Subject-agreeing Complementizers and Their Functions in Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, and Luvale

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1. Introduction

Complementizers in some African languages have been analyzed as having derived from the verb 'say' (Givón 1972a; Ngonyani 1999). This paper shows that complementizers in four closely related languages Bantu languages, namely Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, and Luvale spoken in northwest Zambia and some adjacent parts of Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo, might have originated from personal possessive pronominal stems. The complementizers are not characteristic of most of the Bantu languages in that they are inflected for number and person, that is, they agree with the subject of the main clause.

Besides describing the morphology of the complementizers, the paper analyzes in detail their various functions and uses in the four languages. They are used to introduce declarative complement clauses, subjunctive complement clauses, direct and indirect quotatives, and complements of object phrases. Another peculiar feature of these types of complementizers is that the verb of the main clause may be deleted.

2. Independent pronouns and possessive pronouns

There seems to exist a connection between independent pronouns, possessive pronouns, and subject-agreeing complementizers in morphological terms. The first and second person independent pronouns and personal possessive pronominal stems are identical. While independent pronouns can stand alone as words, possessive pronominal stems can only occur attached to the agreement prefixes whose forms are determined by the noun class of the possessed element. Compare the examples of constructions with independent pronouns in (1) and Table 1 and those of possessive pronouns in (2) and Table 2.[1, 2]

(1) a. Chokwe
    Etu   tú-li   uka   wetu.
    PRO1pl SA1pl-be   alone   PRO1pl
    'We are alone.'

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[1] The following abbreviations are used in this paper: APPL applicative, CAUS causative, COMP complementizer, CONJ conjunction, COP copula, DEM demonstrative, EMP emphatic, FUT future, fv final vowel, IMP imperative, IMPF imperfective, INF infinitive, LOC locative affix, NEG negative, OM object prefix/marker, POSS possessive, PRO pronoun, POSS possessive, Q interrogative, QUOT quotative, REL relative clause, RFUT remote future, RP remote past, SA subject prefix/agreement, SUBJ subjunctive, TAM tense, aspect and mood, TNS tense, 1sg first person singular, 1pl first person plural, 2sg second person singular, 2pl second person plural. Numbers denote the various noun classes, Ø null subject. Classes 1 and 2 refer to human third person singular and plural.

[2] The orthography used in this paper is that recommended and adopted by the Zambian Ministry of Education for the seven major languages. The velar nasal is represented by ñ and the voiced palatal fricative by the symbol *zh*.

   b.   Luchazi
      Ange   yange   nji-na-mw-iz-i.
      PRO1sg   PRO1sg SA1sg-TAM-OM1-know-fv
      'I know him'

   c.   Lunda
      Ami   n-a-mon-a   mukwenzi.
      PRO1sg SA1sg-TNS-see-fv   youth
      'I saw the youth.'

   d.   Luvale
      Va-a-mu-mwene   ikiye
      SA2-TNS-OM1-see.RP-fv PRO1
      'They saw him.'

In Tables 1 and 2, class 1 and class 2 pronouns refer to the human third person singular and plural pronouns, respectively.

	Chokwe	Luchazi	Lunda	Luvale
1sg	ami	ange	ami	ami
2sg	yena	ove	eyi	ove
class 1	iye	ikiye	yena	ikiye
1pl	etu	etu	etu	etu
2pl	enu	enu	enu	enu
class 2	ayo	bakiku	wena	vakiko

Table 1. Independent Pronouns

In the following examples of possessive constructions, the possessive pronoun comes after the possessed element with which it agrees in number, person, and noun class. The possessive pronouns display prefixes of different forms depending on the noun class of the possessum.

