

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF AND-COORDINATION IN KAONDE

BY

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*A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Degree of
Master of Arts in Linguistic Science*

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DECLARATION

I, Mushima Muke, solemnly declare that this dissertation:

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the nature of *and-coordination* in Kaonde. In order to meet this goal, the study sought, firstly, to identify conjuncts that are coordinated by *and-equivalent* in Kaonde. Secondly, the study sought to identify *and-coordinators* in Kaonde. That is, it tried to identify coordinators in Kaonde that are equivalent to 'and' in English. From the study, it was observed that Kaonde has two (2) forms or variants of the coordinator 'and'. These include; *ne* and *kabiji*. Thirdly, the study sought to examine how and when the coordinators *ne* and *kabiji* are used in Kaonde. From the data collected (through desk research, introspection and simple phrase lists) and analyzed, it was observed that coordinators are used whenever one needs to connect or link two or more linguistic units. The syntactic analysis of *and-coordination* in Kaonde was done using the X-bar theory of Government and Binding theory while descriptive linguistics was employed to account for the semantic aspect of the study.

In addition, the study examined the nature of coordinate structures in Kaonde. It was observed that a coordinate structure is usually made up of at least two conjuncts and a conjunction. The conjuncts are conjoined together by a conjunction to form one larger linguistic unit of the same kind. Further, it was observed that conjunctions play a very important role in ensuring that coordinated meaning is expressed. The study explored semantic functions of *and-coordination* in Kaonde. It was observed that *and-coordination* denotes a relationship between and/or among conjuncts in a sentence. The conjunctions may show a *cause and effect* relationship between conjuncts. They are also used to show chronological sequence, contrast, condition or simply addition. Thus, by linking conjuncts in a coordinate structure, they establish relationships that otherwise are not easy to understand.

In relation to the theoretical framework, the indication is that X-bar theory of Government and Binding theory does apply to coordinate structures in Kaonde. With regard to the findings, one would suggest that more research should be undertaken to analyse coordination as a whole in Kaonde. That is, analysing coordination which covers all coordinators which include; *or* and *but*. Lastly, there is need also to analyse possible coordinate structure constraints in Kaonde.

DEDICATION

Dedicated with love and gratitude to

Mr Duncan Muke and Mrs Mailes Zulu Muke

Parents and mentors

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adjectives
AP	Adjective Phrase
Adv	Adverb
Adv P	Adverb Phrase
C-Command	Constituent Command
CSC	Coordinate Structure Constraint
Comp	Complement
Det	Determiner
DP	Determiner Phrase
ECP	Empty Category Phrase
GB	Government and Binding Theory
LCL	Law of Coordinates of Likes
LF	Logical Form
N	Noun
NP	Noun Phrase
O	Object
O Co	Ordinary Coordination
P	Preposition
PF	Phonetic Form
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PS Rules	Phrase Structural Rules
R- Expression	Referential Expression

S	Sentence
ScE Co	Scene-setting Coordination
Spec	Specifier
T	Tense
TGG	Transformational Generative Grammar
T Rules	Transformational Rules
UG	Universal Grammar
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase
X	Lexical Category
XP	Phrasal Category
&	Coordinator
&P	Coordinate Phrase

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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives background information to the study and states in a precise manner the problem under investigation as well as the methodology used in examining the syntactic process of *AND*-Coordination in Kaonde. It begins by giving a presentation on the motivation for the study. Then it briefly discusses the language under investigation – Kaonde. Thereafter, the statement of the problem, aim and objectives of the study are outlined together with research questions. The chapter also discusses the significance of the study by laying out the purpose of undertaking this investigation. Additionally, the methodology used in data collection, data analysis and procedure are discussed in the second section of this chapter. Further, this chapter discusses the scope and outlines the limitations of the study and lays out the structure of the dissertation. Lastly, it provides the summary of topics discussed in the chapter.

1.1 Motivation for the Study

In linguistics, syntax is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages. The term syntax is used to refer directly to the rules and principles that govern the sentence structure of any individual language. According to Crystal (1991: 86), “syntax is the study of rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language.” In addition, Heine and Nurse (1978) state that in syntax we study how words are placed in a linear order, how they are grouped into larger, patterned units to form phrases and clauses, and how those units relate to each other to form a hierarchy of structures within structures. The main focus is on sentences. Sentences may consist of one or more clauses. Sentences that have more than one clause may be referred to as compound or complex. Compound sentences usually involve the linking of two or more sentences of equal rank. The process of linking two or more linguistic units of a sentence to form a larger one is called coordination.

Coordination is one of the most studied fields in theoretical syntax. It has been revealed from different studies that although coordination as a linguistic phenomenon is language universal, it differs a lot across languages and that different languages use different strategies to achieve it (Dzameshie 1999; Nguyen 2004; Heine and Nurse 1978, and Drellishak 2004). This is in an instance in which language users want to express coordinated meaning; whatever

construction they use in such situations is a coordination strategy (Heine and Nurse 1978). In this case, therefore, coordination is somehow language specific. Although a lot of studies have been undertaken in the syntax of connectives, no study has been done to analyse the syntax and semantics of coordination in Kaonde. It is against this background that this study sought to investigate the nature of *and-coordination* in Kaonde.

1.2 The Classification and Population of Kaonde Language

According to the Central Statistical Office (CSO) (2010), the Zambian society is endowed with many languages; there are officially 73 ethnic groups who speak different dialects, from which, seven language clusters have been identified. There are seven languages or language clusters that are used in Zambia besides English for official purposes such as broadcasting (both on radio and television), literacy campaigns and the official dissemination of information as well as taught in schools. These are (in alphabetical order), Bemba, Kaonde, Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja and Tonga. Kaonde is predominantly spoken in North Western Province, particularly in Kasempa, Solwezi, Mufumbwe and Mumbwa. It is the second widely used language of communication after Lunda in North Western province (29.6 percent). Lunda is the largest ethnic group with 34.5 percent. This is followed by Kaonde and Luvale at 29.6 and 16.5 percent, respectively. In this study, standard Kaonde (the Kasempa dialect) was used.

Kaonde, also known as KiKaonde, falls under the Niger-Congo language phylum, under Bantu family in Zone L. According to Guthrie's classification (1948) this Zone has 6 groups, that is, groups 10, 20, 30, 40, 50 and 60. Within these six groups there are 18 subgroups. Kaonde belongs to group 40 and subgroup 41. Hence the language is classified by Guthrie as L41. Kaonde is the only language under group 40. Kaonde is a Bantu language. The Bantu family of languages covers the whole of southern Africa except in places where the Khoisan languages are spoken. All the member languages of this group are similar in their structure with the most prominent features being the noun class system and verb morphology as we shall see later. Kaonde originated from Congo DR, hence the languages it is most closely related with are found in that country. These include Sanga, Luba-Katanga and Hamba in that order of similarity (Mann & Wright 1977). There are a number of dialectal variations of Kaonde spoken throughout the country and beyond. These dialects manifest phonological, morphological and syntactic and lexical differences. Notable among them is the standard

Kaonde spoken mainly in Kasempa district, the Solwezi-Lubango and the Mumbwa dialect (Mambwe 2008).

1.3 The Structure of Kaonde Language

This section gives a brief account of the basic linguistic structure of the Kaonde language focusing on the phonology, morphology and syntax. It should be noted that this section is not a comprehensive account of the structure of Kaonde and should therefore be taken as a general guide to the analysis of the findings of the study.

1.3.1 The Phonology of Kaonde

According to Mathews (2005) phonology is the study of sound systems of individual languages and the nature of such systems. It is concerned with the manner in which the sound and suprasegmental features defined by phonetics are actually put to use in natural human languages. More precisely, phonology is concerned with the speech sounds and patterns displayed by sounds and prosodic features in natural human languages. Phonology covers the study of suprasegmentals (tone, length, stress and intonation), syllables, phonotactics and phonological process and rules. This section briefly discusses the phonological structure of Kaonde. The Kaonde phonological system includes segmental and suprasegmental elements. According to Roach (1983: 32) “a segment is a unit of sound that can be combined with others to form a sequence, thus phonemes are segments”. The discussion of the phonological aspects of Kaonde is focused on the semi-vowels, consonantal and vowel phonemes, suprasegmental phonemes and syllable structure of Kaonde.

1.3.1.1 Consonantal Phonemes and Semi-Vowels in Kaonde

Consonants can be defined from two points of view, that is, phonetically and phonologically. In phonetic terms consonants are sounds that are produced with partial or complete obstruction of air flow at some point in the vocal tract. In phonological terms a consonant is a phonological unit which forms part of a syllable other than a nucleus (Mathews 2005). According to Mathews (2005) a semi-vowel is a sound unit which is phonetically like a vowel but whose place in syllable structure is characteristically that of a consonant. There are two semi-vowels in Kaonde, and these can be presented in the following minimal pair; the palatal approximant [j] as in *kyamba* [kjamba] ‘tower’ and the labio-velar approximant [w] as in *kwamba* [kwamba] ‘to talk’. The chart below shows the consonantal phonemes and semi-vowels in Kaonde.

Table 1: Phonemic Chart of Consonants and Semi-Vowels in Kaonde.

	Bilabial	Labio dental	alveolar	Post alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d			k g		
Nasal	m		n		ɲ			
Fricative	β	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ				h ɦ
Affricate				tʃ dʒ				
Lateral			l					
Approximant					j		w	

As already mentioned, consonants are speech sounds that are produced with either a partial or complete obstruction in the flow of air at some point in the vocal tract and that point is what is referred to as the point of articulation. In Kaonde, the following will be possible points of articulation for consonants: bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, post alveolar, palatal, velar, labio velar and glottal.

In order to show that the outlined consonants and semi-vowels are distinct segments in Kaonde, a minimal pair test is conducted. A minimal pair is a pair of words from the same language, that differ by only a single categorical sound, and that are recognized by speakers as being two different words (Mathews 2005). When there is a minimal pair, the two sounds are said to be examples of realizations of distinct phonemes. For instance, a pair test is conducted in which speakers of a language, Kaonde in this case, are presented with possible pairs and asked whether they are the same forms or different. For example, the following list shows minimal pairs;

(1) (a) [mpila] ‘soccer’

(b) [mbila] ‘news/ rumor’

- (2) (a) [munwe] ‘finger’
 (b) [mutwe] ‘head’
- (3) (a) [kudʒila] ‘to cry’
 (b) [kufila] ‘to be red’
- (4) (a) [kugaja] ‘to grind’
 (b) [kukaja] ‘to play’
- (5) (a) [kuβika] ‘to put’
 (b) [kufika] ‘to reach’
- (6) (a) [kuvula] ‘to undress’
 (b) [kusula] ‘to ignore’
- (7) (a) [ɲanga] ‘doctor’
 (b) [manga] ‘doctors’
- (8) (a) [kjamba] ‘tower’
 (b) [kwamba] ‘to talk’
- (9) (a) [kudula] ‘to be expensive’
 (b) [kulula] ‘to be bitter’

In the above examples, all the pairs of words have one difference and are, therefore, minimal pairs. Using this criterion, consonants in Kaonde will be classified as illustrated in Table 1 above.

1.3.1.2 Kaonde Vowel Phonemes

Vowels are produced by articulatory organs moving without the obstruction or interference by the vibrating breath stream through the breath channel (Roach 1983). Vowels are classified according to tongue height which can either be high, mid or low. They are also classified in terms of tongue advancement - front, central or back.

Kaonde has five vowels; /a, e, i, o, u/. Using the criteria above, /i/ will be classified as high-front vowel because in its production the tip of tongue moves in front and it is raised towards the hard palate. The vowel /u/, in the same vein, is high-back because in its production the back of the tongue is the highest point. The vowels /e/ is mid-front, /a/ is low-central and /o/ is mid-back using the same criteria. Table 2 shows the phonetic chart for Kaonde vowels.

Table 2: Phonetic Chart of Vowel Phonemes in Kaonde.

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

Furthermore, the vowels above can be distinguished as phonemes using a minimal pair test as shown in the list of minimal pairs below.

(10) (a) [buka] ‘wake’

(b) [bika] ‘put’

(11) (a) [mate] ‘saliva’

(b) [mata] ‘guns’

(12) (a) [kubola] ‘to rot’

(b) [kubila] ‘to neat’

In the examples above, the words are distinguished by the phonemes /u/ and /i/ in (10), /e/ and /a/ in (11), /o/ and /i/ in (12) thus they are distinctive.

1.3.2 Kaonde Syllable Structure

A syllable is a phonological unit comprising a vowel or other unit that can be produced in isolation, either by one or more sonorous units (Mathews 2005). A syllable typically consists of a syllable nucleus which is either a vowel or a syllabic consonant, an obligatory constituent in most languages. The nucleus is usually preceded by a phoneme or phonemes. This

phoneme is known as the onset. The nucleus could then be followed by another sound unit called the coda. The nucleus and the coda are grouped together to form a sub-syllable unit known as a rhyme. There are two types of syllables: open and closed syllables. Open or free syllables are those that are coda-less, that is, they end in a vowel. Conversely, closed syllables are those that have a coda, that is, they end in a consonant. Kaonde belongs to Bantu languages that have no coda because the syllable structure of Kaonde like other Bantu languages is basically open.

In phonotactics, the syllable formula is described as follows: a word is made up of a certain number of syllables whose minimum is one. The syllable structure is:

$$6 \rightarrow (\text{On}) + \text{Nu} + (\text{cd})$$

For instance, the phrase *kwakamwa nanzholo* 'amazed with chicken' has six syllables where the word (W) *kwakamwa* [kwa-ka-mwa] has three syllable [CGVCVNGV] and *nanzholo* [nanzho-lo] three [NVNCVCV] as show in the tree diagram below:

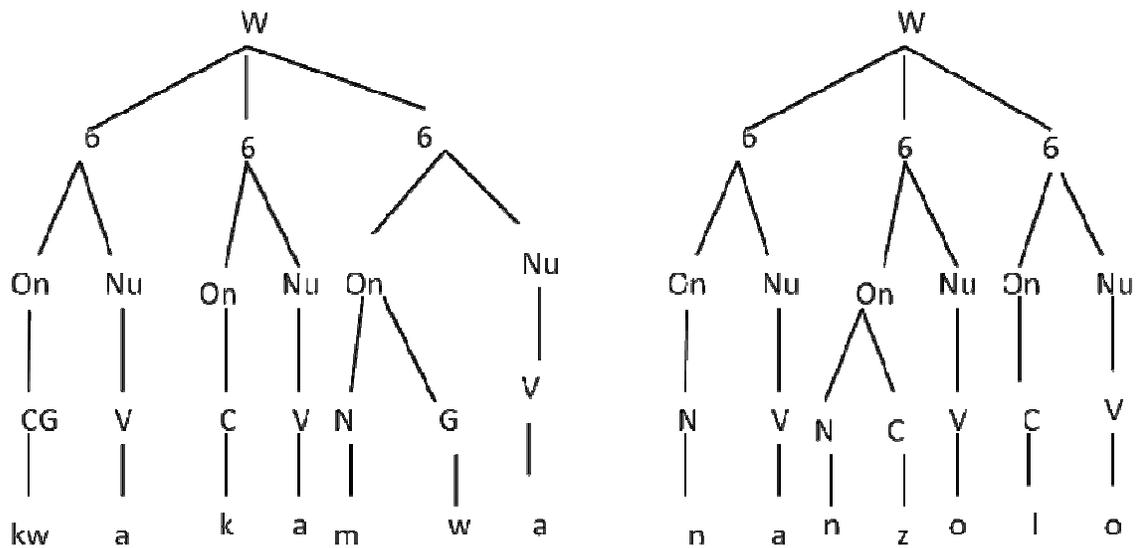


Figure 1: Syllable Structure of *Kwakamwa nanzholo* 'amazed with chicken'

As with many other Bantu languages, syllables in Kaonde are characteristically open and are of eight main types: V, CV, NV, GV, NCV, NGV, CGV and NCGV (where V = vowel (long or short), C = consonant, N = nasal, G = glide (w or y)) as illustrated in Figure 1 above. Other types are illustrated by *iya* [i-ya] [VGV] 'come!', *tala* [ta-la] [CVCV] 'see!', *amba* [a-mba] [VNCV] 'speak!' and *mpwa* [-mpwa] [NCGV] 'eggplants'.

Further, in the sentence *Inga mpwa?* ‘How much are eggplants?’ the word *inga* has two syllables which are [i-nga] there by having the structure V and NCV whereas *mpwa* has one syllable whose structure is NCGV as can be seen from figure 2 below.

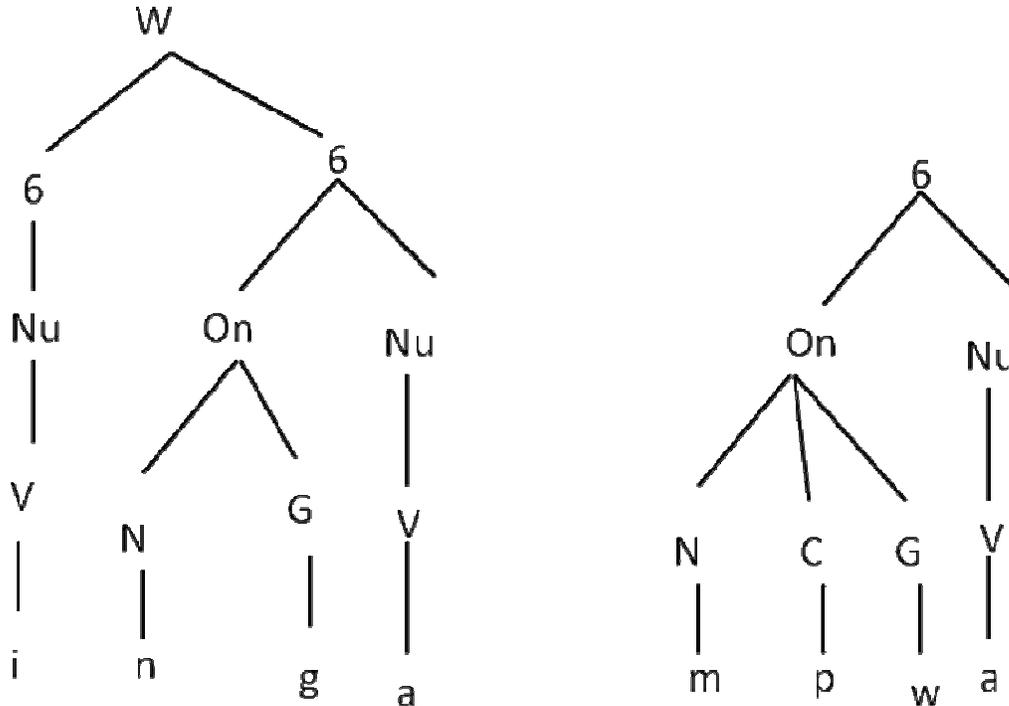


Figure 2: Syllable structure of *Inga mpwa?* ‘How much are eggplants’

1.3.3 Kaonde Suprasegmental Phonemes

The term suprasegment refers to the prosodic features or diacritic marks that are superimposed on the segment units of sounds. A suprasegmental phoneme is a vocal effect that extends over more than one sound (Mathews 2005). The major types of suprasegments are tone and length in Kaonde.

Tone is a phonetic or phonological unit which belongs to a set primarily distinguished by changes in pitch in order to distinguish lexical or grammatical meaning in a tonal language. A tonal language is one in which each syllable is characterised phonologically by a distinct tone or sequence of tones (Mathews 2005: 379). Kaonde is a tonal language although in most written texts the tones are not marked. Tone is the unit of pitch and can be used to distinguish words in Kaonde. Kaonde realizes two basic tones, high (H) and low (L). High tone is

marked with an acute accent (´) over tone-bearing elements which are vowels or syllabic consonants. Low tone is marked with a grave accent (`). For example;

- (13) (a) *jìtòmbà* (LLL) ‘mailbag’
(b) *jítómbà* (LHL) ‘molehill’
(c) *jítòmbà* (HLL) ‘kind of drum’

In the above examples, it can be noted that the three words are distinguished by tone. Therefore, tone is distinctive in Kaonde.

Further, length is also distinctive in Kaonde, like in most Bantu languages. In suprasegmental phonology, length is a feature of sounds that are relatively longer than other sounds. There are long vowels as well as consonants, which are also known as geminates. In Kaonde, length concerns vowels. Vowel length is the perceived long duration of a vowel. Length in Kaonde plays a significant role in distinguishing the lexical meaning of some words as can be exemplified below;

- (14) (a) *Kubula* [kuβula] ‘to lack’
(b) *Kubuula* [kuβu:la] ‘to tell’
(c) *Baleeta* [βale:ta] ‘they bring’
(d) *Baaleeta* [βa:le:ta] ‘they have brought’

In example 14, length distinguishes the two words in (a) and (b) and the two sentences in (c) and (d), therefore, length is distinctive.

1.3.4 The Morphology of Kaonde

This section presents some morphological aspects of Kaonde. The section, like the phonology one above, is a brief account of Kaonde morphology. Although Kaonde has a number of word classes such as particles, numerals, demonstratives, pronouns, and prepositions, this section focuses on the nouns and verbs as they have the most salient elements of Bantu morphology. Other words that have been discussed are adjectives.

1.3.4.1 The Structure of Nouns in Kaonde

According to Wright (2007: 9) “Most nouns in Kikaonde are made up of a prefix and a stem” (there are a few which have zero (Ø) prefix such as *bokwe* ‘lion and *kolwe* ‘monkey. In the word form *jibwe* ‘stone’, *mabwe* ‘stones, the stem is –**bwe** and the prefixes are **ji-**, and **ma-**. The prefix **ji-** shows singularity whereas **ma-** shows plurality. It can therefore be concluded

that the stem **-bwe** is the main element of the word form from which various other word forms of the same kind are derived by the process of prefixation. The stem remains constant and bears the meaning of the word; the prefix can change to show plural or some other modification of the meaning (ibid). The bi-morphomic structure of nouns in Kaonde can be formalized as NOUN = PREFIX + STEM. Like in most other Bantu languages nouns in Kaonde are divided into noun classes based on their prefixes and meaning as discussed below.

(a) Noun Class in Kaonde

A noun is a single word that can be basic (a stem alone or with non-derivational affixes: ng’ombe ‘cow’), derived (containing derivational affixes: mu-jim-i ‘farmer’), or compound (containing two or more stems: mufunjishi-kata [Lit: teacher-master] ‘headmaster’) which prototypically refers to a physical object or mass. Languages subcategorize nouns grammatically along certain semantic parameters. In Bantu languages, nouns are categorized into a class system based on the prefix they take and also where they will take their singular and plural form (Wright 2007). They will also be categorised based on semantics. On the basis of these criteria, Kaonde is said to have 20 noun classes.

As adopted by Carl Meinhoff in his Ur-Bantu, nouns in Kaonde (like in all Bantu languages) are divided into classes according to their prefix and meaning. This can be tabulated as indicated in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Nominal Class Prefixes in Kaonde

Class Number	Noun Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	mu-	mu-ntu	person

1a	∅	bokwe	lion
2	ba-	ba-ntu	people
2a	ba	babokwe	lions
3	mu-	mu-chima	heart
4	mi-	mi-chima	hearts
5	ji-	ji-bwe	stone
6	ma-	ma-bwe	stones
7	ki-	ki-ntu	thing
8	bi-	bi-ntu	things
9	n-	n-shima	thick maize meal porridge
10	n-	n-zhiye	locusts
11	lu-	lu-sekeelo	joy
12	ka-	ka-pasa	axe
13	tu-	tu-pasa	axes
14	bu-	bu-konde	net
15	ku-	ku-twi	ear
16	pa-	pa-ntu	Place on
17	ku-	ku-ntu	Place at
18	mu-	mu-ntu	Place in

It should be noted, however, that although Wright (Wright 2007:13) argues that classes 1a and 2a are sub-classes which have different (or no) prefixes but command the same agreements in other words” (Wright, 2007, p.13), these are in fact not sub-classes and have a prefix which is zero in class 1a. That is why nouns in class 1a will have a prefix in their plural form in class 2a. For example, *bokwe* ‘lion’ will be *babokwe* ‘lions in its plural form. In this case, therefore, the prefix *ba-* is inflected to the root *-bokwe* because there was a space for it in d-structure.

From the classes discussed above, it can be noted that most of these can be paired to express singulars and plurals. This is one very important feature of the semantics of the classes in

Bantu languages except for those that cannot be pluralized. The following are the possible pairs in Kaonde 1/2, 1a/2a, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/6, 12/13, 14/6, 15/6 and 11/4.

These pairs of the noun class system will further express semantic meaning with regard to nouns that are found within each pair. That is, nouns in the same class will often have something in common in their meaning. This can further be exemplified in Table 4 which shows the pairs and their semantic meaning.

Table 4: Pairs of Classes and their Semantic Meaning

Pairs of classes	Semantics of the class
1 and 2	Contains nouns denoting human beings
1a and 2a	Contains names of persons, nouns of relationship usually expressing respect, that is, honorific functions as well as personified objects.
3 and 4	Contains names of trees, natural features, animals and body parts
5 and 6	Contains peculiar persons due to habits formed and names of some plants
7 and 8	Nouns designating customs and national languages. Also designating persons who are not normal or are notorious.
9 and 6	This will include food stuffs
10 and 1b	Contains big animals and birds
12 and 13	Contains small things which are diminutive
14 and 6	Words denoting abstract qualities of nouns
15 and 6	Parts of the body

Note that because most nouns in class 14 are abstract nouns, they have no plural forms. Similarly in most cases class 15 is used for infinitives, a category of words which is normally not subject to the dichotomy singular or plural. Furthermore, classes 16, 17, and 18 are not paired because they are locatives classes. The nouns in these classes are peculiar in that most of them are formed from nouns of other classes by preprefixes. For example, the word *mu-muzhi* ‘in the village’ has the preprefix **mu-** which is locative ‘in’ and the prefix **-mu-**.

1.3.4.2 The Structure of Verbs in Kaonde

Verbs in Kaonde illustrate the typical Bantu language structure of affixes attached to a lexical core called a radical. According to Lisimba (1982:147), a radical is “the core of the verb which is responsible for conveying the basic meaning of the verbal unit.” The Kaonde verbal unit is agglutinative in nature as is the case with other Bantu languages. Agglutination is a process by which words are easily divided into separate morphemes or segments with separate grammatical functions (Mathews 2005). In agglutinative languages such as Kaonde, words are made of different morphemes strung together. The verbal morphology in Kaonde is built around a root to which affixes can be added to vary meaning. A verb will consist of a root preceded and/or followed by one or more affixes such as preprefix, prefix, post prefix, tense marker, extension, pre-ending, ending and post ending in a fixed order (Wright 2007). The majority of simple roots consist of a consonant plus a long or short vowel plus a consonant (this can be symbolized CVC) for instance, the verb root *jim-* [CVC] ‘farm’ which can have various affixes attached to it as in the word; *Ketukamujimina* [*ketukamudjimina*] ‘we will not cultivate for him/her’

This verbal form consists of the following morphemes;

ke- negative marker

-tu- subject marker

-ka- tense marker

-mu- object marker ‘him/her’

-jim- radical/root ‘farm/cultivate’

-in- applied extension denoting action done for/on behalf of

-a verb ending

From the example above, it can be observed that the nucleus of verbal morphology in Kaonde is the verb root to which affixes with different grammatical functions are attached. It is also observed that when a verb appears in a sentence, the root is usually prefixed with a subject or object marker and tense marker. Having provided an example of a typical verbal form in Kaonde, we can briefly discuss some verbal extensions’ in Kaonde.

(c) **Verbal Extensions**

In Kaonde language, a verbal form may show additions of other elements or morphemes to the root to modify the meaning. These additions are known as verbal extensions (Nkolola 1998). Some of the common verb extensions in Kaonde are as follows:

(i) **Applied Extension**

The applied extension denotes the meaning of an action being done for or on behalf of someone or something. The morphemes for the applied extension in Kaonde are **-il-**, **-el-** or **-in-** as shown in the following words.

