

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE  
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN KIFULIRU

BY  
NDAKAMARO BUSONGOYE

*A Linguistic Project Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts  
in Translation Studies*

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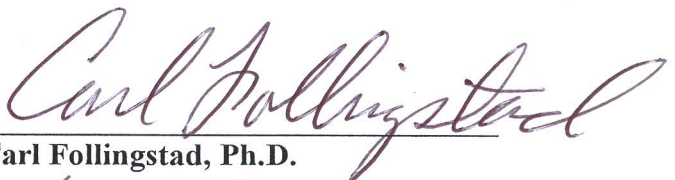
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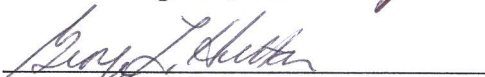
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## **Student's Declaration**

### **COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN KIFULIRU**

I declare that this 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 the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed)



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NDAKAMARO BUSONGOYE

June, 2004

## ABSTRACT

This is a study of complement clauses in Kifuliiru. Its aim is to investigate how complementation is syntactically constructed in that language similarly or differently from what is found in other languages. To achieve this goal, I have based this study on data from narrative texts collected from native speakers. Based on this data, it has been discovered that Kifuliiru uses different complementizers and their operation in discourse is different when used with different types of Complement-Taking Predicates.



To

My beloved wife, Bahati Kabegetwa Mary,

for your continual prayer of faith,

my offspring Riziki Sarah, Baraka Busongoye, Asante Rusaka, Esther Kamaro,

Lucas Ngalonga Kamaro,

for your patience for having missed me at home for most of the time because of

being too busy in the library,

Bafuliiru people,

for your interest of having the Bible in Kifuliiru,

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The word of the Lord came to me, saying,  
Before I formed you in the womb I  
knew you,  
before you were born I set you apart;  
I appointed you as a prophet to the  
nations (Jer. 1:4-5 NIV)

It is with this passage above that I would like to begin in recognizing the mighty act of God in my life for having brought me to this point.

Thanks to God who has made me what I physically and spiritually am. I am really so grateful to Him for his protection and his endless mercy upon my family and me as well.

For me to study at NEGST in Bible translation for two years was like a dream. God, by his grace, has provided for me all that I needed to make my training a success. Blessed be his mighty name.

The present work would not have been complete and realized without financial, moral, and spiritual support from different people. To this point, I would like to take this opportunity to give thanks to the following servants of God who have been with me in my struggle during my two years of studies at NEGST.

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Without them the New Testament in Kifuliiru called 'IKIHANGO KIHYAHYA' could not be available today to the Bafuliiru .

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Asp	Aspect
AUG	Augment
AUX	Auxiliary
CAUS	Causative
cl.	class
CNT	Continuous
COMP	Complementizer
Cop	Copula
DIM	Diminutive
DIR	Direction
DO	Direct Object
EMPH	Emphasis
FUT	Future
FVa	Final vowel 'a'
FVe	Final vowel 'e'
Fvi	Final vowel 'i'
INF	Infinitive
IM.FUT	Immediate future
IMPER	Imperative
IO	Indirect Object
Loc	Locative
N	Noun



NEG	Negative
NEUT	Neutral
NP	Noun phrase
NUM	Numeral
O	Object
PASS	Passive
PAST	Past
PROG	Progressive
pl.	Plural
QUANT	Quantitative
REL	Relative
S	Subject
sg	Singular
SQ	Sequence
SUBJNT	Subjunctive
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the background material on the Kifuliiru language. This material is as follows: 1.1 describes the geography in which the language is spoken, 1.2 examines the linguistic classification, 1.3 analyzes morphological and phonological information, 1.4 looks at constituent order typology, 1.5 gives an account of previous research while 1.6 shows the source of data, and finally 1.7 gives the purpose and the scope of the study.

#### 1.1. Geography

Bufuliiruland is located in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo, near the border with the Republic of Burundi. The area is called Uvira, formerly known as *Bafuliiru Territory*. It is a territory situated in Sud-Kivu province, near Lake Tanganyika, which separates or links Uvira from or to Kigoma (Tanzania). The nearest countries are Burundi (at a distance of at least 30 km to Bujumbura, its capital city) and Tanzania. The people occupy the Ruzizi chains of Mitumba, covering an area of 7,500 km<sup>2</sup>. The neighboring tribes are Hutus, in the east (i.e., Burundians who live near the Bafuliiru area because of being near the border separating DR Congo and Burundi), Barega in the west (who occupy the Mwenga Territory), Babembe in the south (who occupy the Fizi Territory), and Bashi in the north (who occupy the Walungu Territory).

Historically, the Territory of Uvira is well known as the main doorway for many important colonial and missionary expeditions and slave trade. It is also very important to mention the port of Kalundu and the sugar factory of Kiliba that not only enable the Bifuliiru to prosper economically, but also to experience a culturally diverse environment.

## 1.2. Linguistic classification

The name of the language is called Kifuliiru. Expatriates distorted this name by mispronouncing it '*Kifulero*'. The population is estimated at either 300,000 or 350,000 people.

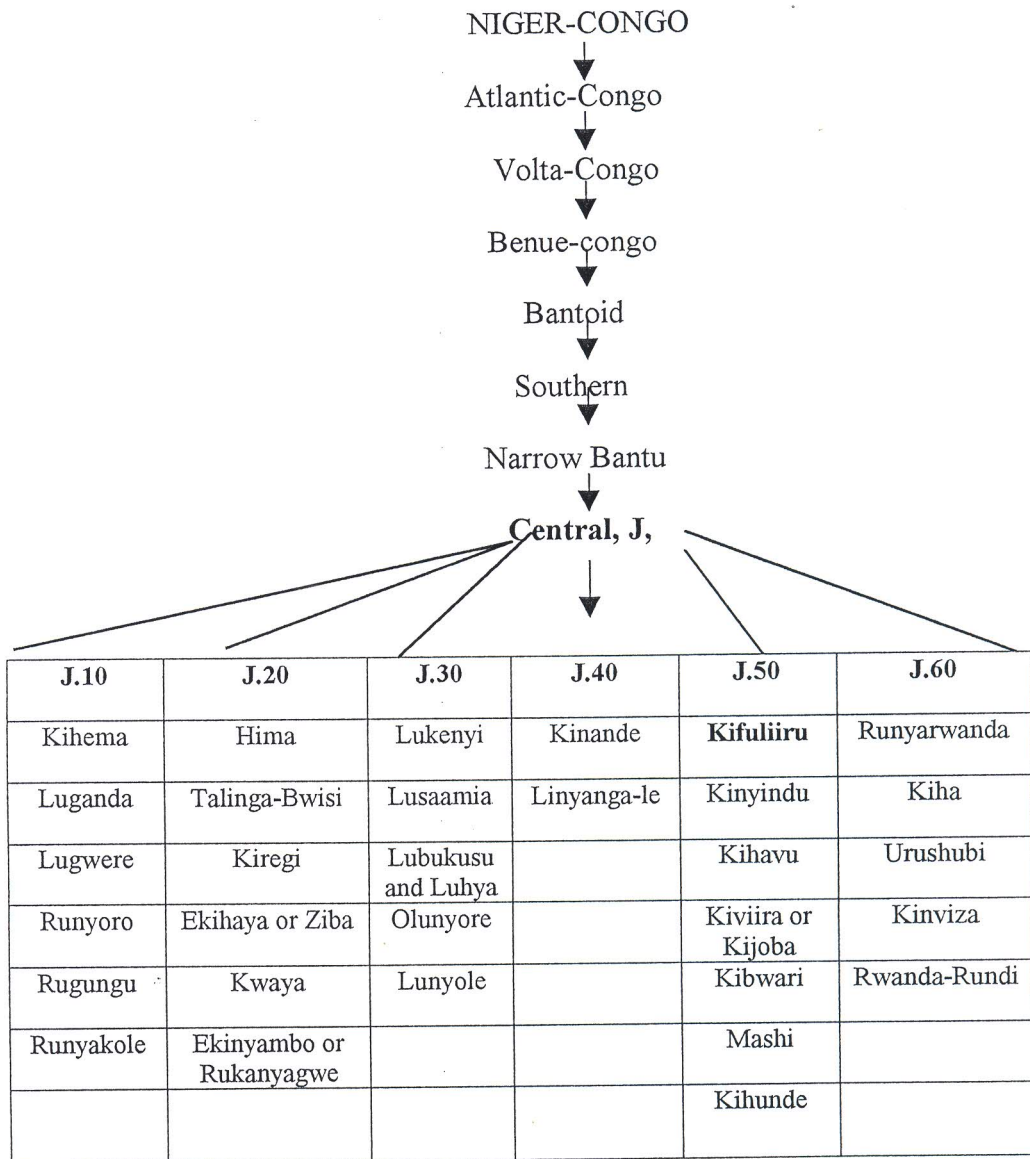
The Kifuliiru language belongs to the Niger-Congo family and to the Narrow-Bantu sub-family. According to Grimes (2000, 91), its full classification is as follows:

Niger-Congo, Atlantic, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, J, Shi-Havu (J.50)".  
 Furthermore, Kifuliiru is closely affiliated to the same linguistic class or category as the following languages: From DR-Congo, Kinyindu (J.50), Mashi (J.50), Kihavu (J.50), Kihunde (J.50), Kijoba or Kivira (J.50), Kibwari (J.50), Kinande (J.40), Linyanga-le (J.40), Kihema (J.10); from Rwanda and Burundi: Rwanda-Rundi (J.60), Hima (J.20); from Uganda: Luganda (J.10), Lugwere (J.10), Rugungu (J.10), Lukenyi (J.30), Runyakole (J.10), Lunyole (J.30), Runyoro (J.10), Talinga-Bwisi (J.20), Lusaamia (J.30), Runyarwanda (J.60); from Kenya: Lubukusu and Luhya (J.30), Olunyore (J.30); from Tanzania: Kiha (J.60), Luganda (J.10), Ekihaya or Ziba (J.20), Kiregi (J.20), Kwaya (J.20), Ekinyambo or Rukanyagwe (J.20), Urushubi (J.60), Kinviza (J.60).  
 Kifuliiru has "70% lexical similarity with Mashi, 90% with Kinyindu and Joba (or Kivira).

It is important to note that Kijoba has high linguistic mutual intelligibility with Kivira. Similarly, Kifuliiru is close to Mashi and Kinyindu to the point that it is difficult for a foreigner to distinguish them.



Generally speaking, Kifuliiru is spoken as the main language in the Territory (Katchelewa 2001, 26-28). Kijoba and Kivuluga are considered as its dialects by some, notably Bugulube Mwemera (This is one of the counselors, interviewed in Nairobi in May, 2003). The neighboring dialects are Mashi, Havu, and Kinyindu. A detailed linguistic classification is presented below:



### 1.3. Morphological and phonological information

#### 1.3.1. Morphological typology

Because our focus is not on the morphology issues, our purpose here is just to give briefly some typological morphological information about Kifuliiru. Kifuliiru is *a polysynthetic language* in that it can express a whole sentence with just a verb as in (1) below:

(1) a- na- mú- gend- er- a kwo  
 3sg- SQ- 3sg.D.O- go- asp2- FVa on

‘and he/she walked on him’

In this case, therefore, it is predominantly *an agglutinative language*, for each morpheme has a specific and fairly straightforward meaning (Payne 1997, 28). This is true of any morpheme. Therefore, there is more to ‘agglutinative’ than this.

#### 1.3.2. Phonological information

The Bafuliiru people have an approved orthography that is now being used in the community. Kifuliiru has a total of sixty-five (65) consonants including labialised and palatalized modifications of a basic set. But apart from the labialised and palatalized consonant set, there are twenty-two (22) consonant phonemes which occur at the labiodental, labial, alveolar, pre-palatal, velar, and laryngeal points of articulation. The language also has ten (10) vowels, including long variants (a, a:, e, e:, i, i:, u, u:, o, o:). This description is based on my own analysis. It also has three contrastive tones, which are high tone (H), low tone (L) and high-low tone (HL).

Below is the consonant phonemes chart, excluding those having labialised and palatalized modifications:

	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Pre-palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Voiceless Plosives	p		t		k	
Voiced Plosives			d		g	
Voiceless Fricatives		f	s	ʃ		h
Voiced Fricatives	β	v	z	ʒ		
Pre-nasalized Plosives	mb		nd		ŋg	
Nasals	m		n	ɲ		
Liquids			l / r			
Approximants				j		

It should be noted that in practical orthography, /β/ is transcribed as ‘b’, / r / as ‘r’, ʃ as ‘sh’, /ʒ/ as ‘j’, /j /as ‘y’, /ɲ/ as ‘ny’, and /ŋg/ as ‘ng’. The other phonemes are represented exactly as on the chart in the orthography. The voiced fricative symbol /β/ sounds like a ‘soft’ **b**, or an unrounded **w**. When it is prenasalized it is pronounced as [b], a voiced plosive. The liquids / l / and / r / are produced at the same point of articulation, but / l / is produced using the end of the blade of the tongue and / r / is produced using the tip of the tongue.

The **vowels** of Kifuliiru are summarized below:

	FRONT		CENTRAL		BACK	
	UNROUNDED		UNROUNDED		ROUNDED	
	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG	SHORT	LONG
Close	i	i:			u	u:
Close-mid	e	e:			o	o:
Open			a	a:		

Among the consonants, there are lots of labialised, palatalized and prenasalized consonants, which are called *ambiguous segments*, including the long vowels and the approximants like [w], [j] as well. Ambiguous segments are those that are phonetically functioning either as consonants or vowels (Burquest, 2001, 155). Those ambiguous segments are for instance, [p<sup>w</sup>] for labialisation; [p<sup>j</sup>] for palatalized and [m<sup>b</sup>] for prenasalized. They are interpreted in the phonological analysis as units, and not a sequence of separate sounds. In Kifuliiru, short and long vowels can occur in the same word, but two long vowels do not occur in one word. In other words, a word has no more than one long vowel. The common syllable patterns are V.CV. as in for instance, /a. ma. ga. la / ‘flesh’. There exists no unambiguous CC syllable pattern in Kifuliiru. A Kifuliiru word can have even six syllables. For example, / u. mu. na. mu. βe. mbe / ‘leprous’. This is in accordance with the agglutinative nature of the language. It is to be noted that Kifuliiru does not have contrastive stress. It only has three contrastive tones as we have previously said. Therefore, it is a *tonal language*. When it is necessary to mark them in this paper, the high tone is marked with *acute* (´), the low tone with *grave* (˘) and the high-low with tone with *circumflex* (^). Here is the example,

[umukéngé] ‘straw’

[umukèngé] ‘lizard’

[umukêngé] ‘a small boat’

As for morphophonemic processes in the language, the following word internal morphophonemic changes have been observed:



- / **ní-gá-géndà**/ changes to / **ŋ-gá-géndà**/  
 1sg-FUT-go 1sg-FUT-go

‘I will go’

‘I will go’

- / **nì-tà- hì:tì**/ changes to / **n- dà- hì:tì**/  
 1sg-NEG-have 1sg- NEG-have

‘I do not have’

‘I do not have’

From the examples above, we can see clearly word-internal changes at morpheme boundaries in words. Interestingly we see that changes occur at the same place of articulation from the form on the left side to the form on the right side.