(2) a.   Chokwe
       chi-soka   ch-e
       7-basket   7-POSS2sg
       'your basket'

    b.   Luchazi
       ka-ngátu   ka-ánge
       12-cat   12-POSS1sg
       'my cat'

    c.   Lunda
       mu-koko   w-índi
       3-sheep   3-POSS1
       'his sheep'

    d.   Luvale
       ká-wa   k-ove
       12-dog 12-POSS2sg
       'your dog'

	Chokwe	Luchazi	Lunda	Luvale
1sg	ami	ange	ami	ami
2sg	e	ove	eyi	ove
class1	enyi	eni	indi	enyi
1pl	etu	etu	etu	etu
2pl	enu	enu	enu	enu
class 2	o	avo	awu	avo

Table 2: Possessive Pronominal Stems

3. Complementizers

Complementizers that introduce declarative complement clauses consist of an invariable prefix and a pronominal stem, which varies according to the number and person of the subject of the main clause (Horton 1949; White 1949; Fleisch 2000; and Kawasha 2003). In Chokwe, Luchazi, and Luvale the invariant prefix is *ngw-*, but in Lunda it is *n-*. The complementizer agrees in number and person with the subject of the main clause. (This type of agreement differs from the verbal and modifier agreements in that it is the stem that varies in form rather than the prefix). These complementizers can be traced to the possessive personal pronouns, unlike complementizers in some Bantu languages such as Bemba (Givón 1972: 126, 2001: 70), Kiswahili (Ngonyani 1999), and KiKaonde, and West African languages such as Kwa and Ewe (Hopper and Traugott 1997), where the complementizers derive from verbs of saying like *ti* and *kwamba*.[3]

(3) a. Chokwe
   Ka-na-amb-e   ngwenyi   mw-angana   h-a-fw-a.
   SA1-TAM-say-fv   COMP1   1-chief   TAM-SA1-die-fv
   'He said that the chief is dead.'

   b. Luchazi
   Mbambi   u-a-san-ene   ngweni   mbati.
   9.duiker   SA1-TNS-call-RP   COMP1   9.tortoise
   'The duiker called (that), "tortoise".'

   c. Lunda
   Mu-kwénzi   w-e-eluk-ili   níndi   mpáta   y-a-telela   ku-himp-ew-a.
   1-youth   SA1-TNS-know-RP   COMP1   8.country   SA8-TNS-ought   INF-change-PASS-fv
   'The youth knew that the country ought to be changed.'

   d. Luvale
   Ø-na-tu-lwez-e   ngwenyi   na-ngu-land-a.[4]
   SA1-TAM-OM1pl-tell-fv   COMP1   SA1-FUT-buy -fv
   'He has told us (that), "I will buy".'

The example in (3a) has a class 1 complementizer *ngwenyi* which agrees in person and number with the subject of the main clause (subject prefix *ka-*). The same behavior is noted in (3b) in which the shape of the complementizer *ngweni* is determined by the subject of the main clause *mbambi* 'duiker'. The Lunda example in (3c) contains a class 1 complementizer *níndi* which agrees with the

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[3] KiKaonde, a Bantu language spoken in Zambia, uses the complementizer *mba* that derives from the verb *kwamba* 'to say'. As for Bemba, another Bantu language spoken in Zambia, the complementizer is *ti* from the verb *ukutila* 'to say'.

[4] The first person singular and class 1 subject prefix are not overtly expressed in the present perfect aspect. The two are differentiated by virtue of tones.

subject *mukwénzi* 'youth', while the Luvale example in (3d) has the complementizer *ngwenyi* agreeing in person and number with the class 1 subject of the main clause.

While the origin of the complementizer root in all the four languages is clearly traceable to the personal possessive pronoun, the source of the complementizer prefix *ngu-* in Chokwe, Luchazi, and Luvale and *n-* in Lunda cannot be easily deciphered. Horton (1949: 181) suggests that the complementizer prefix in Luvale has its origin from the Luvale ideophone *gwa* that denotes a clacking sound. This does not seem to be the case on the following grounds. First, this ideophone also exists in Lunda in the form of *ngwa* with the meaning 'cutting, breaking across', but the language has a different complementizer prefix. If the complementizer prefix had derived from the ideophone, one would expect Lunda to have the same prefix just like the other three languages. Second, Fleisch (2000: 101) observes that the ideophones in Luchazi differ very much from the Luvale ones. Yet, the two languages have an identical complementizer prefix. This is clearly in contradiction with Horton's assertion about the origin of the complementizer prefix found in Luvale. In addition, the morpheme *ngu* is found in Lunda as well as in Chokwe as an ideophone with a completely different meaning 'to be strong, be in good health'. Semantically, the two ideophones cannot be said to be identical.

