden ready for planting when the rains came.

(31)   Efula aŋa yagwiriye, gaali alimire.

Efula	aŋa	ya-	gw	-ir	-iye	ga-	a-	li	a-	lim	-ire
Rain	by time	C5-	fall	APP	PERF	3S-	PAST	be	3S-	dig	-PERF

By the time it rained, he had dug.

4.3 Imperfective Aspect

"In imperfective aspect the situation is viewed from 'inside' as an ongoing process" (Payne 1997, 239). It has to do with the internal constituency of events and usually represents backgrounded events in a discourse for events foregrounded by the use of the perfective aspect. According to Comrie, imperfective aspect contrasts with perfective aspect and calls the imperfective a cover term for habitual, progressive, and continuous (Comrie 1976, 66). Other scholars e.g. Bybee, while endorsing the basic imperfective – perfective contrast, they see the imperfective, habitual, continuous, generic, and other similar categories as rather being co-ordinate (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994,316ff).

Lunyole fits with Comrie's view, which suggests a co-existence of the imperfective, continuous, progressive, and habitual forms. In Lunyole the present tense is essentially imperfective. The imperfective in Lunyole includes the habitual, progressive and persistive aspects. It is marked by the two forms of the verb 'to be'

ohuba and *li*, the prefix *hi-* for the persistive aspect and suffix *-nga* for the habitual aspect on the main verb.

4.3.1 Progressive Aspect

The progressive aspect describes an action as an on-going and continuing event (Saeed 1997, 117). The action occurs simultaneously with time of reference. It is used in dynamic situations rather than states. Hence, in past and future the progressive aspect is used to give a background onto which another event occurs. In Lunyole the progressive aspect is marked in three separate ways depending on tense - continuous, past continuous and future continuous.

4.3.1.1 The present progressive aspect

The present progressive aspect expresses an action in progress at the time of speaking. It may make a statement or ask a question with a central thought on the action rather than on time.

Lunyole marks the present progressive aspect is with the verb 'to be' *li*.

(32) Bbobbu ali hufuga egaali.

Bbobbu	a- **li**	hufuga	e-	gaali
Bob	3S be	ride	C9	bicycle

Bob is riding a bicycle (now).

4.3.1.2 Past progressive aspect.

The past progressive aspect refers to those events that were, are, or will be ongoing at the time of reference. It is marked in Lunyole by the auxiliary verb *ohuba/li* 'to be'

(33)   Aŋa basaaliye gaali ahola mu hyoma hyengoye.

Aŋa	ba- saal	-iye	ga- a-	li	a- hola mu	hyoma	hyengoye.
When	3P give birth	PERF	3S- PAST	be	3S work LOC	industry	clothing.

'When I was born he was working in the textile industry (distant past).'

4.3.1.3 Future progressive aspect

The future progressive refers to an event that will be taking place in the future at the time of reference. It is marked by the time adverbial *aŋa* 'at the time' and *ohuba* another form of the verb 'to be'

(35)   Aŋa hunolere banabe baŋenyuha

Aŋa	hu-	na-	ol	-ere	ba-	na-	be	ba- ŋenyuh -a
ADV	1P	FUT1	arrive	PERF	3P	FUT1	be	3P sleep Fv

'By the time we arrive they will be sleeping.'

4.3.2   Persistive Aspect

The persistive aspect marks an event that started in the past and is ongoing at the locus of orientation (point of reference); the locus of orientation must be either explicit or implicit. In Lunyole the persistive aspect is marked by prefix *hi-* on the main verb stem.

4.3.2.1 The present persisitive

The present persistive describes an action that started in the past and is ongoing at the time of speaking. The point of orientation for the action must be either explicit or implicit. In Lunyole the present persistive is marked by *hi-*, which is prefixed on the verb stem.

(36) Bbaabba ni Maama bahirima

bbaabaa	ni	Maama	ba-	**hi-**	lim	-a
father	CONJ	mother	3P	PERS	dig	Fv

' *My father and mother are still digging.* '

4.3.2.2 Past persistive

The past persistive aspect describes an event that was going on in the past when an intervening event happened.

(37) Semwana gafa n'ahisoma.

Semwana	ga-	a-	fa	ni	a-	**hi-**	soma
His father	3S	PAST	die	CONJ	3S	PERS	read

His father died while he was still in school.

(38) Abaye ahisoma ehitabo ng'ehide hihubba.

a-	ba	-iye	a-	**hi-**	som	-a	ehitabo	nga	ehide	hi-hubba.
3S	be	PERF	3S	PERS	read	Fv	book	CONJ	bell	C7-beat.

He was still reading the book when the bell rang.

4.3.2.3 Future persitive

The future persistive aspect in Lunyole marks an event that is expected to be ongoing in future when another intervening event takes place as in (39). It also marks an event that is yet to happen but is expected to happen. In this case the persistive morpheme *hi-* is used with *li*, which is one of the forms of the verb 'to be' as in (40). The *hi-* morpheme also functions as a form of negative (see 5.3.4)

(39)   Huliŋuumula ni bahyaga obule

hu-	li-	ŋuumul -a	ni	ba-	hi-	aga	obule
1P	FUT3	rest	Fv	CONJ	3S	PERS	weed	millet

We will get our holidays when they are still weeding millet. (When we get our holidays it will still be time of weeding millet)

(40)   Ahiri husaguula mu nyumba.

a-	hi-	ri	hu-	saguul -a	mu	nyumba
3S	PERS	be	INF	sweep Fv	LOC	house

She has yet (is still) to sweep the house.

4.3.3   Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect expresses an event that happens at regular intervals from time to time though it may not necessarily be taking place now. In some languages habituality is essentially the same as iterativity, i.e. the repetition of a situation, the successive occurrence of several instances of the given situation (Comrie 1976, 23). In short, the habitual aspect is used to describe an event, which occurs usually, habitually, normally, or always. If limited in time reference, the habitual is mostly used in past or

timeless situations for pragmatic reasons and it can semantically merge with other imperfective forms.

In Lunyole, the habitual aspect is used to express events that happened habitually in the past and those anticipated taking place habitually in future. However in the immediate and hodiernal past, or the immediate future, the habitual aspect morpheme refers to an event that either happens simultaneously with another event, in a somewhat regular manner, or it is continual over a short period of time. This is due to the fact that 'habitual' actions cannot be established in a short time. The habitual aspect is marked by the suffix –*nga* on the main verb.

4.3.3.1 Present habitual

The present habitual aspect describes an action that occurs habitually but may not necessarily be taking place at the present moment. It also describes an event that is repetitive at regular intervals as in (41) and (42).

In Lunyole the present habitual aspect also expresses an event that is taking place now and may even extend into the future. This is common with the imperative mood and it is marked on the main verb with suffix –*nga*.

(41)   Muha Wandera alimanga aŋo.

Muha	Wandera	a-	lim	-a	**-nga**	aŋo
wife	Wandera	3S	dig	Fv	HAB	DEM

Wandera's wife always digs there.

(42)   Mulimengaŋo.

Mu-   lim   -e   **-nga**   aŋo.

2P   dig   Mood HAB   DEM

You(pl) be digging there'.

4.3.3.2   Past habitual aspect

In Lunyole the past habitual aspect denotes an event, which at regular intervals has been repeatedly taking place in the past and has the potentiality of happening again in the future even if it is not taking place now.

(43)   Alimangaŋo.

a-   lim   -a   **-nga**   aŋo

3S   dig   FV   HAB   LOC

He has been digging there.

4.3.3.3 Immediate past habitual

In Lunyole, the immediate past habitual denotes an event that until a few moments ago had been taking place. Apart from the habitual marker *–nga* suffix, it is also marked by either the auxiliary verb *ohuŋwa* 'to come from, to be from' as in (44) or the immediate past tense marker *ha-* prefix on the main verb as in (45).

(44)   Maama aŋwa hulimanga aŋo.

Maamaa   ŋwa   hu-   lim   -a   **-nga**   aŋo.

Mother3S   come from   INF   dig   Fv   HAB   LOC

My mother has just been digging there.

(45)   Bbaabba gahatinanga mu maduuka

Bbaabba	ga-	ha-	tina	-nga	mu	ma duuka
father	3S	PAST	go	HAB	LOC	C6 shop

My father has just left to go to the shops

(45) above denotes two actions – leaving a location and the movement to go to another location. In this case, one of the actions is still going on even up to the time of speaking. It is implied within the aspect marker *-nga* that the father is still on his way. What is important here is that the act of 'leaving' has been completed.

4.3.3.4 *Recent past habitual*

In Lunyole, the recent past habitual marks a completed action that otherwise had continued over sometime in the recent past.

(46)   Omuhasi wuwe galimirenga aŋo.

Omu-	hasi	wu-we	ga-	a-	lim	-ire	-nga	aŋo
C1	wife	C1 Poss	3S	PAST-dig		PERF	HAB	LOC

His wife has been digging there

The above sentence may mean the event took place either yesterday or the day before yesterday. The difference is determined either by tone, if the sentence is in isolation, or context.

(47)   Omusaaja abayenga alima aŋo.

Omu-	saaja	a-	ba	-iye	-nga	a-	lim	-a aŋo
C1	man	3S	be	PERF	HAB	3S	dig	Fv.LOC

The man has been digging there. (but he is no longer digging there)

4.3.3.5 Future habitual

The Future Habitual aspect denotes an event that will regularly take place in the future as in (48) and (49).

(48)   Anosenga esaani n'aduhana.

a-	na-	os	-e	**-nga**	esaani	ni	a-	duh	-ana
3S	FUT1	wash	FV	HAB	plates	CONJ	3S-	quarrel	REF

He will be washing plates while grumbling.

(49)   Onahalimenga aŋo ni wukumire

o-	naha	lim	-e	**-nga**	aŋo	ni	wu-	ku-	m	-ire
2S	FUT2	dig	Fv	HAB	LOC	CONJ	1S	2S	wait	PERF

'You will be digging there as you wait for me.'

4.3.4   Completive aspect

According to Payne, the completive aspect expresses the completion of an event. Sometimes the completive and inceptive aspects are called phasal aspects because they refer to different 'phases' of the event described in the verb. (1997, 240).

In Lunyole the completive aspect is expressed by predicating the verb *ohuhena* 'to complete' with a verbal noun. Because the event is viewed as completed, the verb *ohuhena* has to be in the past tense and therefore marked by perfective aspect marker *-ire*, as in (50).

The completive can also be marked by suffixing locative morphemes *-ho*, *-mo* and *-ŋo* on the verb *ohuhena* 'to complete' to express the idea of 'completely finished' as in (51).

(50) Abageni bahenire ohulya

Aba-	geni	ba-	hen	-ire	ohulya
C2	visitor	C2	complete	PERF	to eat

The visitors have completed eating.

(51) Omwana ahenireŋo emere

Omu-	ana	a-	hen	-ire	-ŋo	emere
C1	child	3S	complete	PERF	LOC	food

The child has completely finished the food

4.3.5   Iterative aspect

This is an aspect that is occasionally found in verbs that involve a repeated action. In Lunyole the iterative is marked either by a verbal extension through reduplication of the verb root as in (52) or by a complete change of the root by inserting the morpheme

-ju-, which expresses a repeated action as in (53).