Before coming to the morphophonemic rules, let us take some other nominal examples.

Consider the following examples:

- / **ímbúli** / ‘corruption’

- / **índálò** / ‘field’

- / **ínyùlà** / ‘rain’

From these examples, nasal assimilation is evident. Nasals always conform to the point of articulation of the following consonant. The rule for morphophonemic in this language is this:

$$\begin{aligned} n \sim ni &\rightarrow /m/ - [b] \\ & /ŋ/ - [g] \\ & /n/ \text{ elsewhere} \end{aligned}$$

Also we have vowel deletion as seen in the example given above for verbs.

## 1.4. Constituent Order Typology

In Kifuliiru, the pragmatically neutral order of constituents in basic clauses with nominal arguments is SVO

- (3) U- mw-ana      a- ber- a      i-      ki- taabo.  
 AUG-cl.1- child      3sg-tear- FVa      AUG-      cl.5-book  
 S                              V                              O

‘The child has torn a book’

There are *inflected auxiliaries* in Kifuliiru. They normally occur *before* the semantically “main” verb. Here are some examples:

- (4) U- mu-lwazi      a- li      mu- looz-a      uku-ly-a      u-      mu-kate  
 AUG-cl.1- sick      3sg- cop      PROG-want-FVa      INF- eat-FVa      AUG-cl.1-bread  
 S    V    O

‘The sick person wants to eat bread’

- (5) Ngulwe a- gwati      a- ga- gend-a      i      Runingu      kusheezi  
 Ngulwe 3sg- AUX      3sg- FUT- go- FVa      to      Runingu      tomorrow

‘Ngulwe is going to Runingu tomorrow’

In noun phrases, the demonstratives precede the head noun, while other modifiers follow the head. The following are examples:

- a) **Demonstratives** occur *before* the head noun.

- (6) yiki      ki-sheke  
 this      cl.7-sugar cane

‘This sugar cane’

- b) **Possessives** occur *after* the head noun.

- (7) I-              surwali      yaani  
 AUG.cl.5- trouser      mine

‘My trousers’

- c) **Numerals** occur *after* the head noun.

- (8) I-      n-      yumba      i-kumi  
 AUG-cl.10- house      cl.5- ten

‘Ten houses’

d) **Other quantifiers** also occur *after* the head noun;

(9) ibyokulya bingi  
 food            much

‘Lots of food’

e) **Associative phrases** occur *after* the head noun.

(10) I-    n- yumba    ya    Daudi  
 AUG-cl.9- house    of    Daudi

‘The house of David’

f) **Adjectives** occur *after* the head noun.

(11) u-    mu-kazi    mw-ija  
 AUG-cl.1- woman    cl.1- beautiful

‘A beautiful woman’

g) **Relative clauses** occur *after* the head noun.

(12) U-    mu-kazi    ú-    wa-    ly-a    u-    mu-konde a-fw-a  
 AUG-cl.1-woman    REL-3sg.NEUT-eat-FVa    AUG-cl.3-banana    3sg-die-FVa

‘The woman who has eaten the banana has died’

(13) I-    ki-ti    í-    ky- a-    gw-a    ky-a-    yit-a    u-    mu-ndu  
 AUG-cl.7-tre    REL-cl.7-NEUT-fall-FVa    cl.7-NEUT-kill-FVa    AUG-cl.1-person

‘The tree that has fallen down has killed a person’

h) **Adpositional phrases:** Kifuliiru has prepositions rather than postpositions:

*Locative:*

(14) mwi-dako    lye    ngingo  
 in- under    of    bed

‘under the bed’

*Comitative* (accompaniment):

(15) kuguma na    daata  
 together with    father

‘with my father’

*Instrumental:*

Space -

(16) **Yohan a- li Mu ly-a na ka-keeta**  
 John 3sg-Cop PROG eat-FVa with cl.7-knife

‘John eats with a knife’

i) **Comparatives:** the order is *quality-marker-standard*.

(17) **Peturu a-li mula ukuhima mwene-wabo**  
 Peter 3sg-Cop tall than brother his  
 quality- marker- standard

‘Peter is taller than his brother’

The constituent order typology in Kifuliiru can be summarized in the following chart:

*Kifuliiru constituent order typology*

Demonstratives-Noun	head last
Possessives-Noun	head first
Numerals-Noun	head first
Other quantifiers	head last
Associative phrases	head first
Adjectives-Noun	head first
Noun-Relative clauses	head first
Prep.-NP	head last
Comparatives	head first
V-O	head first

Based on this scheme and the examples given above, it seems that Kifuliiru is a *mixed, mostly head-first* language.

### 1.5. Previous Research

As we have said, Kifuliiru already has an established orthography. Some literature is now available. In the Bible translation project, the New Testament that



took at least 17 years has now been published and is being used in the all-local churches in the area. There are also a few published (Delobea, 1984) and unpublished linguistic writings about the language (Van Otterloo, 1998, 1999; Jouannet). These include an attempt at a description of the orthography.

### 1.6. The Source of Data

The data of this work is from different narrative texts. The main source is narrative texts from Sengoronge Katyera , a native speaker , one of the Bible Translation team in Kifuliiru Project. The second source is narrative story given by another native speaker Bugulube Mwemera. The third source is my own knowledge about the language as a native speaker of Kifuliiru.

### 1.7. The Purpose and Scope of the Study

The main purpose of this study is to show how complement clauses are syntactically formed in Kifuliiru.

We have divided this work into three main chapters: The first chapter is 'Introduction', the second chapter is 'Constituent Parameters for Kifuliiru Complement Clauses' and third chapter is 'Different Types of Complement-Taking Predicates'.

In the first chapter, we give general information about the language and the area in which it is spoken. The second chapter describes the complement clauses and how they are structured syntactically in Kifuliiru. The third and the last chapter focuses on the different embedded forms of the complement clauses when occurring with different types of verbs. Finally, the work ends with a fourth chapter which gives a summary and conclusions.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONSTITUENT PARAMETERS FOR KIFULIIRU

#### COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Before going through the study of the complement clauses in depth in this chapter, it is important to define some relevant linguistic terminology that we will be talking about throughout our work. The following subjects, with reference to Kifuliiru, constitute chapter two of our work: 2.1 defines complement clause terms in general, 2.1.1 discusses the matrix clause and 2.1.2 the embedded clause; 2.2 looks at two kinds of complements clauses, 2.2.1 finite complement clauses and 2.2.2 nonfinite complement clauses. 2.3 examines subjects and object complements, (2.3.1 subject complement and 2.3.2 object complement). 2.4 describes the morphology of complements, 2.4.1 complement types; 2.5 clausal order, 2.5.1 the order of matrix clause and the order of embedded clause; 2.5.2 order in the complement clause; 2.6 raising to object as a coding device, 2.6.1 coding of the subject of embedded clause in the matrix clause and 2.6.2 raising phenomenon with volitional verbs.

### **2.1. Definition of terms used in Complement Clauses**

#### ***2.1.1. Matrix clause***

The matrix clause is the independent clause in a complex sentence. It is also known as 'main', 'principal', 'root', 'highest', 'top', and 'non-embedded' clause. Those are synonyms. This is the biggest clause of a complex sentence, inside which

all the others fall (Napoli 1993, 45). Similarly, Dik (1997, 95) says that the matrix clause is the clause headed by a matrix predicate containing an embedded proposition.

Finally, the matrix clause as Payne says (1997,313) is one that has another clause as one of its core arguments (note that the embedded complement clause is marked by square brackets).

This definition is illustrated in Kifuliiru by the following example:

(18) U- mu-ngere a- tũ- bwir-a [ kwo Yesu a- gweti a- ga- yij- a]  
 AUG-cl.1-Pastor 3sg-1pl.DO-tell- FVa COMP Jesus 3sg- AUX 3sg -FUT-come-FVa

‘The Pastor has told us that Jesus is coming’

In (18), **umungere atũbwira** ‘the pastor has told us’ is the matrix clause in which the embedded clause **kwo Yesu agweti agayija** ‘that Jesus is coming’ falls. Note that **kwo** ‘that’ is a complementizer whose function is to introduce the embedded clause. Kac (1978,75) says that complementizers in general have the function of indicating that the predicates with which they are associated cannot be construed as main predicates. **Kwo** as a complementizer will be discussed in more detail in section 2.4.1.

### 2.1.2. Embedded clauses

First of all, it is important to make a clear distinction between the following different kinds of embedded clauses: *Complement clause*, *Oblique clause* (or an Adverbial clause) and *Relative clause*. Longacre (cited in Shopen 1985,172) defines oblique clauses as ‘those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions’, whereas relative clauses are ‘those which function as modifiers of nouns’. Therefore, complement clauses differ from them in the sense that they function syntactically as noun phrases.

Let us consider the following sentences in which square brackets have been used to indicate the embedded clauses:

(19) a. **Ba-na-bon-a** [*kwo* **ba-ta- nga- shobol-a** **uku-lu- jabuk- a**]  
 3pl-SQ- see-FV<sub>a</sub> COMP 3pl-NEG-Mood -be able-FV<sub>a</sub> INF-3sg.DO-cross over-FV<sub>a</sub>

‘They saw [*that* they could not be able to cross it ]’

b. **U- mb- anuulage kwo n- ga- gir-a** [*mango* **mu-kanie a-yij- a**]  
 AUG-cl.1.1sg.DO-advise Manner 1sg-FUT-do-FV<sub>a</sub> when cl.1-wife 3sg-come-FV<sub>a</sub>

‘Give me advice of how I will do [*when* my wife comes]’

c. **A-na-shomb-a uyo mu-nyere** [*ú- ka- sig- w- a na mu-kiba* ]  
 3sg-SQ-hate- FV<sub>a</sub> that cl.1- girl REL-PAST-leave-PASS-FV<sub>a</sub> with cl.1-step mother

‘He hated that girl [*who* was left by her step mother]’

In (19 a) above, the embedded clause is acting as the complement (particularly the direct object) of the verb **bona** ‘see’, introduced by the complementizer **kwo** ‘that’. Therefore it is often termed a COMPLEMENT CLAUSE.

In (19 b) above, the embedded clause is an oblique clause of time, because it is introduced by an adverb of time **mango** ‘when’ modifying the verb phrase **ngagira** ‘I will do’ and so can be termed an OBLIQUE CLAUSE (also known as an ADVERBIAL CLAUSE).

In (19 c) above, the embedded clause is introduced by the relative marker **ú** ‘who’ occurs inside a noun phrase modifying the head, the noun **munyere** ‘girl’, and is thus termed a RELATIVE CLAUSE.

The focus of our work is limited to the first kind of embedded clauses (19 a) only; that is, the embedded complement clause.

Thus, an embedded clause is any sentence that falls ‘inside’ the matrix clause, functioning as the direct object or subject. In Kifuliiru, there may be many embedded clauses in one matrix clause. In this regard, Napoli says (1993,45), ‘when we have several clauses embedded one inside the other, we say that the most deeply



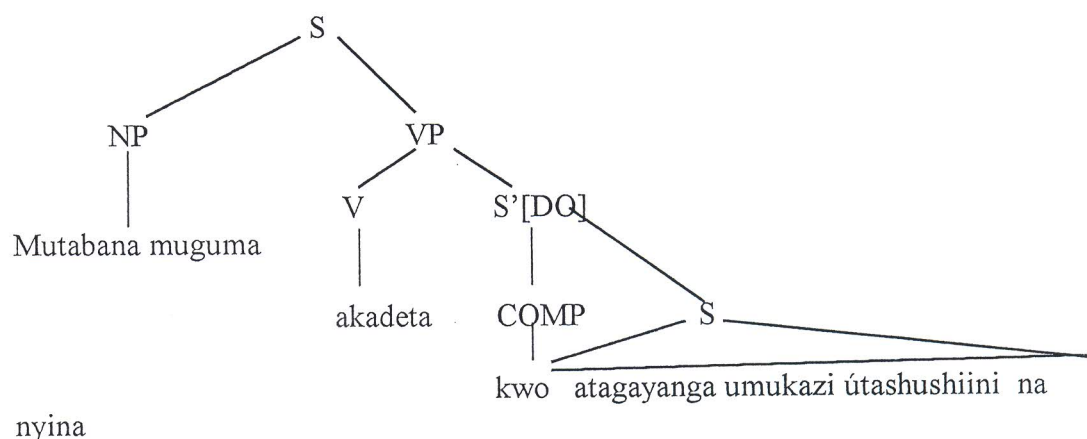
embedded clause is the LOWEST CLAUSE and we go on up we reach the HIGHEST, or matrix CLAUSE. Here is an example of simple embedding,

- (20) **A** **Mu-tabana mu-guma a- ka- det-a** [**B** **kwo yehe a- ta- ga- yang-a**  
 cl.1- boy cl.1- one 3sg-PAST-say-FVa COMP him 3sg-NEG-FUT-marry-FVa  
**u- mu- kazi ú- ta- shushiin-i na nyina**].  
 AUG-cl.1- wife REL-NEG-resemble- FVi with mother.