(15) (a) ku-kas-a [kukasa] ‘to tie’

Ka-sh-**il**-a [kaʃila] ‘to tie for’ a person or a reason’

(b) ku-sek-a [kuseka] ‘to laugh’

ku- sek-**el**-a [kusekela] ‘to laugh for’

(c) ku-jim-a [kudzima] ‘to cultivate’

ku-jim-**in**-a [kudzimina] ‘ to cultivate for’

(ii) **Causative Extension**

This verbal extension modifies a verb to the meaning of causing or making somebody or something do something or to do something with something. The morpheme for this extension is **-ish-**.

(16) (a) ku-jim-a [kudzima] ‘to cultivate’

ku-mu-jim-**ish**-a [kumudzimiia] ‘ to make him/her cultivate’

(b) ku-kas-a [kukasa] ‘to tie’

ku-kas-**ish**-a [kasiia] ‘to cause to tie’

(iii) **Passive Extension**

This extension modifies a verb to the meaning of an action being done to someone or something. The morpheme for this extension is **-u-** which undergoes semivocalization or gliding to become **-w-** before the final vowel as illustrated below. Semivocalization or gliding is when morphemes are realized by a corresponding sound after they combined to form words in certain contexts such as the ones presented 17(a) and (b).

(17) (a) ku-kas-a [kukasa] ‘to tie’

ku-ka-s-**u**-a (kukaswa) [kukaswa] ‘to be tied’

(b) ku-pum-a [kupuma] ‘to beat’

ku-pu-m-**u**-a (kupumwa) [kupumwa] ‘to be beaten’

(iv) Reversive Active Extension

This refers to an action which is reversed or re-done. In this extension, the verb has a direct object and somebody or something is involved in the reversive action. It is realized by the morpheme **-unun-** as in;

(18) (a) ku-vung-a [kuvunga] ‘to fold’

ku-vung-**unun**-a [kuvungununa] ‘to unfold something’

(b) ku-kas-a [kukasa] ‘to tie’

ku-kas-**unun**-a [kukasununa] ‘to untie something’

(v) Reversive Stative Extension

In this extension, the reversive action denoted by the verb takes place by itself. No one is involved in the reversive action hence has no direct object. It is realized by the morpheme **-unuk-** and **-unul-** as in;

(19) (a) ku-kas-a [kukasa] ‘to tie’

ku-kas-**unuk**-a [kukasunuka] ‘to become untied’

(b) ku-pomp-a [kupompa] ‘to inflate’

ku-pomp-**uluk**-a [kupompuluka] ‘to become inflated’

(vi) Reciprocal Extension

In this extension, the action denoted by the verb is done to each other. This occurs with animate objects and subjects. The morpheme for the extension is **-an-** as in;

(20) (a) Kw-ichik-a [kwifika] ‘to plait’

kw-ichik-**an**-a [kwifikaana] ‘to plait each other’

(b) ku-pat-a [kupata] ‘to hate

ku-pat-**an**-a [kupatana] ‘to hate each other’

(vii) Repetitive Extension

The verb in this extension denotes an action that is done repeatedly, that is, action is done over and over again. In this type, the verb root is extended by reduplication. Reduplication is a morphological process by which the root or stem of a word or part of it is repeated. For instance, in 21 (a) and (b) below the morphemes *-seka* and *-mona* have been repeated, respectively.

(21) (a) Kuseka [kuseka] ‘to laugh’

Ku-sek-**asek**-a [kusekaseka] ‘to laugh repeatedly’

(b) Kumona [kumona] ‘to see’

ku-mon-an-**mon**-a [kumonamona] ‘to see repeatedly’

1.3.4.3 The Structure of Adjectives

According to Wright (2007:22), “specific adjective stems in the Kaonde language (as in other Bantu languages) are very few”. This means that they are relatively few adjectives in Kaonde. According to Mann et. al (1977: 128) the following is believed to be a full list of adjectives: *-ana* ‘young’, *-bi* ‘bad’, *-bishi* ‘unripe’, *-cheche* ‘small’, *-enyi* ‘strange’, *-ine* ‘self’, *-ingi* ‘many’, *-ipi* ‘short’, *kaji* ‘angry’, *katampe* ‘big’, *kazhi* ‘female’, *kulumpe* ‘elder’, *kwabo* ‘other, additional’, *lume* ‘male’ *-ncha* ‘worthless’, *-pya* ‘new’, *-tanshi* ‘first’, *-tuntulu* ‘whole’ *-umi* ‘live’, *-ya* ‘beautiful’, *-yampe* ‘beautiful’. These stems will take different

prefixes according to nouns they modify in order to achieve concord. For instance, the stem – *kwabo* ‘other’ will have the prefix *mu-* in the phrase *muntu mukwabo* ‘another person’, *bi-* in the phrase *bintu bikwabo* ‘other things’ and *ki-* in the *kintu kikwabo* ‘other thing’ in order to achieve concord as the noun *muntu* is in class 1, *bintu* in 8 and *kintu* in 7.

1.3.5 Some Aspects of the Syntax of Kaonde

This section briefly deals with the basic syntactic structure of Kaonde. According to Heines and Nurse (1978:194) “in the study of syntax we are concerned with how words and morphemes combine to form grammatical sentences. We study how they are placed in a linear order, how they group into larger, patterned units to form phrases and clauses, and how those units relate to one another to form a hierarchy of structures within structures”. Languages have a basic word order that serves as the most common way to form a sentence and express the idea associated with it. Like in other Bantu languages, Kaonde has the following word order: subject (S), verb (V), object (O); (SVO). This implies that in simple declarative sentences, the subject (S) will begin the sentence and this will be followed by the verb (V), which will precede the object (O).

(22) Mushima wapota manyi.

S V O

[lit: Mushima-he has-bought relish]

‘Mushima has bought relish.’

(23) Kyembe ne Mushima baji na mali.

S V O

[lit: Kyemba and Mushima-they- have-money]

‘Kyembe and Mushima have money.’

The above sentences prove that the basic word order in Kaonde is SVO, however, some sentences may have different word orders such as VOS, OSV and OVS depending on what is thematized. That is, these additional word orders are as a result of topicalization. Topicalization refers to the process of forming a derived construction in which one of the

elements is a topic (Mathews 2005). Topicalization involves indicating what the sentence is about by placing emphasis on a particular section of the sentence. This is illustrated in example (24) below.

(24) (a) walala windo Mubambe.

V O S

[lit: he-has-broken-the-window-Mubambe]

'The breaking of the window has been done by Mubambe.'

(b). Mubambe walala windo.

S V O

[lit: Mubambe-he-has-broken-the-window]

'Mubambe has broken the window.'

(c). Windo yalajwa ne Mubambe.

O V S

[lit: window-it-has-been-broken-by-Mubambe]

'The window has been broken by Mubambe.'

It can be seen from the above sentences that in 24 (a) what has been topicalized is *kulala* 'to break', in (b) it is *Mubambe* and in (c) it is *windo* 'the window'.

What we have been discussing above are simple sentences, that is, sentences made up of one clause. However, sentences may consist of more than one clause and these may be referred to as compound or complex sentences. Complex sentences involve the linking of two or more clauses in which one is usually the main clause and the other is the subordinate clause (Heine and Nurse 1978). Compound sentences, on the other hand, consist of multiple independent clauses with no dependent clause. To form compound sentences, Kaonde like most Bantu languages uses coordination and juxtaposition. In Kaonde, compound sentences will be

formed by linking two or more clauses by using a coordinating conjunction like *ne*, *na* and *kabiji*. These coordinating conjunctions can be used to conjoin any given lexical or phrasal categories.

(25) (a) [Peter waiya] **ne** [Mukwemba waiya].

[lit: peter-he-has-come and Mukwemba-he-has-come]

‘[Peter has come] **and** [Mukwemba has come].’

(b). [Bataata basakwiya] **nangwa** [bamaama basakwiya].

[lit: father-he-will-come-or-mother-she-will-come]

‘[Father will come] **or** [mother will come].’

(c). [Bamwisho baiya] **kabiji** [baleeta ne byakuja].

[lit: uncle-he-has-come-and-he-has-brought-with-him-food]

‘[Uncle has come] **and** [he has brought food].’

Sentences such as the ones in (25) above will be the focus of the analysis in this paper.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

Although it has been established that the syntactic process of coordination is a universal process and that it differs a lot cross linguistically, no study has been conducted to firstly examine how it is achieved in Kaonde and; secondly to examine its structure and function. In as much as coordination in Kaonde has been hinted at in the *Zambian Language Orthography* (1977), it is not clear how coordination is structured and how it functions in Kaonde. This also applies to the nature of *and-coordination* in Kaonde, that is, its structure and function. Therefore, how the syntactic process of *and-coordination* operates in Kaonde is not extensively documented. In other words, we do not know the structure and function of *and-coordination* in Kaonde. Stated as a question, the problem under investigation is: what is the nature (structure and function) of *and-coordination* in Kaonde and how is it achieved?

1.7 Rationale

While there is substantial literature on all levels of linguistics in other languages, there is lack of linguistic research in general and nothing on the topic of coordination in Kaonde (like most Bantu languages). A number of studies have been conducted on coordination in other

languages such as *Coordination in Ewe* (Dzameshie 1999), *Coordinating Construction in Fongbe* (Lebevre 2002) and *A Corpus-Based Study of Saisiyat Conjunction 'saa'* (Wang 2010) but not in Kaonde. This study was therefore intended to fill this knowledge gap that has not been given sufficient attention. It was also hoped that once this study was carried out, it would make a useful contribution to descriptive linguistics in general and literature on the syntactic description of Kaonde in particular. Further, in light of the literature reviewed, the study sought to establish whether or not the same principles of the process of *and-coordination* that apply to other languages will also apply to Kaonde. In addition, it was hoped that the study would account for the correct distribution of grammatical sentences which incorporate the coordinating conjunction in Kaonde. This would provide explicit rules which could assign structural description to coordinating conjunctions so that the well-formedness of a compound sentence or phrase would be determined on the basis of grammatical description.

1.8 Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of the study was to examine the structure and function of the syntactic process of *and-coordination* in Kaonde.

To achieve this goal, the study sought to meet the following specific objectives;

- (a) To identify coordinators that are equivalent to *and* in Kaonde.
- (b) To identify conjuncts coordinated by *and* in Kaonde:
- (c) To examine how *and-equivalent* coordinators are used in Kaonde
- (d) To examine the nature of coordinate structures in Kaonde using Government and Binding theory
- (e) To examine the semantic functions of coordinators in Kaonde.

1.9 Research Questions

In order to meet the above stated objectives, the following questions were addressed;

- (a) What coordinators are equivalent to *and* in Kaonde?
- (b) What conjuncts can be coordinated by *and-equivalent* in Kaonde?
- (c) How are *and-equivalent* coordinators used in Kaonde?
- (d) What is the nature of a coordinate structure in Kaonde in Government and Binding theory?
- (e) What are the semantic functions of coordinators in Kaonde?

1.10 Operational Definitions

This study has made reference to some linguistic concepts which, if left undefined, may be misunderstood or over-applied to areas the study did not intend to stretch into. This section, therefore, discusses some of the major grammatical concepts investigated in this study.

(a) Coordination: coordination is the relation between two or more separate and syntactically equivalent parts of a sentence (Mathews 2005). That is, syntactic coordination is the combining or joining of two or more parts of a sentence (words, phrases or independent clauses) that are grammatically equal or similar in nature.

(b) Coordinating Conjunction/ Coordinator: A word such as *and*, *or* and *but* which links syntactic units standing in a relation of coordination.

(c) Conjunct or Coordinard: A word, phrase or clause that is linked to another by a coordinator in coordination.

(d) Coordinate Structure: A linguistic unit made up of at least two conjuncts that have been conjoined overtly or non-overtly by a coordinator.

1.11 Methodology

This section discusses the methodology used in this investigation. It also presents a detailed explanation of the procedures used in data collection and analysis.

1.11.1 Research Design

According to Mungenda & Mungenda (2003), a research design tells the investigator whether s/he should use the qualitative, quantitative or triangulation method in the process of research. The method to be employed in research dictates the procedures that will be used depending on the nature of that particular research. Research that requires the use of statistics are said to be quantitative, those that are descriptive in nature are said to be qualitative. The ones that are both descriptive and make use of numbers use triangulation.

This study used qualitative research in the collection and analysis of data because it was not seeking numerical data which is arrived at by quantitative means. Because this study tried to describe and investigate the syntax and semantics of *and-coordination* in Kaonde in some depths, the researcher used qualitative method “to collect data and explain phenomena more deeply and exhaustively” (Mungenda & Mungenda 2003: 197). The study sought data based on people`s own spoken words and written words. Since the primary source of information

were people and written texts, the data would have been difficult to divide into parts that yield characteristics that are measurable (Mungenda & Mungenda 2003). Furthermore, this study intended to determine what things exist rather than to determine how many there are. Hence it focused on analysing the nature of the syntactic process of *and-coordination* in Kaonde with special interest on what linguistic elements can be coordinated by *and*, the nature of coordinators that are equivalent to *and* in Kaonde and how they function. This is in line with qualitative research which enables the researcher to meaningfully analyse information in a systematic way in order to come to some useful conclusion and recommendation. Here one obtains detailed information about the phenomenon being studied, and then tries to establish trends, patterns and relationships from the gathered information (Mungenda and Mungenda 2003).

1.11.2 Data Collection Procedures

In data collection, both primary and secondary data were used to ensure authenticity. Primary data was collected from both the researcher through introspection (as the researcher is a native speaker of Kaonde) and ten selected informants. Secondary data was obtained from some selected Kaonde literature, and these included; *Kyapusana, Buku wa Lesa* (The Bible), *Kyamba kya Usopa (August and September 2012 articles)*, and *Bishimi Nebyakine*. The data collection exercise was undertaken over a period of four (4) weeks in which the researcher collected perceived coordinate structures from Kaonde literature. The collected coordinated phrases and sentences from the above mentioned literature was then administered to informants for glossing and translation through simple phrase lists. Thereafter, the coordinate structures were checked by the researcher to ensure clarity.

1.11.3 Sources of Data

This study was mostly corpus-based as most of the data collected was through desk research. Desk research is the research technique which is mainly acquired by sitting at a desk. It (Desk research) basically involves collecting data from existing resources. It is very effective and was conducted in the starting phase of the research as it is quite quick and most basic information was easily fetched which was used as a benchmark in the research from available written sources. The researcher unearthed data related to coordination where different conjunctions and conjuncts were analysed. The University of Zambia library provided the much needed corpus for the desk research. According to Crystal (1991: 86) “corpus is a collection of linguistic data, either written text or a transcription of recorded speech, which can be used as a starting-point of linguistics description.” The corpus used in this study was

obtained from the novel *Kyapusana, Buku wa Lesa* (The Bible), the articles *Kyamba kya Usopa* (August and September 2012 articles), and the book of short stories *Bishimi Nebyakine*. The novel *Kyapusana* and the short stories *Bishimi Nebyakine* were used because they are among the most popular books in Kaonde. *Buku wa Lesa* (The Bible) was selected because it is one of the oldest publications in the Kaonde language. The articles, *Kyamba kya Usopa* (August and September 2012 articles), were selected because they are published on a regular basis and make use of language as it is spoken today.

Data collected from the corpus comprising possible coordinators and coordinate structures in Kaonde was administered to ten informants for verification in the form of a simple phrase list. This helped the researcher to come up with properly coordinated sentences in Kaonde. According to Vaux and Cooper (1997), field work can be extremely rewarding if one selects the right informants and equally painful if one selects the wrong informants. One should try to find a fluent speaker of the language being studied. Therefore, the researcher purposefully selected informants that were native speakers of Kaonde and also secondary school teachers of Kaonde. Five male and female teachers of Kaonde language were selected in order to strike a balance in terms of gender. These are people who have been teaching the standard Kaonde language for at least thirteen years, and have a good understanding of the structure of Kaonde. Additionally, the five Kaonde texts and ten informants that were selected for data collection were sufficient for the study because it was easy to work with few people and items. This is in line with Vaux and Cooper (1997: 8) who claims that “if one works with few informants, one obtains relatively consistent data, whereas when working with more informants, differences in idiolect, dialect, and so on inevitably appear.”

The study also employed introspection in data collection as the researcher is a native speaker of the language in question. The significance of this technique is that the researcher was aware of coordinate structures in Kaonde. He came up with a number of coordinate structures that are coordinated by an *and-equivalent* in Kaonde. Because he is a native speaker of Kaonde, it was hoped that his judgement of the acceptability, grammaticality and other properties of sentences against his intuition were accurate. This is in line with Chomsky (2005) who stipulates that the native speaker’s intuition cannot be undermined. Furthermore, according to Asher (1994) introspective reports and linguistic intuition have a special status in linguistics (particularly generative linguistics) because they are regarded as reflections of the native speaker’s internalised mental grammar and are therefore used as primary data for

theory construction. It is undeniable that such use of linguistic intuition has led to the establishment of a substantial number of significant generalizations about syntactic processes of *and*-coordination.

1.11.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis process started during data collection by first identifying coordinators and coordinate structures. According to Kombo and Tromp (2006: 119), “qualitative data can be analysed using the Thematic Analytic Technique.” They stress that this technique enables the researcher to analyse data according to themes or categories. Therefore, the researcher began by identifying and categorizing coordinators and coordinate structures by putting them in thematic categories – lexical categories, phrasal categories and clausal categories. That is, after collecting data, the researcher first examined it critically and put it into different categories depending on whether or not it was relevant. Kaonde informants were consulted when conducting this exercise as it was crucial in coming up with valid data.

The relevant data was then put in different thematic categories depending on their type. That is, coordinate structures were categorized into nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, adjectives and adjective phrases, prepositions and prepositional phrases, clauses, sentences and unlike coordinate structures. Thereafter, the researcher discussed their structure. The researcher examined the structural make up of coordinate structures by establishing their salient linguistic features. In so doing, the researcher established Kaonde coordinators and conjuncts.

Furthermore, the researcher examined the function of coordinators and how they operate to achieve coordination in Kaonde. The researcher also subjected *and*- coordination in Kaonde to Government and Binding (GB) theory. He evaluated whether or not coordinate structures in Kaonde could be analysed using the X-bar theory of GB by Chomsky (1981).

1.12 Scope of the Study

Coordination is used by linguists as a term for both conjunction (with *and* and *but*) and disjunction (with *or*). However, this study limited itself to the investigation of *and*-coordination in Kaonde. Therefore, the focus was to examine the nature of coordinate structures that use *and* in Kaonde and describe in a precise manner how they operate. It should be mentioned here that Kaonde has a number of dialects as stated earlier but in this particular study standard Kaonde from Kasempa is what was considered. This is because standard Kaonde is the one that is officially used in government schools where the Kaonde

language is taught. Further, the study also looked at some constraints that disallow the possibilities of using *and* following the concepts of Government and Binding (GB) theory. Because GB theory was developed for English, the study further sought to establish whether the same principles would apply to Kaonde.

1.13 Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of this study is that it did not look at coordination in Kaonde in general; instead, it focused on *and-coordination*. This was so because there was not enough time to cover for all kinds of coordination. The other limitation of this study is that it did not consider all the three major Kaonde dialects when investigating *and-coordination*. It focused on the Kasempa dialect (the standard dialect) which is taught in schools and used on radio and television as a means of official communication. This is the case because the Kasempa dialect is the one which is well documented and approved by the government of the Republic of Zambia as it is used as one of the seven languages or language clusters that are used in Zambia besides English for official purposes such as broadcasting (both on radio and television), literacy campaigns and the official dissemination of information. Furthermore, this study did not categorically look at coordinate structure constraints in Kaonde.

1.14 Ethical Considerations

Due to the nature of the study (desk research), no major ethical considerations were necessary for this study and it was believed that the study could not harm anyone. Most of the data was collected from published books which are meant for public consumption. The only ethical consideration considered was the confidentiality and voluntary participation of the informants. In this regard, the names of the informants have not been revealed and their participation in this research was voluntary.

1.15 Structure of the Dissertation

This dissertation is composed of five chapters. The present chapter provides an introduction to the study and gives background information to the study. It states the specific problem under investigation and gives the rationale of this study. The purpose and objectives of the study, the research questions which were investigated as well as a summary of the methodology employed in data collection and analysis, have been presented in this chapter. Additionally, the chapter gives the details of the methodology used to collect data in order to provide answers to the research questions raised. It also presents details on the type of research design, data analysis, scope and limitations of the study.

The second chapter reviews literature which is available and directly relevant to the current study so as to put this research within the context of other similar studies and provide justification for it. The third chapter presents the theoretical framework within which the study was carried out by explaining and illustrating some important concepts of government binding theory that relate to the research.

The fourth chapter is an analysis of findings on the nature of *and-coordination* as it operates in Kaonde from the data collected. It discusses the findings by establishing; (a) the nature of *and-coordination* as syntactic phenomenon in Kaonde, (b) the nature of conjunctions and how they are realized in Kaonde, (c) the structure of conjuncts in Kaonde, and (d) the function of coordinators and the role the conjunctions play in achieving coordination. The fifth and last chapter gives a summary of the previous chapters and concludes by establishing the nature of coordination in Kaonde. It further makes some recommendations for further research.

1.16 Conclusion

This chapter provided the background and motivation for the study. It also briefly looked at the structure of the Kaonde language. The presentation started with information on coordination in general and looked at the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of Kaonde. Later, the chapter presented the problem under research, the rationale, the purpose and objectives of the study. It discussed the research design employed in this research. That is, it states in a precise manner with respect to how data was collected and analysed. The chapter concluded by presenting the scope of the study, outlining some of the limitations and giving the structure of the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents information on coordination conducted on other languages and provides the context for the study. It reviews critical literature on substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to coordination. It begins by providing an

overview of coordination as a syntactic process in linguistics and thereafter looks at some of the studies that have been done on Kaonde and similar ones conducted on the topic of coordination in other languages. Since coordination has not been extensively and intensively studied in Kaonde most of the works that have been reviewed are based on English and other languages.

2.1 Coordination

According to Haspelmath (2000: 1), “the term *coordination* refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.” Haspelmath (2000) further argues that the units maybe words, phrases, subordinate clauses, or full sentences. That is, these units may be complete sentences, phrase-level constituents or single words. That is, it is a construction in which two or more parts of the sentence are joined by words like *and* or *or* as can be seen from the examples below;

(1) (a) [John] **ne** [Mary] baile nakukaya.

[Lit: *John and Mary they have gone to play*]

‘[John] **and** [Mary] have gone to play’

(b) Bansongwalume [bafunda kuluka mape] **ne** [kutunga mazuba].

[Lit: *boys they learn how to make baskets and to build houses*]

‘Boys [learn how to make baskets] **and** [build houses]’

In 1 (a), what have been conjoined are two single nouns (*John* and *Mary*) whereas in 1 (b) the VPs (*bafunda kuluka mape* and *kutunga mazuba*) have been conjoined to form one larger VP. This is an instance where single words and phrase-level constituents have been conjoined by *ne* to form a coordinate structure, respectively.

Coordination can also be between and among sentences since it essentially reduces sentences so as to avoid repetition of constituents of the same phrasal structure as can be seen in the following examples;

(2) (a) Yobe ng’anyi **kabiji** wikala kwepi?

[Lit: *you are who and you live where*]

‘[Who are you] **and** [where do you live]?’

(b) [waesekele] **ne** [kukankalwa].

[Lit: s/he tried and failed]

‘[s/he tried] **and** [failed].’

According to Asher (1994), coordination therefore has two major approaches; phrasal conjunction, where coordinate structures are base-generated as in 1 above (where conjuncts are lexical categories and phrasal categories) and sentential conjunction which deals with the reduction of constituents as in 2 above. According to Bright (1992: 311) “These approaches render the process of coordination to be a very flexible mechanism in languages in that any given lexical or phrasal categories can be coordinated. The focus on sentential conjunction is from a view that only sentences are conjoined in the underlying structure.” It is therefore through the process of conjunction reduction that the surface structures of the sentences are produced. Thus, the process is also referred to as a conjunction. For instance, sentences 3 (a) and (b) can be reduced to 3 (c) as shown below.

(3) (a) Carol waya kukisankanyi.

[Lit: carol she has gone to the market]

‘Carol has gone to the market.’

(b) Tasila waya kukisankanyi.

[Lit: Tasila she has gone to the market]

‘Tasila has gone to the market’

(c) [Carol] **ne** [tasila] baya kukisankanyi.

[Lit: Carol and Tasila they have gone to the market]

‘[Carol] **and** [Tasila] have gone to the market.’

All languages have a way of expressing coordination but some languages of the world do not use coordinate structures. For example, according to Heine and Nurse (1978: 218) “Nawdm uses juxtaposition for contrast as in ‘but’. The first clause has an affirmative adverb such as ‘certainly, truly’, with no other special indicators in the rest of the sentence. So one could say: *He went to the market for certain, he did not buy yams*’ to mean ‘*He went to the market but did not buy yams.*’” Languages that use coordination are those that formally indicate the linkage between two clauses by using a coordinating word such as *and* or *or* for English.

2.2 Types of Coordination

In coordination, the coordinator usually serves to link the conjuncts and indicate the presence of a coordinate structure. Depending on the number of coordinators used, coordinate structures can be classified as syndetic, asyndetic or polysyndetic (Dayley 1989).

2.2.1 Syndetic Coordination

According to Dayley (1989) syndetic coordination is one which is marked by overt signals of coordination such as *and*. For example in sentence (4) below, the coordinate structure is syndetic as there is the use of *and* to link the two nouns ('Tukiya' and 'Bibusa').

(4) Tukiya *and* Bibusa are good girls.

All the constructions in this study where the coordinator '*and*' has been used involve syndetic coordination.

2.2.2 Asyndetic Coordination

Asyndetic coordination is one that is not overtly marked by coordinators such as the ones mentioned above (Dayley 1989). For instance in (5) below, no coordinator has been used to link the three nouns ('camp chairs', 'ropes' and 'sleeping bags',) together.

(5) I bought camp chairs, ropes, sleeping bags – everything needed for a picnic.

In asyndetic coordination, coordinators are not visibly used. It is a process in which constituents are conjoined without the use of coordinating conjunctions. Most asyndetic constructions in African languages use the subjunctive in the verb form of the conjoined constituents. The subjunctive is a verb mood that is used to express an action or state of being in the context of the speaker's reaction to it. It is used to express necessity, desire, purpose suggestion and similar ideas, or counterfactual condition as shown in (6) below (Mathews 2005).

(6) (a) Nsakukumba nshima nje.

[Lit: I will cook nshima I eat]

'I will cook nshima and eat'.

(b) Nsakutola byoonse, njenga kwetu.

[Lit: I will pick everything I go home]

‘I will pick everything and go home’.

Note that, not all juxtaposed words, phrases or clauses are manifestations of asyndetic coordination. The possibility of inserting the coordinator *and* with little alteration of the meaning is evidence that a construction is one of asyndetic coordination. In this kind of coordination, conjoins are generally separated by a tone-unit boundary in speech, or punctuation mark in writing. For example, (5) above can be rewritten as show in (7);

(7) I bought camp chairs, ropes *and* sleeping bags.

2.2.3 Polysyndetic Coordination

According to Coghill (1997) when a coordinating conjunction connects more than two (2) items, the coordinating conjunction usually appears between the last two items in a series. Commas separate the other items in that series as exemplified in (8) below.

(8) Our corporate social responsibility is holistic with a focus on [sustainable livelihoods], [sport sponsorship], [the environment], [education] *and* [health].