(52)   *Ohutema* 'to cut'   *ohutematema* 'to cut repeatedly'

Omusaaja atematemire owahye

Omu-	saaja	a-	tematem	-ire	owahye
C1	man	3S	cut repeatedly	PERF	fellow

'The man repeatedly cut his friend.'

(53) *Ohuŋalula* 'to pull'   *ohuŋalujula* 'to pull repeatedly'

Otapalujula ese ndi mulwaye

o-	ta-	palujula	ese	n-	li	mulwaye
2S	NEG	pull repeatedly	me	1S	be	sick

Don't pull me back and forth, I am sick.

4.3.6 Aspect and Tense

Aspect and tense systems are sometimes difficult to disentangle. This is because they both "allow speakers to relate situations to time" (Saeed 1997, 114), but they also offer different slants on time. In our discussion of tense (chapter 3) and aspect (chapter 4) we saw that while tenses are a representation of the time that contains the event, aspects are different representations of the time within the event. The two are therefore viewed as interdependent categories. In fact these two categories together with modality form a systematic whole. According to Derek Nurse, most tense and aspect encoding in Bantu languages, of which Lunyole is one, involves a combination of three main components: inflection of the verb, tone, and the use of verbs additional to (serial verbs) and preceding (auxiliary verbs) the main lexical verb (2001, 2). As we have seen, tense and aspect encoding in Lunyole involves inflection of the main lexical verb, tone and the use of an auxiliary verb. Table 8 shows different tense and aspect marking on the verb by prefixing the tense marker, suffixing the aspect marker and the use of the auxiliary verb 'to be'. The verb *ohugula* 'to buy' has been used for demonstration.

Aspect →	Perfective	Perfective	Imperfective	Imperfective	Imperfective
Tense ↓	**Perfective**	**Anterior** *li* or *ohuba* 'to be' + *-ire*	**Habitual** *-nga*	**Progressive** *li* or *ohuba* 'to be'+ Inf.	**Persistive** *hi-*
Distant P$_4$ **a-...a**	Hw-**a**-gul-**a** *we bought*	Hwa-**li** hugul-**ire** *we had bought*	Hwagula-**nga** *we used to buy*	Hw**ali** **hu**gula *we were buying*	Hwali hu-**hi**-gula *we were still buying*
Recent P$_3$ **a- ...-ire**	Hwagulire *we bought*	Hwa-**li** hugul-**ire** *we had bought*	Hwagulire-**nga** *we were buying*	Hwabaye **hu**gula *we were buying*	Hwabaye hu-**hi**-gula *we were still buying*
Hodiernal P$_2$ **Ø-....-ire**	Hugulire *we bought*	Hwabaaye hugul-**ire** *we had bought*	Hugulire-**nga** *we were buying*	Hubaaye **hu**gula *we were buying*	Hubaaye hu-**hi**-gula *we were still buying*
Immediate P$_1$ **ha-....-nga**	Hwa-**ha**-gula-**nga** *we have just bought*	Hubaye hwahagulanga *we had just bought*			
Present **Ø** (Unmarked)	Hugula *we buy*		Hugulanga *we buy*	**Hu**li **hu**gula *we are buying*	Hu-**hi**-gula *we are still buying*
Immediate F$_1$ **na-**	Hu**na**gule *we shall buy*	Hu**na**be hugulire *we shall have bought*	Hu**na**gulenga *we shall be buying*	Hu**na**be **hu**gula *we will be buying*	Hu**na**be **hi**-gula *we will still be buying*
Near F$_2$ **naha-**	Hu**naha**gule *we shall buy*	Hu**naha**be hugulire *we shall have bought*	Hu**naha**gulenga *we shall be buying*	Hu-**naha**-be **hu**gula *we will be buying*	Hu**naha**be hu-**hi**-gula *we will still be buying*
Distant F$_3$ **li-**	Hu**li**gula *we shall buy*	Hu**li**ba hugulire *we shall have bought*	Hu**li**gulanga *we shall be buying*	Hu-**li**-ba **hu**gula *we will be buying*	Hu**li**ba hu-**hi**-gula *we will still be buying*

Table 8. Verb forms for tense and aspect marking in Lunyole.

CHAPTER FIVE

TENSE/ASPECT AND LUNYOLE VERBAL EXTENSIONS

This chapter gives an overview of the morphology of the Lunyole verb. As we have already seen, tense locates an event in time while aspect says nothing about when an event occurred except by implication. At clause and sentence level tense serves essentially to locate the event referred to in the sentence with reference to the time at which the utterance was made. The marking for tense, aspect and mood in Lunyole are in most cases marked on the verb by way of affixation, and at times by way of using auxiliary verbs especially the verb 'to be'. Since we have already discussed in detail tense and aspect in the previous chapter, the discussion in this chapter will consider the morphological structure of the Lunyole verb (5.1), the infinitive (5.1.1) verbal extensions (5.1.2) and how they affect the form of the aspectual morphemes. We discuss the verbs 'to be' (5.2), and 'to have' (5.2.3), negation (5.4) and how they are affected by tense/aspect marking.

5.1 The Morphological Structure of the Lunyole Verb

The verb in Lunyole is made up of the verb stem and a number of prefixes and suffixes among them the tense, aspect and mood markers. When tense and aspect are introduced on a verb the following formula will describe the form of the verb.

SC- (NEG)-(OC)-Tm-Vst-ASP/M

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The formula describes the verb form in which there has to be an obligatory subject concord (SC), an optional negative marker (neg), an optional object concord (OC) a tense marker (Tm) in the tense slot, a Verb stem and an Aspect (A) or Mood (M) marker. The tenses are marked using a distinct prefix in the tense slot (see Table 7 on page 32).

5.1.1   The Infinitive.

The infinitive or "non finite" as Palmer prefers to call it (Palmer 1986, 156) is a term for the form of a verb that is unmarked for person, tense, aspect, mood or concordial agreement. In other words it is the basic form of a verb.

In Lunyole the infinitive is marked by prefix *ohu-* or *hu-* on the verb root. The infinitive of a verb can appear as a dependent verb within a clause as in (54) and it is also used to express a purpose as in (55).

(54)   Gahenire ohwambala ng'aniina egaali ohutiina mu husaba

g-	a-	hen	-ire	**ohu-**	ambala	nga	a-	niina	e-	gaali
3S	PAST	finish	PERF	INF	put on	CONJ	3S	climb	C9	bicycle

ohu-	tiina	mu	**hu-**	saba
INF	go	LOC	INF	pray

Having put on his clothes, he got on the bicycle to go to pray

(55) Hwenda hutiina mu dwaliro ohubona omulwaye

Hu-	enda	**hu-**	tiina	mu	dwaliro	**ohu-**	bona	omu-lwaye
2P	want	INF	go	LOC	hospital	INF	see	C1 sick

'We want to go to the hospital to see the sick person.'

5.1.2 Verbal Extensions

In simple terms a verbal extension is a process of adding a grammatical morpheme to the root of a verb to include among others, an agent that causes an action (causative), to mark an action done for, on behalf of, or with reference to someone or something (applicative), to express an action done one to another (reciprocal), or to change the verb to a passive.

5.1.2.1 The causative.

When an agent causes an action to occur this is indicated by a causative extension on the verb. In Lunyole the causative suffix can take the forms *-isa, -esa, -mya, -sya* as in the examples below:

ohulya 'to eat'	- *ohuliisa* 'to cause to eat'
ohumera 'to germinate'	- *ohumesa* 'to cause to germinate'
ohwoma 'to dry'	- *ohwomya* 'to cause to dry'
ohulira 'to cry'	- *ohulisya* 'to cause to cry'

The perfective aspect marker on such verbs will be in the form of –*ise*, as in (56) or –*isye* as in (57) instead of the usual –*ire*. This is more of a morphophonemic issue than grammatical issue.

(56)   Efula emesiise enyaasi mu maido.

e-	fula	e-	mesa	-ise	enyaasi	mu	maido
C9	rain	C9	cause to germinate	PERF	grass	LOC	groundnuts

'*Rain has caused grass to germinate in the groundnuts (garden).*'

(57)   Omumwi gwomisye ehyalo

omu-	mwi	gu-	omya	-isye	ehyalo
C3	sunshine	C3	cause to dry PERF		earth

'*Sunshine has caused the earth to dry.*'

5.1.2.2 The passive

Lunyole has two mechanisms of passivisation. A frequent mechanism is that of using a 3rd person plural form *ba-* e.g *ohujeha* 'to laugh' becomes *bamujeha* 'he is laughed at' (lit. 'they laugh at him'). However, for some verbs the passive form is sometimes marked by the morpheme *-iw* before the final vowel e.g. *ohwiba* 'to steal' becomes *ohwibiwa* 'to be stolen'. In such verbs, the perfective aspect marker will maintain the *-w-* and will have the form *-irwe* instead of the *-ire* as (58).

(58)   Ebbesa jibiwirwe

e-	bbesa	ji-	biw	-irwe
C10	money	C10	steal	PERF

'*The money has been stolen.*'

5.1.2.3 The applicative

The applicative marks an action done for, on behalf of, or with reference to someone or something. Lunyole marks the applicative with morpheme *–er*, e.g. *ohuhola* 'to work' becomes *ohuholera* 'to work for someone'; or *-ir* e.g. *ohulima* 'to dig' becomes *ohulimira* 'to dig for someone'. The applicative can also be used when a motion is directed towards a person or prescribed purpose, e.g. *ohuuja* 'to come' becomes *ohujirira* ' to come for a specific purpose' as in (59). The perfective aspect of a verb in the applicative form will have the form of suffix *-iye* instead of the *-ire*.

(59)   Nijiriye huwona niiwe

N	-ij	- ir	- iye	hu-	wona	niiwe
1S	come	APP	PERF	INF	see	you

'*I came purposely to see you.*'

5.1.2.4 The reciprocal

The reciprocal expresses an action done one to another. Reciprocity in Lunyole is expressed with the morpheme *–an*, which occurs after the verb root. For example *ohubona* 'to see' becomes *ohubonana* 'to see one another.' The perfective aspect of a verb in its reciprocal form will only be marked by suffix *-e* on the verb stem instead of the *–ire* as in (60).

(60)   Ni hwaganene hugwijene mu bifuba.

Ni	hu-	agan	-en	-e	hu-	gwij	-en	-e	mu	bifuba
when	2P	meet	REC	PERF	2P	embrace	REC	PERF	in	chest

'*When we met we embraced one another.*'

5.1.2.5 The stative

Stative verbs are those verbs that are used to describe states. In Lunyole these are verbs such as *ohwihala* 'to sit', *ohumanya* 'to know', and *ohwemeerera* 'to stand'. "These verbs allow the speaker to view a situation as a steady state with no internal phases or change" (Saaed 1997, 109). In Lunyole, these verbs are usually marked by the perfective aspect and in some constructions by habitual, persistive, but not by progressive aspect that has a connotation of dynamism. They take the perfective suffix *-aye, -eye* and *-ire* as in (61).