‘One boy said that he will not marry a wife who does not resemble his mother’

In this sentence, the highest or matrix clause is A: **Mutabana muguma akadeta kwo yehe atagayanga umukazi útashushiini na nyina**, and the simple embedded clause is B: **[yehe atagayanga umukazi útashushiini na nyina]**

The tree diagram of this example can be drawn as follows:



(21), in contrast, has a matrix clause with more than one embedded clause:

- (21) **A** [**Mukaanie a- ton-a** [**B** **kwo Kiza a- mú- bwir-a** [**C** **kwo n- da- ga-**  
 Wife my 3sg -think-FVa COMP kiza 3sg -3sg.DO-tell- FVa COMP 1sg-NEG- FUT-  
**yij- a ]]] S  
 come-FVa**

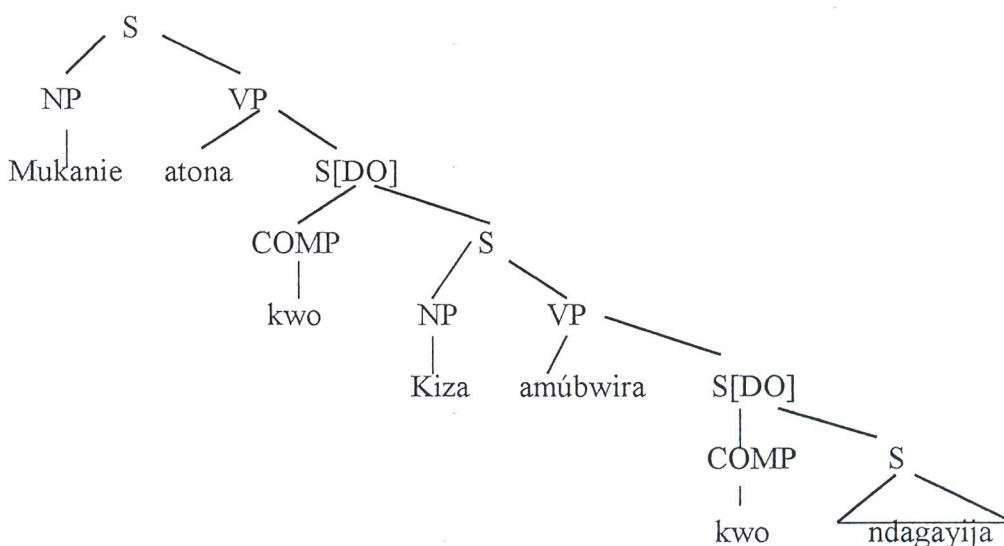
‘My wife has thought that Kiza has told her that I will not come’

In this example, there are three clauses of a complex sentence: The ‘lowest’ clause, represented by (C) **[kwo ndagayija]** ‘that I will not come’. (B) represents the next-to-the-lowest clause **[kwo Kiza amùbwira kwo ndagayija]**, ‘that Kiza has told



her that I will not come'. Finally, (A) marks the matrix clause [**mukaanie atona kwo Kiza amúbwira kwo ndagayija**] 'my wife has thought that Kiza has told her that I will not come' which includes the whole sentence (S).

(21) shows that clause (C) is embedded in clause (B) and at the same time clause (B) is embedded in the matrix clause (A). Both the embedded clauses B and C are introduced by the same complementizer **kwo** 'that'. The tree diagram below symbolizes these embedded clauses:



It is to be noted that the relationship between the embedded clause to the matrix clause is, as Lehmann says (1978,169), comparable to that of an object. Because we are now talking about embedded clauses, let us take this opportunity to say something about two types of complement clauses.

## 2.2 Two types of complement clauses: Finite and Nonfinite Clauses

As can be noticed straightaway, these two types of clauses are different or distinct. Their distinction is clearly given in the definition below by Radford (1988,

287) who says that a clause is *finite* if it contains a *finite Verb* (i.e. a verb inflected for Tense/Agreement), and *nonfinite* if it lacks a finite Verb (if it is a verbless clause, or if it is a clause containing a *nonfinite* tenseless and agreementless verb). In addition to that, Dik (1997,145) says that “the non-finite verb lacks agreement for person, number, and gender with its first argument or subject, is unmarked or reduced with respect to distinctions of Tense, Aspect, and Mood”.

It is to be noted that this distinction is mostly based on morphological criteria.

### 2.2.1. Finite Complement Clauses in Kifuliiru

Morphologically, Kifuliiru has many ways of indicating the tenses in finite clauses: In the present tense, the finite verb is unmarked morphologically, the past tense form is marked by the morpheme **ka-**, and the future tense form is marked by the morpheme **ga-**. Both morphemes are prefixed to the verb stem. They are also marked the same way for all persons and numbers. Here are examples of finite independent clauses:

(22) *PRESENT TENSE* : U- mw-ana a- Ø- gend-a ku ma-somo  
 AUG-cl.1- child 3sg-PRES- go- FVa to cl.5-School

‘The child goes to school’

(23) *PAST TENSE*: U- mw-ana a- ka- gend-a ku ma-somo  
 AUG-cl.1- child 3sg-PAST- go- FVa to cl.5-School

‘The child went to school’

(24) *FUTURE TENSE*: U- mw-ana a- ga- gend-a ku ma-somo  
 AUG-cl.1-child 3sg-FUT- go- FVa to cl.5-school

‘The child will go to school’

Finite complement clauses occur in all the tenses, modes, and aspects that are found in independent clauses. The following sentences in which the finite complement clause are bracketed can serve as specimens:

(25 a) A-ton-a [kwo twa-Ø- mal-a u- mu-kolwa] (zero present tense)  
 3sg-think-FVa COMP 1pl-PRES-finish-FVa AUG-cl.1- work

‘He thinks that we have finished the work’

(26 b) A-ton-a [kwo tu-ka- mal-a u- mu-kolwa] (ka- past tense)  
 3sg-think-FVa COMP 1pl-PAST-finish-FVa AUG-cl.1-work

‘He thinks that we finished the work’

(26 c) A-ton-a [kwo tu-ga-mal-a u- mu-kolwa] (ga-future tense)  
 3sg-think-FVa COMP 1pl-FUT-finish-FVa AUG-cl.1-work

‘He thinks that we will finish the work’

(26 d) A-ton-a [kwo tu-ga- mal- iriz-a u-mu- kolwa] (iriza-aspectual form)  
 3sg-think-Fva COMP 1pl-FUT-finish-asp1-FVa AUG-cl.1- work

‘He thinks that we will totally finish the work’

In these examples, the complementizer is **kwo** ‘that’. The verb of the matrix clause is **tona** ‘think’. The clauses in brackets are the object complements, which consist of finite clauses.

### 2.2.2. Nonfinite Complement Clauses in Kifuliiru

By definition, a nonfinite clause is one in which the verb is not inflected for tense or agreement. In other words, nonfinite clause-forms are intrinsically tenseless and agreementless. They remain invariable in form whatever the context, and cannot carry finite tense/agreement (Radford 1988, 288).

Contrary to other languages, which may have more than one nonfinite verb-form, in Kifuliiru we distinguish only one kind of nonfinite verb-form, which is uninflected. This is the infinitive form, termed here the *INFINITIVAL* clause, that is marked by **uku-** (the **uku-** clause). Radford (1988, 288) gives three types of *nonfinite* verb-form in English: 1) uninflected infinitive forms which comprise simply the base or stem of the verb with no added inflection and frequently used after the so-called ‘infinitive particle’ *to*; 2) *gerund* forms which comprise the base plus the *-ing* suffix;

and 3) *perfect/passive participle* forms which generally comprise the base plus the *(e)n* inflection (though there are numerous irregular participle forms in English). Similarly, Dik (1997, 145) says that the main types of nonfinite verbs are infinitives, participles, and nominalized verbs. For instance,

- (a) I've never known [John (to) *be* so rude to anyone]  
 (b) We don't want [it *raining* on your birthday]  
 (c) I had [my car *stolen* from the car-park]

From the above examples, the italicized Verb in (a) is an *infinitive*, that in (b) is a *gerund*, and that in (c) is a (passive) *participle*. The infinitival clause can function both as a complement clause as in (27) and as subject clause as in (28).

- (27) Uyo mu-kazi a- tâ- li kizi looz-a [uku-hakir- a Kirikondo  
 That cl.1-woman 3sg-NEG-Cop CNT want- FVa INF-give food-FVa Kirikondo  
 ibyo kulya biija.]  
 food good

‘That wife did not want to give Kirikondo nice food’

- (28) [Uku-hakir- a Kirikondo ibyokulya biija] kwa-yaga-z- a uyo  
 INF- give food- FVa Kirikondo food nice NEUT-anger-CAUS -FVa that  
 mu- kazi]  
 cl.1- woman

‘To give nice food to Kirikondo has angered that woman’.

In (27), **uku-hakir-a Kirikondo ibyo kulya biija** ‘to give Kirikondo nice food’ is an infinitival clause that is inside the larger clause. The infinitival verb string is **uku-hakir-a** ‘to give food’.

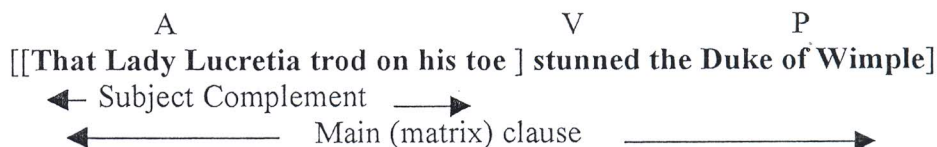
In Kifuliiru, nonfinite complement clauses are not marked for tense, mode, or aspect, that are found in finite independent clauses. The nonfinite verb occurs in infinitive mode. In (28) **ukuhakira Kirikondo ibyokulya biija** ‘give Kirikondo nice food’ is an infinitival clause functioning as the subject of the matrix clause.



## 2.3. Subject and Object Complements

### 2.3.1. Subject complement

The subject complement can be defined as a clause or a sentential complement clause that functions as a subject of the matrix clause (Payne 1997,313). Let us illustrate this with Payne's English example:



In this example, the subject complement is introduced by the complementizer 'that'. In Kifuliiru, the subject complement (A) stands at the same position as the simple subject in SVO constituent order. It is expressed by a nonfinite clause, that is to say a verb in its infinitive form marked by the device **uku**, 'to' introducing the subject complement:

Let us consider the following example:

A	V	Adj
(29) [ <b>Uku-twal-a u- mw-ana i ka- guliro</b> ] <b>bu- ta- li bw-ija</b>		
INF- take- FVa	AUG-cl.1-child to cl.12- market	3sg- NEG-Cop cl.1-good

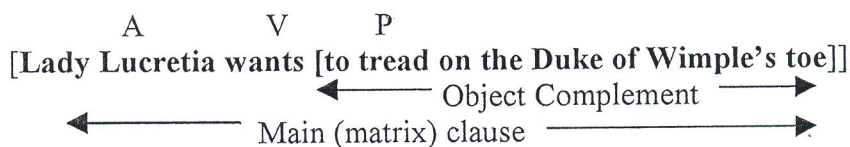
‘ To take a child to the market is not good’.

It is also to be remembered that the subject complement cannot stand on its own as an independent sentence. So to say '**Uku-twal-a u-mw-ana i ka-guliro** 'to take a child to the market' is not completed sentence. Predicate and object are missing to make it full sentence.



### 2.3.2. Object Complement

An object Complement is a clause or sentential complement clause that functions as the object of a matrix clause following the word order of SVO. Here is the illustration based on Payne's example:



Consider the following example in Kifuliiru:

(31) A- loziiz- i      [uk- uly- a      u- mu-konde]  
 3sg-want- FVi    INF- eat- FVa      AUG-cl.1- banana

‘ He wants to eat banana’

The verbal clause **ukulya umukonde** ‘to eat banana’ is the object complement of the matrix clause of the verb of volition **kuloowa** ‘to want’. For examples with **kwo** complement clause as a direct object, see (3.4.2.2).

## 2.4. The morphology of complements

### 2.4.1. Complement types and complementizers

As Noonan (cited in Shopen 1985,44) says, complement types often have associated with them what could be a word, particle, clitic, or affix whose function is to identify the entity as a complement. Such forms are known as *complementizer*. Like some languages, for instance English, that may have four main complement types, Kifuliiru also has four main complement types: the **Kwo-clause**, 2.4.1.1; the *Infinitive clause (uku-clause)*, 2.4.1.2.; the *subjunctive clause*, 2.4.1.3. and the *verbal noun clause*, 2.4.1.4. Let us give one example for each complement type:

2.4.1.1. *Kwo Clause*

- (33) U- mw-ana a-kengeer-a kwo a- ga- ly-a u- mu-konde  
 AUG-cl.1-child 3sg-remember-FVa COMP 3sg-FUT-eat-FVa AUG-cl.1-banana

‘The child has remembered that he will eat banana’

It is to be noted that the final vowel of the complementizer **kwo** can undergo some *morphophonemic changes* or *alternation*. Thus it can also be **kwe**, **kwa**

- (34) Yishe iri a-ka- mú-bon-a, a-na-meny-a kwa kola a-ga- taah-a  
 father when 3sg-PAST-3sg.DO-see-FVa 3sg-SQ-know-FVa COMPAUX 3sg-FUT-return-FVa

‘When his father saw him, he thought that he was going to return (home)’

- (35) Indare ya- na-lahir- a kwe ta- ga- ly-a iyo ingwi  
 Lion NEUT-SQ-refuse-FVa COMP NEG-FUT-eat-FVa that leopard

‘The Lion refused (that) to eat that Leopard’.

- (36) A-na-kizi na-det-a kwe mwa-bo ba-ta-ly-a i- suusi  
 3sg-SQ-CNT SQ-say-FVa COMP home- his 3pl-NEG-eat-FVa cl.5-flies

‘He was saying that in his home they do not eat flies’.

In Kifuliiru, there are six major particles known as complementizers: **kwo**, **mbu**, **ti**, **kwokuno**, **uku** and **iri (angaba)**. Like the complementizer **kwo**, the complementizer **mbu** undergoes also some morphophonemic changes (sometimes the complementizer **mbu** changes respectively to **mbwe,mbwa**). The particle **iri** (or **iri angaba**) is particularly used when introducing an embedded interrogative clause.

- (37) Tu-buuz-e abandi iri na-gir-a buligo.  
 1pl-ask- FVe others COMP 1sg-do- FVa bad

‘Let us ask others (people) if I have done bad’.

The particle **iri** ‘if’ has the same meaning as **iri (angaba)** ‘whether’. However, the bracketed **angaba** is optional in use. This particle is also used as a complementizer marker of the object complement.

It has been noticed that neither verbal noun nor infinitive clause have complementizers (see examples in 2.4.1.2. and 2.4.1.4). But, the complementizer

**kwo** in a **kwo**-clause is only used with the object complement and thus obligatory in indirect speech except in the direct speech where it can be sometimes omitted. An investigation into the functional motivation for the presence versus absence of **kwo** in such contexts would be an interesting topic for further research.

- (38) **Yabo ba-ana ba-na-bwir-a mwami kwo ba-ka- kol- a nga**  
 those 2-children 3pl-SQ-say- FVa chief COMP 3pl-PAST-work-FVa like  
**kwa ka- ba- bwir-a.**  
 what PAST- 3pl.DO- say-FVa

‘Those children said to the chief that they did as they were told.’