This set of complementizers is only found with first and second speech act participants as well as classes 1 and 2. The four languages differ from most Bantu languages in terms of the features of noun classes; they display a striking distinction between animate nouns and inanimate nouns. Nouns belonging to classes other than 1 and 2 are subdivided into animates and inanimates. Animate nouns display double prefixes in the plural form, that is, they take both their noun class prefix plus the class 2 noun prefix *a-*. Furthermore, with the exception of possessives, animate nouns trigger class 1 and 2 agreement affixes rather than those of the classes to which they belong (Horton 1949; White 1944, 1949; Doke 1967; Fleisch 2000; Kawasha 2003). The division of nouns into subcategories may explain the reason why complementizers are restricted to first and second speech act participant and classes 1 and 2 only. Horton (1949: 181) observes that the complementizers for "inanimates are infrequent, but are found in native fables" in Luvale. However, this is very doubtful as fables use animals which, as already mentioned, employ class 1 and 2 complementizers. The following Lunda examples contain a class 12 noun *kapela* 'snake' in (4a), and a class 13 *atupela* 'snakes' (4b), which trigger class 1 and 2 subject agreement markers *wu-* and *a-* instead of *ka-* and *tu-*. Note that the nominal subject in (4b) has two noun prefixes, a class 2 noun prefix *a-* and a class 13 noun prefix *tu-*. Further, in (4c) the left-dislocated nominal object *kapela* 'snake' triggers the appearance of a class 1 object marker *mu-* on the verb instead of the class 12 object agreement *ki-*. Even the complementizer *níndi* in (4d) is triggered by animacy rather than class 12 to which the subject of the main clause belongs.

(4) a. Ka-pela   w-a-suluk-ili   mu-wina.
        12-snake   SA1-TNS-slither-RP LOC-hole
        'The snake slithered down into the hole.'

    b. A-tu-pela   a-a-suluk-ili   mu-wina.
        2-13-snake   SA2-TNS-slither-RP LOC-hole
        'The snakes slithered down into the hole.'

    c. Ka-pela   w-á-mu-zhah-a   wú-chin-i   ma-lóka?
        12-snake   SA2sg-TNS-OM-kill-fv   SA2sg-run away-SUBJ 6-wriggle
        'You killed the snake, why should you run away from the wriggles?'

    d. Ka-pela   w-a-món-a   níndi   chi-sakala   a-na-luwañesh-i.
        12-snake   SA1-TNS-find-fv   COMP1   7-nest   SA2-TAM-disturb-fv
        'The snake found that the nest had been disturbed.'

	Chokwe	Luchazi	Lunda	Luvale
1sg	ngwami	ngwange	nami	ngwami
2sg	ngwe	ngwove	neyi	ngwove
class 1	ngwenyi	ngweni	nindi	ngwenyi
1pl	ngwetu	ngwetu	netu	ngwetu
2pl	ngwenu	ngwenu	nenu	ngwenu
class 2	ngwo	ngwavo	nawu	ngwavo

Table 3. Complementizers

3.1. Functions of the complementizers

The subject-agreeing complementizers perform several functions in the four languages. They introduce declarative complement clauses that occur after the verbs of perception, saying, and cognition or thought. Direct and indirect quotes are formally indistinguishable in the four languages, as the same subject-agreeing complementizers introduce both types of speeches.

(5) a. Chokwe
    Ka-na-amb-e   ngwenyi   mw-angana h-a-f-w-a.
    SA1-TAM-say-fv COMP1   1-chief   TAM-SA1-die-fv
    'He said that the chief is dead.'

b. Luchazi
    Ka-sumbi ngwenyi yii! ku-tsia, ni nji-ku-tsia.
    12-chicken COMP1 yes INF-eat and SA1sg-INF-eat
    'The chicken said, "Yes! I will eat." '

c. Lunda
    ka-pela w-a-món-a   níndi   chi-sakala a-na-luwañesh-i
    12-snake SA1-TNS-find-fv COMP1 7-nest   SA2-TAM-disturb-fv
    'The snake found that the nest had been disturbed.'

d. Luvale
    Tu-na-shinganyek-a ngwetu   na-va-jiha   va-ishi vava-vulu.
    SA1pl-TAM-think-fv COMP1pl FUT-SA2-kill 2-fish 2-many
    'We think that they will kill many fish.'