(61)   Daaga amanyire Olunyole.

Daaga a-   many -ire   Olunyole

Doug   3S   know   PERF   Lunyole

'Doug knows Lunyole.'

5.1.2.6 Reduplication

Reduplication occurs when the verb root or the verb stem is repeated in a verb, for example, *ohugenda* 'to walk'   becomes *ohugendagenda* 'to walk quickly.' It is sometimes done to express that the action happened repeatedly, to express prolongation of the action, diminution of force or diffusion. It also expresses emphasis. Whatever the purpose of the reduplication, the tense marker is always prefixed on the stem and the aspect marker is suffixed on the stem as in (62).

(62)   Gagendagendire ni geyuna hu somero

G-	a-	gendagend	-ire	ni	g-	eyun	-a	hu somero
3S	PAST	walk quickly	PERF	when	3S	hurry	Fv	to school

He hurriedly walked to school (yesterday).

5.2 The verb 'to be'

Lunyole has two forms of the verb 'to be': *ohuba* and *li.*

5.2.1 The *li* form

This form of the verb 'to be' appears in recent and far past, and present tense with the progressive aspect where it functions as an auxiliary verb as in (63). It may be marked only with subject agreement and past tense prefixes. This form of the verb 'to be' is used story telling as in the introductory/opening sentence in (64).

(63)   Wandera ali hufuga egaali

Wandera	a-	li	hu-	fuga	e-	gaali
Wandera	3S	be	INF	ride	C9	bicyle

'Wandera is riding a bicycle.'

(64)   Ŋaaliŋo omuhaana omuŋoono ŋawaawe

Ŋa-	a-	li	-ŋo	omu-	haana	omu-	ŋoono	ŋa-	wa	-we
C16	PAST	be	LOC	C1	girl	C1	beautiful	C16	ASS	POSS

'There was (once) a beautiful girl in their home.'

5.2.2 The *ohuba* form

This verb appears in the historical present tense, all future tenses, and hodiernal past constructions only. It also functions as an auxiliary and can be marked for both tense and aspect. The perfective aspect in ohuba is of the form *-aye* instead of *-ire* as in (65).

(65)   Hubaaye huliiye ehy'egulo

Hu-	**ba**	**-aye**	hu-	lya	-iye	ehya-	e-	gulo
1P	be	PERF	1P	eat	PERF	ASS	C5	evening

We had eaten the evening meal (supper).

5.2.3 'To have'

Lunyole expresses the verb 'to have' with the verb 'to be' followed by preposition *ni* 'with'. It expresses something the subject possesses. This may be either physical as in (66) or emotional as in (67).

(66)   Wandera ali n'embusi ehumi

Wandera	a-	**li**	**ni**	e-	mbusi	ehumi
wandera	3S	be	with	C10	goat	ten

Wandera has ten goats.

(67)   Latawo ali n'obusungu olw'ohuba oluyeeyo

Lata	-wo	a-	**li**	**ni**	obusungu	olw'ohuba	o-	lw	-uye	-yo
father	POSS	3S	be	with	anger	because	2S	delay	PERF	LOC

Your father is angry because you delayed to come back.

Table 9 is a summary of the auxiliary forms of the verb 'to be' used in tense and aspect. The forms used with *ni* express the idea 'to have' or 'to be with'.

Tense	Form in Lunyole with 3rd person singular	English gloss
Distant Past	gaali	he was/had...
Recent Past	gabaye	he was/had...
Hodiernal Past	abaye	he was/had...
Present	ali	he is...
Immediate. Future	anabe	he will be...
Near Future	anahabe	he will be...
Distant Future	aliba	he will be...

Table 9. Summary of auxiliary forms of the verb 'to be.'

5.3 Negation

"Negation is a process or construction in grammatical and semantic analysis, which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning." (Crystal 1997, 257). In Lunyole negation is expressed by negative particles *si, nasi, ndi*; and verbal morphemes *ta- and hi-*. Lunyole also expresses negation in form of lexical negation using particular verbs. For example, *ohuhaya* 'to lack' is a lexical negative of *ohufuna* 'to get'. For the purpose of this project, we are only discussing negation expressed by the negative particles *si, nasi, ndi,* and the negative verbal morphemes *ta-* and *hi-*.

5.3.1 The negative particle *si*

Si is a general negative particle that functions at clausal level in negating all actions. It is used with all tenses.

(68) Omusomesa wefe si gajire lw'ejo.

Omu-somesa	wa-	efe	**si**	ga-	a-	j	-ire	lwa ejo
C1	teacher	ASS POSS	NEG	3S	PAST	come	PERF	yesterday

'*Our teacher did not come yesterday.*'

5.3.2 The negative particle *nasi*

Nasi is an emphatic verbal negative that also functions at clausal level in negating all actions. In most cases *nasi* is used in counter-negation of what has been re-affirmed by a speaker. At times it is used in combination with another negative particle *kadi* 'not at all' as in (67). However, the use of *nasi* is limited to hodiernal past tense only.

(69) Nasi mbaho ni naye kadi.

Nasi	m-	ø	ba	-ho	ni	naye	**kadi**
no	1S	PAST	be		PART CONJ	him	not at all

'*I wasn't with him at all.*'

5.3.3 The negative particle *ndi*

Ndi is another limited verbal negation. It is used interchangeably with *si* depending on the speaker's preference. However, like *nasi*, its function is limited to negation in the hordienal past tense only.

(70) Omuhasi wuwe nd'agobola eyi ajiiye

Omu- hasi	wuwe	**ndi**	a-	ø	gobola	eyi	a-	ja	- iye
C1 woman	POSS	NEG	3S	PAST	return	REL	3S	go	PERF

'His wife did not come back from where she went' (some time today).

5.3.4 The negative morpheme *ta-*

Ta- is a verbal morpheme that is used to express negative imperatives as in (71) and in the indicative as in (72) and subjunctive moods only. Its use is limited to the present tense.

(71) Otalima

o- **ta-** lim -a

2S NEG dig Fv

Do not dig

(72) Batalima

ba-   **ta-**   lim -a

3P   NEG   dig Fv

(As of now) they have not dug.

The above example may mean they have not dug (today) or it may indicate a general situation as things stand.

5.3.5 The negative morpheme *hi-*

Hi- is a negation that is formed with the auxiliary verb *li* 'to be' to get the form *hiiri* 'not yet'. It is used to communicate an event that has not yet happened but has the potentiality of happening.

(73)   Omuhaana ahiiri husagula mu nyumba

Omu- haana a-   **hi-**   ri   hu-   sagula mu   nyumba

C1   girl   3S   yet   be   INF   sweep LOC   house

The girl has not yet swept the house

The negative in Lunyole tense and aspect can be summarized in the Table 10 below:

Negative Particle/morpheme	Tense/ Aspect/ Mood
Si	General negative particle used with all tenses and aspects
Nasi	Emphatic negative particle limited to hordiernal tense only.
Ndi	Negative particle limited to hordiernal tense only.
Ta-	Negative morpheme limited to present tense used in imperatives, indicative and subjunctive mood only
Hi-	Used with the auxiliary verb *li* to form the negative 'yet'

Table 10. Summary of the Lunyole Negative.

CHAPTER SIX
MOOD

Mood, modality and mode are terms used to designate a wide variety of linguistic functions (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, 316ff 1994, 165) and are used interchangably. Some linguists however make a distinction among them. This chapter is an overview of mood in Lunyole and how it is marked on the verb to indicate the speaker's attitude. There are at least five moods in Lunyole: indicative mood (6.2), imperative mood (6.3), potential mood (6.4), conditional mood (6.5) and subjunctive mood (6.6). There may be others but for the purpose of this paper these are the ones to be examined.

6.1 Definition

Mood refers to the way the speaker presents the truth of the proposition, that is, whether as probable, possible or certain. (Bybee 1985, 28). It expresses a speaker's attitude or point of view on the situation, which also includes his belief in reality. It sometimes describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him/herself (Payne 1997, 244). According to Crystal, mood refers to a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signaled by alternative paradigms of the verb such as indicative, subjunctive and imperative (1980, 247).

6.2 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is used to make statements. Most of the example sentences given in this paper are in the indicative mood. Typically the indicative is unmarked. Most verbs in this mood will take the final vowel *–a.* However, this does not necessrilly mean that it marks mood.

6.3 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is used to give commands, which are directed, to second person singular or plural to order them take action immediately. In Lunyole it can also be used to express a prohibition. In this mood, the absence of a subject concord especially if the command is directed to first person singular, and a tense/aspect marker characterize the verb. Prohibitions on the other hand can be directed directly to the second person singular or plural and also indirectly to the third person singular or plural though this combines with the subjunctive and may carry the meaning 'let …not…'.

6.3.1 Command

(74), which is taken from the story of *omuhaana omuŋoono* 'pretty girl', the parents of the pretty girl command her to go with the unpresentable suitor because she had made a foolish vow.

(74)   Tiina hutiina ni wamwo olw'ohuba womwene   niiwe owerayiriye.

tiina	hu-	tiina	ni	wamwo	olwa	ohu-	ba	niiwe
go	INF	go	CONJ	husband	for	INF	be	you

o-	we-	rayir	-iye
2S	REF	pledge	PERF

'Go with your husband, because you made the pledge.'

6.3.2 Prohibition

A prohibition is an order or command to restrain or to stop. It can be directed directly to the second person singular or plural and also indirectly to the third person singular as in (75) or third person plural. Lunyole can also use the verb *ohuleha* 'to give up' as in (76), which has been taken from the story of *Nakoma*.

(75)   Atehala aŋo!

a-	ta-	ehal	-a	aŋo
3S	NEG	sit	Fv	there

'He shouldn't sit there!'

(76)   Ng'abasaaye bamuloma baati Nakoma leha huja huhugulira ahabindi ahandi.

Nga	aba-	saaye	ba-	mu-	loma	baati	Nakoma	**leha**	hu-	ja
CONJ	C2	parent	3S	2S	say	DEM	Nakoma	give up	1P	go

hu-	hu-	gul	-ir	-a	ahabiindi	ahandi.
1P	2S	buy	BEN	Fv	small pot	another

'And the parents said to her, "Nakoma stop crying we will buy for you another small pot."

6.4 Potential Mood

The potential mood expresses ability to, or a probability. There is no commitment on the part of the speaker. Lunyole uses the verb *ohuŋanga* 'to be able' to express the potentiality of an event to happen. This verb may be marked for either tense or aspect as in (77), or it may not be marked as in (78).

(77)   Efula eŋangire ohutonya olwa leero

e-	fula	e- ŋang	-ire	ohu- tonya	olwa	leero
C9	rain	C9 be able	PERF	INF fall	of	today

'It might rain today.'

(78)   Panga ohubitaho ewuwo.

n-	ŋanga	ohu- bita	-ho	e	wuwo.
1S-	be able	INF- pass by	PART	C23	POSS

'I may come by your home.'

6.5 Optative Mood.

The optative mood expresses a wish. Lunyole marks a wish with the verb *ohuba* 'to be' and a conditional morpeme *ha-* in the apodosis as in (79). It can also be expressed by use of the particle *kadi* with a negative particle *si* as in (80). The wish here is in form of a speculative question.