In Kifuliiru, you cannot leave out the complementizer **kwo** in contexts such as in (39) below without generating an ill-formed sentence.

- (39) \***Yabo ba-ana ba-na-bwir-a mwami ba-ka- kol-a nga kwa**  
 those cl.2-children 3pl-SQ-say- FVa chief 3pl-PAST-work-FVa like what  
**ka- ba- bwir-a.**  
 PAST-3pl.DO-say- FVa

‘Those children said to the chief they did as they were told’.

It should be noted that a **kwo clause** cannot be a subject complement in Kifuliiru. Thus, (40) below is an ill-formed sentence.

- (40) \* **Kwo ba-ka- kol-a nga kwa ka- ba- bwir-a ba-na-bwir-a mwami**  
 COMP 3pl-PAST-work-FVa like what PAST-3pl.DO-say-FVa 3pl-SQ-say- FVa chief

‘That they did as they were told they said to the chief’.

**Mbu** and **ti** are also other complementizers attested in Kifuliiru. **Mbu** functions like **kwo**. The functional difference between these various complementizers remains to be investigated.

For instance, here is an example of the complementizer **mbu**:

- (41) **U- mw-ana a- huun- a mbu u-mú- gulir-e i- ki-raato**  
 AUG-cl.1- child 3sg-request-FVa COMP 2sg-3sg.DO-buy-FVe.SUBJNT AUG-cl.7- shoe

‘The child requests that you buy shoes for him’

But (42), with **kwo**, is still permissible.

- (42) U- mw-ana a-det-a kwo u-mú- gulir-e i- ki-raato  
 AUG-cl.1- child 3sg-say-FVa COMP 2sg-3sg.DO-buy- FVe.SUBJNT AUG-cl.7-shoe

‘The child says that you buy shoes for him’

But the complementizer **ti** is in most cases used to introduce direct speech (43).

Another possible complementizer is **kwokuno** as in (44) which functions as **ti**. But

**kwo** cannot occur with direct speech. Here is an example,

- (43) Lwa-na-tuk-a indare ti: ‘U-kayagagal-a ne yo nyamiishwa yawe  
 3sg - SQ-insult-FVa Lion COMP 2sg-be ashamed-FVa with that animal of yours

‘It insulted the Lion (that): ‘Be ashamed with that animal of yours’.

But (44), with **kwokuno** as complementizer is also permissible.

- (44) Lwa-na-tuk-a indare kwokuno: ‘U-kayagagal-a ne yo nyamiishwa yawe’  
 3sg -SQ-insult-FVa Lion COMP 2sg-be ashamed-FVa with that animal yours

‘It insulted the Lion (that): ‘Be ashamed with that animal of yours’.

#### 2.4.1.2. Uku- Clause (or Infinitive Clause)

- (45) U- mw-ana a-kengeer-a uku-ly-a u- mu-konde  
 AUG-cl.1- child 3sg-remember-FVa INF-eat-FVa AUG-cl.1- banana

‘The child has remembered to eat banana’

The Infinitive clause with **uku** is never changed either when it introduces the subject complement (as in (47)) or object complement (as in (46)).

However, the complementizer **uku** used in **uku-clauses**, is obligatory with both subject and object complements.

- (46) Uyo mu-kazi a-na-tangir-a uku-jugum-a  
 that cl.1- woman 3sg-SQ-start- FVa INF-shiver- FVa

‘That woman started to shiver’.

- (47) Uku-jugum-a ka- li kalangikizo ki shuushira  
 INF- shiver- FVa NEUT- Cop sign of fever

‘To shiver is a symptom (sign) of getting fever’



2.4.1.3. *Subjunctive Clause*

- (48) U- mw-ana a-loziiz-i mbu ni-yigal-e u- mu-lyango  
 AUG-cl.1- child 3sg-want-FVi COMP 1sg-close-FVe.SUBJNT AUG-cl.1-door

‘The child wants me to close the door’

- (49) Ulukwavu lwa-na-ba- bwir-a kwo ba-shulik-e yikyo Kishegeshe  
 Rabbit NEUT-SQ-3sg.DO-tell-FVa COMP 3pl-beat- FVe.SUBJNT that Porcupine  
 i- ngoni gana  
 cl.5-stick hundred

‘The Rabbit told them to beat that Porcupine hundred sticks’.

In Kifuliiru the subjunctive marker is the final vowel **e** of the verb of the embedded clause preceded by the complementizer **kwo** or **mbu**. These complementizers are obligatory with the subjunctive.

2.4.1.4. *Ubu-Clause (or Verbal Noun Clause)*

As can be seen in (50) and (51) below, the marker of the subject and object complement clauses of nominalized verbs in Kifuliiru is **ubu**. **Ubu** is the marker of the nominalization of the verb **ukuhyana** ‘to inherit’ (in (50)) which functions as the subject complement of **ukuba** ‘have’ and the verb **ukugenda** ‘to go’ (in (51)) which functions as the object complement of the matrix clause. **Ubu** is for some verbs used in the same way as the English verb form ending in **-ing**. The only difference is that in Kifuliiru, the nominalized marker is prefixed to the verb stem whereas in English it is suffixed to the verb stem. It is also to be noted that no complementizer may occur with this verbal clause, whichever type of verb is used in the matrix clause.

- (50) U- bu- hyan-e bwo ni- ka- haab-w-a bu-ta- mb- itiir-i  
 AUG-cl.14-inherit-FVe REL 1sg.DO-PAST-give-PASS-FVa 3sg-NEG-1sg.DO-have-FVi  
 a- kamaro  
 AUG-importance

‘The inheritance that was given to me has no importance to me’

- (51) Ba-meny-a [u- bu- gend-a njoka]  
 3pl-know-FVa AUG-cl.1- go- FVa snake

‘They know the walking of the snake’



## 2.5 Clausal order

Unlike other languages that may have the order *embedded –matrix*, Kifuliiru language also has the order *matrix - embedded clause*, knowing that the embedded clause is inside or a part of the matrix clause. Here are examples.

- (52) **Iyo mbeba ya-na-det-a kwe hiiti a- ba-ana baayo i- ta-**  
 that rat NEUT-SQ-say-FVa COMP have AUG-cl.2-children his 3sg -NEG-  
**ga- na- ba- sig- a.**  
 FUT-SQ- 3pl.DO-leave-FVa

‘That rat said that it does have its children, and it will not leave them’

- (53) **A-na- ba- bwir-a kwe mbongo ya- mú- gayiriz-a bwa- li mwofi.**  
 3sg-SQ-3pl.DO-tell-FVa COMP antelope 3sg-3sg.DO-despise-FVa because -Cop short

‘He told them that the antelope has despised him because he is short’

As can be seen in these two examples, [**iyo mbeba yanadeta**] in (52) and [**anababwira**] in (53) are the main verbs in matrix clauses which always come at the first position in any sentence, whereas [**ihiiti abaana baayo, itaganabasiga**] in (52) and [**mbongo yamúgayiriza bwa li mwofi**] in (53) are embedded clauses coming always at the last position in a sentence with the complementizer **kwo** introducing and separating embedded clauses from the rest of the matrix clause.

### 2.5.1. Order in the Matrix Clause

In Kifuliiru, the order in any simple sentence (SVO see 1.4) is the same as in the matrix clause, as for example, with the verb of saying.

Example of a simple sentence:

- (54) **I- ta- hiiti a- ba- ana baayo**  
 3sg- NEG- have AUG-cl.2- children his  
 S V O

‘it does not have its children’

Example of a sentence with an object complement:

(55) Iyo mbeba ya-na-det-a [ kwe i-hiiti a- ba-ana baayo]  
 that rat 3sg -SQ-say-FVa COMP 3sg-have AUG-cl.2-children his  
 S V O

‘That rat said that it does not have its children’.

In this example we have the word order: *subject – verb- object complement* introduced with the complementizer **kwe** ‘that’.

### 2.5.2 Order in the complement clause

The word order in the complement clause is the same as in the matrix clause and in the simple sentence as well, as in (56) below. The word order cannot vary at all in the complement clause.

(56) Mu-tabana muguma a- ka- det-a kwo yehe a- ta- ga-yang-a  
 cl.1- boy one 3sg-PAST-say-FVa COMP he 3sg-NEG-FUT-marry-FVa  
 u- mu-kazi ú- ta- shushiin- i na nyina.  
 AUG-cl.1- wife REL- NEG-resemble- FVi with mother.

‘One boy said that he will not marry a wife who does not resemble his mother’

In (57), the embedded clause introduced by the complementizer **kwo** in (56), is:

(57) yehe a- ta- ga-yang-a u-mu-kazi ú- ta- shushiin-i na nyina.  
 he 3sg-NEG-FUT-marry-FVa AUG-cl.1-wife REL-NEG-resemble-FVi with mother.  
 S V O

From the example above, one can conclude that there is no difference in the word order between the matrix clause and the embedded clause. However, the pronominal subject in the embedded clause replaces the nominal subject in the main clause. And if, in the embedded clause, one wants to emphasize the person subject, its marker comes before the subject pronoun, which is always prefixed to the verb. In this particular example (57) above, **yehe** ‘he’ is the marker of person subject used emphatically.

It has also been observed that in Kifuliiru there is no independent subject pronoun. All pronoun subjects are prefixed or bound to the verbs.

## 2.6 Raising to object as a coding device

Raising is defined as ‘the placement of an argument notionally part of the complement proposition (typically the subject) in a slot having a grammatical relation (i.e. subject or direct object) to the complement taking predicate’ (Noonan, cited in Shopen 1985, 69). In another words, the subject-to-object raising is that movement of an argument from a lower to a higher sentence or, as Frajzyngier says, is ‘the presence in the matrix clause of an object that was co-referential with the subject of an embedded clause’ (1996,274). Kifuliiru also attests this syntactic structure as in (58-63) below. Among them, (59) has just been given as an illustrative example from which the subject-to-object raising in (58) has taken place.

(58) **A- na-bon-a kwo keera mu-kaage a-hinduk-a n-yamiishwa**  
 3sg-SQ-see- FVa COMP already cl.1-wife 3sg-change-FVa cl.9-animal

‘He saw that his wife has already changed to an animal’

(59) **A- na-bon-a mu-kaage keera a-hinduk-a n- yamiishwa**  
 3sg-SQ-see- FVa cl.1-wife already 3sg-change-FVa cl.9-animal

‘He saw his wife has already changed to an animal’

(60) **Lyeryo-lyeryo uyo mu-laguzi a-na-bon-a i- ngwi ya-yij-a.**  
 suddenly that cl.1-magician 3sg-SQ-see-FVa AUG.5-leopard 3sg-come-FVa

‘Suddenly that magician saw a leopard come’

(61) **I-ngoona ya-na-bon-a yi-hyo hi-kolo hi- gweti**  
 AUG.5-crocodile 3sg-SQ-saw-FVa DIM- that DIM-monkey 3sg.DIM-AUX  
**hi- ga- ly-a i- bi-tumbwe.**  
 3sg.DIM-FUT-eat-FVa AUG-cl.8- fruit

‘The crocodile saw the monkey eating fruits’

(62) A- ka-yuvw-a nakulu a-kola mu mú- hogek-a u- mu-gozi  
 3sg-PAST-hear-FVa grandmother 3sg-AUX PROG-3sg.DO-tie- FVa AUG-cl.1-1-rope  
 mwi gosi  
 in neck

‘He heard his grandmother tie a rope in his neck’

(63) Ba-na-yuvw-a i- zu kwi rembo li-gweti li-ga- hamagal-a  
 3pl-SQ-hear-FVa AUG.5-voice at outside 3sg-AUX 3sg-PROG-call- FVa  
 ye'Bimare  
 Bimare

‘They heard a voice outside calling Bimare’

It is to be noticed from the examples above that in the ‘*subject-to-object raising*’ phenomenon in Kifuliiru, the complementizer is automatically omitted and the verb of the embedded clause is encoded by the continuous/progressive aspect. Another observation to make is that in Kifuliiru, pronominal subject markers are always prefixed to the verb. However, the raising-to- object transformation is evident by the fact that the nominal subject in the embedded clause is raised to object in the matrix clause that causes the dropping of the complementizer as consequence.

### 2.6.1. Coding of the subject of embedded clause in the matrix clause

In Kifuliiru, the nominal subject of the embedded clause comes always after the verb in the matrix clause when raised to object as seen in the examples above. However, when the nominal subject becomes a direct object pronoun in the matrix clause, it is prefixed to the main verb as in (64) below. Note that there is no distinction between the subject or object pronouns for gender (masculine and feminine) and person (singular and plural).

(64) A-ka- mú- yuvw-a a-kola mu mú- hogek-a u- mu-gozi  
 3sg-PAST-3sg.DO-hear-FVa 3sg-AUX PROG 3sg.DO-tie- FVa AUG-cl.1-1-rope  
 mwi gosi  
 in neck

‘He heard him/her tying a rope in his neck’



To sum up, we can say that the raising to object in the complement of verbs of perception in Kifuliiru involves the movement from the embedded clause and an independent coding in the matrix clause.

### 2.6.2. Raising with volitional or non-volitional verbs

In Kifuliiru, the presence in the main clause of a direct object coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause can also be found as in (65).

(65) **Ni-ku-**    **loziiz-i**                    **u-** **yij-e**  
 1sg-2sg.DO-want- FVa                    2sg-come-FVe.SUBJNT

‘ I want you to come’

(66) **Ba-ka-**    **gu-**    **ly-a**  
 3pl-PAST-3sg.DO-eat-FVa

‘ They ate it’

In (65), the second subject pronoun singular **u** ‘you’ of the embedded complement clause agrees with the object in the matrix clause **ku**. It is also to be noted that with full noun phrase, subject and object, the order is SVO, but within the verb, the order is S-O-V stem and this is true of all transitive verbs as in (66), whether volitional as in (65) or not . This is because in Kifuliiru, the object as well as the subject pronouns are always dependent and prefixed to the verbs. Another observation is that with raising phenomena, the complementizer is omitted and the notion of subject-to-object raising is evident as it is in its English translation despite the presence of the subject pronoun in the embedded clause, which is explained by grammatical rules in Kifuliiru (cf. 3.3.2).

In conclusion, in Kifuliiru, the complement clauses are of two kinds: a finite and a nonfinite. The former is inflectional in tense, aspect and mood whereas the



latter is tenseless and agreementless. The clausal order in both matrix clause and embedded clause is subject-verb-object (SVO).