Crosslinguistically, the indirect reporting of something said, thought, etc. has deixis adapted to the reporter's speech. However, this is not the case with these languages; the actual words of the speaker are captured as they were uttered and the deixis is appropriate to the time when they were uttered. Changes rarely occur with regard to person and tense, and the deixis is not adapted to the viewpoint of the reporter when quoting someone indirectly. The first person frequently occurs in the complement when the third person is used in the main clause. In other words, the voice of the reported or original speaker remains unaffected. This suggests that indirect quotes might have developed from direct quotes. The features of the direct quotatives parallel what is been described by Holt (1996) as direct reported speech. She points out that a direct reported speech can be distinguished from an indirect reported speech if "the speaker structures in such a way as to suggest that he or she is reproducing a former locution". In some cases, pronoun shifts in the third person do occur in reported speech.

(6) a. Chokwe
    Tw-a-mu-lwez-ele   ngwetu   ya-ko.[5]
    SA1pl-TNS-OM1-tell-RP COMP1pl go-IMP
    'We told him (that), "Go!"'

  b. Lunda
    A-kwénzi   a-a-toñozhok-eli   náwu   Nswana   Ø-ne-enzh-i
    2-youth   SA2-TNS-think-RP COMP2 Nswana   SA1-TAM-come-fv

    na-ku-mw-ot-a.
    TAM-INF-OM1-ask.for.marriage-fv
    (Lit: 'The youth thought that Nswana has come to ask her for marriage.')
    'The youth thought that Nswana had come to ask her for marriage.'

  c. Luvale
    Etu   tu-na-tachikiz-a   ngwetu   ve-ez-anga   zau .
    PRO1pl SA1pl-TAM-know-fv   COMP1pl   SA2-come-PST   yesterday
    'We know that they came yesterday.'

When the content of the complement clause is not asserted by the subject of the main clause, that is, when a person reports what he or she just hears and not the actual words of an actual speaker, the class 2 complementizer *náwu* in Lunda, *ngwo* in Chokwe, and *ngwavo* in Luchazi and Luvale are used instead of the one agreeing with the subject of the main clause. The verb 'hear' in all the four languages also means 'understand'. The complementizer *ngwo* in (7a)*, náwu* in (7b), and *ngwavo* in (7c) do not agree with the Chokwe first person subject prefix *ngu-*, the Lunda first person singular *ní-*, nor the Luvale first person plural *tu-*. These subjects do not trigger the corresponding complementizers *ngwami, námi*, and *ngwetu*.

(7) a. Chokwe
    Ngu-ne- ev-o   ngwo   mu-angana   h-a-fw-a.
    SA1sg-TAM-hear-fv COMP2 1-chief   TAM-SA1-die-fv
    'I hear that the chief is dead.'

  b. Lunda
    Ø-na-tiy-i   náwu   wú-na-ku-keña   ku-swana ku-Mayoña.
    SA1sg-TAM-hear-fv COMP2 SA2g-TAM-INF-want INF-inherit LOC-Mayoña
    'I hear that you want to inherit at the Mayoña.'

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[5] In Lunda, verbs in the second person singular in the imperative form are inflected with the morpheme *-ku*, a combination of *-ku* and the vowel *-u*. The suffix is homophonous with the locative suffix. In the other three languages, the suffix occurs as *-ko*, consisting of the suffix *-ku* and the vowel *-o*, which is attached only to monosyllabic verb roots. Further, first and second person object pronouns never appear after the verb, though third persons do occur as pronouns suffixed to the verb. The affix *-ku* is clearly a locative although it has the same form as the second person singular object prefix. Words in Lunda do not end in either of the mid vowels e and o. The locative is also used in subjunctive constructions as a more polite alternative to the imperative form in the second person singular. Some monosyllabic verbs such as *ya* 'go', *nwa* 'drink' and *dá* take either the suffix *-ku/-ko* or *-aña/anga* as in *dáña* 'eat' and *yáña* 'go', instead of the locative suffix.

   c.   Luvale
       Tu-ne-evw-u   ngwavo ku-Kawita   ku-li   nyama.
       SA1pl-TAM-hear-fv COMP2 LOC-Kawita INF-be meat
       'We hear that there is meat at the Kawita's.'