(79)   Oba hupweraŋo hyahanjedire

o- **ba**	hu- n- ŋw	-er -a -ŋo	hya- **ha-**	n- yed	-ire
2S be	INF 1S go away	BEN Fv LOC	C12 COND	1S help	PERF

'I wish you could go away it would be of help to me.'

(80) Kadi efula yiba hugwa **si** nahahomire ebijanjaalo byange?

kadi efula yi- ba hu- gwa si **na- ha-** hom -ire ebijanjaalo bi- ange

OPT rain C9 be INF fall NEG 1S COND plant PERF beans C8 POSS

'I wish it could rain I would plant my beans.' (Lit. I wish it could rain wouldn't I have planted my beans?)

6.6 Conditional Mood

Conditional mood refers to clauses or sentences whose semantic role is an expression of a condition. There are two types of conditionals – 'real conditions' and 'unreal conditions.' In Lunyole, real conditions are marked by particle *singa* 'if' in the protasis (realis) as in (81) and in unreal conditions a combination of the particle *hani* and *ni* which marks the conditional construction and morpheme *ha-*, which is an irrealis mode, as in (82).

(81) Singa efula egwa hunaaje hwahoma duuma

Singa e- fula e- gwa hu- na- je hwa- homa duuma

if C9 rain C9 fall 1P FUT go 1P plant maize

If it rains, we will go and plant maize.

(82) Oba ni wasoma hani wahafunire omulimo.

O- ba ni w- a- soma **hani** wa- ha- fun -ire omu- limo.

2S be COND 2S PAST-read COND 2S IRR get PERF C3 work

If you had gone to school you would have a job.

6.7 The subjunctive mood

The subjunctive mood is used to express purpose or intention. It is also used in double commands, expressing an obligation, giving indirect commands, and making requests, suggestions and deliberations. Replacing the final vowel –a with –e marks verbs in the subjunctive mood.

6.7.1 Purpose or intention

In a Lunyole sentence, if one of the clauses in the sentence expresses a purpose, reason or intention behind the action in the main clause, the purpose clause is usually in the subjunctive mood as in (83).

(83)   Hwenda hutiina mu maduuka hugule sukaali

Hu- enda   hu-   tiina   mu   ma- duuka   hu- gul -e   sukaali

1P   want   INF   go   LOC   C5   shop   1P   buy SBJV sugar

'We want to go to the shops and (for the purpose of) buy sugar.'

6.7.2 Double commands.

In double commands the first command always comes as an imperative but the second comes in the subjunctive mood as in (84), which has been taken from the Nakoma story line (18). This phenomena is not restricted to motion verbs but applies to all verbs.

(84)   Nga bamuloma baati ninuha wuuje.

Nga ba- mu- lom -a ba- ati   ninuha   wuuj -e

and 3P 3S   say Fv 3P DET climb down come SBJV

And they said to her, "Climb down and come (to us)"

6.7.3 Obligations

In simple terms an obligation is something one is bound to do. Obligations in Lunyole can be expressed in the subjunctive mood as well as in the indicative mood. Obligations in the subjunctive mood are made using the verb *ohwenda* 'to want' expressed both in positive and negative tone with the main verb in the subjunctive mood. This combination as in (85) gives the sense 'whether you like it or not'.

(85)   Wenda si wenda onalime

w- enda   si   w- enda o- na-   lim - e

2S want   not 2S want 2S –FUT- dig – SBJV

Whether you like it or not you will have to dig.

6.7.4 Indirect commands

An indirect command is one given to someone through another person. Lunyole expresses the first and second verb in the subjunctive mood as in (86).

(86)   J'olome maawo gaaje

Ja-   o-   lom   -e   Maawo   ga-   j   -e

Go   2S   ell   SBJV your mother   3S   come SBJV

'Go tell your mother to come.'

6.7.5 Requests

Requests in the form of 'let us...', 'let me...', 'let them...' are expressed in the subjunctive mood and are marked by the morpheme *ha-* which carries the meaning 'let' prefixed on the verb.

(87)   Hahutiine engo

Ha-   hu-   tiin   **-e**   engo

Let   1P   go   SBJV   home

Let us go home

6.8 Summary

In this chapter we briefly discussed mood in Lunyole and how it is marked on the verb. The marking of mood varies from one mood to another. While for the indicative and subjunctive, mood is marked on the main verb by suffix *-a* and *-e* respectively; it is lexically marked with others. Table 11 is a summary of how mood is marked in Lunyole.

Mood	How it is marked
Indicative	Suffix *-a*
Subjunctive	Suffix *-e*
Conditional	*Ohuba* 'to be' + *ni ... hani*
Potential	Lexically marked by the verb *ohuŋanga*
Optative	*Ohuba* 'to be' + negative *si* and particle *kadi*
Imperative	No subject concord when directed to 1st person singular, and a lexical imperative *ohuleha* 'stop' .

Table 11. Marking of mood in Lunyole.

CHAPTER SEVEN

TENSE AND ASPECT IN NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

In order to explain the tense and aspect system of a language, the context in which an utterance is made is very important. In this chapter we shall look at the discourse structure in Lunyole discourse and the role tense and aspect play in various narrative discourse.

7.1   Discourse structure in Lunyole folk narrative

According to Longacre there are four parameters which help us to classify texts into genre or text types: +/- CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION, +/-AGENT ORIENTATION, +/- PROJECTION, AND +/- TENSION.

The following table extracted from Longacre (1996, 10) shows the first three of these:

	+AGENT ORIENTATION	-AGENT ORIENTATION	
	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL	
+CONTINGENT SUCCESSION	Prophecy	How-to-do-it	+PROJECTION
	Story	How-it-was-done	- PROJECTION
	BEHAVIORAL	EXPOSITORY	
	Hortatory	Budget Proposal	
-CONTINGENT SUCCESSION	Promissory	Futuristic Essay	+PROJECTION
	Eulogy	Scientific paper	-PROJECTION

Figure 3. Longacre's parameters for classifying text types

Narrative texts are +CONTINGENT TEMPORAL SUCCESSION. They are organized around a framework of temporal succession in which most of the events are contingent on previous events (Longacre 1996, 8-9). They are also +AGENT ORIENTATION, because there is an orientation towards agents with at least a partial identity of agent reference running through the discourse (1996, 9). They are –PROJECTION, in that they do not entail 'a situation or action which is contemplated, enjoined, or anticipated, but not realized' (1996, 9). Narratives refer to specific experiences that occurred in the past worlds (real or imagined) and are ordinarily reported in the past tense. They contain sequential ordered events and nonsequential collateral material (description, commentary); it is the sequentially ordered events that constitute the backbone of the narrative.

In the narrative sequence, the completion of one event is implied by inception of the following event a fact that gives rise to the correlation between the perfective aspect and the past tense. The property of completion, which is inherent in the perfective aspect, explains why perfective verbs, in narratives, imply sequentiality (Aaron, 1999). This is true of Lunyole narrative discourse, as we shall see as we go on.

7.2 The data used

The data used in this chapter as indicated in 1.8 consists of three narrative texts. The first, 'A child called *Nakoma*', is an oral folktale told by a woman of about 90 – 95 years of age; and the second, *Omuhaana omuɲoono* 'The story of a pretty girl', another oral folktale told by a woman of 50 – 55 years of age; and *Ehini hyenjobe hirya ow'ehalire* 'Patience pays', a third person experience story, told by the author of

this paper about the experience of two of his colleagues in a Bible translation project. Focus has however been put on the *Nakoma* story and the *pretty girl* story, which has been examined in detail. Some few examples have been picked from from the *patience pays* experience story. This is because tense and aspect function in the same way in both folktale narrative and experiencial narrative.

Lunyole narrative discourse structure can be broken into three major parts. It consists of an introduction that consists of the perfomative and the orientation (a formulaic clause that sets the time frame of the story), a body/nucleus and a conclusion. Both the *Nakoma* story and the *Omuhaana omuŋoono* story represent a typical style of folktale narrative genre in Lunyole.

7.3 Distribution of tense and aspect in narrative discourse

The principal tense-aspects employed in Lunyole narrative are historical present, recent past, and distant past; and perfective, habitual and progressive aspects. The sequence of events essential for the progress of the narrative (event line) is carried by sequential markers *nga* 'and' and *ng'aŋo* 'and then' carried by a narrative tense (historical present).

The narrative discourse breaks into a number of paragraphs. A typical folk story will have at least four paragraphs – performative, introductory, nuclear paragraph(s) and a concluding paragraph.

As stated above (see 7.2), Lunyole narrative discourse can be broken down into three major parts – the introduction, the nucleus or body and the conclusion. The distribution of tense/aspect varies in each part as we can see below.

7.3.1 The Introduction

This stage covers two areas: The performative introduction and the story introduction (orientation).

The perfomative introduction is a short phrase in which the storyteller initiates the story. In it she directs herself to the audience and explains her plan and purpose. Lunyole generally uses the words: *Nenda hubaganiraho ahagano hange* (I want to you tell a story mine) 'I want to tell you a story.' The narrator sets off in the immediate future tense as she tells the audience her purpose.

The story introduction (orientation) is a short paragraph in which the storyteller introduces the main characters along with background information. The verb *ohuba/li* 'to be' is usually used for this purpose. The setting of the story is in the distant past tense but shifts to the historical present in which the story is told thereby making a vivid picture for the hearer so that they can become active participants in the story.

Lunyole traditionally uses at least three different folk narrative introductory phrases or "formulaic clauses", as Longacre calls them (Longacre 1996, 36), to set the time and to describe the location of the story. (1) *Hale hale ŋaaliŋo...* 'Long long ago there was...' as in (88) the introduction of the story of a child called Nakoma, (2) *Olwolire nga ŋabaaŋo...* 'Once upon a time there was...' as in (89) the introduction of the story of clever hare or simply (3) *Ŋaaliŋo...* 'There was...' as in (90) the introduction to the story of a pretty girl. Experiencial narratives on their part have a number of ways of opening the discourse, setting the foundation on which to build the story. It all depends on the narrator. The narrator may either introduce the main character(s) as in *Ehini hyenjobe hirya ow'ehalire* 'patience pays' (91) or the prelude

to the topic of experience. This opening paragraph is followed by one that sets the time of the events the narrator experienced such as *lulala* 'one day', *olunaku olwo lwali lwa...* 'the day was...' as in (92).

(88) **Hale hale ŋaaliŋo** omuhasi n'omusinde mu mago gawe...

hale hale ŋa- a- li -ŋo omu- hasi ni omu- sinde mu mago

long long C1 PAST be LOC C1 woman CONJ C1 man LOC home

ga- we

C6 POSS

'*A long time ago, there was a man and a woman who lived in their home*'

(89) **Olwolire nga ŋabaaŋo** ahasolo ahagesigesi ni bahalanga baati Wanakamuna

Olu- ol -ire nga ŋa- ba -aŋo aha- solo aha- gesigesi

C11 arrive PERF CONJ C16 be LOC C12 animal C12 clever

ni ba- ha- langa ba- ti Wanakamuna

CONJ C2 C12 call C2 DET Wanakamuna

'*Once upon a time there was small and cleaver animal called Wanakamuna.*'

(90) **Ŋaaliŋo** omuhaana omuŋoono ŋawaawe.