The syntactic structure of the subject-to-object raising phenomenon with omission of the complementizer has been attested in Kifuliiru. Finally, the features of the complement types can be summed up in the following chart:

*Features of the complement types*

<i>Complement types</i>	<i>Complementizer</i>	<i>Marker of verb in embedded clauses</i>
<b>Kwo</b> clause	Kwo /mbu/ ti / iri/ kwokuno	Final vowel 'a' of verb under consideration
<b>Uku</b> -clause	None	None
Subjunctive clause	Kwo/ mbu	Final vowel 'e' of verb under consideration
<b>Ubu</b> -clause	None	<b>Ubu</b> -functioning as the English -ing form

See also appendix B of narrative text for examples of complementizers.

Complements often interact with different types of verbs in special ways. This interaction will be the focus of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER 3

### DIFFERENT TYPES OF COMPLEMENT-TAKING PREDICATES

In this chapter, we will mainly deal with the semantics of complementation by studying some cases of semantic classes of complement-taking predicates (CTPs) and the way they are used in complementation. Noonan (cited in Shopen 1985, 110-132) posits fourteen classes or groups of types of verbs taking complement clauses, including utterance predicates, propositional attitude predicate, pretence predicates, commentative predicates (fatives), predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, predicates of fearing, desiderative predicates, manipulative predicates, modal predicates, achievement predicates, phrasal predicates (aspectuals), immediate perception predicates, negative predicates and finally conjunctive predicates. As for Dik (1997, 110), he groups them in eight categories: 1. Directive predicates: including the imperative; 2. Predicates of practical manipulation; 3. Volitional predicates; 4. Predicates of direct perception; 5. Achievement predicates; 6. Phasal predicates; 7. Commentative predicates; 8. Objective modal predicates.

In our present work, we have restricted our study by focusing mainly on the following types (verbs) of Complement-Taking Predicates: The first major section, 3.1 examines utterance predicates. In this section, 3.1.1 discusses the complements of utterance predicates in Kifuliiru, 3.1.2 shows the complementizers of utterance predicates, while 3.1.3 focuses on clausal structure of sentences with complement of verbs of saying, and 3.1.4 discusses direct versus indirect speech. The second major section, 3.2 deals with complement of verbs of cognition. In this section, 3.2.1

defines the verbs of cognition followed in 3.2.2 by the use of its complementizers, 3.2.3 studies the embedded structure of verbs of cognition and then 3.2.4 examines the coding of the modality of knowing. The third major section, 3.3 focuses on complements of verbs of perception. In this section, 3.3.1 examines the complementizers of verbs of perception, 3.3.2 looks at the embedded verb structure. The fourth major section, 3.4 deals with complements of verbs of volition. In this section, 3.4.1 describes the verbs of volition in Kifuliiru, 3.4.2 analyses the embedded verb structure and their appropriate complementizers, whereby 3.4.2.1 talks about the infinitival complements and 3.4.2.2 examines the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause. Finally 3.4.3 discusses the different subjects with volitional verbs in which 3.4.3.1 deals with the use of complementizers and 3.4.3.2 talks about the deontic modality and different subjects. Let us now start by developing the use of each one of them.

### 3.1 Utterance predicates

Frajzyngier (1996,106) calls these utterance predicates ‘complement of verbs of speaking’. Noonan gives a good understanding of utterance predicates. He says,

Utterance predicates are used in sentences describing a simple transfer of information initiated by an agentive subject. The complement represents the transferred information, the complement -taking predicates describe the manner of transfer, the illocutionary force of the original statement, and can also give an evaluation of the speaker’s view of veracity of the proposition encoded in the complement.(1985, 110)

In English, the utterance predicates include verbs such as *say*, *tell*, *report*, *promise*, *ask* etc. Similarly, Frajzyngier says that “verbs of saying include semantic equivalents of English ‘*say*’ and ‘*tell*’ as well as other verbs involving talking, such

as ‘call’, ‘inform’” (1996, 106). Let us now examine these utterance predicates in Kifuliiru.

### 3.1.1. Complements of utterance predicates in Kifuliiru.

Like English, Kifuliiru has a number of types of utterance predicates. The utterance predicates include the following verbs: **ukudeta** ‘to say’ (67-69), **ukubwira** ‘to tell’ (70), **ukuhamagala** and **ukuberangira** ‘to call’ (71), **ukumenyeesa** ‘to inform or announce’, **ukubuuza** ‘to ask’ (72), **ukushuvya** ‘to answer or reply’ (73), **ukuganuula** ‘to talk’ (74), **ukuyidodomba** ‘to murmur’ (75). For instance,

(67) **Nyina a-na-det-a kwo Kirikondo a- ga- gend-a i mwa mwizo wage**  
 mother 3sg-SQ-say-FVa COMP Kirikondo 3sg-FUT-go- FVa to DIR uncle his

‘His/her mother said that Kirikondo will go to her/his uncle’

(68) **Uyo mu-ndu a-na-det-a: ‘Tu-yeger-e ha mbere, tu-buuz-e a-ba-ndi.’**  
 That-cl.1-person 3sg-SQ-say-FVa 2pl-move-FVe.IMPER forward, 2pl-ask-FVe.IMPER-  
 AUG-cl.2-others

That person said: “ Let us move forward, and ask others’

(69) **Uyo mu-ndu a-na-det-a kwokuno: ‘Na-gangaan-w-a niehe.’**  
 That cl.1-person 3sg-SQ-say-FVa COMP: 1sg-surprise-PASS-FVa 1sg. EMPH.

‘That person said this: ‘I am surprised’

(70) **Yishe a-na-mú- bwir-a kwo a-simbah-e u- lu- baaja**  
 father 3sg-SQ-3sg.DO- tell- FVa COMP 3sg-obey-FVe.SUBJNT AUG-cl.11-law  
**lwe bw-ami**  
 of cl.2-chief

‘His/her father told him/her to obey the law from the chief’

(71) **I-ngui ya-na-hamagal-a indare kwe yij-e**  
 AUG.5-leopard 3sg-SQ- call- FVa lion COMP come-FVe.SUBJNT  
**ba-shangiir-e uyo mw-ana we Ngulube**  
 3pl-share- FVe.SUBJNT that cl.1-child of pig

‘The Leopard called the Lion to come so that they may share that piglet’



- (72) **U-mu-goli a-na-mú- buuz-a: ‘E mw-ami, biki byo gweti**  
 AUG-cl.1-chief’s wife 3sg-SQ- 3sg.DO-ask-FVa cl.1- king Q what AUX  
**u-ga- lirir-a?’**  
 2sg-FUT-cry- FVa

‘The chief’s wife asked him: “For what are you crying?”’

- (73) **Naluhaze a-na-shuvy-a mw-ami kwa baabo ba-shiiba ba-yigwejeriir-i.**  
 Cock 3sg-SQ-answer-FVa cl.1-chief COMP others 3pl-AUX 3pl-sleep- FVi

‘The cock answered the Chief that his friends were just sleeping’

- (74) **Â-li kuuzir-i bweneene u- ku-kizi ganuul-a na ba-ndi ba-ndu**  
 3sg.PAST-Cop like-FVa much AUG-INF-CNT speak-FVa with cl.2-others cl.2-person

‘He liked so much to speak with other people’

- (75) **A-na-yidodomb-a kwo yiba a- mú- sumir-a i- bi- siitara.**  
 3sg- SQ- murmur- FVa COMP husband 3sg-3sg.DO- buy- FVa AUG-cl.8-muscle meat

‘She murmured that her husband bought her the muscle meat’

It is important to note that on one hand a number of these verbs do not mark the direct object in the matrix clause with complementizer. These verbs include the verbs **ukudeta** ‘say’ as in (67-69), **ukuganuula** ‘speak’ (74) and **ukuyidodomba** ‘murmur’ as in (75). For example, you cannot say in Kifuliiru:

- \* (76) **Nyina a- na-mú- det-a kwo Kirikondo a-ga- gend-a i mwa**  
 Mother 3sg-SQ-3sg.DO-say-FVa COMP Kirikondo 3sg-FUT- go-FVa to DIR  
**mwizo wage.**  
 uncle his

‘His/her mother she said to her that Kirikondo will go to his/her uncle’

On the other hand, others verbs do mark the embedded clause with a complementizer. These verbs include the verb **ukubwira** ‘to tell’ as in (70), **ukuhamagala** or **ukuberangira** ‘to call’ as in (71), **ukushuvya** ‘to answer or reply’ as in (73), and **ukubuuza** ‘to ask’ as in (77). Another observation is that it is only the verb **ukubuuza** ‘ask’ that uses the complementizer **iri (angaba)** instead of the normal complementizer **kwa** ‘that’ as in (77). For instance,



(77) **Yabo ba-ana ba-na-buuz-a yishe iri ba-ga-balam-a kusheezi.**  
 Those cl.2-children 3pl -SQ-ask- FVa father if (whether) 3pl-FUT-travel-FVa tomorrow

‘Those children asked their father if (or whether) they will travel tomorrow’

This kind of embedded construction in (77) is called *an embedded interrogative* because it is introduced by the complementizer **iri** ‘whether’ following the verb **kubuuza** ‘ask’. For the verb **kudeta** ‘say’, its object is the embedded clause as in (67). However, the object of the verb **kubwira** ‘to tell’ is always in the matrix clause. Sometimes the object is prefixed to the verb if it is a pronominal object as in (70). But if the object is a nominal it follows the verb. Therefore, from this observation, we can say that the word order in the matrix clause is SVO with full noun phrase object and SOV, with the object within the verb of all transitive verbs.

The example below illustrates it clearly:

(78) **A-na-ba- bwir-a kwe mbongo ya-mú- gayiriz-a bwa li mwofi.**  
 3sg-SQ-3sg.DO-tell-FVa COMP antelope 3sg-3sg.DO-despise-FVa because Cop short  
 S O V

‘He told them that the antelope has despised him because he is short’

### 3.1.2. Complementizers of utterance predicates

The particles **kwo**, **mbu**, **ti**, **kwokuno** are used as complementizers with utterance predicates. Sometimes they can be either omitted or retained in both direct and indirect speech as in (79, 80).

(79) **Nyina a-na-det-a kwo Kirikondo a-ga-gend-a i mwa mwizo wage**  
 mother 3sg-SQ-say-FVa COMP Kirikondo 3sg-FUT-go-FVa to DIR uncle his

‘His/her mother said that Kirikondo will go to her/his uncle’

(80) **Uyo mu-ndu a-na-det-a: ‘Tu-yeger-e ha mbere, tu-buuz-e**  
 That cl.1-person 3sg-SQ-say-FVa 2pl-move-FVe.IMPER forward, 2pl-ask-FVe.IMPER  
**a- ba-ndi’**  
 AUX-cl.2-others

‘That person said: ‘Let us move forward, and ask others’

The complementizer **kwokuno** is also used with the verbs **ukudeta** ‘say’, **ukubwira** ‘tell’ and **ukubuuza** ‘ask’ in direct speech. On the other hand, the complementizer **iri** is exclusively used with the verb **ukubuuza** in indirect speech as in (77).

### ***3.1.3. Clausal structure of sentences with complement of utterance predicates***

Generally the matrix clause, the embedded clause and the complementizer are the basic components of the complement construction. The matrix clause must contain a verb of saying and the embedded clause is the complement of the verb of saying. The complementizer may or may not occur in the sentence. This is more detailed in the next section below about direct versus indirect speech.

### ***3.1.4. Direct versus indirect speech***

In any language, direct speech is different from indirect speech in many ways. Frajzyngier (1996,173) gives the following distinction: “The distinction between direct speech and indirect speech has been used to define sentences that are the direct quotation of somebody’s utterance versus sentences that have been processed by the speaker and are reported rather than quoted”. Similarly, Dik (1997, 96-97) distinguishes direct speech versus indirect speech by saying that “direct speech preserves the orientation to the parameters of the deictic centre of the original speech act reported, whereas in indirect speech the content of the complement is presented from the point of view of the deictic centre of the reporter”.

In Kifuliiru, one device to distinguish between direct and indirect speech is the omission of the complementizer. For instance, let us consider the following independent original statement in (81)

(81) **Imwi-tu tu-ta-ly-a i-suusi**  
 Home-our 1pl-NEG-eat-FVa cl.5-flies

‘in our home we do not eat flies’

Direct speech: (82) **A-na-det-a: imw-itu tu-ta-ly-a i-suusi**  
 3sg-SQ-say-FVa home-our 1pl-NEG-eat-FVa cl.5-flies

‘He/ She said: “ in our home we do not eat flies”.’

Indirect speech: (83) **A-na-det-a kwe mw -abo ba-ta-ly-a i-suusi**  
 3sg-SQ-say-FVa COMP home- his 3pl-NEG-eat-FVa cl.5-flies

‘He said that in his home they do not eat flies’.

Another evidence of direct speech in Kifuliiru is the use of the first person subject, either singular **n-** ‘I’ or plural, **tu** ‘we’ in the embedded clause, which is coreferential with the third person subject **a** ‘he’ of the matrix clause as in (82). However, in indirect speech, the structure of the matrix clause is the same as in the direct speech except in the embedded clause whereby the first person plural **tu** ‘we’ in direct speech is changed to the third person plural **ba** ‘they’ as in (83).

Another observation to make is that in direct speech versus indirect speech, there is a change in possessive pronouns marker **-itu** ‘our’ associated to location marker **imw-** into **-abo** ‘their’. For example, in direct quote, **imwitu** ‘in our home’ is changed in indirect quote to **imwabo** ‘in their home’ as in (83).

It is interesting to have noticed that, in Kifuliiru, the tense marker of the embedded clauses in both direct and indirect speech does not change (as in the examples 81 and 82).

The direct speech rather than indirect speech is also marked by the use of the device **kwokuno** ‘this’, as a linguistic indicator, after the verbs of saying in the matrix clause and again the use of the second person pronouns **u** ‘you:2sg’ or **mu** ‘you:2pl’ in the embedded clause. For example,

- (84) **Ba-na-det-a kwokuno: ‘U-kizi gendi tu- huunira bino byo kulya**  
 3pl- SQ- say-FVa COMP 2sg-CNT go 2pl.DO- ask this food  
**i mwo yo mwira witu.’**  
 to in that friend our

‘They said this: “you always have to go to ask for us this food to that friend of ours”

- (85) **Yishe a-na-ba-bwir-a kwokuno: ‘Mu-kizi kabula ishenyo nguma-nguma.’**  
 father 3sg-SQ-DO-tell-FVa COMP 2pl-CNT throw chopper one - one

‘His father told them this: “You always have to throw choppers one by one” ’

Sometimes, the subjunctive form may occur in the embedded clause in indirect quotes, as is the case in (70) and (71) above.