However, there are instances in which a coordinating conjunction can be used more than once when connecting more than two items. This kind of coordination is known as polysyndetic coordination. That is, when a construction with *and* has more than two conjoins. According to Halliday (2004), Polysyndeton occurs where more than one conjunction is, and maybe included for emphasis. Therefore, you generally use a comma before the coordinating conjunction if you are connecting three (3) or more items in a series, that is;

Item, + item, + item, + and (coordinating conjunction) + item (Halliday 2004).

(9) [The wind roared] *and* [the lightning flashed] *and* [the sky was suddenly as dark as night].

In this instance, polysyndeton which tends to be reserved for stylistically marked effect is used to emphasise a dramatic sequence of events.

2.3 Types of Coordinators

A coordinator or coordinating conjunction is a word (such as *and*, *but* or *or*) that joins parts of a sentence that are grammatically equal or similar. *And* and *or* coordination are by far the most frequently occurring coordination. Other types of coordination occur less often and have

unique properties and these involve these words; *but*, *as well as*, and *then* among others (Quirk & Greenbaum 1973). For example;

(10) (a) [The Ghanaian boxer was old] **but** [he was easily beaten].

(b) Peter is [tall] **as well as** [huge].

(c) [They went home], **then** [went straight to bed].

This study specifically investigates coordination that involves a coordinator that is equivalent to *and* in Kaonde. That is, coordination which involves the use of *and-equivalent* as a coordinator in Kaonde, hence, *and-coordination*.

2.4 And–Coordination

And-coordination is a process of using ‘*and*’ in conjoining or coordinating elements of a language that are of equal status, although this equality is not in totality as exemplified in (11) below where two adjectives and a clause have been conjoined by ‘*and*’.

(11) Belgians are [pragmatic] **and** [friendly] **and** [they certainly know how to throw a party].
(A + A + Clause constituent)

Thomson and Martnet (1986: 288) say that a coordinating conjunction “joins pairs of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, phrases or clauses,” where the term conjunction here refers to the element that is used to conjoin other constituents. These constituents however may be more than two, like what is shown in (11) above. The equivalents of ‘*and*’ are the most frequently used of the coordinators in any of the world’s languages. Languages frequently use ‘*and*’ to link conjuncts. This coordinator often appears between the conjuncts, usually between the penultimate and the ultimate conjunct of the coordinate structure when items being coordinated are more than two as exemplified in the English example below;

(12) Mubambe sells [cars], [houses], [farms] **and** [farm produce].

2.5 Forms of And-Coordination

And - coordination can either be combinatory or segregatory. When a phrase is linked by *and* in a clause, they may express combinatory or segregatory meaning. The distinction applies to various types of co-joined phrases, but perhaps clearest to noun phrases (NP).

2.5.1 Combinatory Coordination

According to Quick & Greenbaum (1973), combinatory coordination is a kind of coordination where the proposition in the first clause is inseparable from that in the second. It can work with various types of conjoined phrases and this kind is analysed by its inability to be separated as two or more sentences as shown below;

(13) [John] *and* [Mary] make a pleasant couple.

Hence the following sentence is ungrammatical;

(14) *[John makes a pleasant couple] *and* [Mary makes a pleasant couple].

2.5.2 Segregatory Coordination

Segregatory coordination, on the other hand, is a type of coordination where the conjoined clauses or sentences can be split into sentences of the underlying structures. When the coordination is segregatory, it is possible to paraphrase the original sentence into two or more uncoordinated clauses (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973). For example;

(15) [Muke] *and* [Mushima] have a cold.

Is equivalent to;

(16) [Muke has a cold] *and* [Mushima has a cold].

2.6 The Structure of *And* – Coordination

Coordination always has at least two conjuncts. For example, in (17) below, the two NPs *John* and *his mother* have been conjoined by the coordinating conjunction *and* to form a conjunction.

(17) [John] *and* [his mother] took a stroll along the embankment.

The usual analysis for *and*-coordinate structure is to posit a rule schema of the form;

$$\alpha \rightarrow \alpha \text{ and } \alpha$$

Choosing some value for α (such as NP, A or Det) gives us a particular coordinate rule with conjuncts of the same category (Bright 1992: 311).

2.7 Studies on Coordination

A number of studies have been conducted on some Zambian languages. These include Miti (1988), Nkolola (1997) and Lisimba (1982). Miti (1988) examines the language varieties of

Chinyanja. He addresses tonal variation among the three varieties (Chichewa, Chinsenga and Chingoni) using autosegmental phonology. Nkolola (1997) presents an analysis of the morphophonology, syntax and semantics of the applied, causative and passive verb extension of Tonga. She employs GB in the syntax and semantic analysis of verb extension whereas the phonological analysis is done using Underspecification Theory and Feature Geometry. Further, Lisimba (1982) looks at the dialectological variations of Luyana languages with respect to their morphology, phonemics, lexicon, grammar and tone. The study was designed not only to interrelate Luyi languages but also to establish their positions as a group within Bantu relative. Although the above reviewed studies have made great contribution to the development of Zambian languages, none of them has analysed the syntax and semantics of and-coordination in Kaonde.

A lot of studies have been conducted on coordination in syntax (Dzameshie 2012; Ngueni 2004; Zhang 2000, and Drellishak 2004). These have addressed a number of major issues with regard to the treatment of coordination as a phenomenon including its structure and functions in many languages. However, no study has been conducted in the Kaonde language or indeed in any other Zambia language to see how lexical categories, phrasal categories and clauses, as well as, sentences operate to achieve coordination. Moreover, few studies have been undertaken in Kaonde at all levels of linguistic analysis. These include; Mambwe (2008), Broughall (1924), Wright and Kashoki (1977) and Ministry of Education (1977).

Mambwe (2008) conducted a dialectological study of the Kaonde dialects of Mumbwa, Solwezi- Lubango of Chief Mukumbi and standard Kaonde of Kasempa. He established the variations in these dialects in terms of morphology, syntax, phonology and the lexical parameters. This study, however, only discussed the dialectal variations and did not look at coordination and its functions as a linguistic connection that cuts across languages, Kaonde inclusive. Another publication in Kaonde is the first bilingual English-Kaonde dictionary written by Broughall (1924). This is an introductory dictionary of the Kaonde language with English glosses. Basically, it just presents some Kaonde words which are glossed in English. Inasmuch as it was helpful in translation of some collected data, it was of little relevance to this study. Wright's (2007) *Kiikaonde Grammar* as his earlier work which he co-authored with Mann and Kashoki (1977) is a handbook for pedagogical purposes and is used as a reference grammar of Kaonde. It discusses, among other things, the phonology, verb extensions and class system in Kaonde. For instance, it states that Kaonde has about eighteen noun classes which are paired in class genders. The following are the pairs in Kaonde 1/2,

1a/2a, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/6, 12/13, 14/6, 15/6. A few will belong to the pair 11/4. These pairs will further express semantic meaning with regard to nouns that are found within each pair. That is, nouns in the same class will often have something in common in their meaning as discussed in chapter one of this study.

In the *Zambian Languages Orthography* (1977) conjunction in Kaonde is addressed. In this book, the variants of *and-equivalent* are briefly discussed, and these include; [**ne**] and [**kabiji**]. It also looks at how conjunction is achieved as well as how [ne] is used as a variant of *and-equivalent* in English. It states that the conjunction [ne] is regarded syntactically and phonologically as part of the words following it. The work suggests that it should be joined to common nouns but not to proper nouns. For instance, the conjunction [ne] will be part of common nouns as shown below;

Common Nouns

(18) (a) Bataata nebamaama

[Lit: father and-mother]

‘Father and mother’

(b) Kumuzhi nekunzubo

[Lit: to village and to house]

‘To the village and the house’

Proper Nouns

For proper nouns, the conjunction [ne] will be a separate word as shown below (ibid).

(19) (a) [Kasempa] **ne** [Solwezi].

[Lit: Kasempa and Solwezi]

‘[Kasempa] **and** [Solwezi]’

(b) [Mushima] **ne** [Tukiya].

[Lit: Mushima and Tukiya]

‘[Mushima] **and** [Tukiya]’

(c). Bakwa [Kizela] **ne** [baku Kyafukuma].

[Lit: those from kizela and those to kyakufuma]

‘Those from [Kizela] **and** [Kyafukuma]’

It further makes a distinction between *ne* and *kabiji*. *Kabiji* plays a special function in Kaonde coordination and therefore, not joined to common or proper nouns. For instance;

(20) (a) [Mukeye keesha] **kabiji** [nepakina].

[Lit: you come tomorrow and also on Thursday]

‘Come tomorrow and also on Thursday’

(b) [Mooba amo mwela upita pacheche] **kabiji** [mooba akwabo upichisha].

[Lit: days others wind blows a bit and days others it blows much]

‘[Some days the wind blows a bit] and [other days it blows too much]’

What is presented in the *Zambian Languages Orthography* is a brief outline of conjunction in Kaonde without analysing its nature in detail or discussing how it is achieved. It is clear that although a number of studies and research have been carried out on Zambian languages, no study has been carried out to analyse the syntax and semantics of *and-coordination* in these languages. Further, little has been undertaken to look fully on what constitutes coordinating conjunction in Kaonde. Because of this, it is clear that a knowledge gap exists in this language with regard to the syntax and semantic of *and-coordination*.

There are studies that have been conducted on coordination in other languages. Drellishak (2004) conducted a research project on coordination strategies in the world’s languages. It was inspired by the observation that Japanese does not have a single, general-purpose word for *and*. Instead, in situations where an English sentence would have *and*, Japanese has a number of different structures, each of which is used with a particular subset of phrase types. Drellishak (2004) analyses coordination in a number of languages some of which include; Ewe (Niger-Kordofanain), Abelam (Sepik-Ramu), Cambodian (Austro Asiatic) and Slave (Na-Dene).

Furthermore, his survey on coordination strategies was based on the surveys by Stassen (2001) and Payne (1985). In these surveys, it was observed that language users express coordinated meanings using different coordinate constructions. Whatever construction they use in such situations is a coordination strategy. It may not be syntactic coordination. Stassen’s (2001) survey as quoted by Drellishak (2004) found two major strategies and

several minor strategies for *and*-coordination. He refers to the first of the two major strategies as the *Coordinate Strategy*, and to languages that use it as *AND-languages*. This is the strategy that includes the familiar English conjunction *and* and its cognates in other Indo-European languages as well as Bantu languages, Kaonde inclusive. These languages have an AND-strategy: a coordinator that can combine items of all (or nearly all) categories into larger phrases of the same category.

Other languages lack an AND-strategy, instead they use a construction with comitative meaning (“with”). Drellishak (2004) refers to the other major strategy as the *Comitative Strategy*, and to languages that use it as *WITH-languages*. Unlike the Coordinate Strategy, it is not possible to define a subset of languages that use the Comitative Strategy, because “with only a few exceptions, all languages in the sample appear to have the possibility of employing the Comitative Strategy” (Drellishak 2004: 21). Because of this, Drellishak (2004) defines WITH-languages as those that have no other way to coordinate NPs. For instance, Abun (West Papuan) has an *and* strategy in which both coordinands are marked by postfix ‘e’.

(21) [Mbos] e [ndabu] e [ndam] gas ye ne e an fowa sino.

[lit: Pigeon and dove and bird REL big DET and 3PL forbidden all]

‘[Pigeons], [doves] and [birds] that are big, they are all forbidden (for women to eat).’

(Source: Berry and Berry 1999: 96)

Alawa (Australian) has no conjunction corresponding to the English ‘and’; simple juxtaposition of noun phrases, clauses, or sentences, with certain concomitant intonation patterns, signals conjunction of the type signalled by ‘and’ in English” (Sharpe 1972:118). Because Kaonde uses coordinate strategy, it has coordinators that correspond to ‘and’ in English, and is therefore an *And-language*.

Dzameshie (1999: 71) “examines coordination in Ewe, looking at various aspects of this syntactic phenomenon, including: (1) overt and covert coordination, (2) phrasal and clausal coordination, (3) the interface between coordination and compression rules, and (4) constraints on coordination.” The article essentially highlights the salient syntactic features of Ewe coordinate structures including structural types, devices for achieving syntactic/verbal compactness, and certain syntactic constraints on coordination. For instance, he argues that in structures of coordination the conjuncts are typically joined by means of conjunctions and

that the constituents of coordinate structures may be either part of sentences or clauses. Consider the following examples:

(22) (a) [The manager] **and** [I]made the choice.

(b) [The team played very well], **and** [their coach was very impressed].

In 22 (a) the conjuncts are parts of the sentence (NPs) while in 23 (b) the conjuncts are clauses which are co-joined by the conjunction ‘*and*’. Dzameshie (1999) further observes that conjuncts in a coordinated structure may appear in either their full forms or shortened version. The production of the shorter forms may be explained in terms of conjunction reduction, gapping, reciprocation, and anaphoric substitution. Example 23 (b), for instance, is a compact version of 23 (a), produced through the rule of conjunction reduction which deletes the second of any two identical elements that are found in parallel structures.

(23) (a) [*Jean plays well*], **and** [*Tony plays well*].

(b) [Jean] **and** [Tony] *play well*.

The italicised clauses in 23 (a), for example, are parallel and so the rule deletes the second occurrence of the identical element *plays well*, thus yielding 23 (b).

The reciprocal formation rule introduces ‘*each other*’ into the coordinate structure in English as a device for achieving syntactic compactness as in 24 (a) and (b).

(24) (a) [Muke loves Sibeso], **and** [Sibeso loves Muke].

(b) [Muke] **and** [Sibeso] love each other.

Dzameshie (1999) also makes two important observations in Ewe coordination. Firstly, only sequences that are legitimate constituents can be conjoined, and secondly, in ordinary or simple coordination, only sequences belonging to identical categories can be conjoined. A related property is that the category type of the resultant coordinate structure produced is identical to the category of the conjuncts as can be seen from 25 (a) and (b) below.

(25) (a) He [loves] **and** [cherishes] her.

(b) Muke is [handsome] **and** [smart].

(c) [The bus driver] **and** [his father fought].

(d) [Peter is a millionaire] **and** [Ben is a millionaire].

In 25 (a), (b), (c) and (d) the conjuncts are verbs, adjectives, noun phrases and clauses, respectively.

Stockwell (1977) discusses other devices for achieving syntactic compactness. These are gapping and anaphoric substitution. Gapping is a special kind of conjunction reduction which limits itself to the deletion of identical verbs found in parallel structures as in 26 (a) and (b).

(26) (a) [Peter *likes* mangoes] **and** [Mwango *likes* apples].

(b) [Peter likes mangoes] **and** [Mwango apples].

The italicised verbs in 26 (a), are parallel and so the rule deletes the second occurrence of the identical verb 'like', thus providing 26 (b). Anaphoric substitution rule, on the other hand, achieves structure compression by replacing a longer phrase with only parts of the phrase or even with a single word (e.g. a pronoun).

(27) (a) [Peter likes mangoes] and [Mwango like apples].

(b) They like [mangoes] and [apples].

In the same vein, Nguyen (2004) attempted to compare the phenomenon of coordination in English and African languages. He carried out a contrastive research on *and-Coordination* in Swahili and English. In this study comparisons were made between the coordinating conjunction AND (English) and NA (Swahili) in terms of what they coordinate and how they coordinate. It was observed that since coordination is somehow language specific, it is not easy to coordinate syntactic elements in Bantu languages as in these languages coordination is highly complex as opposed to English. Nguyen (2004) argues that in English, *and-coordination* is a straight forward kind of coordination as opposed to Swahili which has only one coordinating conjunction (NA) which joins or links various elements of equal rank. Notable among his finding is that in Swahili (like most Bantu languages) *and – coordination* differs in English and Bantu in terms of usage. When a coordinating conjunction connects more than two (2) items in English, the coordinating conjunction usually appears between the last two items in a series. Commas separate the other items in that series as exemplified in 28 below (Coghill 1997).

(28) You will need [a pair of scissors], [glue], [green felt] **and** [silk flowers].

Thus the following sentence is not desirable in English;

(29) *You will need [a pair of scissors] *and* [glue] *and* [green felt] *and* [silk flowers].

However, the opposite is true of Swahili. For example, when connecting a series of items one uses a coordinator *na* after each item.

(30) Miri wazuka [kuku] *na* [malaki] *na* [samaki] *na* [nyama].

[Lit: I i-have-bought chicken and beans and fish and meat]

'I have bought [chicken] and [beans] and [fish] *and* [meat]'

This kind of coordination is known as polysyndetic coordination. That is, when a construction with *and* has more than two conjoins. In English, nonetheless, polysyndeton can occur where more than one conjunction maybe included for emphasis otherwise it is ungrammatical.

(31) The wind roared and the lightning flashed and the sky was suddenly as dark as night.

In this instance, polysyndeton which tends to be reserved for stylistically marked effect is used to emphasise a dramatic sequence of events. Therefore, according to Halliday (2004), you generally use a comma before the coordinating conjunction in English if you are connecting three (3) or more items in a series, that is:

Item, + item, + item, + and (coordinating conjunction) + item.

This study is important as it establishes how coordination operates in Bantu languages, including Kaonde.

Additionally, Bluhdorn (2007) discusses the question whether the distinction between subordination and coordination is parallel in syntax or discourse. The main focus of the thesis is that subordination and coordination as they are commonly understood in the linguistic literature are genuinely syntactic concepts. Bluhdorn (2007: 1) states that “the syntax and semantics of connections (as the most prominent morphosyntactic means by which subordination and coordination are encoded), offer little evidence to support the assumption of a parallel structural parallelism between syntax and discourse. As a methodology of consequence, sentences and discourse structures should not be mixed up in linguistic analysis. This thesis, however, only discusses the assumption that there is a distinction between subordination and coordination”. It further, states that the distinction between hierarchical and non-hierarchical connection in discourse structures is of a different nature.

Another study that is of paramount importance in respect to coordination is the one done by Zhang (2009). In the book entitled *Coordination in Syntax* what is addressed are the issues raised by coordinate pairings and implications of these structures, looking at examples within English and Chinese. The volume covers the major questions regarding coordinates in syntax, providing a fresh perspective to arguments raised within previous literatures. Among the questions raised are the following;

- a. Does the derivation of coordinate constructions create any special syntactic configuration, other than the general binary complementation and adjunction configuration?
- b. Does the derivation of coordinate constructions resort to any special syntactic category, other than NP, VP, and so on?
- c. Is the derivation of coordinate constructions subject to any special constraint on syntactic operations, other than general conditions such as the Minimal Link Condition?
- d. Does the derivation of coordinate constructions require any special type of syntactic operations, other than Merge and the step-by-step, one-tail-one-head chains of Move? (Zhang 2009: 1)

She explains how some coordinate complexes are structured, how some coordinators can be combined in parts of speech, the fixed nature of some of these pairings and what changes exist between the coordinate and non-coordinate constructions. The questions raised are backed up by a rich variety of examples as well as providing a cross-linguistic perspective contextualizing these ideas within current syntactic research. Some of the features that she discusses which are vitally important are that she uses cross-linguistic evidence and examples to theorize her findings. This is evident in the fact that she compares coordination in English and Chinese.

However, this study did not seek to address the differences that may exist or indeed consider the similarities that characterize the structure and forms of connectors that account for coordination in different languages. It did not establish the extent to which coordination as a linguistic phenomenon resembles or differs across different languages of the world. Therefore, there is need to carry out an investigation that will characterize in a precise manner the principles that govern coordination in Kaonde.

Another notable study on coordination is one conducted by Mitrovic (2011). In this study, Mitrovic (2011) looked at the syntax of coordination in Sanskrit. The study provides a syntactic account of coordination in Sanskrit within Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric theory and Chomsky's (1995) minimalist programme. The study provides a syntactic analysis of differential coordinate configurations in Sanskrit and analyses diachronically the development and loss of the double system of coordination. However, this does not establish the similarities and differences that may exist between and among different languages.

Furthermore, De vos (2005) conducted a study which explored verbal pseudo-coordinative structures in English and Afrikaans. In this dissertation, De vos (2005) argues that the properties of these constructions are derived from the status of the linking elements as a true coordinator subject to the coordinate structure constraints (CSC) and the Law of Coordinates of Likes (LCL) and the specific kind of syntactic context into which the coordinators are merged. One of the most salient properties in pseudo-coordinative constructions is that the coordinator appears to have a subordinating function. It occurs in many languages and is sometimes known as "hendiadys", and it is often, but not always, used to convey a pejorative or idiomatic connotation. The pseudo-coordinative construction is limited to a few verbs. In most languages, typical pseudo-coordinative verbs and/or hendiadys predicates are egressive verbs such as *go*, *went* and *come*.

- (32) (a) John [went] **and** [read] a book on the bus.
 (b) What did John [go] **and** [read] on the bus?
 (c) Who [went] **and** [read] a book on the bus?

Nevertheless, the scope of this study was limited to pseudo-coordination and did not cater for coordination in general hence the need to investigate coordination in a broader sense.

De vos (2009) also conducted a study on argument for VP coordination dealing with scene-setting and weak islands. The discussion of verbal coordination is made quite intricate by virtue of the fact that there are a number of different constructions that appear to coordinate verbal categories, although arguably not all of them do. For instance;

- (33) (a) [John went to town] and [he bought a cake]. [Ordinary Coordination] (OCo)
 (b) John [went to town] **and** [bought a cake]. [Scene-setting coordination] (SceCo)
 (c) John [went] **and** [bought] a cake [Contiguous Coordination] (ConCo),

Example 33 (a) is a case of ordinary coordination (OCo), arguably coordinating IPs as the presence of an embedded subject shows. The events referred to in each conjunct are distinct from each other. The temporal ordering of the conjuncts is not necessarily reflected in the word order of the conjuncts. Examples 33 (b) and (c) are instances of asymmetric coordination, also known generally as pseudo-coordination or subordinating coordination. Although these are almost always treated as a single construction in the existing literature, Devos (2009) argues that they instantiate two different types of pseudo-coordination. The pseudo-coordination illustrated in 33 (b) exemplifies scene-setting coordination (SceCo), where the predicate in the first conjunct seems to set the scene for the action denoted by the verb in the second conjunct to take place. The conjuncts are intrinsically temporally ordered and always occur in a temporally dependent sequence. In addition, SceCo can be descriptively characterised as allowing a PP or particle within the verbal string in the first conjunct. This is an important distinguishing factor for SceCo and the presence or absence of the PP will be shown to have syntactic effects.

Fumi and Myung-kwan (2003: 140) “examined asymmetry between Case/Agreement and Movement in coordination structure in English, arguing against Grohmann et al’s (2000) unified approach to Case/Agreement and Movement. They analysed the asymmetry constitutes supportive of evidence for the existence of the EPP independent of Case/Agreement. They have observed that singular agreement is possible in expletive constructions when the associate is in NP/DP coordinate structure”, as shown in (34):

- (34) (a) There was [a man and a cat] in the kitchen
(b) There were [a man and a cat] in the kitchen

However, if small clauses are conjoined, then plural agreement is impossible; that is, singular agreement is the only option for the sentence to be acceptable. The relevant data are illustrated below:

- (35) (a) There was a man in the bathroom and a cat in the kitchen
(b) *There were a man in the bathroom and a cat in the kitchen.

Fumi and Myung-kwan (2003) observed that the contrast in (35) above indicates that even though the NP in the second conjunct is plural, the auxiliary verb does not show plural agreement as shown below:

- (36) (a) There was a man in the bathroom and two cats in the kitchen.
(b) *There were a man in the bathroom and two cats in the kitchen.

This study, however, like the ones reviewed above did not consider coordination in Kaonde.

From the studies that have been reviewed above, it is clear that although a number of studies and research have been carried out on Zambian languages and indeed Bantu languages in general, no study has been carried out to investigate the structure and functions of *and-coordination* in these languages, except for the one done on Swahili. Further, no study has been undertaken to look fully on what constitutes coordinating conjunctions in the Kaonde language. Because of this, it is clear that a knowledge gap exists in this language with regard to the syntax of connections, and *and-coordination* to be specific. As it has been alluded to, coordination is a phenomenon that exists in every language, but it varies across languages. Thus, it was imperative that this study was conducted to describe the process of *and-coordination* in Kaonde.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a review of critical points of current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contributions to coordination. The purpose of the chapter was therefore, to situate the current study within the body of literature and to provide the context for this particular study. It also provided an overview of some of the works that have been done in Kaonde and similar studies conducted on the topic of coordination in other languages.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework used in this research. It discusses the theories used as well as shows their importance to the present study. The theoretical framework used in this study to analyse the syntactic aspect of coordinate structure is X-bar theory of Government and Binding theory. Descriptive linguistics was used to account for the semantic aspect of coordinate structures which could not be dealt with using X-bar theory. According to Crystal (1991) the aim of descriptive linguistics is to describe the facts of linguistic usage

as they are, not as they ought to be, with reference to some imagined ideal state. Because X-bar theory cannot account for the semantic functions of coordinate structures, descriptive linguistics was employed. In this chapter we further show that although there are a number of new theories that have been developed to analyse grammar such as Minimalist Program (MP), ‘unlike most other linguistic theories, GB has a degree of ‘deductive structure’ in the sense that changes made in one area has repercussions in other areas’ (Horrocks 1987).

Chomsky’s Government and Binding (GB) theory was developed using the English language. Hence, the researcher tried to see how the theory would apply to coordinate structures in Kaonde. Where possible, some suggestions and alterations were made to the theory in order to achieve conformity with the structure of the language in question – Kaonde. It should be noted that this theory is a radical revision of Chomsky’s earlier theories (*Standard Theory* 1957-1980) and was later revised into *The Minimalist Program* (MP) (1995).

Chomsky (1995) presents MP as a program, not as a theory. The MP seeks to be a mode of inquiry characterized by the flexibility of the multiple directions that its minimalism enables. Ultimately, the MP provides a conceptual framework used to guide the development of grammatical theory. For Chomsky, there are minimalist questions, but the answers can be framed in any theory. Of all these questions, the one that plays the most crucial role is this: why language has the properties it has. The MP lays out a very specific view of the basis of syntactic grammar that, when compared to other formalisms, it is often taken to look very much like a theory.

A major development of MP inquiry is bare phrase structure (BPS), a theory of phrase structure (sentence building prior to movement) developed by Noam Chomsky (Chomsky 1995). The introduction of BPS has moved the Chomskyan tradition toward the dependency grammar tradition, which operates with significantly less structure than most phrase structure grammars (Osborne, Putnam and Gross 2011).

This theory contrasts with X-bar theory, which preceded it, in four important ways:

- a. BPS is explicitly derivational. That is, it is built from the bottom up, bit by bit. In contrast, X-bar theory is representational—a structure for a given construction is built in one fell swoop, and lexical items are inserted into the structure.

- b. BPS does not have a preconceived phrasal structure, while in X-bar theory every phrase has a specifier, a head, and a complement.
- c. BPS permits only binary branching, while X-bar theory permits both binary and unary branching.
- d. BPS does not distinguish between a "head" and a "terminal", while some versions of X-bar theory require such a distinction.

Although MP is one of the latest programs developed by Chomsky, this study used GB because in X-bar theory every phrase has a specifier, a head, and a complement which conforms to coordinate structure as they (coordinate structures) are made up of at least two conjuncts and a conjunction which correspond to the specifier, head and complement structure of X-bar theory. This is in line with Dowty (1992) who assumes that sentences of a language are described by rules of a recursive grammar which specify how words and phrases of some categories can be combined to form expressions of another category. It is also assumed that language is interpreted by semantic rules, corresponding one-to-one to the syntactic rules that specify how the interpretation of a syntactically-derived phrase is determined by the interpretations of the inputs to the rule. All this implies syntactic constituents, in one sense. GB has a degree of ‘deductive structure’ in the sense that changes made in one area have repercussions in other areas’ (Horrocks 1987). This comes about because of sub theories of UG interacting, and complex sets of grammatical properties following from this interaction (Nkolola 2004). Therefore, one is able to adequately analyse syntactic constituents (coordinate structures in this case) using GB.