Ŋa- a- li -ŋo omu- haana omu- ŋoono ŋawa -we

C16 PAST be LOC C1 girl C1 beautiful LOC POSS

There was a beautiful girl (who lived) in their home.

(91) **Mugoya ni Mudenya** batambi mu hibbubbu ehicuusa e Bbaibbuli mu Lunyole.

Mugoya ni	Mudenya	ba- tamb -i	mu	hi- bbubbu	ehi- cuusa
Mugoya CONJ	Mudenya	3S work Fv	LOC	C7 group	C7 change

e	Bbaibbuli	mu	Lunyole
C9	Bible	LOC	Lunyole

'Mugoya and Mudenya work with the organization that is translating the Bible into Lunyole.'

(92) **Olunaku olwo lwali** lwa sabiiti koni bwahanuuha ...

Olu- naku	olwo	lwa- li	lwa	sabiiti	koni	bwa- ha- nuuha...
C11 day	DEM	C11 be	C11	Sunday	ADV	C14 PAST dawn

'The day was Sunday just after dawn...'

7.3.2 Nucleus/Body

The body or nucleus of the narrative follows next. In this part of the narrative, participants and discourse setting are introduced and described. The narrative is made in the historical present tense (narrative tense) in the foreground (mainline), which is unmarked, and the near past tense and at times the distant past tense, which are marked by past tense morpheme *a-* prefixed on the main verb in the narrative.

In this stage in the narrative we get the pre-peak and peak episode stages. It therefore consists of several paragraphs. The episodes (paragraphs) are based on time, location or events.

In the episodes based on time, there is always an introductory time phrase or time adverbial especially *ŋahani* 'now' as in (93), that defines the time at which the

next event happens. The particle *ni* 'when' is also commonly used as in (94) and the most common time phrase *lwali lulala / lulala* 'One day' as in (95).

The episodes based on change of location are marked by motion verbs such as *ohugenda* 'to walk', *ohuduluma* 'to run', *ohutiina* 'to go' etc as their main verb in the first sentence of the paragraph as in example (96) taken from *Olugero lwa Wanakamuna ni Namunyu* 'the story of Hare and Hyena'. The division based on event is marked by procedual markers *nga* 'and' and *ng'ayo* 'and then' which marks a conclusion to the one paragraph and the beginning of another.

(93) **Ŋahani** ahabindi aho nga omwana oyo ahenda luhulu lwene.

Ŋahani	aha-	bindi	aho	nga	omu-	ana	oyo	aha-	enda	luhulu	lu-	ene
Now	C12	pot	DEM	CONJ	C1	child	DEM	C12	love	much	C11	INT.

'Now, that child loved that small pot very much.'

(94) **Ni** golire ewa Namunyu...

Ni	g-	a-	ol	-ire	e-	wa	Namunyu ..
when	3S	PAST	arrive	PERF	LOC	POSS	Namunyu

'When he arrived at Namunyu's place/home...'

(95) **Lwali lulala** nga hayiiya amagesi gaaho

lu-	a-	li	lu-	lala	nga	ha-	yiiya	ama-	gesi	ga-	ho
C11	PAST	be	C11	one	CONJ	C12	create	C6	wisdom	C6	POSS

'One day he thought of an idea.'

(96) Namunyu **ng'aduluma** atiina hu mutego gugwe aje   geete omwibi.

Namunyu	nga	a-	duluma	a-	tiina	hu	mutego	gu-	gwe
Hyena	CONJ	3S	run	3S	go	LOC	trap	C3	POSS

a-	je	g-	ete	omu-	ibi
3S	go	3S	kill	C1	thief.

Hyena ran to his trap to go and kill the thief.

Longacre's schema predicts that the peak will most likely be manifest in the surface structure as a "zone of turbulence in regard to the flow of the discourse in its preceding and following parts. Routine features of the storyline may be distorted or phased out at peak" (Longacre 1996, 38). In Lunyole peak is marked by at least three of the six broad categories suggested by Longacre and one not mentioned by him. These three are (i) concentration of characters, as in the *Nakoma* story, (ii) change of tense pattern and (iii) incidence of particles like in the *Omuhaana omuɲoono* 'Pretty girl' story. The other feature not mentioned by Longacre that indicate peak in Lunyole narrative discourse is a song sung by one or some of the characters in the story. This feature was found in both the *Nakoma* and *Omuhaana omuɲoono* stories.

So as stated above, within the body of the narrative, the peak is signaled by the concentration of characters on the center stage in the *Nakoma* story -line 18 to 26 and 32 to 36 (Line numbers refer to the mentioned text as it appears in its wholeness in Appendix). As the parents look for Nakoma they see her up in a tree. They plead with her to come down but she refuses. Then they go for her brothers with the hope that she will listen to them. She refuses to listen to them as well. Then they go for Nakoma's

best friend. When she recognizes the friend she cames down and goes back home with her. Nakoma who is the main character of the story, her parents, brothers and her friend are all brought in focus as they plead with her to climb down the tree. There is suspence as the parents and the bothers wait to see if Nakoma will listen to the friend and come down. The climax of the story is reached at the point when Nakoma recognizes the friend, accepts to climb down and goes home with her.

Line (17)   Ni   ba-mw-enduye,   nga ba-mu-lengera ŋamugulu era
             When they.her.looked.for and they.her.see   up   there

When they (the parents) looked for her they saw her up (in the tree).

(97) Abaganda   babe   ni   ba-jire   boosi nga ba-mw-egayirira
      Brothers   hers   when they.came also and they.her.plead with

nga   a-gaana.
and   she.refuse

Her brothers also pleaded with her and she refused.

(98) Kale ko   ba-je   b-endule   meri-we   oyo.
      And so then they.go   they.look for friend.hers   that

'And so they went and looked for that friend of hers.'

Line (34 -35)

(99) Ng'afania   ati   oyo   nje   meri yange.
      And.she.recognize she.that   that(one)   is   friend mine

And she recognized that friend of hers

(100) Ng'aninuha   pola, pola,   meri-we   g-emba, meri-we

And.she.climb down   slowly, slowly,   friend.hers   she.sing friend.hers

g-emba, ohwola   olu   g-olire   ŋaasi

she.sing until   when she.arrived   down

'And she began to climb down slowly as the friend continued to sing until she

finally reached down.'

Change in tense also signals peak. In the *Omuhaana omuɲoono* 'pretty girl' story change of tense is one of the indicators that signals the peak. Lines 20 – 23 marks a critical moment in this story. The pretty girl had made a pledge that she will marry the man who will not eat *sundumunwa* fruit that was in her father's compound. All the reasonable suitors fail the test because they eat the fruit. Then there comes a small man, a leper with a septic wound on one of his legs, dressed in a sheet. He does not eat the sundumunwa even when the children provocatively go and eat the fruit near him. He passses the test! Her parents insist she has to respect her pledge and marry this leper who is by all standards an unpresentable man compared to all the prospective suitors who had earlier gone to ask her hand in marriage.

In this story there are three broad categories to indicate peak. Two of them are mentioned by Longacre – change of tense that has been discussed above and the incidence of particles. The third one is a song. There is a change of tense from the narrative tense (historical present) to general past (distant past) tense. The particle *mbo* is used three times in two sentences in the peak episode and once in the pre-peak episode (line 11 in the pre-peak and line 16 –18)

(101) line 19 – 23:

(a) Omuhaana gaweene atyo ng'aloma ati 'Nahole tye?'

Omu- haana	a-	**a-**	won	-e	a-	tyo	nga	a- loma
C1 girl	3S	PAST	see	PERF	3S	DET	CONJ	3S say

a-	ti	na-	hol	-e	tye
3S	DET	1S	do	Fv	how

'When the girl saw (what was happening), she said to herself, "what can I do?"

(b) Cooka hu nyanga eyo gaali abula hya huhola olw'ohuba ehirayiro hihye hyali ti "atalilya hu sundumunwa."

Cooka	hu	nyanga	eyo	ga-**a-**	li	a-	bula	hya	hu-	hola
Indeed	LOC	time	DEM	3S PAST	be	3S	lack	what	INF	do

Olwa	ohu-	ba	ehi- rayiro	hi- hye	hi-	**a-**	li
for	INF	be	C7 pledge	C7 POSS	C7	PAST	be

ti	a-	ta-	li-	lya	hu	sundumunwa
DET	3S	NEG	FUT	eat	LOC	sundumunwa

'At that time she could do nothing because her pledge was that the man who would not eat sundumunwa (is the one she will marry).'

(c) Ehyahanda ng'ataamo olwembo

Ehi-	**a-**	handa	nga	a-	taamo	olwembo
C7	PAST	result	and	3S	put	song

'As a result she began singing.'

Even the song that the pretty girl sings – line 21 and 23 (102) is in the hodiernal past tense (it is marked ∅ in Lunyole).

(102)   Ahagenge hageene, ahagenge hageene sundumunwa,

Abaami baliiye, abaami baliiye sundumnwa.

Ahagenge	ha-	∅	geen	-e	sundumunwa
leper	3S	PAST	refuse	PERF	sundumunwa

Abaami	ba-	∅	li	-iye	sundumunwa.
chiefs	3P	PAST	eat	PERF	*sundumunwa*

'The leper has refused (to eat) sundumunwa'

The chiefs have eaten, sundumunwa'

Verbs in this stage of the story are also marked with the perfective aspect, which is also characteristic of verbs in the in background. This aspect is used to express completeness of the action/events described in the story like in the first part of sentence 8 of the Nakoma story.

The habitual and progressive aspects (marked by suffix *-nga*) are used to express events that happened habitually or for continuous or repetitive action. For example line 5 of the *Nakoma* story expresses a habitual action (102) and line 24 of the *Omuhaana omuŋoono* 'pretty girl' story expresses both a simultaneous and progressive action (103).

(103)   Omwana oyo bamwendanga bugali

Omu-	ana	oyo	ba-	mu-	enda	-nga	bugali
C1	child	DEM	3P	3S	love	HAB	much

They used to love that child very much

(104) Cooka nalehanga ahasaaja aho ahohugulu ohugenegemule haŋira omuhaana oyo

Cooka	n-	a-	leha	-nga	ahasaaja	aho	aha	ohu-	gulu
Infact	1S	PAST	leave	PROG	man		DEM	REL	C15	leg

ohugengemule,   ha- ŋira omuhaana oyo   omuŋoono …

with septic wound   C12 take girl   DEM   pretty…

In fact as that small man with a septic wound on the leg was taking that pretty girl I left…

7.3.3 Conclusion

In Lunyole, narratives have a conclusion that has the function of wrapping up. For example the sentence (line 38) that wrap up the *Nakoma* story:

(105)   Ahagano hefe aŋo paŋa hageeme

Aha- gano   ha-   efe   aŋo   paŋa   ha- geeme

C12   story   C12   POSS   LOC   where   C12 end

That is where our story ends.