It is also to be noticed that for verbs of saying, the order *matrix-embedded clause*, the latter being inside or a part of the former, can be used to encode direct speech. In this case, the complementizer may or may not be omitted. For instance,

- (86) **A-na-buuz-a yiba: ‘Hayi ho li mu siga amadiku ga yizi n-yamiishwa**  
 3sg-SQ-ask-FVa husband where place Cop in leave liver of these cl.9- animal  
**zo li mu yit-a?’**  
 that Cop PROG kill-FVa

‘She asked her husband: ‘Where do you usually leave the livers of these animals that you usually kill?’

- (87) **Ulukwavu nalwo lwa-na-det-a: ‘Niehe n- ga-ba mu-geni’.**  
 Rabbit also 3sg -SQ-say-FVa me 1sg-FUT-be cl.1-host

‘The Rabbit also said: “ me, I will be the host”’

- (88) **Ha nyuma a-na-yiji det-a ti: ‘Nie mushosi, biki n- ga-yoboh-a!’**  
 After 3sg-SQ-AUX say-FVa COMP me man what 1sg-FUT-fear-FVa

‘After he said that “Me a man, what will I fear?”’



In (88) the complementizer **ti** has been retained while in (86, 87) it has been omitted. After having seen the different possibilities of the use of verbs of saying in both direct and indirect speech, the exception is to be exclusively made for the verb **ukuganuula** ‘to talk’. This verb, like English ‘talk’, does not take object complement clauses, whether direct or indirect speech as in (89) below.

(89) **Â-li mu-ganuul-a na ba-ndi ba-ndu**  
 3sg-Cop-PROG -talk- FVa with cl.2-others cl.2-person

‘He is talking with other people’

### 3.2. Complements of Verbs of Cognition

Noonan (cited in Shopen, 1997, 113) calls them propositional attitude predicates that express an attitude regarding the truth of the proposition expressed as complement. This propositional attitude may be positive as in the verbs *believe*, *think*, *suppose*, *assume* etc., or negative as in *not believe*, *doubt*, *deny*, etc.

#### 3.2.1 The meaning of the verbs of Cognition

Frajzyngier (1996, 289) says that ‘ ‘cognitive verbs’ refer to verbs that correspond to Indo-European languages equivalents of ‘*know*’. Also Payne (1997, 59) says that the verbs of cognition express such concepts as *know*, *think*, *understand*, *learn*, *remember*, and *forget*.

Cognition verbs express or encode ‘mental attitudes such as knowledge, belief or pertaining to the proposition in the complement sentence’ (Givón 1984, 119). In our study, we would like to limit our research to the verb of *knowing*. Kifuliiru has one cognitive verb of knowing: **ukumenya** ‘to know’ which has its irregular or secondary form of **yiji** ‘know’ as in (90) and (91) below. Therefore, unlike in French that has two different verbs of cognition: **savoir** encoding the ability

to perform an action and **connaître** encoding knowledge of an event, and like in English that has only one verb ‘know’. However, there is another kind of verb that is semantically the equivalent of the meaning in French of the verb **savoir** but which is unusual because it does not fulfill the property of a normal verb. This is the so-called verb stem **yiji**. This one is an irregular or secondary form only used in the present tense of the indicative or declarative form (either positive or negative). It also has a zero infinitive mark.

(90) **Kere a- na-det-a kwo yehe a- ta-yiji shona.**  
 frog 3sg -SQ-say-FVa COMP he-EMPH 3sg-NEG-know climb up

‘The frog said that it does not know how to climb up’

(91) **N- da- yiji iri a- ga- yij- a kusheezi kandi iri ubugakya.**  
 1sg-NEG-know COMP 3sg-FUT-come-FVa tomorrow or day after

‘I don’t know if he will come tomorrow or the day after tomorrow’.

As can be seen in these two examples, the verb **yiji** used in both embedded (90) and matrix (91) clauses remains unchangeable and occurs only in the present tense. It is also important to note that this secondary form is a *stative verb* with double function. It can function in some way as Bybee says (1994, 318) as an auxiliary as in (88) and also as present tense as in (91).

(92) **Mu-yiji kwo mushosi a- ta- but- a.**  
 2pl-know COMP man 3sg-NEG-give birth-FVa

‘ You know that a man does not give birth’

When **yiji** is the verb of the matrix clause, the embedded complement clause is introduced with either the complementizer **iri** as in (91) or the complementizer **kwo** as in (90). The only difference between the two complementizers is that with the **iri** complementizer the speaker’s attitude is of doubt while with the **kwo** complementizer the speaker’s attitude is of certainty.

### 3.2.2. Complementizers of verbs of cognition

Compared with utterance predicates which may use different complementizers like **mbu**, **ti**, **iri** and **kwo**, the verb of cognition ‘know’ **kumenya** occurs with only two complementizers **kwo** and **iri**.

### 3.2.3. Embedded structure of verbs of cognition

The structure of complements of verbs of cognition is the same as the structure of those with utterance predicates (see 2.5). Here are examples:

- (93) **Iyo mbeba ya- na-det-a kwo i- hiiti a- ba- ana baayo**  
 That rat NEUT-SQ-say-FVa COMP NEUT-have AUG-cl.2- children its  
 S V O

‘That rat said that it does not have its children.’

- (94) **Mukaage a- na-meny-a kwo yiba a- koli lwaziri.**  
 wife (his) 3sg-SQ-know- FVa COMP husband(her) 3sg-Cop sick  
 S V O

‘And his wife knew that her husband was already sick’

### 3.2.4. Coding of the modality of knowing

Consider the following examples:

- (95) **Mukaage a- na-meny-a kwo yiba a- koli lwaziri.**  
 wife (his) 3sg-SQ- know- FVa COMP husband(her) 3sg-Cop sick

‘And his wife knew that her husband was already sick’

- (96) **Hanyuma bombi ba-na-meny-a kwo lukwavu lwo lu- li mu ba- teerani-a.**  
 after both 3pl-SQ-know-FVa COMP rabbit which NEUT-Cop in 3sg.DO  
 incite- FVa

‘After that, both of them knew that it was the rabbit that was inciting them’.

- (97) **Na-meny-a kwo u- ga- balam-a kusheezi**  
 1sg-know-FVa COMP 2sg-FUT-travel- FVa tomorrow

‘I know that you will travel tomorrow’

From the examples above, it can be observed that the verb **kumenya** ‘to know’ uses the complementizer **kwo**. In indirect speech, with the third person subject of the matrix clause as in (95) and (96), the verb **kumenya** is used only when the speaker shares belief in the truth of the proposition. With the first person subject of the matrix clause as in (97), the verb **kumenya** is used only when the speaker believes in the truth of the proposition. In this case, the complementizer indicates that the source of knowledge is the speaker’s personal experience. Also, the same complementizer **kwo** is used to mark acquisition of knowledge as in (95).

### 3.3. Complements of Verbs of perception

Generally, perception verbs entail a simultaneous perception between some perceiver and some state of affairs in the world and also reflect the fact that there is some kind of *contact* between the senses and some stimuli in the world (Follingstad, 2001,447).

In Kifuliiru, the verb **ukubona** ‘to see’ and **ukuyuvwa** ‘to hear’ are the major verbs of perception.

#### 3.3.1. Complementizers of verbs of perception.

For verbs of perception, the complementizer **kwo** is the one that is mainly used. For example,

- (98) **A-na-bon-a kwo a- ma- tumu ga- li mu n- yumba.**  
 3sg-SQ-see-FVa COMP AUG-cl.5- arrow NEUT-Cop in cl.9- house

‘He saw that the arrow was in the house’.

Another observation to make is found in example (99) below:

- (99) **A-na-bon-a a- ma- tumu ga- li mu n- yumba.**  
 3sg-SQ-see-FVa AUG-cl.5- arrow NEUT-Cop in cl.9- house

‘He saw that the arrow was in the house’.



In this example, we see that for verbs of perception, sometimes there is omission of the complementizer. The verb of matrix clause is [**bona**] ‘see’. The embedded clause is [**amatumu gali mu nyumba**] ‘the arrows are in the house’. This embedded clause functions as the object complement of the matrix clause [**anabona amatumu gali mu nyumba**] ‘he saw that the arrow was in the house’.

### 3.3.2. *Embedded verb structure*

Frajzyngier (1996, 273) says that there are two main semantic domains with respect to complementation after verbs of perception. One domain is direct evidence as in (99), when the subject of the main verb has seen or heard the event described in the embedded clause. The other is indirect evidence as in (100 and 101) below, when the subject of the matrix clause only concludes about the event described in the embedded clause. In Kifuliiru, we will focus our observation on two verbs of perception: **ukubona** ‘to see’ and **ukuyuvwa** ‘to hear’. For instance,

- (100) **Na-yuvw-a kwo mu-kaawe keera a-gend-i gu- leet-a.**  
 1sg-hear-FVa COMP cl.1- wife(your) already 3sg-go- FVi 3sg.DO- bring-FVa

‘I hear that your wife has already gone to bring it.’

- (101) **Yishe wo yo munyere a-na-yuvw-a kwo yabo ba-tabana ba-kola**  
 father of That girl 3sg-SQ-hear-FVa COMP Those cl.2- boy 3pl-Cop  
**mu hambanw-a**  
 in argue- FVa

‘The father of that girl heard that those boys have started arguing’

- (102) **Mwami a-na-bon-a kwo mu-kolwa gwa-kol- w- a nga kwa**  
 chief 3sg-SQ-see-FVa COMP cl.1- work NEUT-work-PASS-FVa as that  
**ka- det-a.**  
 PAST- say-FVa

‘The chief saw that the work has been done as he said’

### 3.4. Complements of Verbs of volition

#### 3.4.1. Verbs of volition in Kifuliiru

By definition, a volitional verb is ‘one where the action takes place as a consequence of the choice’ (Crystal 1997, 414), in other words, it refers to a kind of relationship between an AGENT and a VERB. In Kifuliiru, we have the following types of volitional verbs: **kulooza** ‘to want’, **kusiima** ‘like’ or to ‘love’, **kuyifwija** ‘to desire’.

#### 3.4.2. Embedded verb structure and their appropriate complementizers

In this part, our focus will be on the infinitive complements and subjunctive mood in the embedded clause.

##### 3.4.2.1. The Infinitival Complements

For verbs of volition, the infinitive form of the verb is the most frequent in the same subject embedded clauses in Kifuliiru. For the examples,

(103) **Uyo mu-kazi a-tâ- li kizi looz-a uku-hakir-a Kirikondo**  
 that cl.1- wife 3sg-NEG-Cop- CNT want- FVa INF- give food-FVa Kirikondo  
**ibyo kulya biija.**  
 food good

‘ That wife did not want to give Kirikondo nice food’

In this example, the subjects of the main and the embedded clauses are the same. In the embedded clause, the same subject is not coded overtly. This is *equi NP deletion*; that is, linguistically, an obligatory rule in classical transformational grammar, which deletes a noun phrase from a complement clause in a sentence when it is identical in meaning (co-referential) with another noun phrase in the main clause of the same sentence (Crystal 1997,138). In the main clause, **uyo mukazi** is the

nominal subject of the verb of volition **kulooza**. The same nominal subject is also the subject of the embedded infinitive clause.

The sentence **ukuhakira Kirikondo ibyokulya biija** ‘to give Kirikondo nice food’ is the object complement clause of the verb **kulooza** ‘want’, introduced by the infinitive marker **uku** ‘to’ functioning as a complementizer. In Kifuliiru as well as in English, the infinitive form plays an important role in complement clauses of volitional verbs. It should also be noted that the infinitival clauses are not limited to the same-subject situation only. They can also have different-subject as in (107, 108) below.

#### 3.4.2.2. *Subjunctive Mood in the Embedded Clause*

As we have already seen in the previous chapter (2.4.1.3), Kifuliiru has an inflectional device for the coding of the subjunctive mood, a suffix on the verb. Let us consider the following examples:

(104) **A- ta- li mu looz-a kwa hanuul-w- e**  
 3sg-NEG-Cop in want-FVa COMP advise- PASS-FVe.SUBJNT

‘He does want to be advised’

(105) **Yizo n- yamiishwa iri zi- ka- yij- a za- na-siim-a**  
 those cl.10-animal when NEUT-PAST-come-FVa NEUT-SQ-like- FVa  
**kwo zi- kaluuk-e**  
 COMP NEUT- warm- FVe.SUBJNT

‘When those animals came, they liked to warm themselves up’

(106) **A- na- ka- yifwij-a kwa ka- yit-e**  
 3sg-SQ-3sg.DO-desire- FVa COMP 3sg.DO- kill-FVe.SUBJNT

‘And he desired to kill it’

The marker of the subjunctive mood in the embedded complement clause is the final vowel **e** of its verb. With verbs of volition, the embedded clause is introduced by the obligatory complementizer **kwo** (this is the same as **kwa** despite their morphophonemic change) in subjunctive mood.

### 3.4.3. Different subjects with volitional verbs

#### 3.4.3.1. The use of Complementizer

We have already seen the case whereby the complementizer is omitted with the use of the infinitive form in the embedded clause if the subject of the matrix is the same (co-referential) with that of the embedded complement clause (see example 105). Moreover, there is another case whereby the subjects may be different. When this happens, the complementizer cannot be omitted. Consider the following examples:

- (107) N- **da- loziiz-i**    **kwo**    **u- n-**    **des- e**  
 1sg-NEG-want- FVi    COMP    2sg-1sg.DO-talk to- FVe.SUBJNT

‘I don’t want you to talk to me’

- (108) N- **doziiz-i**    **kwo**    **u- yij-**    **e**  
 1sg-want- FVa    COMP    2sg-come-FVe.SUBJNT

‘I want you to come’

The verbs of volition take a **kwo** complement when the wish involves a different person than the subject of the wish.

In the two examples above, the subject of the main clause is **n-** ‘I’ first singular and that of the embedded clause is **u-** ‘you’ second singular. The particle **kwo** is the complementizer that occurs between the two clauses. So when the subjects are different, the wish is presented in a clause, which is juxtaposed to the matrix volition verb as in (108). Therefore, this leads us to the conclusion that the verbs of volition require the complementizer when the wish involves a different person than the subject of the wish.