3.1 Government and Binding (GB) Theory

Government and Binding theory is a theory of syntax in the tradition of Transformational Generative Grammar developed principally by Noam Chomsky in the 1980s. This theory is a radical revision of his earlier theory (*Standard Theory* 1957-1980). GB comprises two sub theories, namely; ‘government’ (which is an abstract syntactic relation) and ‘binding’ (which deals with the referents of pronouns, anaphors and R-expressions).

3.1.1 Government

According to Haegman (1994), the main application of the government relation concerns the assignment of case. Government is defined as follows:

A governs B if and only if

- A is a governor and
- A m-commands B and
- no barrier intervenes between A and B.

Governors are heads of the lexical categories such as verbs (V), nouns (N), adjectives (A), preposition (P) and inflection (INFL). A m-commands B if A does not dominate B and B does not dominate A and the first maximal projection of A dominates B. The maximal projection of a head X is XP. “So government is in a sense a special version of c-command; the government must be of the five X' head categories (N, V, P, A, INFL), and no maximal projections may intervene between it and the governee.” (Sells 1985: 40) This means that for example in a structure like the following, A m-commands B, but B does not m-command A:

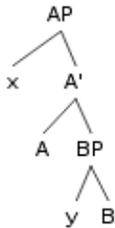


Figure 3: Government Relation.

Haegeman (1994:163) defines barrier as follows: A barrier is any node Z such that

- Z is a potential governor for B and
- Z c-commands B and
- Z does not c-command A

The tree diagram below illustrates how determiner phrases (DPs) are governed and assigned case by their governing heads:

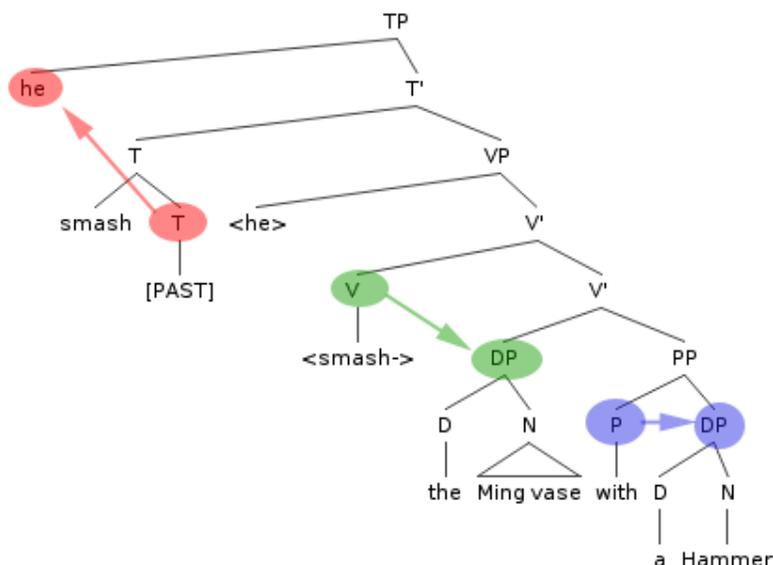


Figure 4: Case Assignment of DPs. (Haegman 1994).

In Figure 4 above the DPs *the Ming vase* and *a hammer* in the sentence ‘*He smashed the Ming vase with a hammer*’ shows a government relation that makes case assignment unambiguous. For instance, the definite article *the* is governed by the verb *smash* and the indefinite article *a* is governed by the preposition *with*.

The government relation makes case assignment unambiguous. This is so because the theory is concerned with principles of government. That is, there should be a government marked by case relationship between a head and an object or other complement. For example,

(1) I met her at school.

In (1) above the object *her* is governed by the verb (head) *met*.

3.1.2 Binding

According to Sells (1985) Binding theory is primarily concerned with the condition under which NPs are interpreted as co-referential with other NPs in the same sentence.

Binding can be defined as follows:

- An element α binds an element β where α c-commands β if and only if every maximal projection dominating α also dominates β .

Consider the sentence "John_i saw his_i mother." which is diagrammed below using simple phrase structure rules.

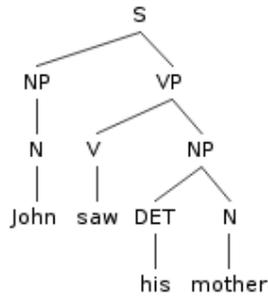


Figure 5: Binding Relation

The NP "John" c-commands "his" because the first parent of the NP, S, contains "his". "John" and "his" are also coreferential (they refer to the same person), therefore "John" binds "his".

On the other hand, in the ungrammatical sentence "*The mother of John_i likes himself_i", "John" does not c-command "himself", so they have no binding relationship despite the fact that they corefer.

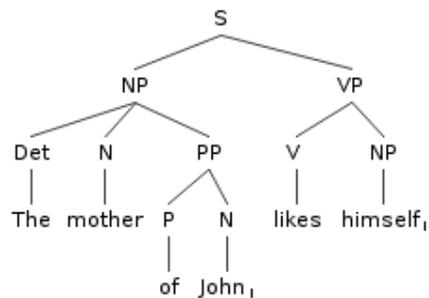


Figure 6: Binding Principle

The importance of binding is shown in the grammaticality of the following sentences:

- (2) *John_i saw him_i.
- (3) John_i saw himself_i.
- (4) *Himself_i saw John_i.

(5) *John_i saw John_i.

In (2) and (5) the subject and the object are coreferential hence ungrammatical. (4) is ungrammatical because the subject *himself* lacks lexical content thereby violating the principle B as discussed below.

According to Sells (1985) Binding is used, along with particular binding principles of the grammaticality of sentences, to explain the ungrammaticality of the above statements. The applicable rules are called Binding Principle A, Binding Principle B, and Binding Principle C.

- **Principle A:** an anaphor (reflexive or reciprocal, such as "each other") must be bound in its governing category (roughly, the clause).

Since "himself" is not c-commanded by "John" in sentence (4), Principle A is violated.

- **Principle B:** a pronoun must be free (that is, not bound) within its governing category (roughly, the clause).

In sentence (2), "him" is bound by "John", violating Principle B.

- **Principle C:** an R-expression must be free (that is, not bound). R-expressions (for example, "the dog" or "John") are referential expressions: unlike pronouns and anaphora, they independently refer, that is, pick out entities in the world.

In sentence (5), the first instance of "John" binds the second, violating Principle C.

Note that Principles A and B refer to "governing categories"--domains which limit the scope of binding (Chomsky 1981-93).

3.2 Organization of GB Grammar

The overall organization of the GB grammar is shown in Figure 7 below.

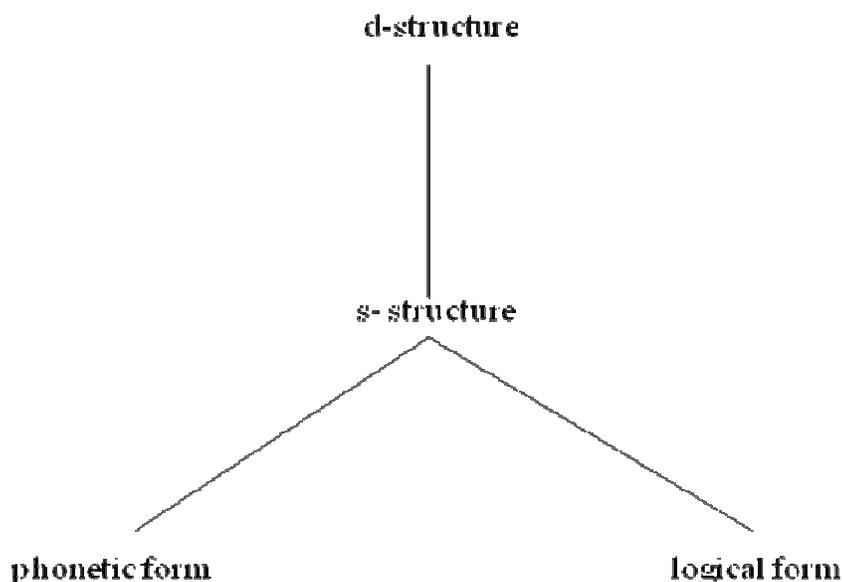


Figure 7: Organisation of Grammar in GB (Source: Sells 1985)

In 1957, Noam Chomsky published *Syntactic Structures*, in which he developed the idea that each sentence in a language has two levels of representation – a deep structure and surface structure. The deep structure represents the core semantic relations of a sentence, and is mapped on the surface structure (which followed the phonological form of the sentence very closely) via transformation. The d-structure and s-structure in GB play roles similar but not identical to the TGG notions of deep structure and surface structure. The s-structure is the product of the application of transformational rules to d-structure. The phonetic form (PF) represents the actual words. It is the output of the grammar at the sound end. The logical form (LF) is the level at the meaning and deals with meaning. It interprets the meaning after the phonetic form has been applied. It relates semantic interpretation which refers to the process whereby a stream of symbols such as a sentence of some language is put into correspondence with some non-linguistic objects such as a particular state of affairs. The LF through the technique of lexical decomposition or componential analysis seeks to reveal the contribution made by each word in a sentence to the entailment of the meaning (Sells 1985).

According to Sells (1985) in GB Chomsky's aim was to develop a universal grammar by coming up with a general theory which is government and binding theory and this theory has a set of sub-theories which include; X-bar theory, Theta theory, Trace theory, Bounding theory and Case theory - each of which dealing with some central area of grammatical

aspects of structural levels. Each of these theories comprises a principle or set of principles such as the X-schema, Theta Criterion, Projection Principle, Move Alpha and Case Filter. The choices made at a structural level of one of the theories have an effect on the other structural levels or other theories. The organisation of the GB grammar, with all its different components, is illustrated in Figure 8.

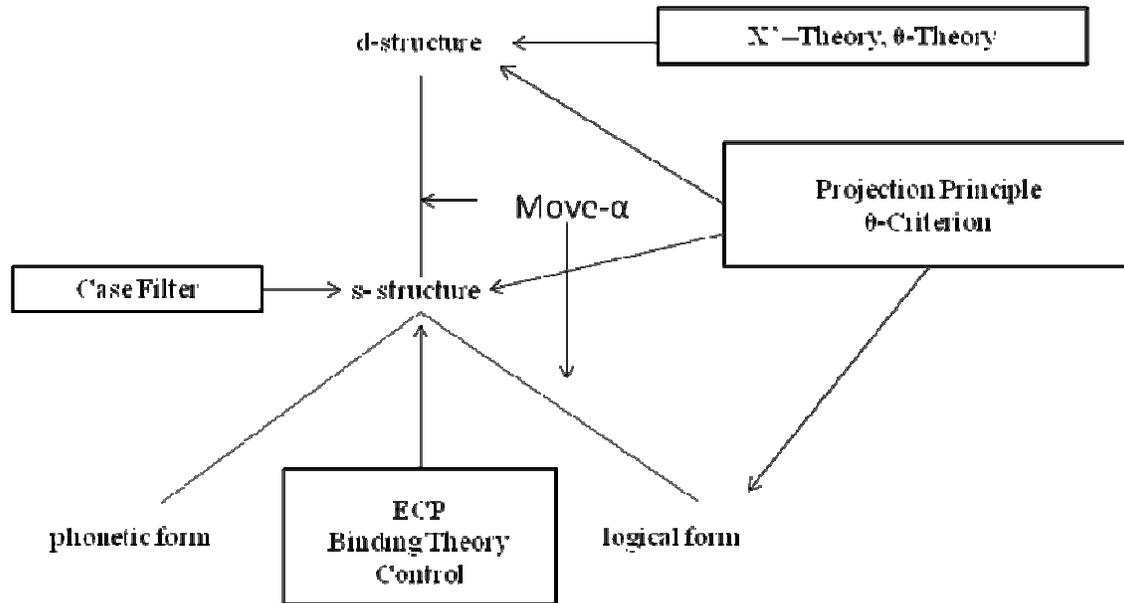


Figure 8: Government and Binding Theory (Sells 1985: 24).

According to Horrocks (1987: 101) “It is particularly important that the theory should have an essentially deductive structure, so that the choices made in one area have repercussions in others. In this way it is predicated that whole clusters of grammatical properties will typically occur together in the grammars of languages of a certain ‘type’, and if this turns out to be the case, the chances that the theory of universal grammar holds only accidentally of the system whose properties it seeks to delimit are considerably reduced.” According to Horrocks (1987:101) the sub theories assumed are the following:

- (a) X-bar theory
- (b) Theta theory
- (c) Case theory
- (d) Binding theory

- (e) Bounding theory
- (f) Control theory
- (g) Government theory

In this study, however, what has been used is the X-bar theory. This theory of syntax has been chosen on the pretext that it is able to explain modern linguistic phenomena in a more convincing manner given the current research objectives of the study. This, however, does not imply that other sub theories of GB not used are inferior. It is only that they are not suited for the current research objectives.

3.2.1 X-Bar Theory

According to Horrocks (1987: 101) “This theory provides principles for the projection of phrasal categories and imposes conditions on the hierarchical organization of lexical categories in the form of general schemata.” A phrase in X-bar syntax always contains at least a head and may contain other constituents; it is endocentric. According to Nkolola (2010) it is believed that most phrasal constituents have ‘heads’ upon which the other elements of the constituents under consideration are dependent. These heads give phrases their essential character. On the basis of this, the X'-scheme has been proposed by Sells (1985) in X'- Bar Theory to account for phrasal constituents as presented below:

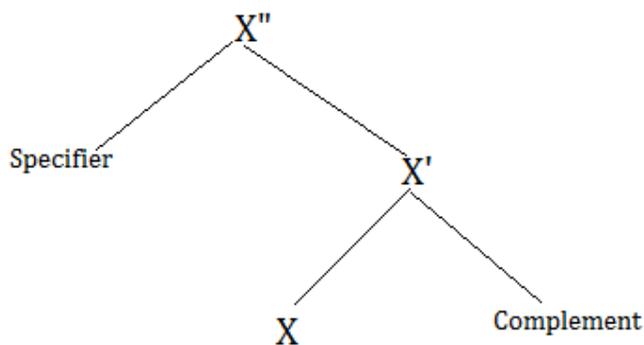


Figure 9: X-schema (Sells 1985)

The top node (X'') is the mother and the two that follow (the ‘specifier’ and the X') are the daughters, and the two are therefore sisters. The X-bar rules are applied to specifiers, complements, adjuncts and conjunctions. That is, in X-bar theory every phrase has a

specifier, a head, and a complement. For instance, the NP *the driver* has the ‘specifier’ *the*, the head *driver* and an ‘empty or zero’ \emptyset complement as illustrated below.

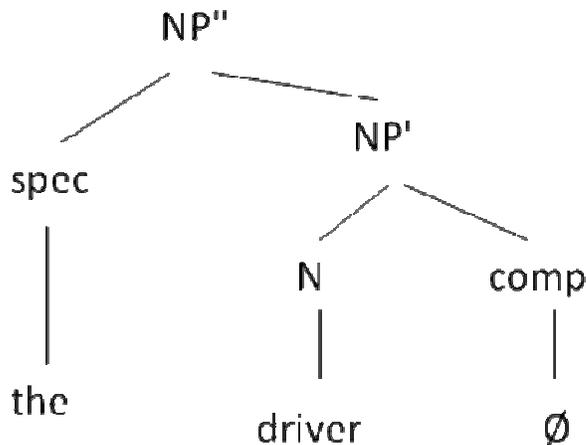


Figure 10: X-schema of the NP *the driver*

Because coordination always has at least two conjuncts, it can easily be accounted for in X-bar syntax. For instance, in chapter two of this dissertation it was observed that a coordinate structure is usually made up of at least two conjuncts (which can either be lexical categories, phrasal categories, clauses or sentences) and a conjunction. The conjuncts will be conjoined together by a conjunction to form one larger linguistic unit of the same kind. This generalization may be formalized as the following phrase structure rule, where α is any phrasal category, lexical category, clause or sentence. The usual analysis for *and*-coordinate structure is to posit a rule schema of the form;

$$\alpha \rightarrow \alpha \text{ and } \alpha$$

Choosing some value for α (such as NP, A or Det) gives us a particular coordinate rule with conjuncts of the same category (Bright 1992: 311). Because “a fundamental and central concept in all contemporary syntax is the concept of the head, the head of a linguistic unit is that part of the unit that gives it its essential character. The phrase is said to be the *projection* of the head. Standardly, two levels of representation are countenanced; the phrasal level (such as NP) is assumed to be related to its head by an intermediate, semi-phrasal, level.” (Sells 1985: 27-28) In this case, therefore, a conjunction can be a head. According to Progovac (1998: 3) “The idea that conjunction is a head of a phrase, typically the conjunction phrase (&P), has been explicitly proposed or explored by many, including: Munn (1987) ...and

Kayne (1994).” This analysis has become more readily available only with the advent of the X'-theory. This is because, the constituency-based, binary branching structures of the X-bar schema increase the number of nodes in the parse tree to the upper limits of what is possible.

According to Johnnessen (1998) as quoted by De Vos (2005), coordination has a specifier-complement structure, where the first conjunct is in the specifier of a coordination phrase headed by a coordinator AND. The second conjunct is a complement of AND. For example, & = coord (for coordinator); the & itself is labelled a & with no bar, and the units labelled with one bar (&') and with two bars (&'') are successive phrases of which it is head. “Comp (for complement) is a cover term for anything that combines with a & to form a & with a single bar; spec (for specifier) is a similar term for anything that combines with a &' to form a &'' (Mathews 2005: 405). Therefore, the X- schema for coordination which is adopted in this dissertation can be presented as illustrated in Figure 11 below.

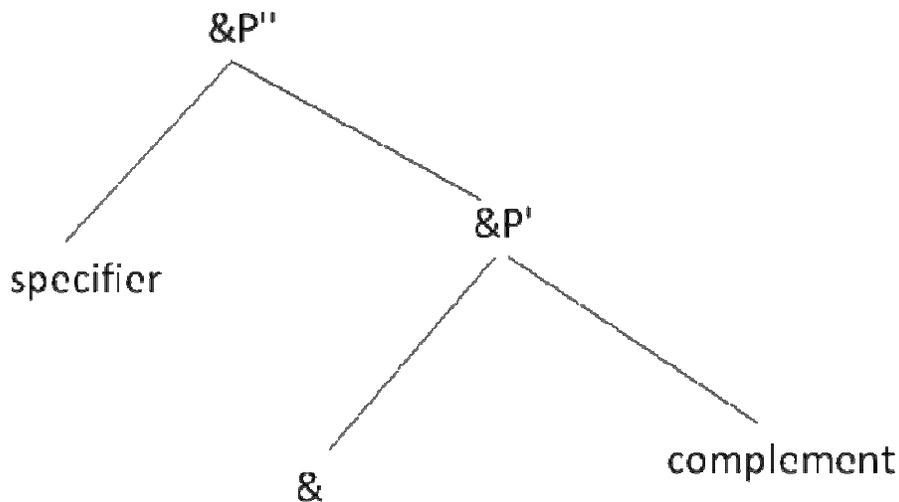


Figure 11: X-Schema for Coordination

Thus, in the sentence *Mushima wajile ne kulala* ‘Mushima ate and slept’, the verb phrase *wajile ne kulala* ‘ate and slept’ can be presented as illustrated in Figure 12 below using the X-schema which has a preconceived phrasal structure of a specifier (*wajile*), a head (*ne*) and a complement (*kulala*).

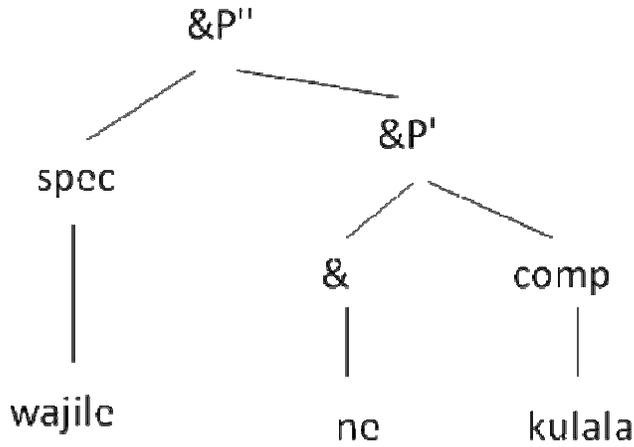


Figure 12: The X- schema of the VP *wajile ne kulala* ‘...ate and slept’

This is in accordance with Progovac (1998: 3) who claims that “This basic analysis allows various specific implementations: conjuncts can be specifiers and complements in a $&P$ with recursive complements: conjuncts can be attached by adjunction; conjunctions can be treated as heads that do not project a $&P$.” In the same vein, Johannessen (1998) argues that the non-final conjuncts are specifiers in a conjunction phrase, and that the final conjunct is a complement. This is further illustrated in Figure 13 below for two-termed coordination.

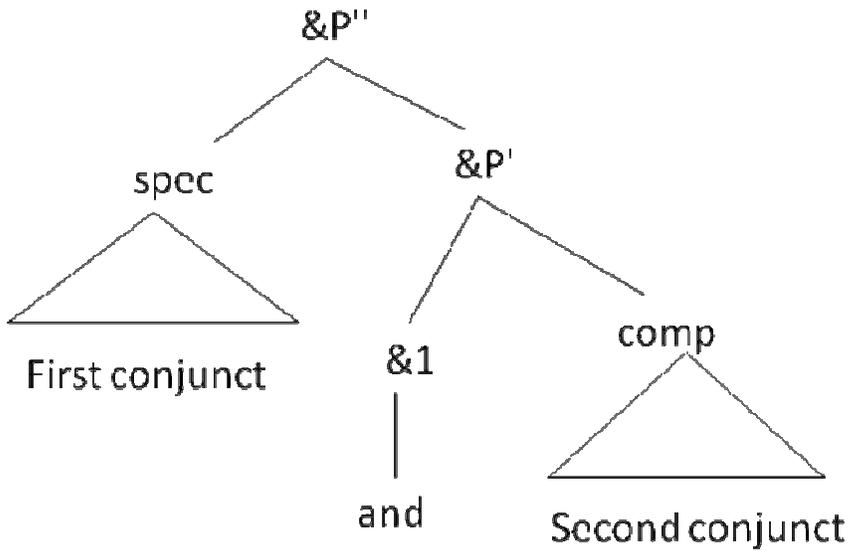


Figure 13: Two-Termed Coordination

In figure (13) above, the two conjuncts (first and second) have been linked together by a coordinator to form a coordinate structure, where the first conjunct is the specifier, where as the second one is the complement of a coordination phrase headed by a coordinator.

Figure 14 below accounts for three-termed coordination. This is the case where you have three conjuncts coordinated by two conjunctors. This is so because coordination of more than two items in Kaonde language, like most Bantu languages, will usually require a coordinator after each and every item coordinated, hence, polysyndentic.

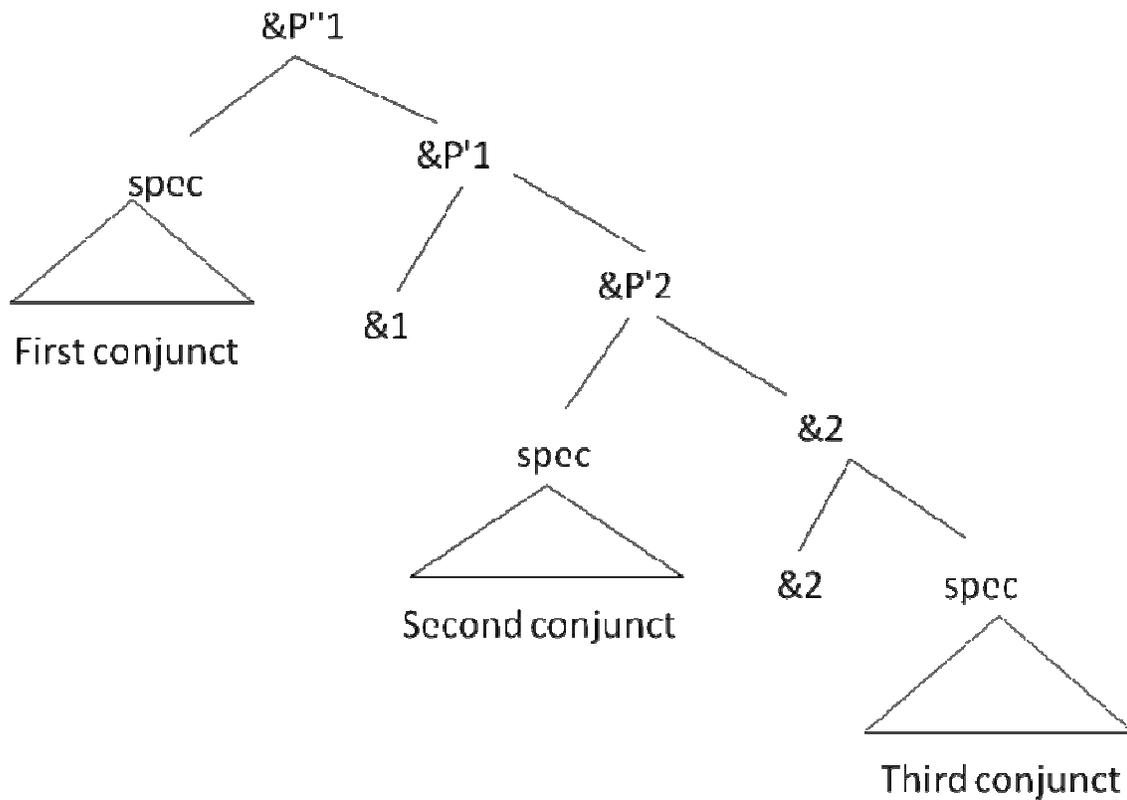


Figure 14: Three-Termed Coordination

This, therefore, is in line with Munn (1993) who postulates that coordinate structures are asymmetrical, hierarchical structures that conform to X-bar theory. The conjunction head projects a phrase which is adjoined to the first conjunct. This provides an account of a number of syntactic asymmetries in conjunct ordering including agreement and binding asymmetries and provides a principled analysis of Across-the-Board extraction as instances

of parasitic gaps. In this case therefore, the first conjunct is in the specifier position while the second conjunct is in the complement position as shown above.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the theoretical frameworks used in this research. It has discussed the theories used as well as attempted to show their importance to the present study. In this chapter we have tried to show that although there are a number of new theories that have been developed to analyse grammar such as MPS, ‘unlike most other linguistic theories, GB has a degree of ‘deductive structure’ in the sense that changes made in one area have repercussions in other areas’ (Horrocks 1987). This comes about because of sub theories of GB interacting, and complex sets of grammatical properties following from this interaction (Nkolola 2010). For instance, the X-bar theory’s binary branching can be used to analyse coordinate structure thus this study is guided by X-bar theory. Furthermore, because GB has a holistic approach to grammar, it has made it possible for us to discuss the syntax and semantics of *and*-coordination under one chapter. Additionally, because the X-bar theory cannot be used to account for the semantic aspect of coordinate structure, descriptive linguistic was used to account for their semantic functions.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and discussion of the data collected on *and-coordination* in Kaonde. It provides coordinated structures in Kaonde that make use of *and* as a coordinating conjunction. It begins by identifying *and*-coordinator(s), that is, coordinator(s) that are equivalent to *and* in Kaonde. Further, it categorises the coordinate structures according to their types and gives account of coordinated structures in Kaonde. It discusses the nature of *and-coordination* in Kaonde, what can be coordinated as well as the nature of conjuncts and coordinators in Kaonde using Government and Binding theory.

Note that the examples throughout this section employ the convention whereby the conjuncts of coordinate structures are marked using square brackets. The coordinate structure each time includes all the material that follows the left-most square bracket and precedes the right-most square bracket. The coordinators appear in italics and bold scripts between the conjuncts. All the data presented in this discussion have been glossed to English. Each text has been literally translated for the sake of clarity.