At times Lunyole knots up the closure and finis as in the line 30 of the *omuhaana omuŋoono* 'pretty girl' story which is usually in the form of the sentence in (106). Even without telling her audience that the story has come to the end, this wrapping up sentence will allude to it.

(106)   Nalehanga …. niija ohubaŋayiraho.

N- a-   leha -nga   ni- ja   ohu- ba- ñay   -ir   -a   -ho

1S PAST leave PROG I   come INF   3P narrate BEN Fv   PART

I left (such and such happening) and I came to narrate (what had happened) to you.

7.4 Summary of the distribution of tense/aspect in Lunyole narrative discourse

In this chapter we have seen how tense and aspect are distributed in Lunyole narrative discourse. We have seen that not all events in a narrative have the same significance. The most significant events are those which mark the climax of the story (peak) and the events that advance the story towards the peak (event-line). In Lunyole the narrative tense (historical present) is the principal tense for the event-line. Its function is to advance the discourse. The recent past and the general (distant) past usally mark the pre-peak and the peak episode. This stage in the story is marked by the perfective aspect. There are also other tenses/aspects distributed in a narrative discourse as Table 12 shows.

TENSE/ASPECT	USE
Recent past	Aperture (story introduction) and in background information.
Historical present	Foreground (mainline). This is the basic narrative tense.
Immediate future	Performative introduction
Near future	Purpose or goal
Perfective	Backgrounding
Progressive	Dynamic situations especially in the background
Habitual	Repeated action or state

Table 12. Summary of distribution of tense/aspect in Lunyole discourse.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

We have now come to the end of our discussion of Tense and Aspect in Lunyole grammar and narrative discourse. In this discussion we looked in some detail at distribution of tense and aspect in Lunyole grammar both at phrase/clause and verbal level, and in narrative discourse. I also briefly touched the subject of mood.

In chapter one, we introduced the Lunyole language the number of people who speak the language and its relationship with other languages in the same language family. I also outlined the purpose of this study and gave the method used in conducting the study.

In chapter two, we looked at the phonology of the Lunyole language. We looked at the inventory of phonemes of in the language and their corresponding graphemes. We also briefly discussed orthographic issues such as tone, word pattern, and morphophonemics.

In chapter three, we dealt with the definition of tense and examined its distribution at clause level. We saw that tense is a grammatical expression of time of an event in relation to the time of speaking. Hence, we said tense is deictic – it relates reference to space in time to the time of making the utterance which may be "now." We also saw that Lunyole has three basic tenses – past, present and future, which is further divided into eight different tenses – far past, recent past, hodiernal past, immediate past, present tense, immediate future, near future and distant future.

In chapter four, we discussed aspect, which we defined as a grammatical category that refers primarily to the way grammar marks the duration or a type of temporal activity denoted on a verb. We saw that Lunyole has at least six aspectual categories: perfective, anterior, imperfective, habitual, progressive, and persistive.

In Chapter five, we looked at the morphology of the Lunyole verb and how tense and aspect are marked on the verb by way of affixation and also with respect to the auxiliary verb, especially the verb 'to be'. We examined various verbal extensions and how they affected the aspectual marking on the verb.

In chapter six, we discussed mood in Lunyole. We discussed the indicative, imperative, potential, optative, conditional, and subjunctive mood and how each is marked by way of prefix, suffix, auxiliary verb or the absence of a subject on the verb.

In chapter seven, we dealt with distribution of tense and aspect in Lunyole narrative discourse using two folktales – The story of a child called *Nakoma* and *Omuhaana omuŋoono* 'A pretty girl'. We noted that the principal tense-aspects employed in Lunyole narrative are historical present, recent and distant past tenses; and perfective, habitual and progressive aspects. The sequence of events essential for the progress of the narrative (event line) is carried by sequential markers *nga* 'and' and *ng'aŋo* 'and then' carried by a narrative tense (historical present). We also saw that a narrative discourse breaks into a number of episodes, at least four, in a typical folk story i.e. performative, introductory, nuclear paragraph(s) and a concluding paragraph.

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APPENDIX

Folktale Texts

1. The story of a child called Nakoma – told by Beatrice Namugwere a woman aged about 90 – 95 yrs.

(1) Niise Namugwere Bituresi.
    I. me Namugwere Bituresi

I am Namugwere Bituresi.

(2) N-   enda   ohu-ba-ganira- ho   aha-gano   hano ahe   hinyole.
    I (FUT 1) want   INF 3P narrate PART DIM story   this ASS   nyole
I want to narrate to you this Kinyole story.

(3) Hale hale   ŋa- **a**-   li- ŋo   omuhasi n'omusinde mu mago ga-awe
    long long(ago LOC. PAST be LOC woman and a man   in home C6 POSS

    nga ba-ba ni -abaana   ba-awe.
    and 3P be with children 3P POSS

Long ago there was a man and his wife in their home and they had children.

(4) Ne ni   ba- a-   li   n'abaana   abo   nga mu ba-amo omwana muhaana
    But when 3P PAST be   with.children DEM and in be in a child   girl

    nje nakoma waawe
    is last born of.them
And among those children there was among them a girl who was their last-born.

(5) Omwana   oyo   b- a-   mw- enda -nga bugali.
    Child   DEM 3P PAST 3S   love HAB much

They loved that child very much

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(6) Omwana oyo   ehy-   a-   laga ti   ba- mw- enda, ba- mu- gul- ira
     Child   DEM   C7   PAST show DET 3P 3S   love   3P 3S buy BEN

     aha-   biindi.
     DIM pot

What showed that they loved that child, they bought for her a small pot.

(7) Ŋahani aha- biindi aho   nga-a- h-   enda   luhulu lwene.
     Now   DIM pot   DEM and 3S C12   love   much   INT

Now she loved that small pot very much.

(8) Enyanga   y-   a-   ol   -ire   omwana oyo   aha- biindi   aho
     Time   C9   PAST arrive PERF   child   DEM   DIM pot   DEM

     ha-   mu-   gota-   ho.
     C12   3S   get lost   LOC

Time came when that small pot got lost from her.

(9) Aha- bindi aho   ni   ha- mu- gota- ho,   omwana g-   a-   ol   -ire
     DIM pot   DEM   when C12 3S   get lost LOC child   she.   PAST arrive PERF

     hu   hu-   ta-   lya, ohu- ta-   nywa ohu- t-   enda hu- ŋenyuha.
     LOC   INF NEG eat   INF NEG drink INF   NEG want INF sleep

When that small pot got lost, the child could neither eat, drink nor sleep.

(10) G-enda   ha-   bindi ha-   he.
      3S want   C12   pot   C12   POSS

She wants her small pot.

(11) Ng'abasaaye ba-mu-loma ba-ati   Nakoma leha hu-ja hu- hu-gul   -ira
      and parents 3P 3S tell   3Pthat   Nakoma leave 1P go INF 2S buy BEN

     aha-biindi ahandi   oba hu-ja hu- hu- bumb -ira   aha- biindi   ahandi.
     DIM pot another   or   1P go   INF 2S mould BEN DIM pot   another

And the parents said to her, 'Nakoma don't cry we will buy for you another small
pot or else we will mould another small pot for you.

(12) Omwana ng' a- gaana.
     Child   and.3S refuse

The child refused.

(13) Hiisi hiseera, hiisi nyanga a- lir -ira   aha- bindi ha- he.
     Every period, every time 3S cry BEN   DEM pot   C12 POSS

All the time she was crying for her small pot.

(14) Ehy-   a- ŋ   -oye -mo ng' a- ba- gota   -ho.
     C7   PAST come from PERF LOC and 3S 3P   get lost LOC

What resulted from that, she ran off and got lost from them.

(15) Ni   g- a-   ba- gota- ho ng' a- tina a- ja g- endula aha- saala.
     When 3S PAST 3P   get lost LOC and.3S go   3S go 3S look for DIM tree

     Ah- ene aha- leeŋi ng' a- niina   ohwo
     C12 INT C12 tall   and 3S climb   DEM

When she ran off she went and looked for a very tall a tree and climbed up on it.

(16) Nga   b- endula   omwana.
     And   3P look for child

And they looked for the child.

(17) Ni   b- a-   mw- end   -uye, nga ba-mu-lengera   ŋamugulu era.
     When 3S PAST 2S   look for PERF and 3P 3S see from far up   there

As they were looking for her they saw her up (in the tree).

(18) Nga   ba- mu- loma ba- ati   ninuha   wuuje.
     And   3P 3S say   3P DET   come down you.come

And they said to her, "Come down and come (to us)".

(19) Omwana ng' a- gaana   ohu- tiina eri abasaaye ba- be.
     Child   and 3S refuse   INF go   to parents C2 POSS

And the child refused to go to her parents.

(20) Nga   b-   ebuusa ba-ati 'hu-hole hu-tye?
      And   3P   ask self 3P DET 1P do   1P what

And they asked, "What can we do?"

(21) N-dowosa hu-   je   hu-leete abaganda ba-be.'
     1S think   1P   go for 1P bring brother   C2 POSS

"I think let us go and bring her brothers".

(22) Abaganda ba-be   ni   ba-a-   j   - ire   boosi nga
     Brother   C2 POSS when C2 PAST come PERF also   and

     ba- mw- egayirira   a-   ninuhe.
     3P 2S   plead with   3S   climb down

When her brothers came they also pleaded with her to climb down.

(23) Ng' a-   gaana.
     And 3S   refuse

And she refuses.

(24) Nga nindi b- ebuusa   ba-ati   'Hu-hole hu-tye?
     And again 3P ask self 3S DET   1P do 1P what

Again they asked, "What can we do?"

(25) N-dowosa hw- endule   meri -we
     1S think   1P   look for friend POSS

"I think let us look for her friend."

(26) Nga ba-ja be-ndula   meri -we   eyi a-singa ohw-enda ba-mu-leeta.
     And 3S go 3S look for friend POSS REL 3S bit   INF love 3P 3S   bring

They went and looked for her best friend and brought her.

(27) Ne ni ba-hi- ri hu-mu-leeta, ni   ba-bageraga -nga -ho   ohu-emba
     But when 3P NEG be INF 3S bring when 3P try   HAB PART INF sing

     ba- ti:
     3P DET

But before bringing her, whenever they tried to sing for her (the following song):

(28)   "Nakoma wefe si wu- uja   hu- tiine
          Nakoma ours not 2S come   1P go

          aho aha- bindi   hu- li- wumba   ahandi."
          DEM DIM pot .   1P FUT mould   another

          "Our Nakoma why don't you come and we go (home)
          As for that small pot we shall mould another one"

(29) G- a-   gobola -nga -mo a- ti:
     3S PAST reply   HAB LOC 3S DET

She replied that:

          "Ni ni ni ni nio ni ni nio ni ni nio
          ni ni ni ni nio ni ni ni nio ni ni nio."

(30) Ng'aŋo   ba- manya ba-ati a- ba- hayihi   -ise.
     And then 3P know   3P DET 3S 3P cause to fail PERF

And they realized that they were defeated. (i.e. in persuading her to come down)

(31) Kale   ko ba- je   be- ndule   meri -we   oyo.
     And so then 3P go   3P look for friend POSS DEM

And so they went and looked for that friend of hers.