### 3.5 Summary

To sum up, we can summarize, as results of our analysis, the different types of Complement-Taking Predicates (CTP) of this chapter in the following chart :

CTPs	C o m p l e m e n t i z e r s					Complement construction
	<i>kwo</i>	<i>Mbu</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>iri</i>	<i>kwokuno</i>	
<b>Utterance(saying)</b>						
<i>deta</i>	√	√	√		√	indicative subjunctive imperative
<i>bwira</i>	√	√			√	indicative subjunctive
<i>hamagala</i>	√					subjunctive
<i>buuza</i>				√		indicative
<i>yidodomba</i>	√					indicative
<i>shuvya</i>	√					indicative
<i>ganuula</i>	-					infinitive
<b>Cognition</b>						indicative
<i>menya</i>	√					
<b>Perception</b>	√					indicative
<i>bona</i>						
<i>yuvwa</i>	√					indicative
<b>Volition</b>						infinitive subjunctive
<i>looza</i>	-					

## CHAPTER 4

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study of the complement clauses in Kifuliiru has been divided into three main chapters. The first chapter is ‘Introduction’; the second chapter is ‘Constituent parameters for Kifuliiru complement clauses’ and the third chapter is ‘Different types of Complement-Taking Predicates (CTPs)’.

In chapter one, we presented the language in terms of its linguistic classification, its morphological typology, its phonology and finally its constituent order typology. Kifuliiru is a polysynthetic Bantu language with SVO as its pragmatically neutral order of constituents.

In chapter two, we studied the constituent parameters for Kifuliiru complement clauses in which we examined finite and nonfinite complement clauses, the subject and object complement, the morphology of complements, the clausal order and raising to object as a coding device. In Kifuliiru the finite complement clauses occur in all the tenses, modes, and aspects whereas the non-finite complement clauses are not inflected for tense or agreement. This is the case of the infinitive form termed an ‘infinitival clause’.

It has been discovered that Kifuliiru may have four main complement types, which are the **kwo** clause, the **uku**-clause (or infinitive clause), the **ubu**-clause (or the verbal noun clause), and the **subjunctive** clause. The complementizers are **kwo**, **mbu**, **uku**, **ti**, **kwokuno**, **iri (angaba)**.

We also realized that the clausal order in both matrix and embedded clause is SVO. In subject-to-object raising, the complementizer is omitted and the nominal

subject of the embedded clause comes always after the verb or as part of the verb in the matrix clause when raised to object.

In chapter three, we examined the different types of complement-taking predicates (CTPs) and their morphosyntactic characteristics. We mainly dealt with the utterance predicates, the complement of verbs of cognition, the complement of verbs of perception, and the complement of the verbs of volition.

In utterance predicates, direct speech often omits the complementizer and sometimes is marked linguistically by **kwokuno**, which is used as a linguistic indicator whereas the use of the complementizer in indirect speech is obligatory.

The verbs of cognition occur with only two complementizers, **kwo** and **iri**. The latter marks indirect interrogative equivalent of ‘whether’. The structure of complements of verbs of cognition is the same as the structure of that with utterance verbs.

The verbs of perception use mainly the complementizer **kwo**.

The verbs of volition do not allow any complementizer; it is the infinitive form of the verb that is the most frequent either in the same-subject or different-subject embedded clauses in Kifuliiru. In Kifuliiru as well as in English, the infinitive form plays an important role in complement clauses of volitional verbs. The subjunctive clause with different-subject is marked with the final vowel **e** of the verb of the embedded clause introduced by the complementizers **kwo** and **mbu**.

Finally, I ought to declare that the present work is not exhaustive; further analysis and research is necessary, in particular on Mood and Modality in complement clauses.

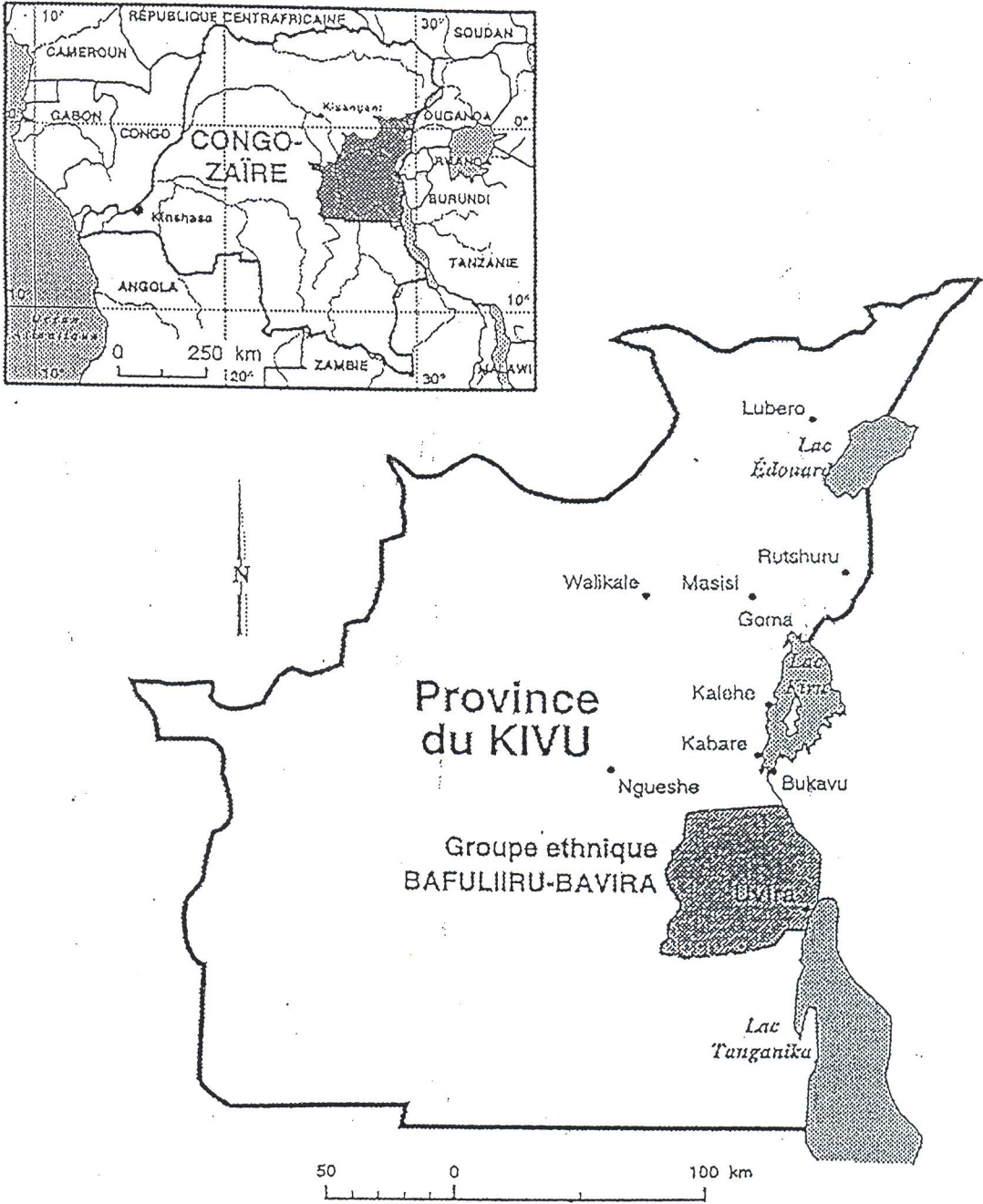
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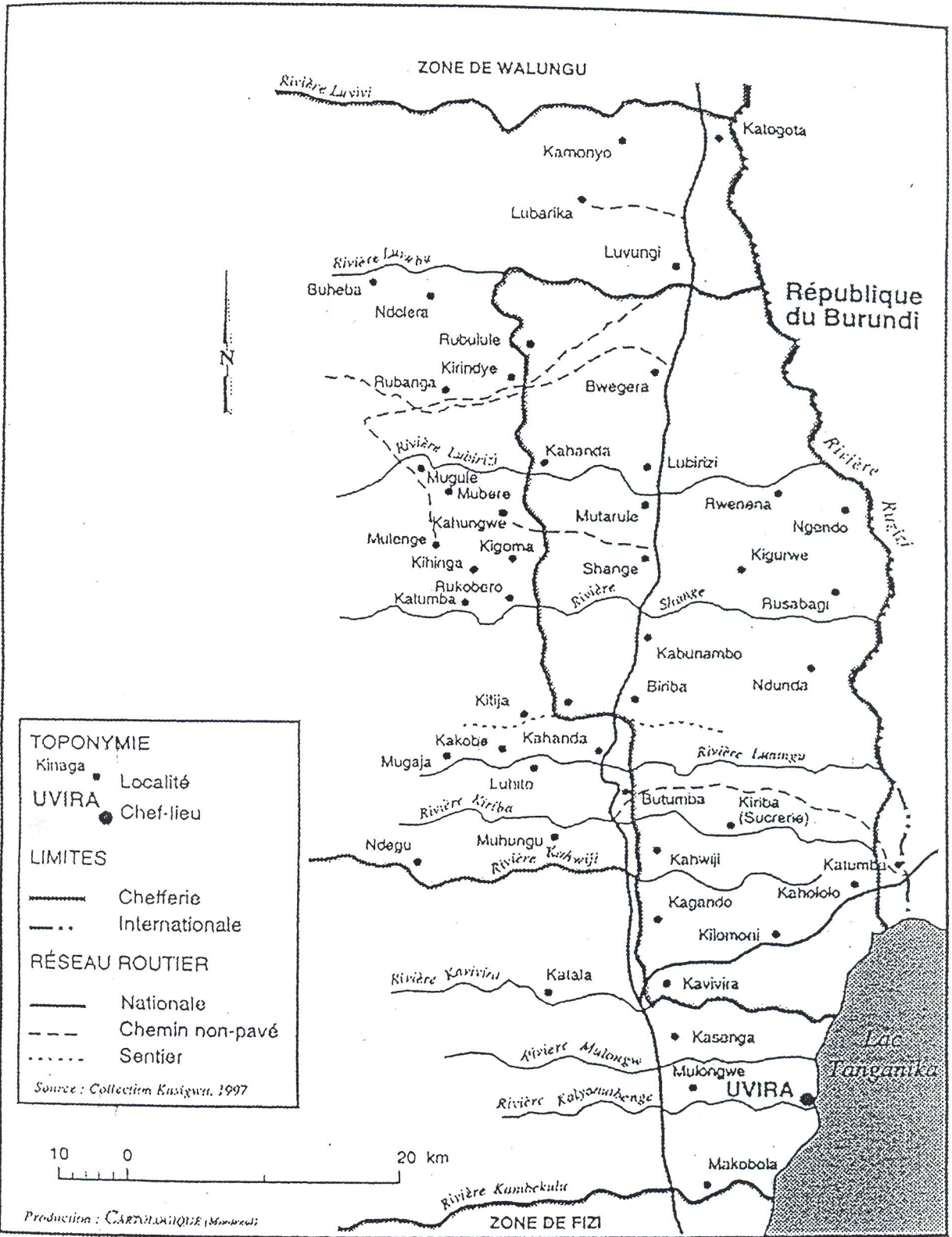


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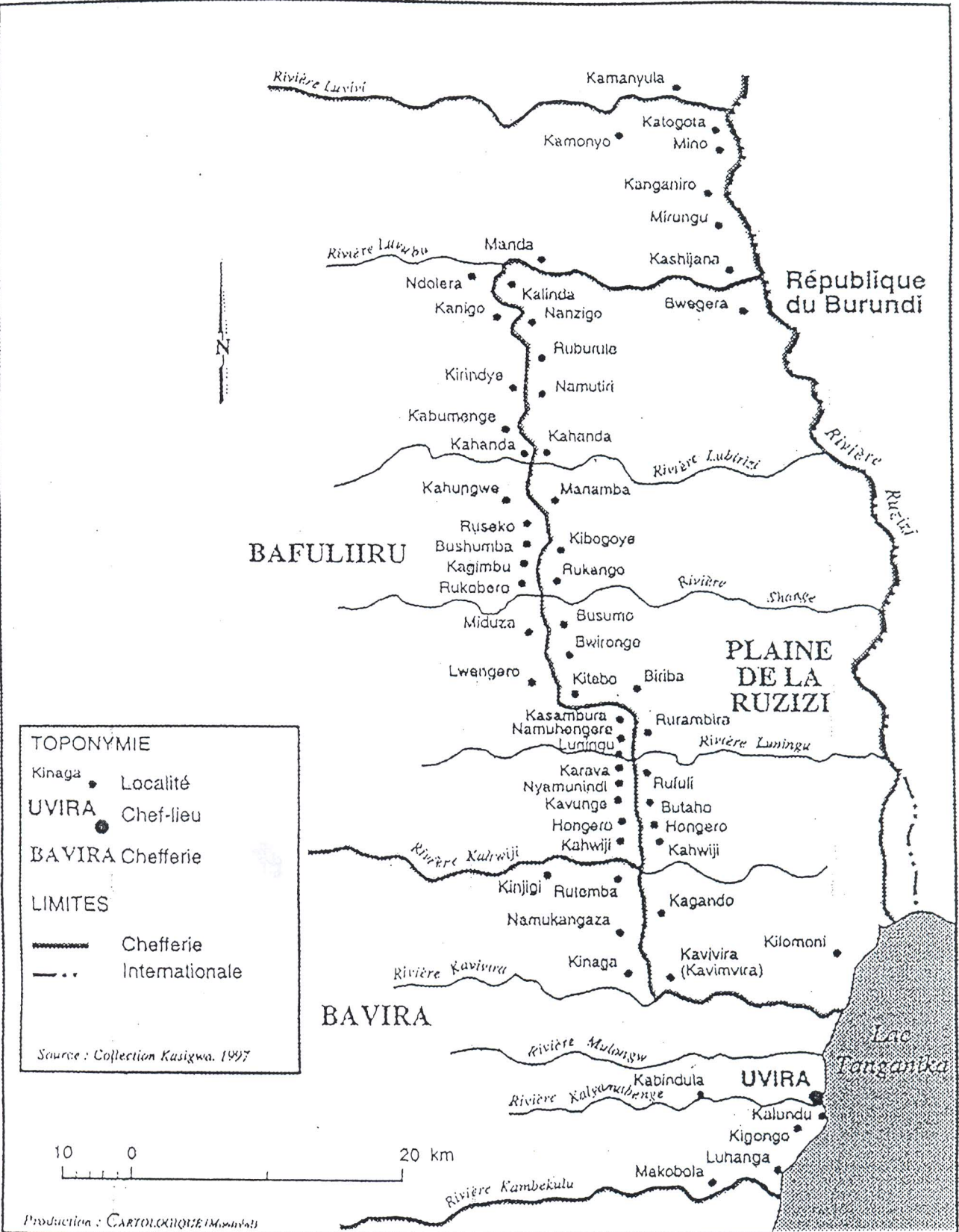
APPENDIX A : Maps