4.1 *And-Coordinators* in Kaonde

Coordinators that are equivalent to *and* in Kaonde take various shapes depending on what is being coordinated. These variants are a result of phonological and morphological processes at word boundary as well as the syntax of the conjuncts. Kaonde displays such characteristics as *ne* and *kabiji* as variant of the coordinator that is equivalent to *and* in English. Further, Kaonde has zero coordination.

4.1.1 *Ne* Coordination

When coordinating elements, *ne* will be used depending on the nature of conjuncts. ‘And’ in Kaonde is ‘*ne*’ when used to conjoin nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases as shown in 1 (a), (b) and (c) below.

(1) (a) Bantu bonse, [₁[₂bainetu] *ne* [bashatu₂]₁] *ne* [₁[₂banyike] *ne* [bakulumpe₂]₁], batoma meema.

[Lit: people all women and men and children and elders they drink water]

‘All people, [₁[₂female] *and* [male₂]₁], *and* [₁[₂children] *and* [elders₂]₁] drink water.’

(b) Bansonwalume [bafunda kuluka mape] *ne* [kutunga mazubo].

[Lit: boys they learn to-neat baskets and to build houses]

‘Boys [learn how to neat baskets] *and* [build houses].’

(c) [Waesekele] *ne* [kukankalwa].

[Lit: s/he –tried and to fail]

‘S/he tried *and* s/he failed.’

In example 1 (a) above, four nouns have been joined together by the coordinator *ne* to form a noun phrase while in 1(b) and (c) what have been joined are verb phrases and sentences.

The conjunction *ne* should be joined to common nouns and verbal nouns but not to proper nouns (Zambian Languages Orthography 1977). Thus, it is either regarded syntactically or phonologically as part of the words following it depending on the nature of conjuncts. For instance, there is the use of an adjunct (any element attached to a word which is not part of its nucleus) when coordinating common nouns. In this case, the coordinator is adjoined to the second conjunct being conjoined. For example, in 2 (a) and (b) below, the coordinator is part of the conjuncts or conjoins and thus the bracketing analysis cannot apply since the language convention does not permit a disjunctive presentation of the coordinator when conjoining common nouns. A disjunct is an element belonging to the periphery of its word and qualifying or commenting on the remainder (Mathew 2005).

(2) (a) Bataata *nebamaama* baiya.

[Lit: father and-mother they-have-come]

‘[Father] *and* [mother] have come.’

(b) Bamwisho bakwasha baankambo kujima *nekupotesha* bishu kukisankanyi.

[Lit: uncle he-helps grandmother to-cultivate and-to-sell vegetables at the market]

‘Uncle helps grandmother to [cultivate] *and* [sell vegetables] at the market.’

When conjoining proper nouns, however, the conjunction *ne* should not be adjoined to conjuncts but left to stand on its own.

(3) (a) [Kasempa] *ne* [Solwezi] kokuji nkunde yawaama.

[Lit: Kasempa and Solwezi is-where-there-is beans good]

‘Kasempa *and* [Solwezi] is where there are good beans.’

(b). [Mushima] *ne* [Nkwashi] pakilongo.

[Lit: Mushima and Nkwashi they-are-brothers]

‘Mushima *and* [Nkwashi] are brothers.’

In this case, the phrase structure for *ne* as a coordinator using the X-schema will be projected as follows;

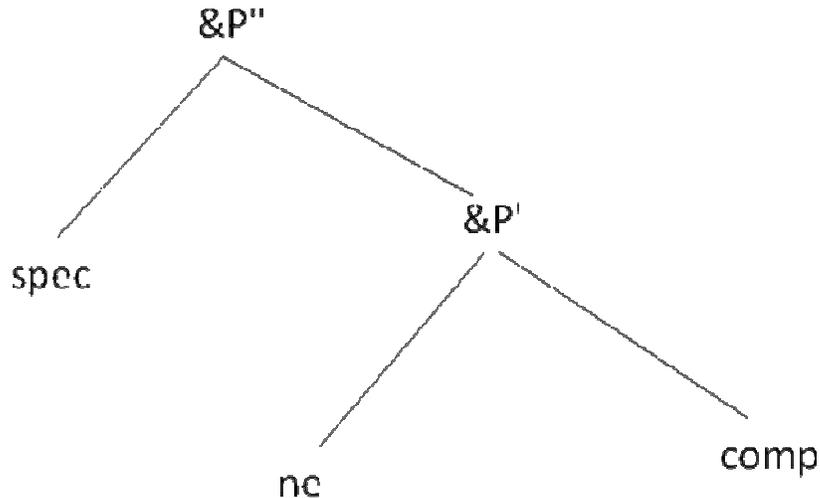


Figure 15: *Ne* coordination in X-schema

It should be noted that the other constituents such as the infinitive *ku* (to) is used with the coordinator in Kaonde when conjoining verbs. For example, in (4) below, the infinitive is used as seen in the literal translation, *kutanga* (‘to read’).

(4) Unemba *ne*kutanga.

[Lit: s/he-write and-to-read]

‘s/he [writes] *and* [reads].

4.1.2 *Na* Coordination

Na which often serves as the adposition ‘with’ can also be used to coordinate sentential elements as shown below (Heine and Nurse (1978)).

(5) (b) Baatemwa kuja [nshima] **na** [nyama].

[Lit: they-like to-eat nshima and meat]

‘They like eating [nshima] **and** [meat].’

In this case, the phrase structure for *na* as a coordinator using the X-schema will be projected as follows;

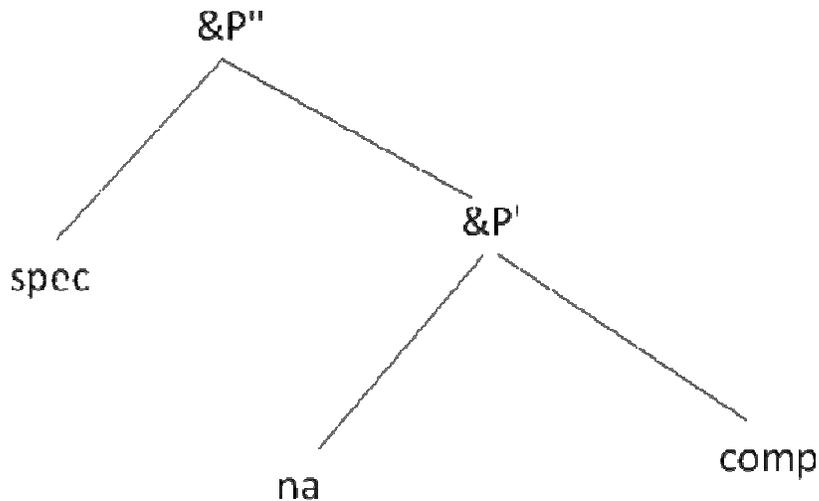


Figure 16: *Na* coordination in X-schema

However, as we have already alluded to, *na* often serves as the adposition ‘with’ (Heine and Nurse (1978: 218)). For example, in the sentences below *na* is used as an adposition ‘with’.

(6) Bamwisho beya **na** motoka wabo.

[Lit: uncle he-comes with motor-car his]

‘Uncle comes **with** his motor car.’

(7) Ba Shilungano baiyanga **na** bampuku.

[Lit: Mr Shilungano he-used-to-come with rats]

‘Mr Shilungano used to come *with* rats.’

4.1.3 *Kabiji* Coordination

In Kaonde the form of ‘and’ used for joining adjectives is different. ‘*Ne* is used when coordinating nouns and verbs. A different coordinator is used when conjuncts are either adjectives or sentences. *Kabiji*, which has a near translation of ‘again’, is usually used for adjectives and clauses as exemplified in (8), (9) and (10).

(8) Bainabo [baleepa] *kabiji* [babaya].

[Lit: their-mother she-is-tall and she-is-fat]

‘Their mother is [tall] *and* [fat].’

(9) Mazubo aamalata [aakosa bingi] *kabiji* [aji namum`tengo].

[Lit: houses with-iron-roof they-are-very-strong and they-are-expensive]

‘Iron-roofed houses are [very strong] *and* [expensive].’

(10) [Baambilenga bino mambo kitentanshi kyaipaile bantu bavula bingi] *kabiji* [bishimikwa byavula byakundukile].

[Lit: they-were-saying this because earthquake it-killed people many and stories-many were revealed]

‘[They were saying this because an earthquake killed many people] *and* [many stories were revealed].’

Using a different form of the conjunction such as *ne* ‘and’ to conjoin adjectives would produce an ill –formed construction.

(11) *Bainabo [baleepa] *ne* [babaya]

[Lit: their-mother she-is-tall and she-is-fat]

‘Their mother is [tall] *and* [fat].’

In addition, *kabiji* as a conjunction cannot be used ordinarily in polysyndetic coordination. *Kabiji* can only be used in polysyndetic coordination for stylistically marked effect used to emphasise a dramatic sequence of events otherwise it is ungrammatical as shown below.

(12) *Bainabo [baleepa] *kabiji* [batooka] *kabiji* [manyana] *kabiji* [balamba].

[Lit: their-mother she-is-tall and she-is-light and she-is-slim and she-is-beautiful]

‘Their mother is [tall] *and* [light] *and* [slim] *and* [beautiful].’

In this case, the phrase structure for *kabiji* as a coordinator using the X-schema will be projected as follows;

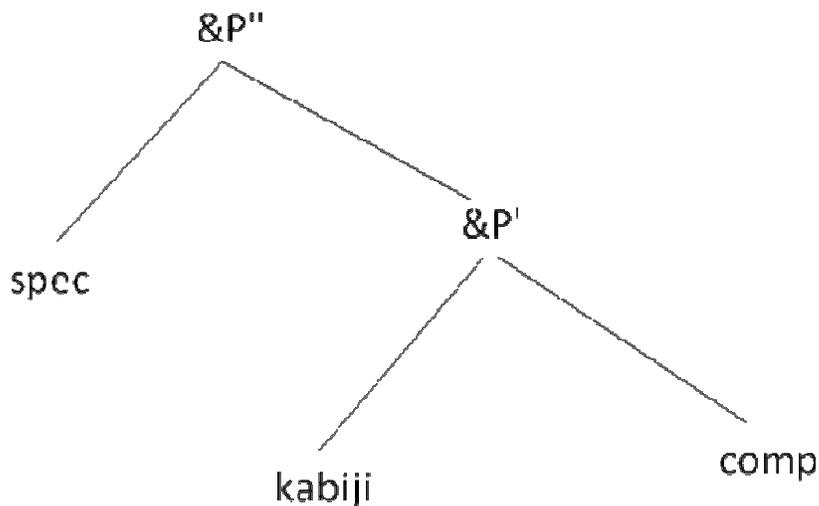


Figure 17: *Kabiji* Coordination in X-schema

Therefore, like most Bantu languages, Kaonde tends to have different shapes of what can be translated as ‘and’ in English. Nouns, adjectives, verbs, and clauses use different forms of the coordinator *and*. This is in line with Welmers (1976: 129) who urges that, “as is almost universally true in Niger –Congo languages, a conjunction which joins nouns...cannot be used to join ... sentences.” Heine and Nurse (1978: 218) also argue that, “The coordination of clauses within a sentence in African languages is generally different from coordination within noun phrases.”

4.2 Nature of Conjuncts in Kaonde

This section looks at linguistic units that can be coordinated by *AND* to form coordinate structures, and these include; nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, adjectives and adjective phrases, adverbs and adverb phrases, prepositions and prepositional phrases and clauses/sentences as well as ‘unlike categories’ and pseudo-coordination. Therefore, the section begins by identifying the nature of conjuncts and how they operate in Kaonde.

4.2.1 Lexical and Phrasal conjuncts

This section looks at the coordination of phrasal lexical and phrasal conjuncts using *ne*, *na* and *kabiji*.

4.2.1.1 Coordination of Noun and Noun Phrases

In (13) below, *na* has been used to conjoin two nouns to form a coordinate structure.

(13) Baatemwa bingi kuja [nshima] **na** [nyama]. (N + N)

[Lit: they-like very-much- to-eat nshima and meat]

‘They like eating [nshima] **and** [meat] very much’

The nouns *nshima* and *nyama* have been linked by *na* to form a coordinate structure *nshima na nyama*. The two lexical units of equal status (both nouns) have been conjoined to form a larger syntactic unit which is an NP.

In (14) below, three nouns (*Mukwemba*, *Mose*, *Jilanda*) have been conjoined by *ne* to form larger units with the structure; N + N + N, respectively. Therefore, in Kaonde, coordinators *ne* and *na* as a form of *and* connect two or more elements (nouns and noun phrases) of equal importance to form larger syntactic units.

(14) [Mukwemba] **ne** [Mose] **ne** [Jilanda] baana baba Mutobwe (N + N + N)

[Lit: Mukwemba and Mose and Jilanda they-are-children of-M
r Mutowe]

‘[Mukwemba] **and**[Mose] **and** [Jilanda] are Mr. Mutobwe’s children’

In this case, *And – coordination* differs in English and Bantu in terms of usage. According to Coghill (1997) when a coordinating conjunction connects more than two (2) items in English, the coordinating conjunction usually appears between the last two items in a series. Commas separate the other items in that series as shown in example 15 below.

(15) You will need [a scissors], [glue], [green felt] **and** [silk flowers].

Thus the following sentence is not desirable in English;

(16) *You will need [a scissors] and [glue] and [green felt] and [silk flowers].

However, the opposite is true of Kaonde as it can be observed from the example in (14). When connecting a series of items, one uses a coordinator *ne* after each item. In English,

nonetheless, polysyndeton can occur where more than one conjunction may be included for emphasis otherwise it is ungrammatical.

(17) [The wind roared] **and** [the lightning flashed] **and** [the sky was suddenly as dark as night].

In this instance, polysyndeton which tends to be reserved for stylistically marked effect is used to emphasise a dramatic sequence of events. Therefore, according to Halliday (2004), you generally use a comma before the coordinating conjunction in English if you are connecting three or more items in a series, that is;

Item, + item, + item, + and (coordinating conjunction) + item.

In (18), what have been conjoined are two NPs; *bafunjishi* and *banasi bonse* by the coordinator *ne* to form a larger syntactic unit (*bafunjishi ne banasi bonse*) which is a compound NP.

(18) Bafunjishi **ne**banasi bonse basebenza kukamfulumende (NP + NP)

[Lit: Teachers and-nurses all-of-them they-work for-government]

‘[Teachers] **and** [all the nurses] work for the government’

In sentence (19), an N (*kamono*) and NP (*bakwaabo bansongwakazhi*) have been conjoined by *ne*.

(19) Kamono **ne**bakwaabo bansongwakazhi baatemwa kukaya mpila. (NP + NP)

[Lit: Kamono and-her-friends girls they-like to-play football]

‘[Kamono] **and** [her girlfriends] like playing football’

Thus, the coordinate structure of an NP in Kaonde can be formalized as;

NP → *ne* [N] and [N]ⁿ,

This rule states that an NP can consist of any number of nouns that are conjoined by the conjunct *ne* after each and every conjunct to form a larger NP.

4.2.1.2 Coordination of Verbs and Verb Phrases

In the sentences below, *ne* has been used to connect two or more verbs or verb phrases to form larger syntactic units. For instance, in sentence (20) the verbs *-nemba* and *-tanga* have

been connected by *ne* to form *-nemba ne kutanga*. It should be noted here that in (20) as in most Bantu languages, the infinitive is used as seen in the literal translation (kutanga ‘to read’).

(20) (a) Wanemba **ne**kutanga (V + V)

[Lit: s/he-has-written and-read]

‘He has [written] **and** [read]’

(b). Kamono ukwashako baainanji [kupyanga mu nzhubo] **ne** [kuchapa bivwalo] (VP + VP)

[Lit: Kamono she-helps her-mother to-sweep in the house and to-wash clothes]

‘Kamono helps her mother to [sweep the house] **and** [wash clothes].’

(c). Natemwa kufwenka **ne**kwendesha nkinga (V + VP)

[Lit: I-like to-swim and-ride bicycle]

‘I like to [swim] **and** [ride bicycle]’

Furthermore, in sentence (21) what has been connected by the conjunction *ne* are a VP, a V and V. The conjunction *ne* is used after each and every conjunct to form the structure;

VP + V + V

where the first conjunct is a verb phrase *kukaya mpila ya kumaboko*, the second one is the verb *-nemba* and the third one is the verb *-tanga*.

(21) Bafunda [kukaya mpila ya kumaboko] **ne** [kuteeka] **ne** [kupyanga] (VP + V + V)

[Lit: they-learn to-play netball and to-cook and to-sweep]

‘They learn to [play netball] **and** [cook] **and** [sweep]’

It should be noted that the other constituents such as the infinitive *ku* (to) is used with the coordinator in Kaonde, like most African languages, when conjoining verbs as shown in (21) above where the infinitive *ku* is adjoined to *-teeka* and *-pyanga*.

Using the X-schema, 20 (c) will be projected shown below.

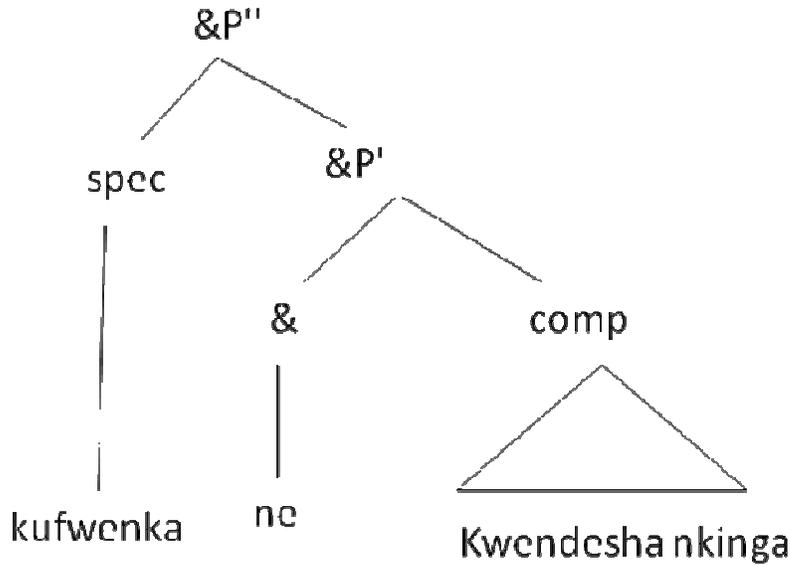


Figure 18: Coordinate Structure of VPs

Thus, the coordinate structure of VPs in Kaonde can be formalized as;

$$VP \rightarrow ne [V] \text{ and } [V]^n,$$

where ⁿ represents any number of coordinate elements. This can be seen as exemplified in 26 above where the conjuncts are more than two. For instance, in (21) the VP *kukaya mpila yakumaboko*, the V *kuteeka* and the V *kupyanga* have been combined polysyndetically using *ne* thereby, forming a structure;

$$VP \rightarrow VP + V + V$$

This rule states that a VP can consist of any number of nouns that are conjoined by the conjunctor *ne* after each and every conjunct to form a larger VP.

4.2.1.3 Coordination of Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

According to Mathews (2005) adjectival phrase or adjective phrase (AP) refers to a phrase built upon an adjective, which functions as the head of that phrase. It should be noted here that specific adjective stems in Kaonde (as in other Bantu languages) are very few (Wright 2007). Thus, in most cases verbs with the infinitive *ku* are used to modify nouns. For example, the infinitive *ku* will be added to the *-leepa* 'tall' to have *kuleepa* as shown below.

(22) Mwanabo [watooka] *ne* [kuleepa].

[Lit: their-child s/he-is-light and tall]

‘Their child is [light] **and** [tall].’

Adjective phrase is one that collectively modifies or describes a noun or pronoun and which can usually be used both attributively and predicatively, can be graded, and be modified by an adverb (Mathew 2005). An AP will function as a subject complement or object complement as shown in 23 and 24, respectively.

(23) Sukuulu **yawama bingi**.

[Lit: school it-is-good very]

‘School is **very good**.’

(24) Ba Shilungamo baleetanga nyama **yatobala bingi**.

[Lit: mr Shilungamo he-used-to bring meat it-tasty very]

‘Mr Shilungamo used to bring **very tasty** meat.’

Like other phrases, an AP consists of one or more words where the adjective phrase is optional. In 25, the conjuncts are adjective phrases.

(25) John [wangovu bingi] **kabiji** [wamaana bingi]. (AP + AP)

[Lit: John he-is-strong very and he-is-intelligent very]

‘John is [very strong] **and** [very intelligent].’

(26) Mwana ubenakuja tumango [tucheche], [tubishi] **kabiji** [twaluula].

[Lit: child it-is-eating mango small, unripe and bitter]

‘The child is eating [small], [unripe] **and** [bitter] mangoes.’

In these sentences the word *kabiji* has been used to connect adjectives and adjective phrases to form larger syntactic units. For instance, in 25 the adjective phrases *wangovu bingi* and *wamaana bingi* have been linked to form the conjunction *wangovu bingi kabiji wamaana bingi* by *kabiji* which is a form of *and*. In the above, the form of ‘and’ used for joining

adjectives and that for verbs is different as we have discussed in this chapter above. Thus, the coordinate structure of an AP in Kaonde can be formalized as;

AP → *kabiji* [A] and [A]ⁿ,

The coordinate structure for the adjective phrase *baleepa kabiji babaya* ‘...tall and fat’ can be projected using the X-schema as follows;

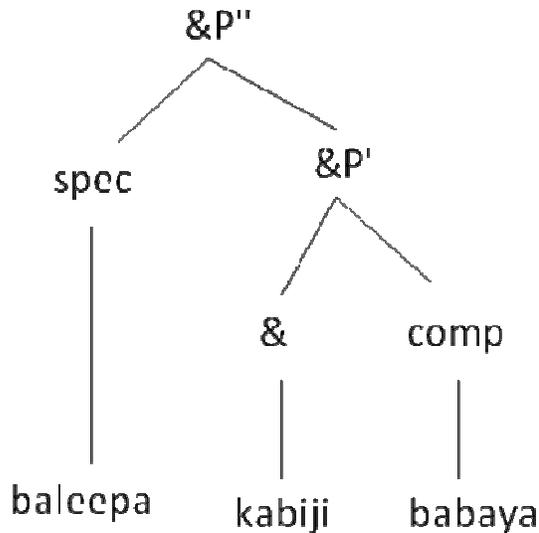


Figure 19: Coordinate Structure of an AP

However, it should be noted that *kabiji* is not always used as a variant of the coordinator *ne*. *Kabiji* can be used to mean ‘in addition’, ‘moreover’, ‘further’ or ‘again’ depending on the context. In example (27) below, ‘*kabiji*’ means ‘further’.

(27) *Kabiji* Lesa wibapesheshe ne kwibambila ‘mba: semainga ne kusemununa.

[Lit: further God he-blessed-them and he-told-them that: give-birth and give-birth-repeatedly]

‘**Further** God blessed them and said to them: Be fruitful and become many.’

In this case, therefore, not all sentences that use the word *kabiji* are coordinated because ‘*kabiji*’ does not always translate into ‘and’. This is so because although *and* can express addition in coordinate structures, it cannot be used at the beginning of a sentence as shown in (28) below.

(28) ***Ne** Lesa wibapesheshe ne kwibambila amba: semainga ne kusemununa.

[Lit: and God he-blessed-them and he-told-them that: give-birth and give-birth-repeatedly]

‘**And** God blessed them and said to them: Be fruitful and become many.’

4.2.1.4 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

According to Mathews (2005) a prepositional phrase (PP) is a group of words containing a preposition, a noun or pronoun object of the preposition, and any modifiers of the object. A PP can function as a noun, an adjective, or an adverb, and like all phrases will consist of at least one word. As an adjective, the PP will answer the question *which one*, and as an adverb it will answer the question *where, when or how* in a sentence. For instance, in (29) and (30) the conjuncts answer the question *where* (adverbials of place or locative).

(29) Nangwa bakeebele [mukachi] **ne** [pangye] kechibekitaine ne (P + P)

[Lit: although they-searched inside and outside they-did-not-find-it]

‘Although they searched [inside] **and** [outside], they did not find it.’

(30) Bafunjisha banyike kukaya bulongo na bakwaabo [ku sukuulu] **neku** nzhubo (PP +PP)

[Lit: they-teach children to-play well with their-friends at school and at home]

‘They teach children to play well with their friends [at school] **and** [at home]’

In the above sentences, prepositions and prepositional phrases have been connected by the word *ne* to form conjuncts. Thus, (30) above can be projected as shown below as we have coordination of two PPs.

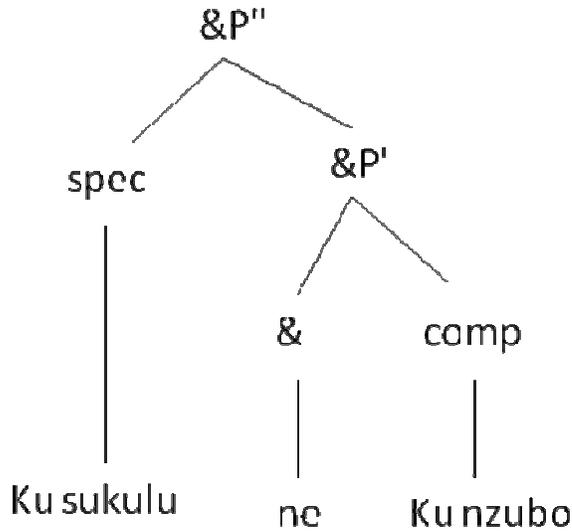


Figure 20: Coordinate Structure of a PP

Thus, the coordinate structure of a PP in Kaonde can be formalized as;

$$PP \rightarrow ne [P] \text{ and } [P]^n$$

This rule states that a PP can consist of any number of prepositions that are conjoined by the conjunctive *ne* after each and every conjunct to form a larger PP.

4.2.2 Coordination of Clauses/Sentences

In example 31 below the sentences *Mu taunyi muji myootoka yaavula bingi* and *mu taunyi muji mikwaaka yawaama* have been conjoined by the coordinator *kabiji* to form a compound sentence.

(31) [Mu taunyi muji myootoka yaavula bingi] ***kabiji*** [mu taunyi muji mikwaaka yawaama].

[Lit: in town there-are motor cars many and in town there-are roads good]

‘[There are so many motor cars in town] ***and*** [there are good roads in town]’

In 32 the clauses *Ba shilungamo baiya* and *bankamboyanji Kyapusanako nabo baiya* have been conjoined by *ne* to form a compound sentence.

(32) [Ba shilungamo baiya] ***ne*** [bankamboyanji Kyapusanako nabo baiya].

[Lit: Mr Shilungamo he-has-come and grandmother-of Kyapusanako also she-has-come]

‘[Mr Shilungamo has come] *and* [the grandmother of Kyampusanako has also come.]’

In this case, therefore, coordination in Kaonde can be sentential. That is, simple sentences in Kaonde can be conjoined or linked by a conjunction such as *ne* and *kabiji* to form a larger sentence.

Further, (31) above can be projected as shown below as we have coordination of two sentential conjuncts.