(32) Meri -we   ni   g- a-   j   -ire nga y- esi a- taa- mo ahe- mbo:
     friend POSS when 3S PAST come PERF and 3S also 3S put LOC DIM song

When her friend came, she also began singing a song:

(33)   " Meri ow'omuhago   si   wu- uja hu- tiine
          Friend ASS friendship NEG   2S come 1P go

          aho   aha- bindi hu- li- bumba nahandi."
          DEM   DIM pot   1P FUT mould another

          "Friend, friend why don't you come and we go
          as for that small pot we shall mould another."

(34) Ng' a- fania   a- ti oyo nje   meri yange.
     And 3S recognize 3S DET DEM COP   friend mine

And she recognized that it was her friend (singing).

(35) Ng' a- nimuha   pola, pola, meri -we g- emba, meri -we   g- emba,
     and 3S.climb down slowly slowly friend POSS 3S sing   friend POSS 3S sing

     ohw- ola   olu g- a-   ol -ire   ŋaasi.
     INF arrive when 3S. PAST arrive PERF down

*And she began climbing down slowly as the friend continued to sing until she
finally reached down.*

(36) Ni   g- a-   ola   ŋaasi, ng' a- tiina eri meri -we   oyo   nje eyi
     When 3S PAST arrive down and 3S go   to friend POSS DEM COP REL

     g- a-   tiina ni   naye.
     3S PAST go   with her

When she reached down, she went to her friend and went with her.

(37) Aye nyina   ni semwana, n'abaganda ba- be   mbe.
     But her mother and her father and.brothers 3P POSS no

But as for her father, mother and brothers she didn't (go with them).

(38) Aha- gano   h- efe   aŋo pa- ŋa ha- ageme.
     DIM story   C12 POSS LOC COP LOC C12 end

That is where our story ends. (That is the end of the story)

The Story of a child called Nakoma

I am Beatrice Namugwere. I want to tell you this Kinyole story.

Long ago there was a man with his wife who had children. Among those children there was a girl who was their last-born. They loved that child very much. To show how much they loved her, they bought for her a small pot.

Now, that girl loved that pot very much. But time came when that small pot got lost from her. When it got lost the child could neither eat, drink nor sleep. She wants her small pot. And her parents said, "Nakoma don't cry we will buy for you another small pot or else we will mould another small pot for you." The child refused to listen to them. All the time she was crying for her small pot.

Finally, as a result, she ran a way from home and got lost from her parents. When she ran a way from their home, she went and looked for a very tall tree and climbed on it. And the parents looked for their child. As they looked for her, they saw her up in the tree and they said to her, "Climb down and come to us." But the child refused to go to her parents. Then they asked, "What can we do? I think we better bring her brothers." When her brothers came they also pleaded with her to climb down

but she refused. And again they said, "What can we do?" I think let us look for her best friend." So they went and looked for her best friend and brought her. However, before going for the friend, whenever they tried to sing the following song:

"Our Nakoma why don't you come and we go?
As for that small pot we shall mould another one."

She would reply:

"Ni ni ni ni nio ni ni nio ni ni nio
Ni ni ni ni nio ni ni nio ni ni nio"

And they realized that they could not persuade her to climb down. It is at this point that they went to look for the friend. When the friend came she also began to sing:

"Friend, friend why don't you come and we go
as for that pot we shall mould another one"

And she recognized that it was her friend (singing). And she climbed down slowly as the friend continued to sing until she finally reached down. When she reached down, she went where the friend was and went back home with her. But as for her father, mother and brothers she refused to go with them.

That is the end of our story.

(2) *Omuhana Omuɲoono* 'Pretty girl'

Told by Mary Bbutu an woman of about 55 years a speaker of *Luhadyo* dialect.

(1) Niise Mary Buttu n- enda hu- ba- ganira -ho   aha- gano   ha- nge.
     I am Mary Buttu 1S want INF 3P narrate PART DEM story   C12 POSS

I am Mary Buttu, I want to tell you a story.

(2) Ŋa- a-   l i -ŋo   omuhana omuɲoono ŋa- wa- we.
     LOC PAST be LOC   girl   pretty   LOC ASS POSS

There was once a pretty girl (who lived) in their home.

(3) Cooka nga mu- ŋoono   ehihena.
     Indeed and 3S   pretty   enough

She was pretty indeed.

(4) Ŋahani ŋa- a-   li -ŋo   aha- saala ŋa- ngo wa- awe aha-ba-langa
     Now   LOC PAST be LOC DIM tree LOC home ASS POSS REL 3P call

ba- ati   sundumunwa
3P DET sundumunwa

Now, there was a (fruit) tree called 'sundumunwa' in that home.

(5) Sundumunwa oyo   nga ga- ama   a- laba a- nyululuha   a- ti
     Sundumunwa DEM and C6   yield 3S ripen 3S become very ripe 3S DET

wonyulu.
IDN

That sundumunwa tree yielded fruit which ripened to the maximum.

(6) Hiisi aba- aja -nga ohu- hobya omuhana oyo, olu b- a- ola -nga
    every C2 come HAB INF woo girl DEM when 3S PAST arrive HAB

ba- ati, g- a- ba -nga a- hi- ri n'ohu- ba- ŋa etebe, emoni
3P DET 3S PAST be HAB 3S NEG be and INF 3P give chair eyes

ji- ri hu sundumunwa.
C10 be LOC sundumunwa

All those who came to woo that girl, even before she had given them a chair, their minds were on sundumunwa.

(7) Ba- noga nga ba- lya.
    3P pick and 3P eat

They pick and eat.

(8) Omuhaana oyo ng' a- hola ehi- rayiro hi- hye, a- ti "Omusere
    girl DEM and 3S make C7 pledge C7 POSS 3S DET "boy

a- ta- li- rya hu sundumunwa oyo, nje eyi n- di- tiina ni naye."
3S NEG FUT eat of sundumunwa DEM COP REL 1S FUT go with him

That girl made a pledge saying, "The boy who will not eat sundumunwa is the one I go with (marry).

(9) Hiisi aba- ja -nga ohu- hobya omuhaana oyo, nga ba- lya
    every C2 come HAB INF woo girl DEM and 3P eat

sundumunwa ba- tiina omuhaana ni a- ø ba- hay -ire.
sundumunwa 3P go girl when 3S PAST 3P defeat PERF

All those who went to woo that girl ate sundumunwa and left after failing to win her.

(10) Abaseere aba-laŋi aba - ebbeeyi, omw- a- li abamagombolola,
     boys C2 good C2 expensive in PAST be sub-county chiefs

n'abamasaza ba- aja ba- lya sundumunwa oyo, bi- ba- haya
and.county chiefs 3P come 3P eat sundumunwa DEM C8 3P defeated

ba- gama.
3P go back

All the nice and well to do men who went among them chiefs ate sundumunwa and went a way defeated.

(11) Ŋahani ng' e- ŋwa -yo aha- saaja aha- lwaye ha ohu- gulu ni
     now   and C23 come LOC DIM man   DIM sick of. C15 leg when

ha- lwaye ebbwa eri ba- langa ba- ati e- gonjo ni li- tonya
C12 sick wound which 3S call 3S DET C5 septic wound when C5 drips

hu- tonya olufugi ohu- gulu ni hu- habira u- hapuha.
INF drip blood C15 leg when C15 threaten INF be cut off

Now, there came a small man with a septic wound which was driping blood and threatening to cause the leg to be cut off.

(12) Ahasaaja ha- a- j -ire ni aha- simbo ha- aho mu muhono
    small man 3S PAST come PERF with DIM stick C12 POSS in hand

ha- ŋegera, ha- ŋegera, ha- ŋegera pola pola nga ha- ola.
C12 limp C12 limp C12 limp slowly slowly and C12 arrive

The small man came with a stick in his hand, limping slowly until he arrived.

(13) Ha- a- li mbo ha- ola ng' omuhana a- ha- ŋa etebe.
    C12 PAST be EVID C12 arrive and girl 3S C12 give chair

When he arrived the girl gave him a chair.

(14) Cooka aha ohu- gulu ohu- gengemule nga h- eyihal -ira.
    But REL C15 leg REL deep wound and C12 sit BEN

But the one with a septic leg sat.

(15) Sundumunwa mbo a- kuhumuhe, mbo a- ha- gwe hu mutwe, mbe.
    Sundumunwa EVID 3S fall off, EVID 3S C12 fall on head no

Sundumunwa shook lose and fell on his head but he refuses to eat it

(16) Aha- saaja nga ha- ganira erala ohu- lya sundumunwa.
    C12 man and C12 refuse completely INF eat sundumunwa

The small man refused to eat sundumunwa

(17) Mbo abaana ba- noge, ba- aje ba- li -ire aŋa ha- li, mbe, ha- gaana.
    EVID children 3P pick 3P come 3P eat PERF where C12 be no C12 refuse

Even when the children came and ate it near him he refused to eat it.

(18) H- ø-　　eyambal -iye　e- suuka ly-aho; bala　ab'etaayi n' ekooti ni.
　　 C12 PAST cloth in　PERF C5 sheet his　　　DEM of ties and.coat when

bi- ba- ø-　　hay　　-ire
C8 3P PAST　defeated　PERF

He was putting on a sheet yet those who had coats and ties had been defeated.

(19) Omuhana g- a-　　ween -e　　a- tyo　ng' a- loma a-ti　　'Yi-i
　　 Girl　　3S. PAST see　PERF 3S DEM and 3S say　3S DET 'Yi-i

na-　　hole tye? Dala aha- saaja hano k-　aha na-　　tiine ni　　naho?'
1S FUT do how? Surely DIM man　DEM COP REL 1S FUT go　with him

When the girl realized what was happening she said, "What can I do? Is this the
man　I will go with?"

(20) Cooka　hu nyanga eyo ga- a-　　li a-bula　　hya hu- hola olw'ohuba
　　 indeed on time　DEM 3S PAST be 3S without what INF do　because

ehi- rayiro hi-hye　　hy-a-　li ti　　"a- ta- li-　　rya hu sundumunwa."
C7 pledge C7 POSS C7 PAST be　DET "3S NEG FUT　eat on sundumunwa

At that time she could do nothing because her pledge was that the man who
would not eat sundumunwa (is the one she will marry).

(21) Ehyahanda ng' a- ta- mo　　olw- embo:
　　 in long run and 3S put LOC C11　song

Then she began singing:

Ahagenge ha- ø-　　gen　-e,　　ahagenge ha- ø-　　gene　sundumunwa.
Leper　　3S　PAST refuse PERF leper　　3S　PAST refuse sundumunwa
Abami ba- ø-　　li- iye, abami ba- ø-　　li- iye　　sundumunwa.
Chiefs 3P　PAST eat.PERF chiefs 3P PAST eat PERF　sundumunwa

　　The leper has refused, the leper has refused (to eat sundumunwa)
　　Chiefs have eaten, chiefs have eaten sundumunwa

(22) Ng'abasaaye ba- be   ba- mu-loma ba-ati   efe ŋabula   ehi
     and.parents 3P POSS   3P 3S say   3P DET   we there is nothing   that

hu- na- hu- hol -ere tiina hu- tiina ni   wamwo   olw'ohuba womwene
1P FUT 2S do BEN go   INF go   with your husband because   yourself

niiwe owe- ø- rayir   -iye.
you.are REL PAST pledge PERF

And her parents said, "Just go with your husband, there is nothing we can do for you made the pledge yourself."