Map 1. Location of Kivu within the Democratic Republic of Congo  
(Katchelewa 2001, 16)



Map 2. Uvira Territory  
(Katchelewa 2001, 49)

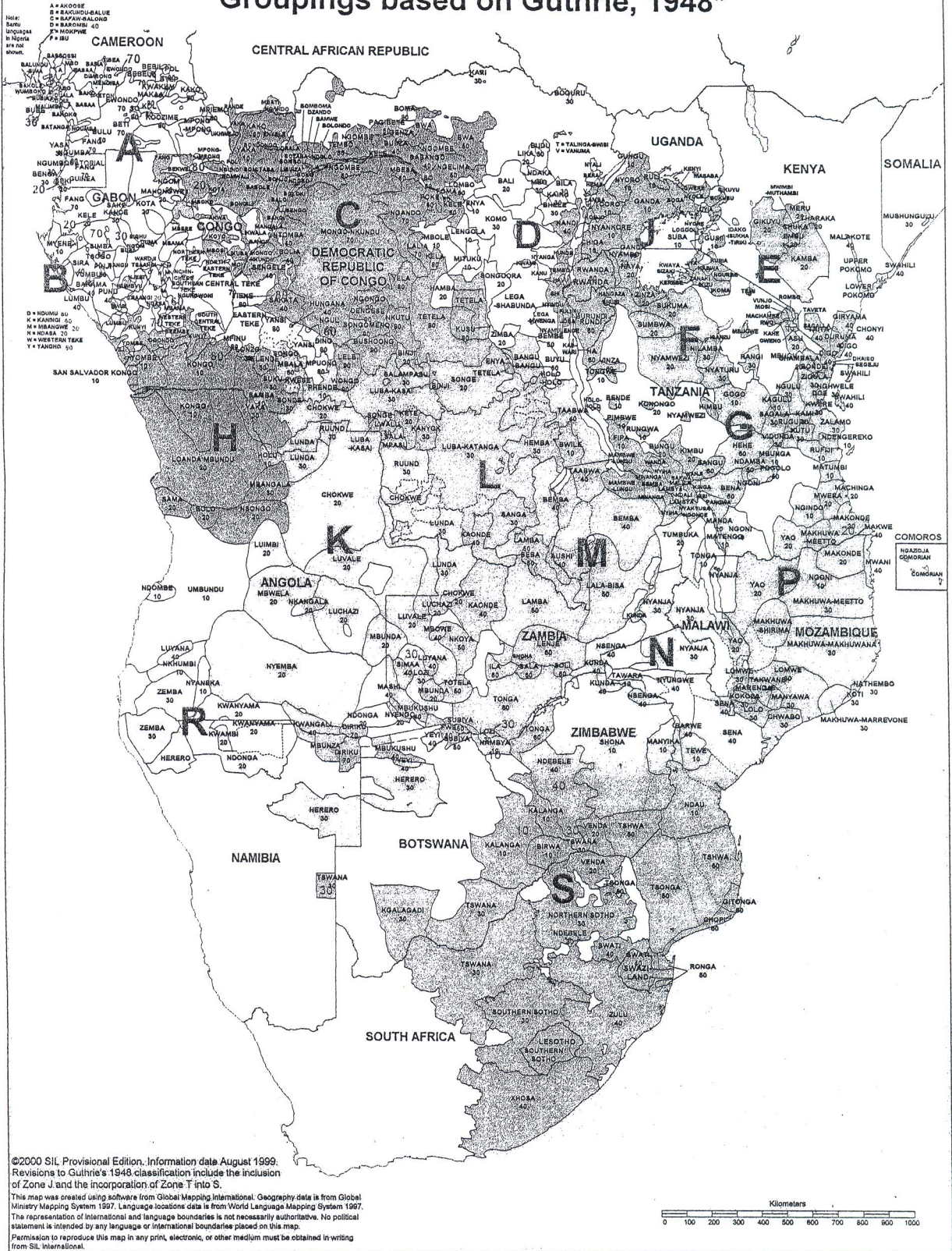


**Map 3. Administrative boundaries of the chieftainship of Uvira territory**  
(Katchlewa 2001, 50)



# The Bantu Languages of Africa

## Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948\*



Map 4. The Bantu Languages of Africa  
(Groupings based on Guthrie, 1948)

©2000 SIL. Provisional Edition. Information date August 1999.  
 Revisions to Guthrie's 1948 classification include the inclusion of Zone J and the incorporation of Zone T into S.  
 This map was created using software from Global Mapping International. Geography data is from Global Ministry Mapping System 1997. Language locations data is from World Language Mapping System 1997.  
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## APPENDIX B : Narrative text.

(The complementizers in this text are underlined>)

### Narrative discourse: Ulukwavu ne Kishegeshe

The Rabbit and the Porcupine

1. **Lusiku luguma, Ulukwavu ne Kishegeshe bakabalama kuguma.**  
*day one Rabbit and Porcupine traveled together.*

One day, Rabbit and Porcupine traveled together.

2. **Ikihe bakaba bakola mu genda, Ulukwavu lwanabwira uwabo tye yaga,**  
*when they were in go Rabbit told his friend that my friend*  
**abandu batabalama kuguma batanamenyana amaziina.**  
*people they cannot travel together without knowing each one names.*

When they were on the way, Rabbit told his friend that “ My dear friend, people cannot travel together without knowing one another’s names”.

3. **Uwabo anashuvya ti: niehe nie Kishegeshe.**  
*his friend he replied that me I am Porcupine.*

His friend replied that I am Porcupine.

4. **Ulukwavu nalwo ti niehe naani nie Bageezi.**  
*Rabbit too that me too I am Host.*

Rabbit also said that I am the Host

5. **Banagendererega no lugezi halinde banahika mu kaaya kaguma**  
*they went on with journey until they reached in village one*  
**mu mugorooba.**  
*in the evening.*

They went on with their journey until they reached a village.



6. **Banahuuna he bagalaala i mwo muingi wa kaaya.**  
they asked for place they will sleep to in Chief of village

They asked the chief of the village for a place to sleep.

7. **Uyo muingi anabwira abandu baage tye balye: hano hakola abageezi.**  
that Chief he told people his that my friend here their care Hosts.

That chief told his people that “ My dear friends, the Hosts are now in our midst”.

8. **Mubaloozeze ibyo bagalya na he bagagweejera**  
look for them what they will eat and place they will sleep.

Look for food for them and also a place where they will sleep.

9. **Ibyokulya byanaloozibwa. Banabatwalira byo.**  
food it was looked for. They took to them it

People looked for food and they took it to them.

10. **Banadeta: ø “Ibyokulya bino ee bageezi.”**  
they said: zero COMP “ food this you Hosts.”

They said: “ Dear Hosts, here is food .”

11. **Ee, kongwa bweneene, tutanamali shalika.**  
yes, thanks a lot, we already are hungry.

Yes, thank you so much, in fact we are already hungry

12. **Iri bakabaleetera ibyo kulya, banayikaraba.**  
when they brought them food they washed their hands

After having brought food to them, they started washing their hands.

13. **Iri bakayuusa ukuyikaraba mbu balyagage, Ulukwavu lwanabwira**  
when they finished to wash hands that they eat, Rabbit told

**uwabo ti ko'galya wee, nanga , mu kuba bikiri byani nie Bageezi.**  
his friend that Q. Will eat you , no because it is still for me I am Host

When they finished washing their hands, Rabbit told Porcupine that you are not going to eat because this food has been prepared for the Host whom I am.

14. **Wehe ulinde mu kuba iziina lyawe litazidetwa. Ibyawe bigakiyija.**  
 you wait, because name your it is not say. Your food it will come

It would be better for you to wait for your food because your name has not been mentioned yet.

15. **Ulukwavu lwanalya, lwanayima uwabo. Bwanayiira, bwanakya.**  
 Rabbit it ate, it forgot his friend. It got dark, it comes the day

Rabbit ate and forgot about his friend. It got dark until the next day

16. **Banagenderere no lugeezi lwabo halinde banahika mu kandi kaaya.**  
 they went on with journey their until they entered in another village.

They went on with their journey until they arrived in another village

17. **Ulukwavu lwanashubi gira uwabo kandi kwokulya-kwokulya. Mu bushigi,**  
 Rabbit it again do his friend again the same- same thing. In night,  
**ishali lyanakayira uwabo Kishegeshe .**  
 hunger caused trouble his friend Porcupine .

Rabbit did again the same thing to his friend. At night, Porcupine suffered a lot from hunger

18. **Yako kaaya kanaba kazungulusirwi ne ndalo zo tubemba. Kirya Kishegeshe**  
 that village it was surrounded with fields of groundnuts. That Porcupine  
**kyanayingiraga mu ziryanda ndalo, kyanalya akabemba ngana-ngana.**  
 It went in those field it ate groundnut again- again .

That village was surrounded by the fields of groundnuts. That Porcupine went into those fields and ate seriously all groundnuts

19. **Na byanaboneka kwo ngaba Kishegeshe akalaalika izindi nyamishwa**  
 and it looks like COMP maybe Porcupine it had invited other animals  
**ukulaala mu yizo ndalo no kuzisibya bweneene**  
 to sleep in those fields and exterminate so much

It seemed that Porcupine had invited other animals to spend a night in those fields and to destroy them.



20. **Iri bukakya, abandu banagwana o indalo zaabo zashereezibwa.**  
 in the morning, people they found zero COMP fields their have been damaged.

**Akabemba kooshi kalibwa mu ndalo.**  
 groundnuts all it was eaten in fields.

In the morning, they found that all their fields have been damaged and all groundnuts had been eaten.

21. **Banayamiza bweneene mu kuba ibyaba, bitazindi'ba na lusiku.**  
 They shouted so much because what happened it has never happened and day

**Akaaya kooshi kanadota induulu nyingi.**  
 village whole shouted shout a lot

They shouted a lot because what happened had never happened anywhere

22. **Banayibuuza hayi yibi byashaaga? Balya bageezi bo baleeta luno.**  
 they asked themselves, where these they came from. those Hosts the ones they brought it.

They asked themselves, "where do all these things come from?" It is those Hosts who brought it.

23. **Abageezi banahamagalwa, banasambiisibwa.**  
 Hosts they were called, they were interrogated

They called the Hosts and interrogated them.

24. **Ulukwavu lwanadeta kwo mbere mugatuhana, mu tee tushaaza.**  
 Rabbit it said that before you will punish us, you first keep us away.

Rabbit said that before you punish us, first of all, keep us away

25. **Iri bakabashaaza, Kishegeshe anashala utubemba. Anashulikwa**  
 when they kept them away, Porcupine it vomited groundnuts. He was beaten

**bweene hoofi ukufwa.**  
 So much half to dead.

After having kept them away, Porcupine started vomiting groundnuts. He was seriously beaten and left half dead.

26. **Hanyuma, Banabaliika. Banagenderere no lugeezi lwabo.**  
 after they released them. They went on with their journey.

After being beaten, they were released and went on with their journey

27. **Iri bakahika ku kandi kaaya, banagwana mwami ø wa yako kaaya**  
 when they arrived to other village, they found chief zero COMP of that village

**alwaziri bweneene.**

He is so much

When they arrived in another village, they found that The Chief of that village was seriously sick.

28. **Abandu baage banabuuze yabo bageezi iri bangamenya umuti**  
 people his they asked those Hosts COMP they might know medicine

**gwo kubuka Mwami.**

of to heal chief

His people asked those hosts whether they might know the medicine to heal the Chief.

29. **Kishegeshe anadeta: ‘yubwo bulwazi umuti gwabo luli luhu lwo lukwavu’.**  
 Porcupine it said that illness medicine its is skin of Rabbit

Porcupine said: “ The medicine of Chief’s illness is the skin of the Rabbit”.

30. **Ego, luhu lwo lukwavu! Aaho zamaliba maana zino, mu kuba Ulukwavu**  
 yeah! Skin of Rabbit! Now, it is luck this because Porcupine

**lwoluno hano lwatuyisheegula**

it is here it brought itself .

Yeah! Rabbit’s skin! It has now been good luck for the Chief because here is the Rabbit which has come by itself.

31. **Banagwata lulya Ulukwavu, banaluyita. Uluhu lwalwo lwanabuka Mwami.**  
 they caught that Rabbit, they killed it. skin its it healed Chief

They caught that Rabbit and they killed it .Its skin healed the Chief.

32. **Ilyotangasiima bakugirire, utakolwe kwo waligirira ugundi.**  
 what would not like they do it for you you not never COMP you do it to another.

What you would not like people to do to you, do not do it to another

33. **Ho lufumo lutondeerera ho lunamalira.**  
 Where story it begins, where it ends.

The story ends where it started.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

### A. Personal data

**Name:** (Nda)kamaro Busongoye Joseph  
**Date and place of birth:** 1962 at Kiliba Musenga  
**Citizenship:** Congolese  
**Marital status:** Married to Bahati Kabegetwa Mary  
**Children:** Riziki Sarah, Baraka Busongoye, Asante Rusaka, Esther Mwamini Kamaro, Lucas Ngalonga Kamaro

### B. Academic qualifications

- 1984:** Diploma in Education at Institut Taraja de Kiliba, (DR-Congo)
- 1988:** Bachelor in Theology at Institut Supérieur de Théologie Evangélique au Kivu (Bukavu, DR-Congo)  
Thesis: *L'Education Morale dans la Communauté Traditionelle Fuliiru.*
- 1991:** Degree in Theology at Institut Supérieur de Théologie Evangélique au Kivu (Bukavu, DR-Congo)  
Thesis: *La Foi et la Raison dans la Formation Théologique: Compatibilité or Incompatibilité .*
- 2005:** Master of Arts in Translation Studies (candidate) at NEGST  
Thesis (Linguistic Project): *Complement Clauses in Kifuliiru*  
Translation Practicum: *Translation of the book of Jonah into Kifuliiru with commentary.*

### C. Work experience

- 1984-1986:** Teacher at Secondary school, (ITKI, DRC)
- 1988 upto date:** Pastoring in a Pentecostal Local Church, 8e-CEPAC-Kiliba, in DRC
- 1996:** Teacher at Bible School (EBU) at Uvira-Kasenga, DRC
- 1991-2000:** Ten (10) years of involvement in Bible Translation as a Translator in Kifuliiru Project with a SIL Linguist-exegete Mr. Roger Van Otterloo