In Lunda, the same complementizers also function as question morphemes and are affixed to the question marker -*di*[6] with speech verbs in the position where a complement clause would normally occur.

(8) a.   Ní-a-mu-lezh-eli   mw-ána námi-di?
         SA1pl-TNS-OM1-tell-fv 1-child   COMP2-Q
         'What did I tell the child?'

     b.   a-ndimi a-na-hósh-i   náwu-di?
         2-farmer SA2-TAM-say-fv COMP2-Q
         'What have the farmers said?'

3.2. Verb ellipsis in the main clause

The verb of the main clause can be omitted, leaving only the subject followed by the complementizer that functions as a non-verbal predicate with the understood interpretation and meaning of the verb of saying, thinking, intention, etc.[7] The lack of an overtly expressed verb in the main clause does not affect the semantics of the sentence, as it is recoverable from the context of the discourse.

 (9) a.   Luchazi
         Kaha   mbati   ngweni   ange   nji-na-tav-a
         then   tortoise COMP1   PRO1sg   SA1sg-TAM-agree-fv
         'Then the tortoise said, "I agree".'

     b.   Lunda
         Kabuchi níndi   enu   a-nvwali   zh-ámi   báyi   mu-toñozhoka nénu
         Kabuchi COMP1 PRO2pl 2-parent   2-POSS1sg   CONJ   SA2pl-think   COMP2pl

         Ø-na-ku-hósha   má-zu   a-kasawuntu.
         SA1sg-TAM-INF-say 6-word   6-disrespectful
         'Kabuchi said, "My parents, don't think that I am saying words".'

     c.   Luvale
         Ngwami   tway-enu
         COMP1sg   come-IMP2pl
         'I say come.' (Horton 1949: 182)

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[6] When a nominal object is questioned, the verb suffixes the question element, as shown by the example below with a non-speech verb.
       A-ndimi   a-na-let-i-di?
       2-9.farmer SA2-TAM-bring-fv-Q
       'What have the farmers brought?'
[7] In his description of Luvale, Horton (1949: 182) observes that the complementizer is used in a copular sense without a verbal antecedent.

d.   Luvale
Ngwavo ngocho?
COMP2 what
'Is that what they say?'   (White 1949: 73)

No verb like *kwamba* 'to say' in (9a) and (9b), or the verb *kuhosha/kwila* 'to say' in (9c) are explicitly stated. The main clause in the examples in (9a-b) consists of the only subject noun, and (9c) has only the subordinate clause that begins with the complementizer *ngwami*. In all these examples, the main clause has an implied meaning of a verb of saying.

This elliptical phenomenon is very frequent in all the four languages. The context of the utterance enables the listener or reader to figure out the verb that the speaker or writer leaves out. Consider the examples in (10) and (11) in which the verb of thought is implied in the main clause and the complement clause refers directly to the thought expressed.

(10) Lunda
a.   Yéna   níndi   Nswana   Ø-ne-enz-i   na-ku-mw-óta.[8]
     PRO1   COMP   Nswana   SA1-TAM-come-fv   with-INF-OM1-marry
     'She (thought) that Nswana had come to marry her.'

b.   A-mándumi zh-índi   ch-a-a-mu-mwéni-wu   a-a-tíy-ili
     2-uncle   2-POSS1   REL-SA1-TNS-OM1-see-RP-REL2 SA1-TNS-feel-RP

     ku-wáha   náwu   Ø-na-yi-lét-eli   ya-kuvwála.
     INF-please   COMP2   SA1-TAM-OM2-bring-RP   7-clothes
     'His uncles felt pleased when they saw him (thinking) that he had brought them clothes.'
     (Chilayi 1989: 22)

(11) Luvale
a.   Etu   ngwetu   mw-a-hasa   vene
     PRO1pl   COMP1pl   FUT-SA1-be.able   indeed
     'We (think) that he will be able.'

b.   Kaha   ngwami   na-ngu-y-a-ko
     then   COMP1sg   FUT-SA1sg-go-fv-NEG
     'I (decided) that I will not to go.'