(23) Wangewe ehy- a-   ŋ -oye -mo,   aha-saaja hala nga he- nyoha
     mine   C7 PAST come PERF LOC   DIM man DEM and C12 get.up

n'esimbo ya- ho   ha- tangirira omuhana a- londaho eno po   g- emba:
with.stick C9 POSS C12 leads   girl   3S follow   as   while 3S sing

As a result the small man got up with his stick and led the way with the girl following him while singing:

Ahagenge ha- ø- gen -e,   hagenge ha- ø- gen -e   sundumunwa.
leper   3S PAST refuse PERF leper   3S PAST refuse   sundumunwa

Abami ba-ø- li -iye,   abami ba-ø- li -iye sundumunwa.
Chiefs 3P PAST eat. PERF. chiefs 3P PAST.eat.PERF sundumunwa

The leper has refused, the leper has refused (to eat sundumunwa)
Chiefs have eaten, chiefs have eaten sundumunwa

24) Cooka   n-   a-   eha   -nga   aha- saaja   aho   ah'ohugulu   ohu- gengemule,
    indeed 1S PAST leave PROG DEM   man   DEM REL leg   C15 deep wound

   ha- ŋira omuhaana oyo   omuŋoono   ag-   a-   hol   -ire   ehi-ayiro
   C12 take girl   DEM   pretty   REL PAST make PERF C7 pledge

   ehy'-obusiru   ehy- a-   mu-leet   -eye   ohu- fiirwa   abasinde   ab'-ebbeeyi
   C7   stupid   C7   PAST 3S bring PERF   INF   loose   men   C2 expensive

   omw- a-   li   abamagombolola   n'abamasaza,   ne   ese ni-   ija
   in.   PAST be   Sub county chiefs   and.county chiefs and   me   1S   come

   ohu- ba- ŋayira -ho.
   INF   3P narrate PART

Indeed as that small man was taking that pretty girl who had made a stupid
pledge that had made her loose well to do men who included subcounty chiefs
and county chiefs I left to come and narrate it to you.

Oluganao lw'omuhaana omuŋoono 'The story of a pretty girl.'

I am Mary Butu, I want to tell you a story.

There once lived a pretty girl in their home. This girl was pretty indeed.
   Now, there was a fruit tree called *sundumunwa* in their home. That
sundumunwa fruit tree yielded fruit that ripened to the maximum. The *sundumunwa*
fruit attracted all suitors who came to woo that girl and they picked and ate it.
   That girl made a vow sayng, "The boy who will not eat the *sundumunwa* fruit
is the one I will get married to. All suitors who went for the girl ate *sundumunwa* and
left after failing to win her. All nice and well to do men among them chiefs ate the
sundumunwa and went a way defeated.
   Now, there came a small man who had a septic wound on one of his legs that
was dripping blood and looked as if it was going to cause his leg to be cut off. The
small man came with a stick in his hand limping slowly until he arrived.
   When he arrived, the girl gave him a chair and the one with a septic leg sat
down. *Sundumunwa* fruit shock off the tree and fell down near him some even heating
him on the head but he refused to eat any of it. The children of the home came and ate
the *sundumunwa* near him in order to lure him to eat the fruit. Even so he completely
refused to eat the fruit. There he was, putting on a sheet and posed to win the girl, yet
those with coats and ties had been defeated.
   When the girl realized what was going to happen, she said, "What can I do? Is
this the man I will get married to?" However, at that point she could do nothing
because her vow had been that the man who would not eat *sundumunwa* is the one she
would get married to.

Then she began to sing a song:

The leper has refused; the leper has refused to eat *sundumunwa*,

Chiefs have eaten, chief have eaten *sundumunwa*.

Then her parents said to her, "You go with your husband. There is nothing we can do about it because you made the vow yourself." What came as a result of this, the small man got up, took his stick and led the way with the pretty girl following him singing:

The leper has refused; the leper has refused to eat *sundumunwa*,

Chiefs have eaten; chiefs have eaten *sundumunwa*.

As that small man with a septic wound on his leg was taking the pretty girl who had made a foolish vow to be his wife; a vow that had made her loose well to do suitors who included chiefs, I left and came here to narrate the story to you.

LUNYOLE NOUN CLASS CONCORD.

Noun Class	Noun Prefix	Adjective	Sub.Rel.	Enumerative	Possessive	Subject	Object
1	omu-	mu-	o-	mu-	o	a-	omu
2	aba-	ba	a-	ba-	ba-	ba-	ba-
3	omu	mu	o-	mu	gu-	gu-	gu-
4	emi-	mi-	e-	e-	ji-	ji-	ji-
5	e-	e-	e-	e-	li-	li-	li-
6	ama-	ma-	a-	a-	ga-	ga-	ga-
7	ehi-	hi-	e-	hi-	hi-	hi-	hi-
8	ebi-	bi-	e-	bi-	bi-	bi-	bi-
9	e(n)-	(n)-	e-	e(n)-	yi-	e-	yi-
10	e(n)-	(n)	e-	e-	ji-	ji-	ji-
11	olu-	lu-	o-	lu-	lu-	lu-	lu-
12	aha-	ha-	a-	ha-	ha-	ha-	ha-
13	otu-	tu-	o-	tu-	tu-	tu-	tu-
14	obu-	bu-	o-	bu-	bu-	bu-	bu-
15	ohu-	hu-	o-	hu-	hu-	hu-	hu-
16	ŋa	ŋa-	a-	ŋa	ŋa-	ŋa-	ŋa-
17	hu-	hu-	o-	hu-	hu-	hu-	hu-
18	mu-	mu-	o-	mu-	mu-	mu-	mu-
20	ogu-	gu-	o-	gu-	gu-	gu-	gu-
21	aga-	ga-	a-	ga-	ga-	ga-	ga-
23	e-	e-					

Table 13. Lunyole noun class concord.

THE STUDY AREA - The position of Bunyole among her neighbors (adapted from Whyte 1994:vi

BUNYOLE COUNTY (adapted from Whyte 1994:vi)
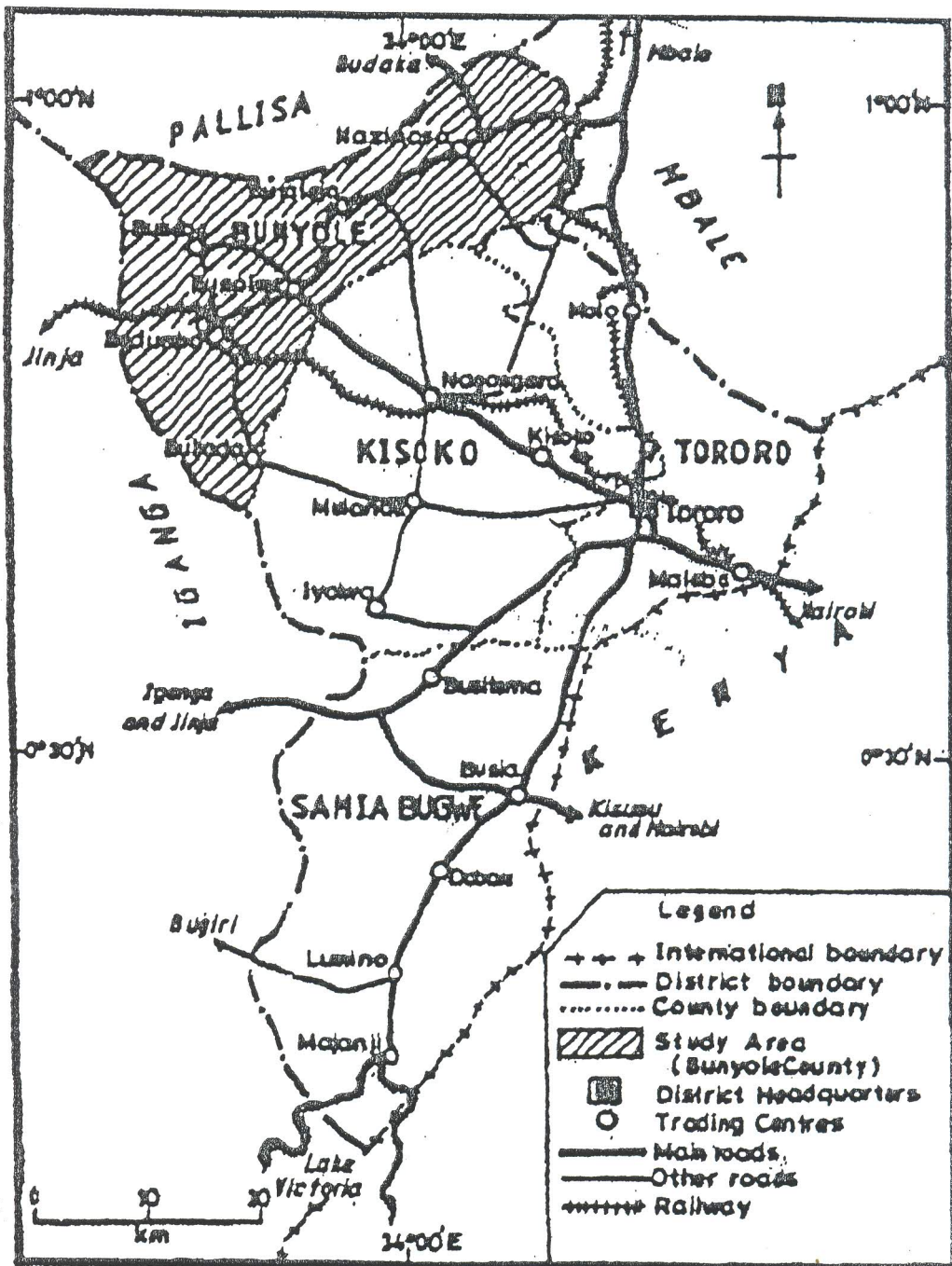
<center>**Curriculum Vitae**</center>

A. Personal Data

Name: Wandera Enoch Namulemu
Date of Birth: 31st January 1957
Married to: Florence Kanghanyi Wandera
Children: Joel, Ebenezer, Sadayo, Benayo, Yonasani, Yosamu, Grace, Bob and Con.

B. Academic Qualification

East African Certificate of Education	1975
Provincial Certificate in Theology (Uganda Christian University)	1992
Master of Arts Translation Studies (NEGST), Nairobi Kenya	2004

C. Work Experience

Welfare and Rehabilitation Assistant (Uganda Prisons)	1977
Part time teacher Mulanga P/S	1984
Lay Reader Church of Uganda Bukedi Diocese	1986
Priest Church of Uganda Bukedi Diocese	1994
Language Assistant SIL Bible Translation Advisor	1998
Bible Translation Project Leader	2000