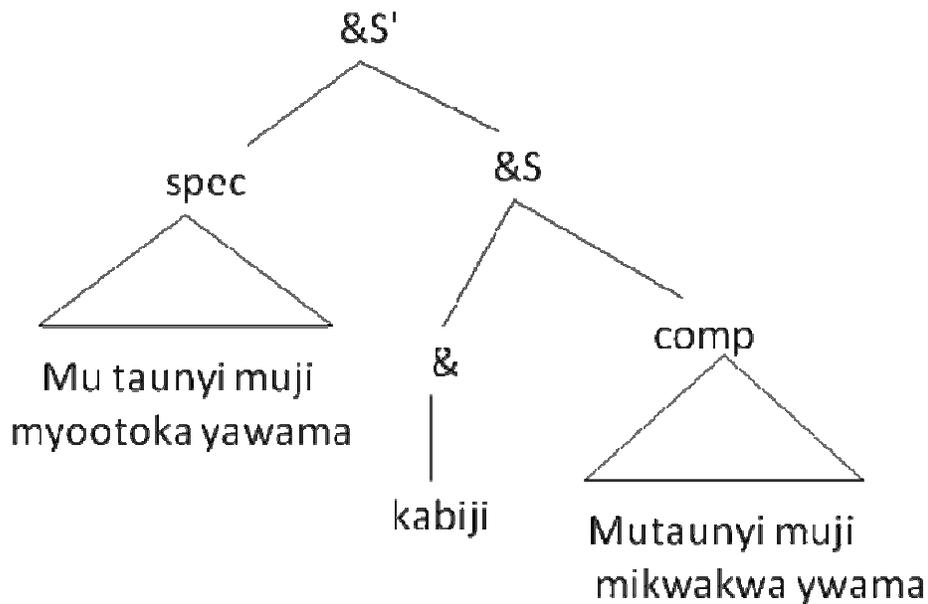


Figure 21: Sentential Coordination

Thus, the coordinate structure of sentences in Kaonde can be formalized as;

$S \rightarrow kabiji [Clause] \text{ and } [Clause]^n$

This rule states that a sentence can consist of any number of clauses that are conjoined by the conjunct *kabiji* after each and every conjunct to form a larger sentence.

However, when coordinating clauses in Kaonde usually no coordinators are used. Instead the language uses juxtaposition (Heine and Nurse 1978). For instance, one would say:

(33) Waatangilenga buuku, mukwabo waanembelenga nkalata.

[Lit: s/he-was-reading a book, his/her-friend was-writing letter]

‘S/he was reading a book, his/her friend was writing a letter’

(34) Mpene maali, nsaku kukwasha kunyema.

[Lit: give-me money, i-will-you to-help to-escape]

‘Give me money, I will help you escape’

(35) Pekale mpunzha pakachi ka mema, yabane mema ke pabiji.

[Lit: let-be expanse between the water, they-divide water into two]

‘Let an expanse come to be in between the waters, let a dividing occur between the waters.’

In (33), (34) and (35) the clauses have not been explicitly linked by any conjunction. Therefore, we have coordinate structures whose conjuncts are not connected by any conjunction. Sentences (34) and (45) cannot be written as or rather it would not be appropriate for the clauses above to be connected using either *ne* or *kabiji* as shown below.

(36) *[Mpene maali] **kabiji** [nsaku kukwasha kunyema].

[Lit: give-me money and I-you escape]

‘[Give me money] **and** [I will help you escape]’

(37) *Mpene maali **ne** amiwa nsaku kukwasha kunyema.

[Lit: give-me money and-me I-you escape]

‘[give me money] **and** [I’ll help you escape]’

This kind of coordination is referred to as asyndetic coordination. Asyndetic coordination, as was discussed in chapter two, is where coordination occurs without the presence of conjunctions. No conjunction is present here, but the conjuncts are still coordinated. This is in line with Heine and Neeleman (1978: 218) who postulate that “many languages in Africa do not use coordinating words. Instead, two or more sentences are simply sprung together”.

Therefore, (33) above can be presented as illustrated in Figure 20 below where the coordinate structure has no overt coordinator. In this case, the coordinator has no surface realization, that is, the coordinator is not overtly marked. Because X-bar theory is representational—a

structure for a given construction is built in one fell swoop and lexical items are inserted into the structure (X-bar theory has a preconceived phrasal structure, where in every phrase there is a specifier, a head, and a complement). Sells (1985: 34) argues that “the conception of syntactic structures that comes out of the Projection Principle is that some position will exist in syntactic structure just in case some lexical item requires it to exist. In such cases, the lexical item is said to *license* the category in the structure.” However, according to the Projection Principle certain position may be empty; hence we have an empty category in Figure 22.

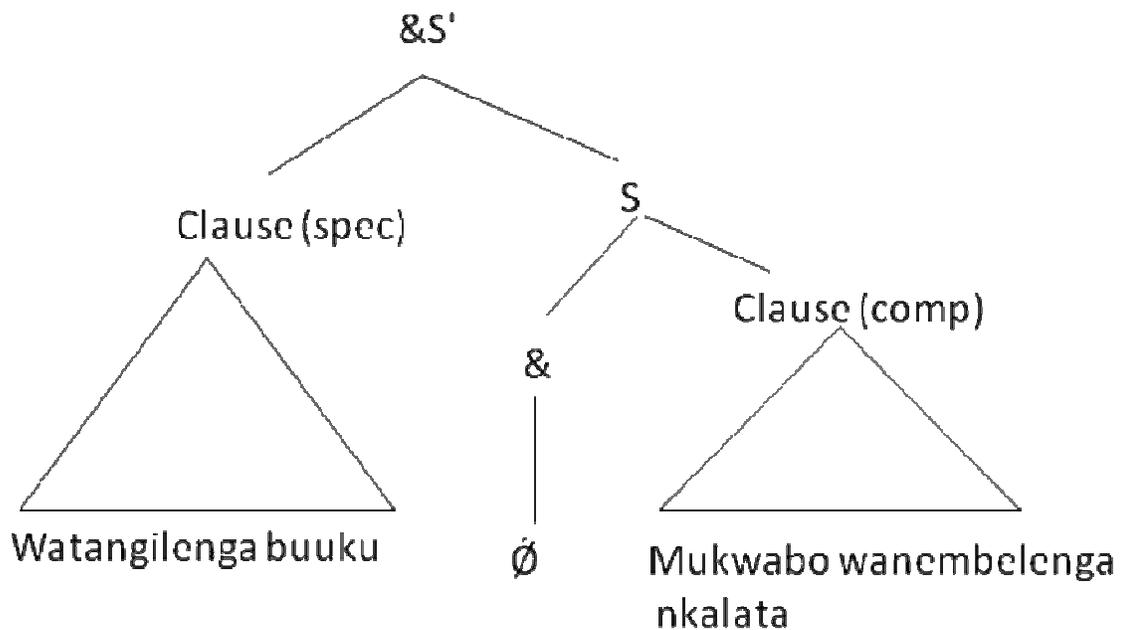


Figure 22: Asyndetic Coordination of Sentence (33)

Another important feature worth noting is that when two VPs (verb phrases) with the same subject are coordinated, the conjunction is positioned after the verb of the second VP and followed by the infinitive of the same verb as illustrated in (38) below. Therefore, instead of having coordination of clauses, what are conjoined are verb phrases in the two clauses. In (38), the VPs *nekuya* ‘and to go’ and *baya* ‘they have gone’ have been conjoined instead of the clauses.

(38) Bapwisha kala mwingiilo wabo *nekuya* baya.

[Lit: They-have-completed already work their and-to-go they-gone]

‘[They have already completed their work] **and** [they have already gone]’

4.2.3 Coordination of Unlike Items

Most coordinate structures are like those just presented in this chapter above; the coordinated strings are alike in syntactic category. There are a number of unique traits of coordination, however, that demonstrate that what can be coordinated is not limited to the standard syntactic categories. All the data presented in this chapter so far illustrate that the conjuncts are often alike in syntactic category. There are, however, many instances of coordination where the coordinated strings are NOT alike. For example, the sentences below illustrate this point.

(39) (a). John wamutaine mu taunyi nemungye (Adverbial of place + N)

[Lit: John-him/her-found in town and-bush]

‘John found him/her [in town] **and** [bush]’

(b). Peter uji [mulukatazho] **kabiji** [ba kapokola babena kumukeba] (PP + Clause)

[Lit: Peter he-is in-trouble and the police they-are to-him-look]

‘Peter is [in trouble] **and** [the police are looking for him]’

In 39 (a) above, the conjuncts are made of an Adverbial of place *in town* and a noun *mungye*. In sentence 39 (b) what have been coordinated are prepositional phrase *mulukatazho* and the clause *ba kapokola babena kumukeba* by the coordinator *kabiji*. Thus, 39 (a) above can be projected as shown in Figure 23, below.

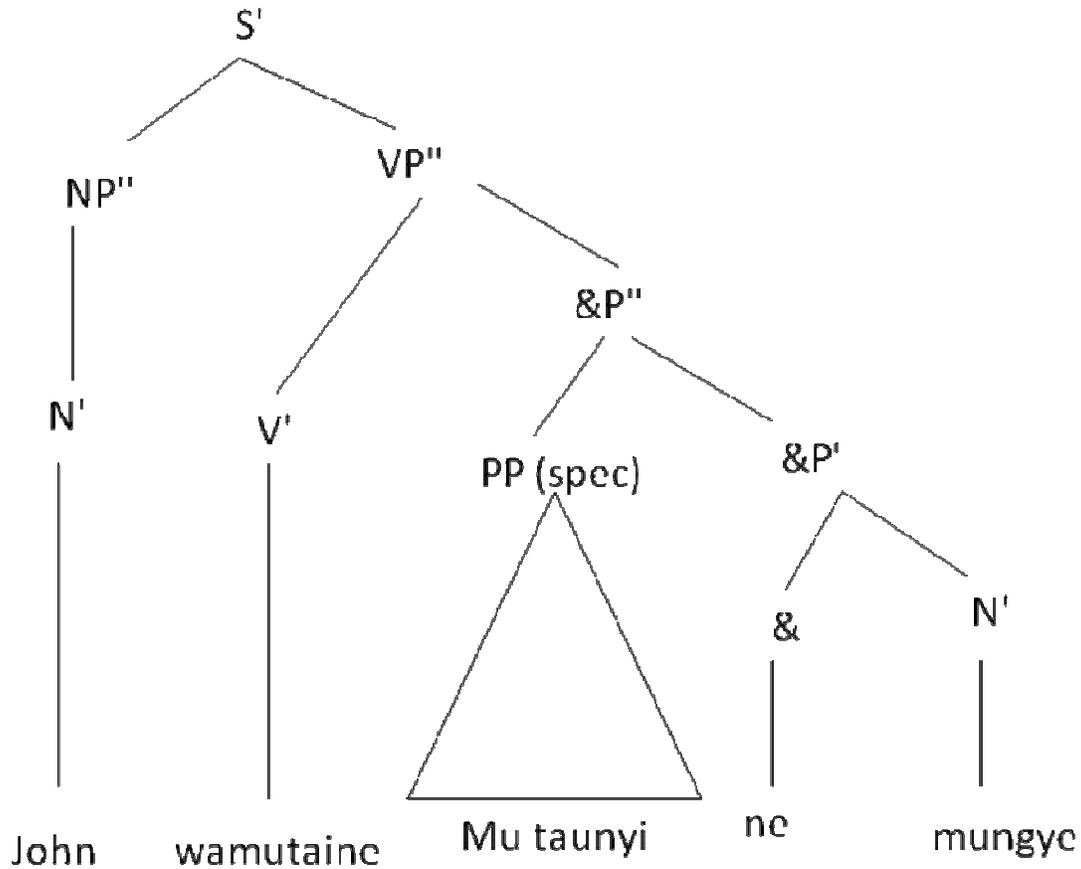


Figure 23: Coordination of Unlikes

Thus, the coordinate structure for 39 (a) can be formalized as;

$VP \rightarrow ne [PP] \text{ and } [N]$

These illustrate that the theory of *and-coordination* in Kaonde does not only occur among syntactic categories that are equal or similar in nature but also among unlike categories. However, in most instances of coordination, the coordinated strings are alike.

4.2.4 Nested Coordinate Structures

Coordination may be 'nested' inside another. Nesting is the inclusion of one syntactic unity within another (Mathews 2005). This means that a larger coordination may contain a smaller one inside it. For example, in (40) the coordination *Peter ne Jane* just happens to be inside the larger coordination *Namwene Peter ne Jane kabiji bajinga namwanabo* whose conjuncts are clauses.

(40) [₁Namwene (₂Peter) *ne* (Jane₂) keesha] *kabiji* [bajinga namwanabo₁].

[Lit: I-saw peter and Jane yesterday and they-were with-their child]

‘[I saw (Peter) **and** (Jane) yesterday] **and** [they were with their child]’

In (40) above, the coordinate structure in square brackets is the larger coordinate structure which contains the smaller coordinate structure in round brackets. In this case we have two independent clauses that are coordinated by the coordinator *kabiji* where the first conjunct has a coordinate structure of two nouns *Peter* and *Jane* within it.

The rules that control the internal structure of a coordinate structure say nothing about the internal structures of the individual conjuncts, which means the conjuncts are free to contain smaller coordinate structures just as they can contain any dependency patterns. One particularly important example of this freedom for coordination structures to nest is that a conjunct of a larger coordination may consist of nothing but a smaller coordination.

(41) [₁Ba mwisho bateemwa (₂Mushima) *ne* (Kyembe₂)] *kabiji* [ba mukamwisho bateemwa (₃Bibusa) *ne* (Tukiya₃)₁].

[Lit: Uncle he-like Mushima and Kyembe and aunt she-like Bibusa and Tukiya]

‘[Uncle likes (Mushima) **and** (Kyembe)] **and** [aunt likes (Bibusa) **and** (Tukiya)]’

In (41) above, we have a compound sentence made of two independent clauses that have smaller coordinations with them. That is, each conjunct (clause) contains NPs that are coordinated. Thus, (41) above can be projected as shown below as we have coordination of two NPs within clauses.

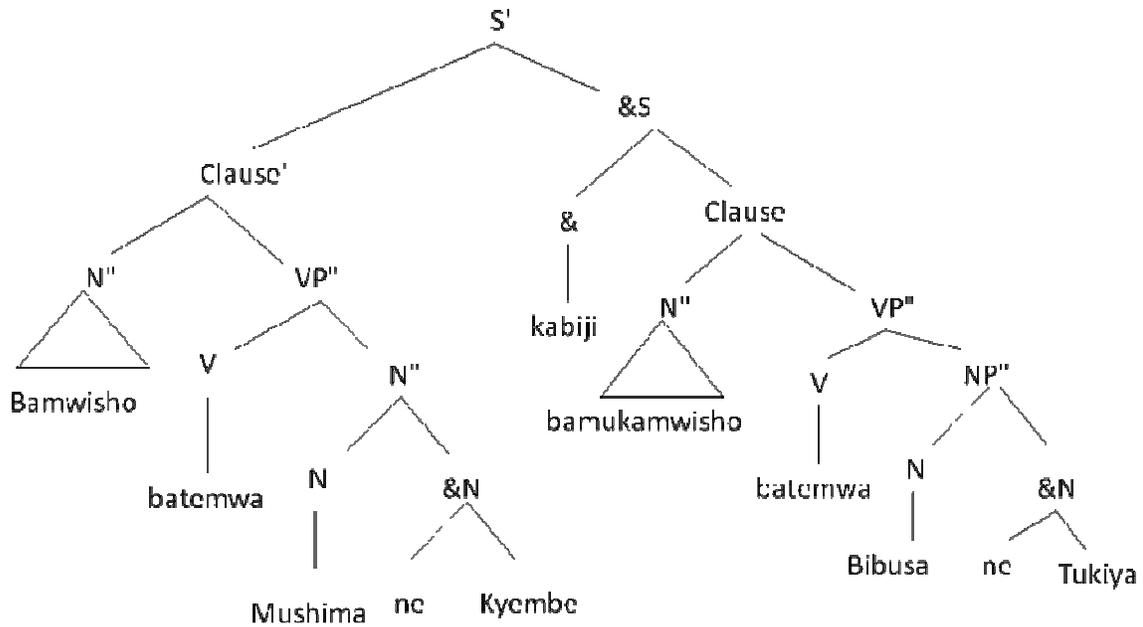


Figure 24: Nested Coordination

At this level, syntactic presentations need to be demarcated by nesting the constituents. The round brackets in the following sentences will help interpret these nested constituents. The interpretation here is that although the three boys came in time, Tukiya and Bibusa came at the same time but Nkwashi came at a separate instance. However, it will be easy to interpret that the pairs came at different intervals in the example below. Notice also that the coordinators of the larger coordination are outside the smaller coordination. For example, when listing you can pair the coordinates as can be seen from the three possible reading of (42) below;

- (42) (a) Tukiya *ne* Bibusa *ne* Nkwashi baakwiya.

[Lit: Tukiya and Bibusa and Nkwashi they-came]

‘Tukiya **and** Bibusa **and** Nkwashi came’

- (b). [Tukiya] *ne* [Bibusa] *ne* [Nkwashi] baakwiya.

[Lit: Tukiya and Bibusa and Nkwashi they-came]

‘[Tukiya] **and** [Bibusa] **and** [Nkwashi] came’

(c). [Tukiya] *ne* [(Bibusa) *ne* (Nkwashi)] baakwiya.

[Lit: Tukiya and Bibusa and Nkwashi they-came]

‘[Tukiya] **and** [(Bibusa) *and* (Nkwashi)] came’

(d). [(Tukiya) *ne* (Bibusa)] *ne* [Nkwashi] baakwiya.

[Lit: Tukiya and Bibusa and Nkwashi they-came]

‘[(Tukiya) *ne* (Bibusa)] **and** [Nkwashi] came’

The brackets indicate the three possible readings for 42 (a). The 42 (c) and (d) readings show one coordinate structure being embedded inside another. Which of the three readings is understood depends on intonation and context. The 42 (c) reading could be preferred in a situation where *Bibusa* and *Nkwashi* arrived together, but *Tukiya* arrived separately. Similarly, the 42 (d) reading could be preferred in a situation where *Tukiya* and *Bibusa* arrived together, but *Nkwashi* arrived separately. 42 (b) is a preferred reading of 42 (a) where either the trio *Tukiya*, *Bibusa* and *Nkwashi* came together or separately.

4.3 Forms of And-Coordination in Kaonde

In whichever category coordination may be, it may take any of the three forms discussed in chapter two of this work - syndetic, asyndetic and polysyndetic coordination.

4.3.1 Syndetic Coordination

In sentences 43, 44 and 45 below the coordinate structures have used coordinators to link different conjuncts.

(43) [Aye maalwa ashinta] *kabiji* [akaji bingi].

[Lit: this beer intoxicating and strong very]

‘This beer is [intoxicating] and [very strong].’

(44) [Mabombwe akafuma komuji], *ne* [mu mazubo enu], *ne* [ku bakalume benu], *ne*

[ku bantu benu].

[Lit: frogs they-will-turn your-way and in house yours and to servants yours and to

people yours]

[The frogs will certainly turn away from you] *and* [your houses] *and*
[your servants] *and* [your people]’.

(45) Baatemwa bingi kuja [nshima] *na* [masabi].

[Lit: they-like very-much to-eat nshima and fish]

‘They like eating [nshima] *and* [fish].’

In (43) above, the coordinating conjunction *kabiji* has been used to co-join the two conjuncts in square brackets while *ne* has been used in (44) to link the four phrases. In (45) the two nouns have been co-joined by the coordinating conjunction *na* to form a larger syntactic unit which is an NP. All the constructions in this study where the coordinator (*ne*, *na* or *kabiji*) has been used are instances of syndetic coordination.

4.3.2 Asyndetic Coordination

As we have already alluded to, coordination can also occur without the presence of coordinators. For instance, in (46) below no coordinator is used, but the conjuncts are still coordinated.

(46) Pekale mpunzha pakachi ka mema, yabane mema ke pabiji.

[Lit: let-there-be expanse between the water, they-divide water in two]

‘Let an expanse come to be in between the waters, let a dividing occur between the waters.’

Asyndetic coordination is one that is not overtly marked by coordinators such as *kabiji*, *na* and *ne*. That is, in asyndetic coordination, coordinators are not visibly used. This kind of coordination (also referred to as parataxis) is, therefore, a process in which constituents are conjoined without the use of coordinating conjunctions (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973).

According to Heine and Nurse (1978: 218) the coordination of clauses within a sentence in African languages is generally different from coordination within the noun phrase. While the coordination of NP often uses a conjunction (*ne*), coordination of clauses usually uses juxtaposition. Juxtaposition is prominent in many languages in place of using the conjunction

‘and’ when conjuncts are clauses. Many languages in African do not use coordinating words; instead, the two (or more) clauses are simply strung together. In this kind of coordination, conjoints are generally separated by a tone-unit boundary in speech or punctuation mark in writing (Heine and Nurse 1978). For instance, one would say;

(47) Twayai tumupe maali, keusakubulako bantu bakwabo byo twaubilenga.

[Lit: let-us we-give-him/her money, not-s/he- will-tell people others what we-are-doing]

‘Let’s give him/her some money, s/he won’t tell anybody what we were doing.’

To mean;

(48) [Let’s give him/her some money] *and* [s/he won’t tell anybody what we were doing].’

4.3.3 Polysyndetic Coordination

In an event where a coordinate structure has more than two conjuncts, the coordinator is used after each and every conjunct. In (49) below, the coordinate structure is made up of four phrases that are linked together.

(49) Ba Shalunango babukiletu lukeelo-keelo batola [katemo] *ne* [jifumo] *ne* [ngonga].

[Lit: Shilunango he-woke-up morning early he-got an axe and a spear and a string]

‘Shilunango woke up early in the morning got [an axe] *and* [a spear] *and* [a string].’

After each item the coordinator *ne* is used thereby forming the structure;

NP + NP + NP, that is, Item *ne* item *ne* item.

However, *kabiji* as a conjunction cannot be used ordinarily in polysyndetic coordination. *Kabiji* can only be used in polysyndetic coordination for stylistically marked effect used to emphasise a dramatic sequence of events otherwise it is ungrammatical. This is because *kabiji* (which has a near translation of ‘again’) has a special function in Kaonde as discussed in 4.1.3 of this chapter (Zambian Languages Orthography 1977).

(50) [Banda wapumine mukazhanji] *kabiji* [waiya watuka nebako banji] *kabiji* [waiya wasoka nenzubo].

[Lit: banda he-beat wife-his and he-came he-insult in-law his and he-came he-burnt house]

‘[Banda beat his wife] *and* [then he insulted his in-laws] *and* [then he burnt the house].’

4.4 Categories of And-Coordination

According to Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) syndetic coordination can either be combinatory or segregatory. When a phrase linked by *ne* or *kabiji* function in a clause, they may express combinatory or segregatory meaning. The distinction applies to various types of co-joined phrases, but perhaps clearest to noun phrases (NP).

4.4.1 Combinatory Coordination

This is a kind of coordination where the proposition in the first clause is inseparable from that in the second. Combinatory coordination can work with various types of conjoined phrases and this kind is analysed by its inability to be separated as two or more sentences. The following are examples of joint coordination:

(51) [Mushima] *ne* [Kyembe] pakilongo (N +N)

[Lit: Mushima and Kyembe they-are-borthers]

‘[Mushima] *and* [Kyembe] are brothers’

Combinatory is coordination for which it is inappropriate to provide a paraphrase in terms of coordinated clauses; this is because the co-joins function in combination. For example, the co-joined noun phrases in sentences (51) above cannot be paraphrased as coordinated clauses as exemplified in (51) below, unless brothers does not mean ‘male siblings’. That is, it is not possible to form a paraphrase of the conjoined constituents. Hence the following sentence is ungrammatical.

(52) *[Mushima mulongo] *ne* [Kyembe mulongo].

[Lit: Mushima is-brother and Kyembe is-brother]

‘[Mushima is a brother] *and* [Kyembe is a brother]’

Combinatory coordination can be classified in three types.

a. Joint Participation

Conjoints of this kind of coordination are interpreted as jointly comprising a single participation in the process or relationship described by the clause thus,



Example (53) below indicates that the state of fighting cannot be separated but interpreted as a joint participation of relationship.

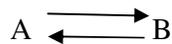
(53) [Jilanda] *ne* [Mose] balwileenga.

[Lit: Jilanda and Mose they-were-fighting]

‘[Jilanda] **and** [Mose] were fighting’

b. Mutual Participation

In this kind of coordination, the conjuncts are interpreted as entering into a reciprocal relation where the action of one participant affects the other and vice-versa. In Kaonde, like other Bantu languages, the mutual participation is marked by the Reciprocal Extension thus,



Example (54) exemplifies this phenomenon.

(54) (a) [Mushima] *ne* [Emma] bakumene keesha.

[Lit: Mushima and Emma they-met yeaterday]

‘[Mushima] **and** [Emma] met yesterday’

(b). [Bibusa] *ne* [Tukiya] bamonangene.

[Lit: Bibusa and Tikya they-saw-each-other]

‘[Bibusa] **and** [Tukiya] saw each other.’

In 54 (b), the verb *kumonangana* denotes action which is done to each other. Morphologically speaking, the verb *kumona* (‘to see’) has been extended by the addition of the verb extension *-ngana* through the process of affixation to come up with *kumonangana* which denotes action done to each other.

c. Unitary Participation

This is a type of combinatory coordination where the conjoined constituents are so closely linked in meaning in such a way that they are referred to as a single object. (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973). For instance, the expression ‘*kolo ne nkasa*’ (older and younger) carries the meaning of a single entity and not as two items that can be separated. The coordinate structure ‘*kolo ne nkasa*’, as a phrase, is also conceptualised as a unit. For instance, one would say that;

(55) Kyembe ne Nkwashi [bakolo] **ne** [nkasa].

[Lit: Kyembe and Nkwashi they-older and younger]

‘Kyembe and Nkwashi are [older] **and** [younger] brothers.’

In (55), the phrase *kolo ne nkasa* is made up of conjuncts (*kolo* and *nkasa*) which are closely linked in meaning in such a way that they are referred to as a single object. The only possible separation is in an instance where one does not use a coordinating conjunction to join the conjuncts, and forms clauses instead as a strategy.

(56) Kyembe ye kolo, Nkwashi ye nkasa.

[Lit: Kyembe he-is-older, Nkwashi he-is-youger]

‘Kyembe is the older, Nkwashi is the younger.’

4.4.2 Segregatory Coordination

Segregatory coordination is a type of coordination where the conjoined clauses or sentences can be split into sentences in the underlying structures. When the coordination is segregatory, it is possible to paraphrase the original sentence into two or more uncoordinated clauses (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973). Most of the examples in this work that can be separated as segregatory constructions. For example;

(57) [Muke] **ne** [Mushima] babeela.

[Lit: Muke and Mushima they-are-sick]

‘[Muke] **and** [Mushima] are sick’

Is equivalent to;

(58) [Muke wabeela] **ne** [Mushima wabeela].

[Lit: Muke he-is-sick and Mushima he-is-sick]

‘Muke is sick **and** Mushima is sick.

Further, (59) can be rewritten as in 59 (b).

(59) (a) Muke [wapoteele Tukiya ndeleshi] **ne** [Bibusa nsapato].

[Lit: Muke he-bought Tukiya a dress and Bibusa shoes]

‘Muke [bought Tukiya a dress] **and** [Bibusa a pair of shoes]’

(b) Muke wapoteele Tukiya ndeleshi. Muke wapoteele Bibusa nsapato.

[Lit: Muke he-bought Tukiya a dress. Muke he-bought Bibusa shoes]

‘Muke bought Tukiya a dress. Muke bought Bibusa a pair of shoes’

In 59 (a) above, the coordinate structure is an instance of conjunction reduction. In this coordination the coordination process is referred to as a reduction of clausal constituents or sentences. This is because the conjoined phrases are reduced from conjoined sentences. For example (60) below;

(60) Banda watemwa masabi **kabiji** Tembo watemwa nyama.

[Lit: Banda he-like fish and Tembo he-like meat]

‘Banda likes fish **and** Tembo likes meat’

Can be reduced to;

(61) Banda watemwa masabi **ne** Tembo nyama.

[Lit: Banda he-like fish and Tembo meat]

‘Banda likes fish **and** Tembo meat’

In this instance, the verb ‘-temwa’ in the second clause has been omitted through the process of conjunction reduction. This is an instance of ‘gapping’ (Mathews 2005: 141). That is the deletion of a verb with or without other elements from the middle of the second and subsequent clause in a sequence related by coordination.