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[8] The morpheme *na-* is an associative morpheme meaning 'and, with'; it is also used to signal an infinitival purpose clause with verbs of motion such *ya* 'go', *inza* 'come', etc. Additionally, it occurs with the verb *di* 'be' to express possession as well as to code progressive/continuous aspect. However, it must be noted that it is different from the perfect tense-aspect marker *na-*.

a.   Wu-a-hosh-a   ne-e-bwambu   d-indi
     SA1-TNS-speak-fv   with-5-friend   5-POSS1
     'She spoke with her friend.'

b.   Wu-di   na-wu-tá
     SA1- be   with-11-gun
     'She has a gun.'

c.   Wu-di   na-ku-dá
     SA1-be   with-INF-eat
     'She is eating.'

Despite this elliptical phenomenon, the main clause is not used as a fragment and the complement clause cannot be an independent clause as is the case in English. Thompson (2002: 144-145) states that in spoken English, complement-taking verbs and *that*-prefixed clauses can be used by themselves as fragments and in places "where they do not occur in the canonical complement constructions". That is, some constructions that look like complement clauses are simply independent clauses. In addition, complement-taking verb phrases "occur with no overt associated clauses either in the vicinity or in the previous discourse". In (12a) below, *I think* is used with no accompanying complement clause. *I'm not sure* is presented in its own prosodic phrase, and not as part of a construction consisting of a main clause and a complement clause. *I know* in (12b) also occurs in its own prosodic phrase.

(12) a. … this is =,
     … pepsin,
     I think,
     … I'm not sure

    b. I know =,
     I've been sleeping about ten hou=rs, every night.
     … and I'm sti=ll,
     like,
     … but I think I'm over it faster than I wou=ld be (p. 144)

In Lunda, the subject of the main clause can be introduced by the infinitive *kutiya* 'to listen, to hear' and/or *kuchinka*[9] which function as discourse markers. The main clause consists of the infinitive as the first constituent, followed by the subject preceding the complementizer. Despite the absence of the verb, the context clearly provides the interpretation of the meaning of the discourse.

(13) Lunda
    a. Kuchinka   Noliya níndi, 'Ami   awéni Ø-ne-eluk-i   ochu
       answer   Noliya COMP1 PRO1sg self   SA1-TAM-know-fv DEM7

       chi-ní-di   na-kw-ila.'
       REL7-SA1sg-be   with-INF-do
       'Noliya answered (that), I, myself, know what I am doing.'

    b. Ku-tiya   wena   náwu   tú-yi-dímb-i.[10]
       INF-hear   PRO2   COMP SA1pl-OM2-deceive-SUBJ
       'And they said, let's deceive them.'

4. Subjunctive complement clauses

Subjunctive dependent complement clauses also occur after the subject-agreeing complementizers to express irrealis meaning of purpose, intention, and desire. The subjunctive mood is characterized by the prefixation of the subject prefix directly onto the complement verb without any tense marker and the verb stem is coded with the suffix -*i* in Lunda, and -*e* in the other three languages.

(14) Lunda
    a. Ch-e-e-el-ili   níndi a-tal-i   ha-nyíma
       when-SA1-TNS-do-RP   COMP1 SA1-look-SUBJ LOC-back/behind

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[9] The infinitive *kuchinka* only occurs as a discourse marker in present day Lunda.

[10] PRO2 refers to a human third person plural independent pronoun.

    w-a-món-a   mu-túpa.
    SA1-TNS-see-fv   3-lion
    'When he thought of looking behind, he saw a lion.'

  b.   W-a-tachik-ili   ku-mu-haña   níndi   a-tambul-i   ñoma.
       SA1-TNS-begin-RP   INF-OM1-chase COMP1 SA1-grab-SUBJ   drum
       'He began to chase him so that he could grab the drum.'