4.5 Nature of And-Coordinate Structures in Kaonde

This section discusses coordination with reference to Phrase Structure Rules (PS- Rules). The concept of phrase structure has been central in almost all varieties of generative grammar stemming from Chomsky (1957) for the purpose of representing the fundamental structural aspects of phrases and sentences. Chomsky proposed PS rules that would generate syntactic structures. With suitable lexical items, a grammar with these rules would generate any possible grammatical sentence.

PS-rules are linguistic devices that can be used to generate potentially all and only grammatical sentences in a given language. There are a number of PS-rules that have been suggested by Jacobsen (1987) and these include: rule 1 and rule 11, option 1 deal with coordination. Jacobsen's (1987) PS rule 11, option 1 deal with coordination of NPs. That is, the conjuncts to be addressed here are NPs. Hereunder is the manifestation of PS-rule 11, option 1;

$NP \rightarrow \text{and} + NP^n, n \geq 2$

This rule states that an NP can consist of two or more NPs that are joined or connected by a conjunction (in this case, *ne*) to form a larger NP. This rule is about nouns (subjects) whose verbs are symmetric. Symmetric verbs such as *kwamba* (to talk) are normally defined as predicates that have a bidirectional relation between their participants built into the meaning of the verb. For example, (61) below shows that *John* and *Mary* are engaged in a conversation (not, for example, that they are addressing each other but in a conversation).

(62) [John] *ne* [Mary] babena kwamba.
[Lit: John and Mary they-are to-talk]

‘[John] **and** [Mary] are talking’

In the above example, both *John* and *Mary* stand as the originators and receivers of the activity described (Dolling et al 2008: 345). Therefore, symmetric verbs are verbs that can be read from either ends without changing the meaning as shown is (63) below.

(63) [Mary] *ne* [John] babena kwamba.
[Lit: Mary and John they talking]

‘[Mary] **and** [John] are talking.’

Furthermore, sentence (63) above can be presented using an X-scheme to give general information about what dominates what, plus a separate set of mechanisms for dictating the order of constituents (William 2003: 337). As stated earlier, *and-coordination* always has at least two conjuncts. According to Johnnesen (1998) as quoted by De Vos (2005), coordination has a specifier-complement structure, where the first conjunct is in the specifier of a coordination phrase headed by a coordinator AND. The second conjunct is a complement of AND. For example, & = coord (for coordinator); the & itself is labelled as a & with no bar, and the units labelled with one bar (&') and with two bars (&'') are successive phrases of which it is head. Comp (for complement) is a cover term for anything that combines with a & to form a & with a single bar; spec (for specifier) is a similar term for anything that combines with a &' to form a &'' (Mathews 2005: 405). Thus, the phrase *John ne Mary* will be projected as follows;

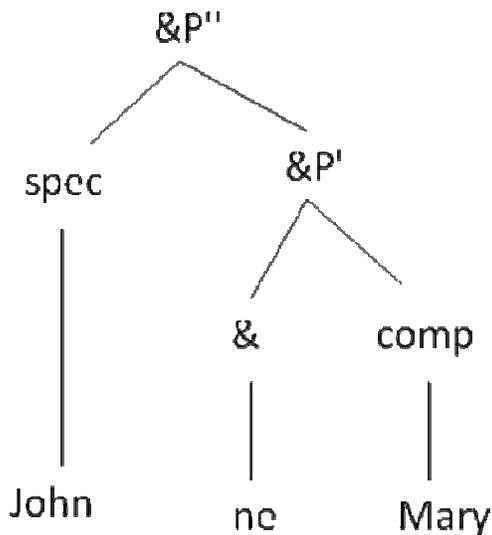


Figure 25: Coordinate Structure of NP *John ne Mary*

In Figure 25 above, it is clear that NPs in Kaonde can be coordinated using a form of 'ne' to come up with a coordinate structure. This actually indicates that coordinated NPs in Kaonde cannot only be analysed using the PS rules but also be represented using the X-scheme in giving general information about the structure of coordination in Kaonde. Thus, using the PS rules for English as presented by Jacobson (1987), rule 11, option 1 can and does apply in Kaonde on coordinate structures.

In the discussion above, we have assumed coordination of two conjuncts. As is well known, coordinate structures may be iterated many times. In an event where a coordinate structure has more than two conjuncts, the coordinator is used after each and every conjunct. In (64) below, the coordinate structure is made up of four noun phrases that are linked together.

(64) [Mabombwe], *ne* [mu mazubo enu], *ne* [ku bakalume benu], *ne* [ku bantu benu]....

[the frog] *and* [your houses] *and* [your servants] *and* [your people]'

After each item the coordinator *ne* is used. Conjoined NPs of this sort would thus have the structure in Figure 26.

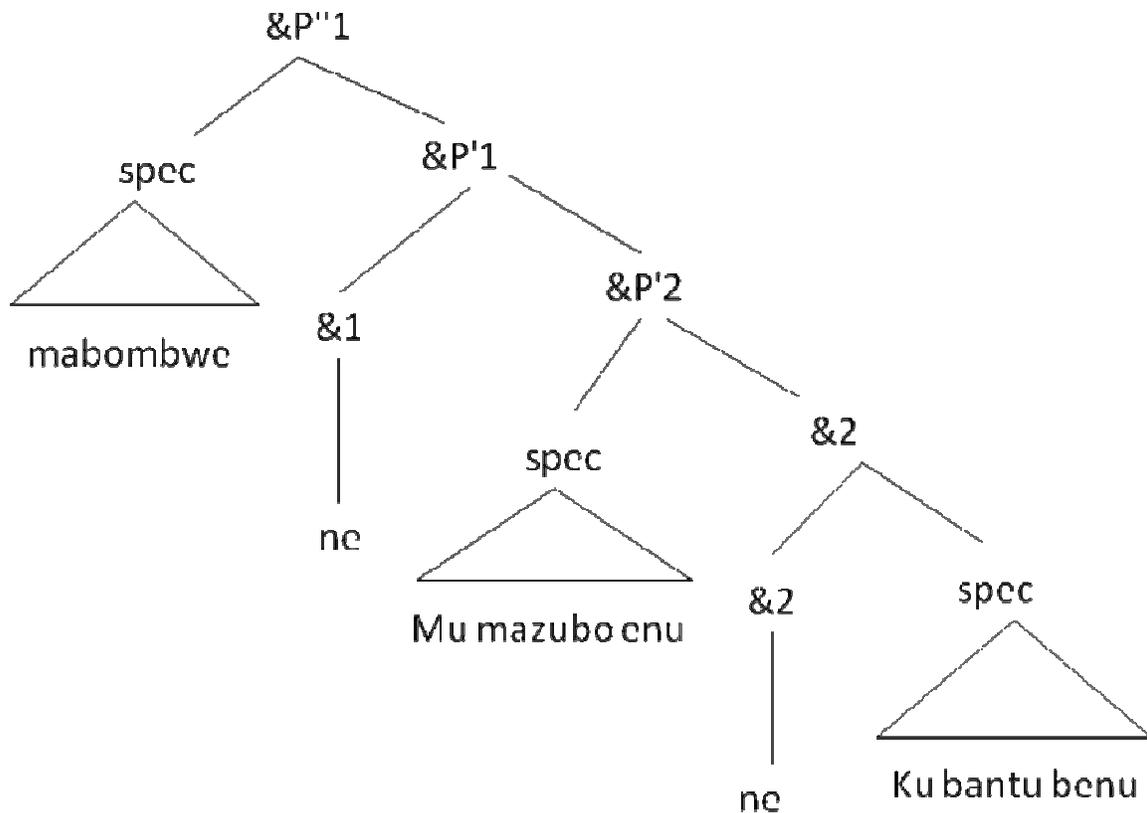


Figure 26: Polysyndetic Coordinate Structure

Where there are more than two items connected, the coordinate structure in Kaonde can be formalized as;

NP → *ne* [N] and [N]ⁿ,

where n represents any number of coordinate elements. This can be seen as exemplified in (64) above where the conjuncts are more than two. For instance, in (64) the NPs *mabombwe*, *mazubo enu* and *bantu benu* have been combined polysyndetically using *ne* thereby, forming a structure *ne* [N] and [N] n . This rule states that an NP can consist of any number of nouns that are conjoined by the conjunctive *ne* after each and every conjunct to form a larger NP.

Jacobsen's (1987) PS-rule (1) deals with sentential coordination. That is, the conjuncts to be addressed under this rule are clauses and/or sentences. Hereunder is the manifestation of PS-rule 1;

$$S \longrightarrow \{ \text{and/or} \} S^n, n \geq 2^1$$

This rule states that a sentence can consist of two sentences that are joined or connected by a conjunction (*and/or*) to form one or more compound sentences. For example, the two simple sentences 65 (a) and (b) below can be joined by the coordinator *kabiji* to form a compound sentence 65 (c);

(65) (a) Mulolo nyama waatama bingi.
[Lit; snake animal it-bad very]

'A snake is a very bad animal'

(b). Bantu kechi baamutemwane.
[Lit: people not they-like-it-not]

'People do not like it'

(c). [Mulolo nyama waatama bingi] **kabiji** [bantu kechi baa mutemwane].
[Lit: snake animal it-bad very and people not they-like-it-not]

'[A snake is a very bad animal] **and** ['people do not like it']

Further, 65 (a) above can be projected using an X-scheme to give general information as follows;

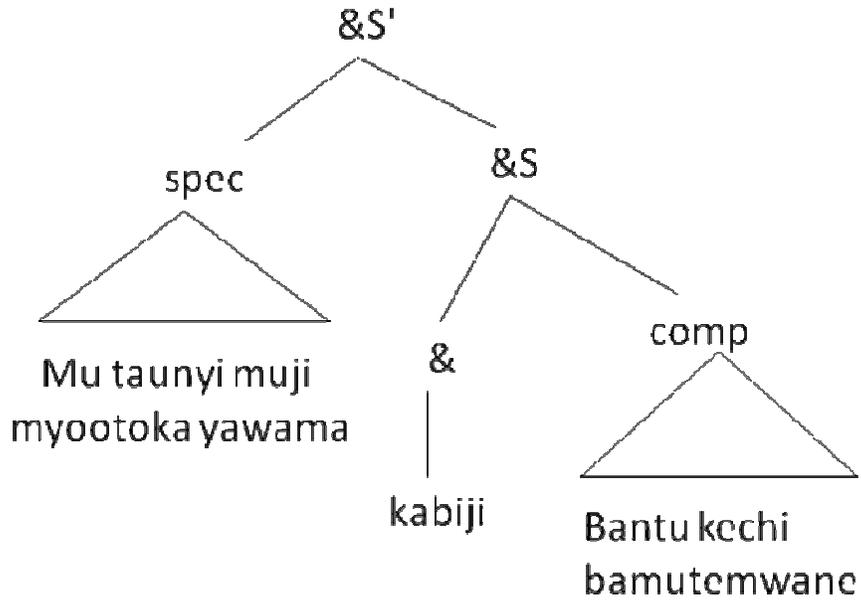


Figure 27: Sentential Coordination

4.6 Agreement in And-Coordination

According to Mathews (2005) agreement or concord is a form of cross-reference between parts of a sentence or phrase. Agreement happens when a word changes form depending on the other words to which it relates. According to Guthrie (1948) in Bantu languages concord is operated by means of prefix agreement, a fact which is one of the criteria used to determine whether or not a given language is to be accepted as Bantu. Kaonde, like all other Bantu languages, has numerous noun classes. Verbs must agree in class with their subjects and objects. The following chart presents these concords out in full. (SC = subject concord, EC = enumerative concord, PC1 = possessed concord, AC = adjective concord, OC1 = first object concord, OC2 = second object concord, PC2 = possessor concord).

Table 5: Concord Chart (Mann and Wright 1977)

class	SC	EC	PC1	AC	OC1	OC2	PC2
1(a,b)	u/a	u	wa	mu	mu	ye	nje
2	ba	ba	ba	ba	iba	bo	bo
3	u/a	u	wa	mu	mu	ye	nje
4	i	i	ya	i	ii	yo	yo
5	ji	ji	ja	ji	iji	jo	jo

6	a	a	aa	a	ia	oo	oo
7	ki	ki	kya	ki	iki	kyo	kyo
8	bi	bi	bya	bi	ibi	byo	byo
9	i	i	ya	i	ii	yo	yo
10	i	i	ya	i	ii	yo	yo
11	lu	lu	lwa	lu	ilu	lo	lo
12	ka	ka	ka	ka	ika	ko	ko
13	tu	tu	twa	tu	itu	to	to
14	bu	bu	bwa	bu	ibu	bo	bo
15	ku	ku	kwa	ku	iku	ko	ko
16	pa	pa	pa	pa	ipa	po	po
17	ku	ku	kwa	ku	iku	ko	ko
18	mu	mu	mwa	mu	imu	mo	mo

According to Mann (1977) as adopted from Carl Meinhoff in his *Ur-Bantu*, nouns in Kaonde (like in all Bantu languages) are divided into classes according to their prefix. Nouns in the same class often, though not always, have something in common. This is a very salient feature of the semantics of classes in Bantu because classes may be used as a way of deriving a lexeme from another lexeme for example to form diminutive, pejorative, abstractions or have honorific reference. Nouns in the same class will often have something in common in their meaning. This is exemplified in chapter one Table four which shows the pairs and their semantic meaning.

According to Wright (2007: 19) “nouns may be represented in a sentence by a number of concordial elements which are identical with or related to the noun prefix. For each class there are forms for subject, for adjective, for object, for possessor and for being possessed.” In the sentences below, verbs agree in class with their subjects and objects nouns using concord makers as shown below.

- (66) **Kilaalo kimo kyabo kisakukwana.**
 [Lit: mat one theirs it-will-be-enough]
 ‘One mat of theirs will be enough’

Sentence (66) will be realized as (67) below in its plural.

(67) **Bilaalo bibiji byabo bisakukwana.**

[Lit: mats two theirs they-will-be-enough]

‘Two mats of theirs will be enough’

This list of class shows that singular-plural discrimination is often correlated with the alteration of prefixes between the two (2) classes in gender, number or case. Thus, certain classes can be labelled ‘singular’ and others ‘plural’. This is apparently confirmed by the use of class 8 (**bi-**) as plural prefix of grammatical number in (67), while class 7 (**ki-**) is used as the singular prefix of the different grammatical number in (66).

Class and number are indicated with prefixes (or sometimes their absence), which are not always the same for nouns, adjectives and verbs. Subjects agree with their verbs, for example, in the sentence below, the subject *-taata* (*father*) agrees with the verb *-ya* (*to go*) in number.

(68) **Bataata baya kukisankanyi.**

[Lit: father he-has-gone to-the-market]

‘My father has gone to the market’

In coordinate structures, the subject and the verb should agree in number to achieve concord. If two NPs are conjoined, they should agree with the verb in number, in this case, the prefix for the verb will be pluralized as the conjoined phrases will be treated as plural. That is, when NPs are coordinated, the agreement appears to be with the whole conjoined phrase as a whole;

(69) [Mulenga] **ne** [Mubambe] **baya** kukisankanyi.

[Lit: Mulenga and Mubambe they-have-gone to-the-market]

‘[Mulenga] **and** [Mubambe] have gone to the market’

(70) [**Bakabwa**] **ne** [**banzolo**] **baji** pangye.

[Lit: dogs and chickens they-are outside]

‘[Dogs] **and** [chickens] are outside’

(71) [**Tupasa twawama**] **ne** [**tupona twawama**] **tutanwa** kukisankanyi.

[Lit: axes good and chairs good they-are-found to-the-market]

[Good axes] **and** [good chairs] are found at the market'

In (69) above, the verb *-ya* has the plural prefix *ba* (class 2) to form *baya* which agrees with the whole conjoined phrase '*Mulenga ne Mubambe*'. Equally, in (70) the nouns '*bakabwa*' and '*banzonlo*' are in the same class - 2. That is, they have the same prefix 'ba', therefore, the verb *-ji* ('are') agrees with the whole NP to be realised as '*baji*'. In (71) the adjective '-wama' (good) and the verb '-tanwa' (found) have the prefix 'tu' to achieve concord with the noun '*tu-pasa*' (axe) and '*tu-pona*' (chair). This is because the two nouns are in class 13.

The above is true when conjuncts are in the same class. However, it becomes problematic when the conjuncts are of different classes. For instance, if you have to conjoin two nouns of different classes, it would be challenging if not impossible for them to agree with the verb. For example;

- (72) (a) Mubambe **uji** pangye. (class 1)
[Lit: Mubambe he-is outside]
'Mubambe is outside'
(b) Kipona **kiji** pangye. (Class 7)
[Lit: chair it-is outside]
'Chair is outside'

In 72 (a) and (b) above, it is difficult to determine the prefix to be taken by the verb when the two clauses are coordinated. This is because the whole noun phrase will be treated as plural. Therefore, (73) below is not acceptable.

- (73) *[Mubambe] **ne** [kipona] **baji** pangye. (Class 2)
[Lit: Mubambe and chair they-are out side]
'Mubambe and chair are outside.'

The problem in (73) above is a semantic one because in Kaonde, like all Bantu languages, the prefixes have pairs of classes which form class genders, and these have a bearing on the concord maker to be used. Thus in the above sentence the concord maker *ba* is defective. Different pairs of classes will have meanings or express meanings that are central to all nouns found in that particular class. Therefore, (73) above is not acceptable because the meaning of the nouns '*Mubambe*' and '*kipona*' are not semantically similar. One denotes human beings while the other denotes animals, respectively. This is so because the pair of the class system expresses semantic meaning with regard to nouns that are found within each pair. That is

nouns in the same class will often have something in common in their meaning (as shown in Table 1 above), hence, the difficulty in pairing two classes with different denotation.

Therefore, one has to use a different strategy in order to coordinate conjuncts of this nature. In this case, one has to avoid conjunction reduction and instead have two separate clauses as exemplified in (74) below.

- (74) (a). [Mubambe uji pangye] **ne** [kipona kiji bangye].
[Lit: Mubambe he-is outside and the chair it-is outside]
'[Mubambe is outside] **and** [the chair is outside]'

Or ideally,

- (b). Mubambe **uji** pangye ne katemo nako **kaji** pangye. (Class 1 and 7, respectively)
[Mubambe he-is outside and axe also it-is outside]
'Mubambe is outside and the axe also is outside'
- (c). **Kapasa kapon**a ne **jibula naajo japo**na. (Class 12 and 5, respectively)
[Lit: the axe ha-fallen and the leaf also it-has fallen]
'The axe has fallen and the leaf has also fallen'
- (d). **Tung`onyi twakyongo** ne **bakoolwe naabo bakyongo**. (Class 13 and 2, respectively)
[Lit: birds they-are-noisy and monkeys also they-are-noisy]
'Birds are noisy and monkeys are also noisy'
- (e). **Bataata bangovu** ne **ng`ombe nayo yangovu**. (Class 2 and 9, respectively)
[Lit: father he-is-strong and the cow also it-is-strong]
'Father is strong and the cow is strong'

If small clauses are conjoined, then plural agreement is impossible; that is, singular agreement is the only option for the sentence to be acceptable.

The noun class system is characterized by agreement with constituents outside the noun phrase based on semanticity and agreement. Nouns in KiKaonde are made up of a prefix and a stem. The stem remains constant and bears the meaning of the word and the prefix can change to show plural or some other modification of the meaning. For example,

Mwana 'child' **Baana** 'children'

‘**mu**’ and ‘**ba**’ (Class 1 and 2, respectively) are variable prefixes of the invariable stem ‘-**ana**’. The prefix in this case is therefore important as it gives a stem its grammatical form, that is, either plural or singular. All other parts of speech (outside the noun phrase) have to agree with the noun prefix as shown in (70) and (71) above.

4.7 Semantic Analysis of And-Coordination

In linguistics, semantics is the study of meaning in linguistic expressions, as inherent at the level of words, phrases and sentences (Mathews 2005). That is, the study of meaning of linguistic units and the relations they exhibit in a natural language. In this case, one looks for general rules that bring out the relationship between form which is the observed arrangement of words in sentences and meaning. The idea that meaningful units combine systematically to form larger units, and understanding sentences is a way of working out the combination, is probably the most important theme in semantics. This section discusses the semantic functions of *and-coordinators* (*ne*, *na*, and *kabiji*) in Kaonde by assigning meaning to phrases and sentences based on their syntax.

To start with, the variants of the *and-equivalent* in Kaonde may express different meanings in a conjunction. In coordinating predicates the conjoined predicates may be described as sharing the same subject. This is because for coordination of two or more predicates to take place, they must be coreferential with the subject of the other. For example:

(75) Bansonwakazhi basatu [bakelelwe] **kabiji** [bebajimwine].

[Lit: girls three they-were-late and they-were-punished]

‘Three girls came late **and they** were punished.’

In (75) the subject of the second predicate *bebajimwine* is coreferential with the subject of the first predicate *bakelelwe*. Thus (75) is synonymous to (76) below which differs from it only in that a coreferential *lbe/* ‘they’ is inserted before the second verb *-ba-jimwine* ‘were punished’.

(76) [Bansonwakazhi basatu bakelelwe] **kabiji** [bansonwakazhi basatu bebajimwine].

[Lit: girls three they-were-late and girls three they-were-punished]

‘[Three girls came late] **and** [three girls were punished].’

In (75) the conjuncts are predicates. That is, in (75) there is one clause with conjoined predicates as can be seen below.

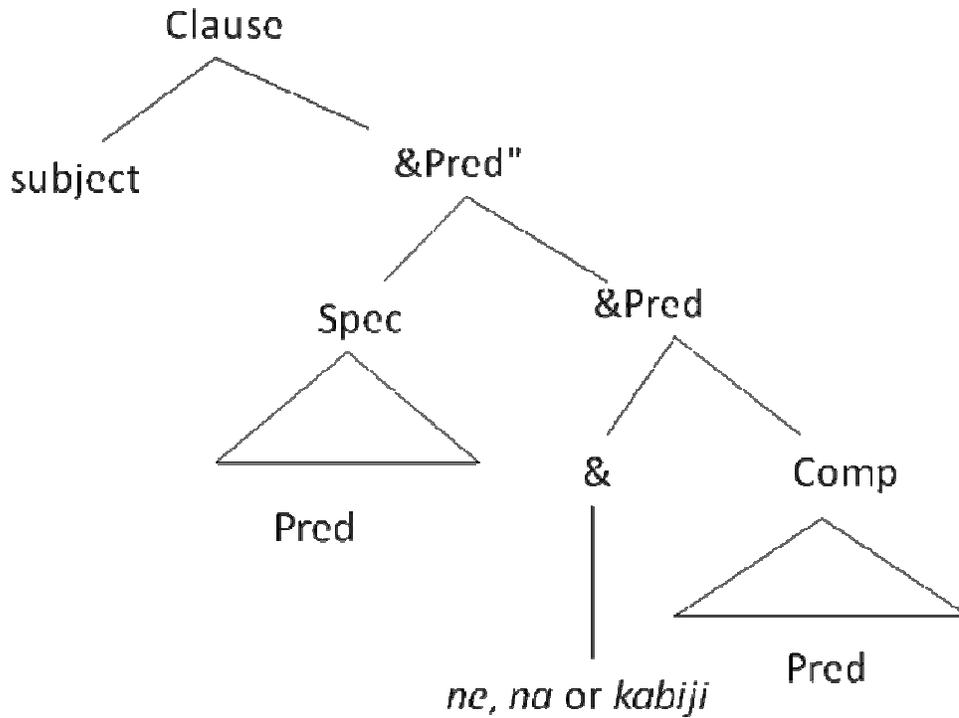


Figure 28: Coordination of Predicates

In (75) on the other hand, the conjuncts are clauses. That is, two clauses have been conjoined together by a conjunction as shown in Figure 29 below.

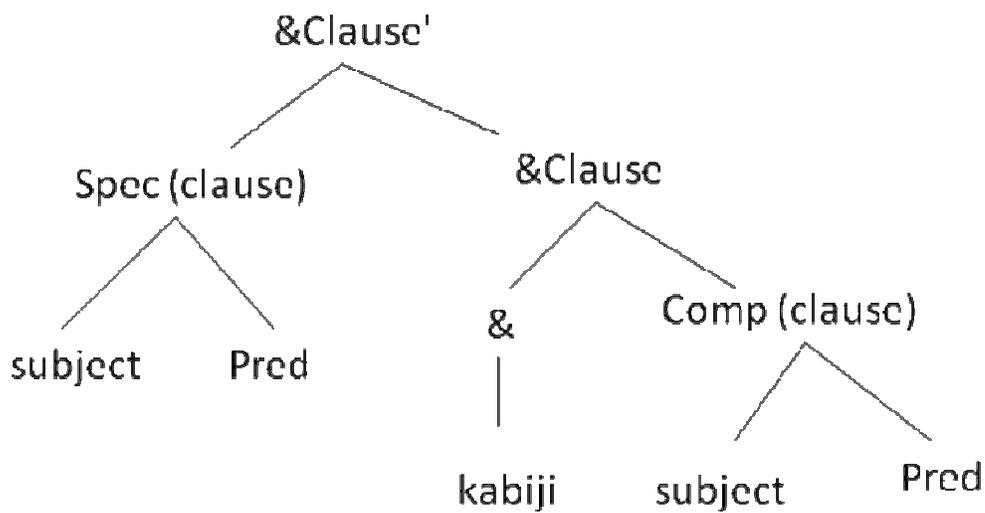


Figure 29: Coordination of Clauses

Because the conjoined predicates will show different activities, they may logically convey (for declarative clauses) different semantic implications of the coordinate structure according to our presupposition and knowledge of the world. The relation connoted by the link between two or more conjuncts may vary. Thus the general principle of communicative dynamism determines that when two or more units are coordinated, the second is placed in focus of the background of the first (Quick and Greenbaum 1973). Coordinated predicates, therefore, may even depart from their original meaning to mean chronological sequence, result, contrast, condition or pure addition.

For instance, coordination may show chronological sequence in that events are put in the order in which they occur in time. For instance, in 77 (a) and (b) the second clauses are chronologically sequent to the first.

(77) (a) Watwela, ne kwikala.

[Lit: s/he-entered and s/he-sat down]

‘[s/he entered] **and** [sat down]’

(b) Kamono waoovwele mwaana *nekumwivwika* bivwaalo.

[Lit: kamono she-washed child and dressed-it cloths]

‘Kamono [washed the child] **and** [dressed it].’

In 77 (a) and (b), *the entering* and *washing of the child* happened first then *the sitting down* and *the dressing* later, respectively. Thus if, for instance, the second clause in 77 (b) is tense-marked to indicate that its content is prior chronologically, coordination of the two clauses is unacceptable in the intended meaning as in (78) below.

(78) *Kamono wavwikile mwaana bivwaalo *nekumoomvwa*.

[Lit: kamono she-dressed up the child cloths and-to-washed-it]

‘Kamono [dressed up the child] **and** [washed it].’

Furthermore, coordinate structures may imply sequence and result. For example, in (79) below, the first conjunct presents the circumstance (frequently the circumstantial

background) enabling the event described in the second conjunct to take place. This entails that the order of clauses also reflects chronological sequence.

(79) Bamuzhootwele nekujila wajijile.

[Lit: s/he-was-pinched and s/he-cried]

‘[S/he was pinched] **and** [s/he cried]’

In (79) *the pinching* triggers *the crying* thereby conveying a ‘cause and effect’ relationship between conjuncts. (79) exemplifies scene-setting coordination (SceCo), where the predicate in the first conjunct seems to set the scene for the action denoted by the verb in the second conjunct to take place. The conjuncts are intrinsically temporally ordered and always occur in a temporally dependent sequence.

And-coordination can also be additive. For instance, the second clause in (80) is a ‘pure’ addition to the first, the only requirement being that the two statements are congruent in meaning.

(80) [Peter uji namyootoka yavula] **kabiji** [uji na maali].

[Lit: Peter he-is motor-cars a lot and he-has money]

‘[Peter has a lot of motor cars] **and** money]’

Generally, in such kind of coordination the conjuncts can be reversed without changing the meaning. For instance, sentence (80) above can be rewritten as in (81) without necessarily changing the meaning.

(81) [Peter uji na maali] **kabiji** [uji namyootoka yavula].

[Lit: Peter he-is with money and he-is with-motor-cars a lot]

‘[Peter has money] and [has a lot of motor cars].’

Thus, (80) and (81) can be formalized as;

A + conjunction + B = B+ conjunction + A

However, this potentially is dependent on the relationship of the meaning between the coordinated units as discussed in this chapter above. For instance, (82) is not acceptable.

(82) *Wamwipaya **ne** kumwiipaya, wamupumine mumutwe.

[Lit: s/he-killed-her/him and to-kill-her/him, s/he-hit-her/him in-head]

‘[S/he killed him/her] **and** [hit him/her in the head].’

Although the *and-equivalent* coordinators in Kaonde have the most general meaning and use, the only restriction on the use of *ne*, *na* or *kabiji* is the pragmatic one. For instance, (83) below is odd because it poses challenges to find any connection between the clauses;

(83) *[Awe nsongwakazhi walamba] **kabiji** [bantu bonse bengijila pamo].

[Lit: this girl is-pretty and people all they-work together]

‘[This girl is pretty] **and** [all people work together]’

Sentence (83) above is not acceptable because the conjuncts have no sufficient background in common to justify their combination. Thus, it is odd to conjoin the two conjuncts simply because it would be difficult to find any connection between the content of the conjuncts (Quick and Greenbaum 1973).

4.8 Summary

This chapter presented an analysis and discussion of the data collected on *and-coordination* in Kaonde. It provided coordinated structures in Kaonde that make use of *and* as a coordinating conjunction. It began by identifying *and-coordinator(s)*, that is, coordinator(s) that are equivalent to *and* in Kaonde, and these are *ne* and *kabiji*. Further, it categorised the coordinate structures according to their types and gave an account of coordinated structures in Kaonde. For instance, it was observed that lexical or phrasal categories such as nouns (N) and noun phrases (NP), verbs (V) and verb phrases (VP), Adjectives (Adj) and adjective phrases (AP) and prepositional phrases (PP) can be coordinated to form larger syntactic units of the same category. Clauses and/or sentences will be combined to form larger syntactic units such as compound and complex sentences. Furthermore, it discussed the nature of *and-coordination* in Kaonde using Government and Binding theory. Conjuncts in Kaonde are often alike in syntactic category. Lastly, it was observed that other than connecting constituents, *and-coordinators* will express different semantic functions. For instance, coordination may show chronological sequence or may imply sequence and result. This may occur in an event where the first conjunct presents the circumstance enabling the event described in the second conjunct to take place. Additionally, coordination may also show a ‘cause and effect’ relationship where the predicate in the first conjunct seems to set the scene for the action denoted by the verb in the second conjunct to take place.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 General

This chapter concludes the whole study by discussing the findings of the investigation in summary and, thereafter, provides some recommendations for further studies on the study of coordination not only in Kaonde but also in other Bantu languages.

5.1 Summary of the Findings of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the nature of *and-coordination* in Kaonde. In order to meet this goal, firstly, the study sought to identify *and-coordinators* in Kaonde. That is, it tried to identify coordinators in Kaonde that are equivalent to ‘*and*’ in English. From the study, it was observed that Kaonde has about two (2) forms or variants of the coordinator ‘*and*’. These include; *ne* and *kabiji*. When coordinating elements, the variants of the coordinator ‘*and*’ will be used depending on the nature of conjuncts. For example, the form of ‘*and*’ used for joining adjectives and that for verbs is different. The one used for common is different from the one used when conjoining proper nouns. *Kabiji* which has the near translation of ‘again’ is used to coordinate adjectives and some clauses. It is, however, not always used as a coordinator. *Ne*, which is also realized as the adposition *na* ‘with’, is used to conjoin common nouns. It is also used to conjoin verbs, and is usually attached to the second conjunct as an adjunct with the infinitive ‘*ku*’ (‘*to*’). Note that *na* and *ne* will be used to conjoin words that begin in a vowel sound. The one to be used among the three will depend on the phonology of the words that follows it.

Secondly, the study sought to identify conjuncts that are coordinated by *and-equivalent* in Kaonde. It was established that any lexical or phrasal category can be coordinated by either *ne*, *na*, *kabiji* or nothing at all in Kaonde; lexical categories, phrasal categories and clausal or sentential categories. For lexical categories, content words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions can be conjoined by a coordinator (*na*, *ne* and *kabiji*) to form a coordinate structure. Most of these categories will be coordinated according to their kind, hence, coordination of likes. Noun phrases (NP), verb phrases (VP), adjective phrases (AP) and prepositional phrases (PP) can also be conjuncts. In the same vein, sentences can also be conjoined to form larger sentences. The focus on sentential conjunction is from a view that only sentences are conjoined in the underlying structure. It is therefore through the process of conjunction reduction that the surface structures of the sentences are produced. Thus, the process also referred to as a conjunction reduction.

Thirdly, the study sought to examine how and when the coordinators *na*, *ne* and *kabiji* are used in Kaonde. From the data collected and analyzed, it was observed that coordinators are used whenever one needs to connect or link two or more linguistic units. When expressing meaning that is coordinated, Kaonde speakers will use conjunctions such as the ones stated above. However, conjunctions will not always be used when conjoining conjuncts especially when they are sentences. Conjunctions coordinate at least two linguistic units and these are usually equal or similar in status, hence, coordination of likes. However, sometime conjuncts are not like categories. For instance, one can coordinate a noun and an adjective phrase, hence coordination of unlikes.

In a coordinate structure, the conjunction will usually appear after every conjunct added to it. Hence the structure;

Item + item + item + item,

This shows that most coordinate structures in Kaonde are polysyndetic when one has more than two items to conjoin. When coordinating sentences no conjunctions are visibly present in most cases. Therefore, coordination of sentences is usually asyndetic because no conjunctions are overtly used; otherwise, all coordinate structures are asyndetically coordinated. Note that, an element from one conjunct cannot be moved out of that structure.

In addition, the study sought to examine the nature of coordinate structures in Kaonde. It was observed that a coordinate structure is usually made up of at least two conjuncts (which can either be lexical categories, phrasal categories, clauses or sentences) and a conjunction. The conjuncts will be conjoined together by a conjunction to form one larger linguistic unit of the same kind. This generalization may be formalized as the following phrase structure rule, where α is any phrasal category, lexical category, clause or sentence;

$$\alpha \rightarrow \alpha \{na/ne/kabiji\} \alpha$$

This covers the more straight forward kind of coordination where you have linguistic units of equal status, that is, coordination of likes. It should be noted that the conjuncts each time there is coordination are indisputably constituents.

Lastly, it was observed that conjunctions play a very important role in ensuring that coordinated meaning is expressed. The study explored semantic functions of and-coordination in Kaonde. It was observed that *and*-coordination denotes a relationship

between and/or among conjuncts in a sentence. The conjunctions may show a *cause and effect* relationship between conjuncts. They are also used to show chronological sequence, contrast, condition or simply addition. Thus, by linking conjuncts in a coordinate structure, they establish relationships that otherwise are not easy to understand.

5.2 Recommendations

Conducting this study has shown that there is a lot that can be done on the topic of coordination in Kaonde. Looking at the scope of this study, it is very clear that there are a number of areas that can be investigated in order to have a broader understanding of this phenomenon. There is need to conduct further studies on coordination in Kaonde. This should be aimed at investigating the whole process of coordination which includes '*or*' and '*but*'.

Because it has been observed that coordination is language specific, there is need to investigate comparatively the phenomenon of coordination in Kaonde and coordination in other languages. This is important in that it will help establish whether or not coordination in Kaonde resembles or differs from that of other languages, and establish the degree of similarity and/ or differences if at all there are any resemblances or differences.

There is also a need to conduct a study that will analyse coordinate structure constraints. This is important as it will account for the correct distribution of grammatical sentences which incorporate the coordinating conjunction in Kaonde. This should provide explicit rules which can assign structural description to coordinating conjunctions so that the well-formedness of a compound sentence or phrase will be determined on the basis of grammatical description.

Although this study has tried to look at agreement in coordinate structures, there is need to extensively examine Concord/Agreement in Kaonde coordinate structures. This can be a very interesting topic owing to the fact that concord in Kaonde like all Bantu languages is achieved through affixation based on the class system.

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APPENDICES

The data presented here employs the convention whereby the conjuncts of coordinate structures are marked using square brackets. The coordinate structure each time includes all the material that follows the left-most square bracket and precedes the right-most square bracket. The coordinators appear in italics and bold scripts between the conjuncts. The data is presented in tabular form and they are put according to the nature of coordinate structures they belong to. There are basically three columns; the first is for serial numbers, the second is for the text form and the third one is for glossing. In the column for glossing, some texts have been literally translated for the sake of clarity.

Appendix 1: Coordination of Parts of Noun Phrases

Serial number	Kaonde	Gloss
1	[Mukwemba] <i>ne</i> [bakwaabo] baya ku sukuulu. N + NP	[Mukwemba] <i>and</i> [his friends] have gone to school.
2	[Kamono] <i>ne</i> [bakwaabo] bansonwakazhi] baatemwa kukaya mpila. N + NP	[Kimono] <i>and</i> [her girlfriends] like playing football.
3	Mose waafyamina [Mukwemba] <i>ne</i> [Jilanda]. N + N	Moses is hiding from [Mukwemba] <i>and</i> [Jilanda].
4	[Mukwemba] <i>ne</i> [Mose] <i>ne</i> [Jilanda] baana baba Mutobwe. N + N + N	[Mukwemba] <i>and</i> [Moses] <i>and</i> [Jilanda] are children of Mr. Mutobwe.
5	Monai [ba Kyembe] <i>ne</i> [baana ba sukuulu] baavwaala tuputula. NP + NP	Look, [Mr. Kyembe] <i>and</i> [school going children] are wearing shorts.
6	Bantu bateemwa kupotesha masabi pa kisankanyi, mambo baavula baatemwa bingi kuja [nshima] <i>na</i> [masabi]. N + N	Many people like selling fish at the market because they like eating [nshima] <i>and</i> [fish] very much.
7	Ba Mutobwe baalama [baan'ombe] <i>ne</i>	Mr Mutobwe keeps [cattle] <i>and</i>

	[bambuzhi] ne [mikoko]. N + N	[goats] and [sheep].
8	Baana baba Mutobwe bomvwina bibafunda [bashaabo] ne [bainaabo]. NP + NP	Mr. Mutobwe's children listens to what they are taught by [their father] and [their mother].
9	Leelo bashaabo basakuja [nshima ya mataba] ne [masabi aaji kuloba Mose]. NP + NP	Today, their father is going to eat [nshima from maize] and [fish that Moses caught].
10	[Nshima] na [nzolo] yawaama bingi. N + N	[Nshima] and [chicken] is very tasty.
11	Monai [banzolo] ne [bambuzhi] babeena kuja kajo kapusana-pusana. N + N	Look, [chickens] and [goats] are eating different kinds of food.
12	...abe baabakazhi nbasende maali ne kuya na kupota [bivwaalo] ne [bukula]. N + N	These women have gotten money to go and buy [cloths] and [mealie-meal].
13	[Awe waumulume] ne [mukazhanji] baiya na mootoka waabo. NP + NP	[This man] and [his wife] have come with their motor car.
14	[Bafunjishi bonse] ne [banasi bonse] basebenza ku kafulumende. NP + NP	[All the teachers] and [all the nurses] work for the government.
15	Bantu baavula ku muzhi baja [nshima] na [nyama]. N + N	Most of the people in the village eat [nshima] and [meat].
16	Muntu yense uji [na matwi abiji] ne [moona umo] ne [meenso abiji] ne [nshingo imo]. NP + NP	Every person has [two ears] and [one [nose] and [two eyes] and [one neck].
17	[Muke] ne [bakwaabo] baya ku sukuulu na kufunda. NP + NP	[Muke] and [his friends] have gone to school to learn.
18	[Satana] ne [bantu banji] byo bakakeba	When [Satan] and [his people] want

	kulukuka bantu ba Lesa,... NP + NP	to persecute God's people...
19	Anna wapotele [jilaya] <i>ne</i> [nsapato] <i>ne</i> [kakosa ka mu mukoshi] <i>ne</i> [siketi]. NP + NP	Anna bought [a dress], [a pair of shoes], [a necklace] <i>and</i> [a skirt].
20	Kuji [ba Bemba] <i>ne</i> [ba Loshi] <i>ne</i> [ba Kaonde] <i>ne</i> [ba ngonyi] <i>ne</i> [ba Tumbuka] <i>ne</i> [ba Tonga].	There are [Bembas], [Lozis], [Kaonde], [Ngonis], [Chewas], [Tumbukas] <i>and</i> [Tongas].
21	[Naomi] <i>ne</i> [Judith] <i>ne</i> [Maria] <i>ne</i> [Juliet] bo bansongwakazhi. N + N + N	The noisy girls are [Naomi], [Judith], [Mary] and [Juliet].
22	[Aye] <i>ne</i> [bamwatawanji] <i>ne</i> [ba mfumu] batatwile kuja. NP + NP	[She], [her husband] <i>and</i> [the chief] begun to eat.
23	[Nkasobe Ndoti] <i>ne</i> [nyengoobe] babena kuya ku sukulu. NP + NP	Well, [your little brother Ndoti] <i>and</i> [your sister] are leaving for school.
24	Ba Shalunango babukiletu lukeelo-keelo batola [katemo], [jifumo] <i>ne</i> [ngonga],... N + N + N	Shalunango woke up early in the morning got [an axe], [a spear] <i>and</i> [a string].

Appendix 2: Coordination of Verb Phrases

Serial number	Kaonde	Gloss
1	Ba Matana [bafunjisha bansongwakazhi kuteeka] <i>ne</i> [kupyanga mu nzubo]. VP + VP	Matana [teaches girls to cook] <i>and</i> [sweep the house]
2	Kamono ne Kapwamichi [bakwashako bainaabo kupyanga mu nzubo] <i>ne</i> [kuchapa bivwalo]. VP + VP	Kamono and Kapwichi [help their mother to sweep the house] <i>and</i> [wash cloths]
3	...abe baana [bakwashaako bansemi yaabo kujima] <i>ne</i> [kupotesha bishu kukisankanyi] <i>ne</i> [kutwa mataba]. VP + VP + VP	These children [help their parents to cultivate] <i>and</i> [sell vegetables at the market] <i>and</i> [to pound maize]
4	Bakwashaako bashaabo [kutwaala baan'ombe na kuja], [kufina mukaka] <i>ne</i> [kuloba masabi]. VP + VP + VP	They [help their father to take cattle for grazing], [milk cows] <i>and</i> [catch fish]
5	Ku sukuulu banyike [bafunda kuteeka], [kupuanga], [kunemba], [kupama mpila] <i>ne</i> [bintu byaapusana pusana]. VP + VP + VP + VP	At school youngsters [learn to cook, sweep], [write], [play soccer] <i>and</i> [other different things].
6	Ba Mutobwe bafunjisha baana baabo [kujima bishu byakupotesha] <i>ne</i> [kuloba masabi]. VP + VP	Mr. Mutobwe teaches his children to [grow vegetables for sale] <i>and</i> [catch fish].
7	Bafunda [kukaya mpila ya kumaboko] <i>ne</i> [kuteeka] <i>ne</i> [kupyanga]. VP + VP + VP	They learn how to [play netball] <i>and</i> [cook] <i>and</i> [sweep].
8	Bansongwakazhi bakwashaako	Girls help their mothers to [pound

	bainaabo [kutwa mataba] <i>ne</i> [kutapula meema]. VP + VP	maize] <i>and</i> [fetch water].
9	Bansongwlume naabo bakwashaako bashaabo [kuchaaba nkunyi] <i>ne</i> [kutunga mazubo]. VP + VP	Boys also help their fathers to [collect firewood] <i>and</i> [build houses].
10	Bantu baavula kumuzhi baayuuka [kuluka bibango] <i>ne</i> [kubumba mapuki]. VP + VP	Many people in the village know how to [neat baskets] <i>and</i> [mould pots].
11	Bansongwalume [bafunda kuluka mape] <i>ne</i> [kutunga mazubo]. VP + VP	Boys [learn how to neat baskets] <i>and</i> [build houses]
12	Mujilo wawaama mambo [tuteekapo nshima] <i>ne</i> [kusokapo mataba]. VP + VP	Fire is good because we use it for [cooking nshima] <i>and</i> [roast maize]
13	Awe nsomgwalume [waaji kuponena ku jibwe] <i>ne</i> [kwiikozha mu jinungo]. VP + VP	This boy [fell on the stone] <i>and</i> [hurt his knee].
14	Watoleele bukonde <i>ne</i> kutwala ku bashaanji. VP + VP	He [got the net] <i>and</i> [took it to his father].
15	Natemwa kufwenka <i>ne</i> kwendesha nkinga. VP + VP	I [like swimming] <i>and</i> [riding bicycles].
16	Bamupakyo, waya <i>ne</i> kuya. VP + VP	s/he [has been give] <i>and</i> [has gone].
17	“Bantu baiyanga nakutambula kajo nenyama <i>ne</i> kutoma maalwa babakazhi...” VP + VP	People [would come to get [food <i>and</i> meat]] <i>and</i> [drink beer]
18	Bukijitu wanyemejile kunzubo <i>ne</i> kutwela mukachi moaketekele kumvwa juwi jabainanji... VP + VP	Quickly he [rushed home] <i>and</i> [entered inside] where he expected to hear his mother`s voice...

19	[Wajinga na mooyo], [[wafukama] <i>ne</i> panshi]] <i>ne</i> [kushinka menso <i>ne</i> kutatula kuloomba]]. VP + VP	[He was afraid], [he knelt down], [closed his eyes] <i>and</i> [started praying].
20	Ba muka Mumba [baovwele kumenso] <i>ne</i> [kusakula nsuki]. VP + VP	Mrs Mumba [washed her face] <i>and</i> [combed her hair].
21	Pakufika kimanda babalume bapoyele kilende <i>nekulaajika</i> kikonde mumanda... VP + VP	Upon reaching the grave yard, men [dug a grave] <i>and</i> [layed the corpse in the grave]...

Appendix 3: Coordination of Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

Serial number	Kaonde	Gloss
1	Myootoka [yawaama] <i>kabiji</i> [yaatama].Adj + Adj	Motor cars are [good] <i>and</i> [bad].
2	Mazubo aamalata [aakosa] <i>kabiji</i> [awaama]. Adj + Adj	Iron roofed houses are [strong] <i>and</i> [good].
3	Nasaka [kicheche] <i>ne</i> [kikatampe].	I want [a small] <i>and</i> [a big one].
4	Aye maalwa [ashinta] <i>kabiji</i> [akaji sana]. Adj + Adj	This beer is [intoxicating] <i>and</i> [very strong].
5	Mukazhami [walaamba] <i>kabiji</i> [yatooka]. Adj + Adj	My wife is [beautiful] <i>and</i> [light].
6	Baataata [baleepa] <i>kabiji</i> [bangovu]. Adj + Adj	My father is [tall] <i>and</i> [powerful].
7	Mpenai mango [yabaya] <i>kabiji</i> [yapya]. Adj + Adj	Give me mango which is [big] <i>and</i> [ripe].
8	Muke [wajimuka] <i>kabiji</i> [wamaana]. Adj + Adj	Muke is [smart] <i>and</i> [intelligent].
9	Kwajinga [tomato ibiji] <i>ne</i> [kanyense usatu]. AP + AP	There was [two tomatoes] <i>and</i> [three onion].
10	[Bantu banga] <i>ne</i> [bakabwa banga]? AP + AP	[How many people] <i>and</i> [how many dogs]?
11	Nasaka [wangovu] <i>kabiji</i> [waleepa]. AP + AP	I want a [powerful] <i>and</i> [tall one].
12	Kuji [bantu batanu], [mikoka makumi	There are [five people], [thirty

	asatu] <i>ne</i> [bambuzhi kitota kimo]. AP + AP	sheep] <i>and</i> [one hundred goats].
13	Kino kichi [kyaleepa] <i>kabiji</i> [kyakosa]. Adj + Adj	This tree is [tall] <i>and</i> [strong].
14	Ba Kyembe [bakooka] <i>kabiji</i> [bakajipa] mambo batana kunzhubo kafwako bantune. AP + AP	My father is [tired] <i>and</i> [annoyed] because he found nobody at home.
15	Bataata bapota mutanganyika [wamuteengo] <i>kabiji</i> [mupya]. AP + AP	My father has bought [an expensive] and [new trousers].
16	Wajinga [utooka byonka byanjingatu bashanji] <i>ne</i> [mubij mukatampe] pamotu nebashanji nebainanji. AP + AP	He was [light just like his father] <i>and</i> [huge like his father and mother]

Appendix 4: Coordination of Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

Serial number	Kaonde	Gloss
1	Bafunjisha banyike kukaya bulongo na balwabo [ku sukuulu] <i>ne</i> [ku nzubo]. PP + PP	He/she teaches the children the to play well with others [at school] <i>and</i> [at home]
2	Kupaana mushingi [ku bansemi] <i>ne</i> [kubakulumpe] kintu kyanema bingi. PP + PP	Giving respect [to parents] <i>and</i> [to elders] is an important thing
3	Bantu baya na nkinga [ku kisanakanyi] <i>ne</i> [ku kipateela]. PP + PP	People go with bicycles [to the market] <i>and</i> [to the hospital].
4	[Mu taunyi] <i>ne</i> [mumizhi] kuji baakapokola bamona myootoka. PP + PP	.[In town] <i>and</i> [in villages] there are police officers
5	Hotela iji ku bushiya bwa mukwakwa <i>nekubwipi</i> na chichi. PP + PP	The hotel is [across the road] <i>and</i> [next to the church].
6	wa [twelele mukachi] <i>ne</i> [kufuma] bukiji bukiji. PP + PP	He went [in] <i>and</i> [out] quickly.
7	Biseela [Mukapyantoto] <i>ne</i> [mumankumbinkumbi] bya wamine.	The games [in June] <i>and</i> [July] were nice.
9	Waambilega [ne Bibusa] <i>ne</i> [Ben]. PP + PP	She talked [with Bibusa] <i>and</i> [Ben].
10	Waile ku [southAfrica], [Malawi] <i>ne</i>	He went to [South Africa], [Malawi]

	[Zimbabwe]. PP + PP	<i>and</i> [Zimbabwe].
11	Tala [pa tebulu] <i>ne</i> [mu filigi]. PP + PP	Check [on the table] <i>and</i> [inside the refrigerator].

Appendix 5: Coordination of Clauses/Sentential Constituent

Serial number	Kaonde	Gloss
1	[Kimye kimo ba Mukwemba ne ba Mose baya na kumona bipama bakulumpe mpila]. Kabiji [kimye kimo baya na kumona bisankanyi biji mu taunyi]. Clause + Clause	[At times Mukwemba and Mose go to watch soccer]. [And at other times they go and window shop].
2	[Mu taunyi muji myootoka yaavula bingi]. Kabiji [mu taunyi muji mikwaakwa yawaama]. Clause + Clause	[They are many motor cars in town]. And [they are many roads in town].
3	[Muloolo nyama waatama bingi] kabiji [bantu kechi baa mutemwane].	[A snake is a very bad animal] and [people do not like it].
4	[Kimye kimo baja nshima na masabi]. Kabiji [kimwe kikwabo baja nshima na nyama]. Clause + Clause	[At times they eat nshima with fish]. And [at other times they eat nshima with meat].
5	Bapwiisha kaala mwingilo waabo nekuya baya.	[They have already finished their work] and [they have already gone].
6	[Yobe nganyi] kabiji [wikala kwepi]? Clause + Clause	[Who are you] and [where do you live]?
7	[Mashinda onse akwibakebelamo akankelwe] kabiji [nebantu mumizhi ikwabo bebabujile byakubula kumona ba Shalunango]. Clause + Clause	[All the means of searching for him failed] and also [people in the villages were informed about the missing of Shalunango].
8	[Waumvwine kyongo] ne [kutumina ba kapokola]. Clause + Clause	[He heard an explosion] and [phoned the police].

9	[Waesekela bingi] ne [kukankalwa]. Clause + Clause	[She tried hard] and [she failed].
10	Mpene maali, nsaku kukwasha kunyema. Clause + Clause	[Give me some money] and [I'll help you escape].
11	Twayai tumupene maali, keusakubulako bantu bakwabo byo twaubilene. Clause + Clause	[Let's give him some money] and [he won't tell anybody what we did].
12	Pakubwela pamuzhi [bantu baikele nabulanda] kabiji [balaajile pangye mulungu mutuntulu]. Clause + Clause	When getting back to the village [people were very sad] and [they slept outside for thee whole week].
13	[Ba Lufuyo bajinga bankambo yanji...] kabiji [kechi bamujile amba bainobe bafwa]... Clause + Clause	[“Lufuyo was his grandmother...” and [she did not tell his that his mother had died”]...
14	Bana ba sukulu bamwene byaubilwe batatula nekuseka. Clause + Clause	The pupils saw what happened and they started laughing.
15	Ee, navuluka bulongo, kwajinga kichi kwa mango kyabaya pa nzubo yenu.	Yes I remember clearly, there used to be a big mango tree in your yard.
16	[...byatemwa kulondelamo] kabiji [bibinda kechi byendala peepine]... Clause + Clause	...[they like tracking them] and [hunters do not hunt near by]...

<p>17</p>	<p>[Bantu mumuzhi mwaba Kyapamelu bonse bakubwilenga buya bwanji] <i>kabiji</i> [wakomenenga nalusekeelo]. Clause + Clause</p>	<p>[All the people in Kyapamelu`s village used to admire his beauty] <i>and</i> [he grow up to be charming].</p>
<p>18</p>	<p>[Ba Shalunango bajinga bakibinda bakatampe bingi] <i>kabiji</i> [muyoyo mphuzha bayukwanyikilwe kyabaya bingi kubantu]. Clause + Clause</p>	<p>[Mr Shalunango was a very big hunter] <i>and</i> [he was well known by people in that area].</p>
<p>19</p>	<p>[Ino yajinga mulanguluko yalangulukilenga ba Kyapamelu] <i>kabiji</i> [kechi mumeeso mwaishile tulone]. Clause + Clause</p>	<p>[This was what Kyapamelu was thinking] <i>and</i> [she could not sleep].</p>
<p>20</p>	<p>[Nanchi munzubo yabo kimye kyonse mwapyanga maalwa] <i>kabiji</i> [bantu batemwene bingi bano bantu...] Clause + Clause</p>	<p>[So there used to be beer in their house everytime] <i>and</i> [people liked these people very much].</p>

Appendix 6: Coordination Unlikes

Serial number	Kaonde	Gloss
1	Bill uji [mulukatazho] <i>kabiji</i> [ubena kweseka kutana kwakunyemena] – PP + VP	Bill is [in trouble] <i>and</i> [trying to come up with an excuse]. - PP + VP
12	Sam wiingila [bufuku] <i>kabiji</i> [pakibelushi]. – Adv + PP	Sam works [evenings] <i>and</i> [on weekends]. - Adv + PP
3	Baile [mambo na byakuja] <i>kabiji</i> [basakile kusunga maali]. – P + Clause	They are leaving [due to the weather] <i>and</i> [because they want to save money]. - PP + Clause
4	[Bafumine pamuzhi] <i>kabiji</i> [bantu bonse bebalondejile]. – VP + Clause	They [left the village] <i>and</i> [everyone followed them too]. –VP + Clause
5	[Mukeye keesha] <i>kabiji</i> [nepakina]. Clause + PP	[Come tomorrow] <i>and</i> [also on Thursday].