(15) Luvale
  a.   Tu-na-sak-e   ngwetu   va-va-neh-e   kuno.
       SA1pl-TAM-want-fv COMP1pl   SA2-OM2-bring-SUBJ DEM
       'We want that they bring them here.'

  b.   ngwenyi   a-chav-e   ji-kunyi.
       COMP1   SA1-cut-SUBJ   10-firewood
       'He thinks of cutting the firewood.'

5. Object complements

Besides introducing dependent clauses that function as arguments of other clauses, the same subject-agreeing complementizers occur after a certain category of transitive verbs such as 'to name, call, term, mention, consider', and 'write' to introduce object complements that modify or refer to the direct object or locative noun of the main clause. The object complements are comparable to what is referred to as a small clause (Haegeman 2001:125; Wardhaugh 2003:85) in "Government and Binding theory". However, unlike French, the complement does not agree in number and person with the constituent it refers to in the clause. Instead, agreement is between the complementizer and the subject. The following examples illustrate the use of the complementizers introducing clauses that name, describe, or modify the object and the locative phrase of the main clause.

(16) Lunda
  a.   Óna   mw-ána a-a-mu-tumb-ili   náwu   Kanswata
       DEM1   1-child   SA2-TNS-OM1-name-RP COMP2 Kanswata
       'They named that child Kanswata.'

  b.   Wu-ku-wan-a   ha-a-na-sónek-i-wu   náwu   mu-kulúmpi
       SA1-FUT-find-fv   LOC-SA2-TAM-write-fv-REL2   1-head   COMP2

       wa-shikola.
       1-school
       'You will find where it is written "Head of school".' (Chipoya et al 1995:2)

(17)   Luchazi
      amba   ka-sumbi   a-ka-tambul-e   ngandu   ngwenyi   mu-ana-ye.
      that   12-chicken SA1-DIR-call-SUBJ crocodile   COMP1   1-child-POSS1
      'so that the chicken may call the crocodile his brother'

(18)   Luvale
      va-mu-jiny-ine   Yowano ngwavo   kapolofweto
      SA2-OM1-consider-RP   John   COMP2   prophet
      'They considered John a prophet.'   (Horton 1949:182)

Note that *Kanswata* in (16a), *mu-ána-ye* 'his child' in (17), and the *kapolofweto* 'prophet' in (18) are object complements that modify the direct objects *óna mu-ána* 'that child', *ngandu* 'crododile', and *Yowano* 'John'. They are introduced by the complementizers *náwu, ngwenyi,* and *ngwavo* that agree in

person and number with the class 2 subject prefix *a-* 'they' in (16a), the nominal subject *kasumbi* 'chicken' in (17), and class 2 subject prefix *va-* 'they' in (18) of the main clauses.

In the Lunda example in (16b), the noun phrase *mukulúmpi washikola* 'school head/principal', which is introduced by the class 2 complementizer *náwu*, is the complement of the omitted locative head noun *hachisu* 'on the door'. In addition, the form of both the postverbal relativizer *-wu* and the complementizer indicates that the relative clause has a class 2 subject.

6. Conclusion

This paper has shown that in Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, and Luvale, there exists a set of complementizers that agree with the subject of the main clause. These subject-agreeing complementizers can be traced to the possessive pronominal stems in terms of morphology. They perform multiple functions. They introduce declarative complement clauses of verbs of utterance, perception, cognition or thought. Both direct and indirect quotatives are introduced by the same type of complementizers. In addition to introducing declarative complement clauses, the subject-agreeing complementizers can be part of the subjunctive complement clauses to express irrealis meaning of purpose, intention, and desire. They are also employed to introduce the complement of the direct object or locative noun. Another feature of subject-agreeing complementizers lies in the fact that the verb of the main clause can be omitted without any semantic effect regarding the interpretation of the sentence.

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Selected Proceedings of the 37th Annual Conference on African Linguistics

edited by Doris L. Payne and Jaime Peña

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Kawasha, Boniface. 2007. Subject-agreeing Complementizers and Their Functions in Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda, and Luvale. In *Selected Proceedings of the 37th Annual Conference on African Linguistics*, ed. Doris L. Payne and Jaime Peña, 180-190. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #1605.