

THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN TONGA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Edith Sikota, declare that this dissertation represents my own work, unless in parts so acknowledged and that it has not been submitted for any scholarly work at the University of Zambia or any other University.

Signed

Date

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

This dissertation for Edith Sikota is approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science (Taught) by the University of Zambia.

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ABSTRACT

In Tonga of Zambia, there has not been a detailed account of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses exploring the structure and the various meanings different subtypes communicate. There is very little representation at syntax and semantics levels of the analysis of adverbial clauses in Tonga. This study provides a detailed account of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. It uses a descriptive research design in the analysis of both the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses.

At syntactic level, the research has found that adverbial clause types are not limited to a single order. The arrangement of constituents varies. Some clause types permit argument fronting while others do not. Although temporal, purpose, conditional, concessive, reason and place clauses can either be preposed or postposed, the ordering of these clauses in Tonga seem to be highly motivated by a number of factors such as the logical sequence of the events, complexity, focus, emphasis and the conjunction and elements signalling the adverbial clauses. With tense sequence, the study has shown that there is a general rule; the copy-rule by the adverbial clause of tense of the main clause verb for most adverbial types. However, there is also a wide range of tense sequences in clauses of reason, purpose, place, and condition. The mood varies considerably, depending on the effect of the syntactic expression. There are also conjunctions that govern particular moods. The study has also revealed that very few adverbial clause subtypes in the language solely use syntactic means, a few use both syntactic and morphological means while many adverbial clauses are signalled by morphological means alone.

Under semantics, the study has established several types of adverbial clauses. The study has revealed that there are several specific meanings expressed by various semantic interpretations of adverbial clauses, guided by the subordinating conjunctions and verb forms used. The study has also revealed that some conjunctions are polyfunctional. Semantic analysis has used the principle of compositionality in which the meaning of a complex expression is determined by the meanings of its constituent expressions and the rules used to combine them.

DEDICATION

To my husband, Mr I.P. Habwanda; the children, Beenzu, Moobola, Ethel, Richard, Kazela and Namausya; and all those that cherish linguistics and African languages. To Mainza, I say, ‘May Your Soul Rest in Eternal Peace’.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACC – accusative case

ADJ - adjective

Adv – adverb

Agr – agreement

Asp – aspect

Cl. – class (noun class)

comp – complementiser

CONJ – conjunction

END – ending (a morpheme that marks the end of a verbal: -e = generally subjunctive,

-a = indicative, -i = discontinued negative morpheme

EXT – Extension (verb extension – which is a derivational suffix for verbs)

Hf – hodiernal future

Hp – hodiernal past

IND – indicative (mood)

INF - infinitive

Loc - locative prefix functioning as a preposition in English

MCVP – main clause verb phrase

Mod – mood

Neg – negative morpheme or marker

NOM - nominative

NP – noun phrase

OM – object marker

PASS - passive

Perf – perfective mood or verb extension

Pers. - person

Pl. - plural

pHf – posthodiernal future

pHp – prehodiernal past

PMod – potential mood

PP – preposition phrase

PreSM – pre-subject marker

pro – small pro (representation of pronominals as used in GB)

PROG – progressive aspect

P/ END – post ending

P/Subj – post subject

S – sentence

Subj – subject

SUBJ – subjunctive

Sg. - singular

SM – subject marker

TM – tense marker

VP – verb phrase

VR – verb root

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The study of adverbial clauses in Tonga of Zambia is one of the areas that have not received adequate attention so far. Early accounts on Tonga (Hopgood (1940), Collins (1962), Kenaan (1992) and Carter (2002)), have not adequately dealt with the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. Taking after languages that have received fairly adequate attention such as English, (Quirk and Greenbaum (1973), Obrien (2009), (www.whitesmoke.com/clauses-in-english), and (learnenglish.britishcouncil.org/eng/English-grammar/clause-phrase), adverbial clauses have been generally analysed to have conjunctions that introduce them. Most of the adverbial clauses in Tonga, however, do not contain conjunctions but are expressed through morphological means. Because of this, the current study has used a morpho-syntactic approach to the many adverbial forms that are not introduced by conjunctions. In some cases, there is a combination of syntactic and morphological means as will be seen in Chapter four. Further, the elements (for instance morphemes) in verbal forms may not introduce the adverbial clause. For this reason, these elements have been viewed as elements signalling adverbial clauses.

1.1 TONGA

This research deals with the study of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. In this study, Tonga refers to Zambian Tonga (as there are other forms of Tonga such as those spoken in Malawi and Zimbabwe). Guthrie (1971: 57) classifies Tonga as M64 where M is the language zone, 60 is the group and Tonga is the fourth language in this group. He further classifies it as a cluster under the Lenje-Tonga group, (Guthrie 1970: 15). Like other Bantu languages, Tonga is typologically an agglutinative language, characterised by numerous morphemes joined together to express complete thought. The nature of this typology is that analysis at syntactic level is so complex and such complexity leads to a morphosyntactic analysis where breaking clausal constituents in some instances becomes obligatory. In the study, there are various forms that are manifested depending on the subordinating elements in the

verb form and the tone pattern of the constructions. The noun class of the nominal referred to and tense, also have a bearing on the element or verb form that should be used as seen in example (2) of Chapter Four.

1.1.1 The status of Tonga in Zambia

Tonga is the main language of the majority people of Zambia's Southern Province (Appendix A1). It belongs to the Bantu sub-group which is part of the Niger-Congo family, (Ohannessian and Kashoki (1978:126). Tonga is also spoken in some parts of Central Province such as Kabwe and Mumbwa districts. It is a regional language taught as a subject in some schools; used as language of instruction for initial literacy (Ministry of Education Science Vocational Training and Early Childhood Education, 2013); as lingua franca in church, political gatherings, and as language of mass communication on both national radio and television.

There are two major dialects of Zambian Tonga; 'Plateau' and 'Gwembe Valley' varieties, (Carter, 2002). Plateau Tonga is spoken in the plateau areas of Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo districts while the Valley Tonga is spoken in Gwembe and Sinazongwe districts as the We dialect (Ciwe) as indicated on the linguistic map of Zambia (Appendix A2). Other dialects include;

- (a) Ila which is spoken in Namwala, Itezhi-tezhi and parts of Mumbwa districts;
- (b) Leya spoken in the east of Livingstone in Kazungula district;
- (c) Toka in the western area of Kazungula; and
- (d) Lenje which is spoken in Chibombo district and some areas in the rural parts of Kabwe in Central Province.

This study is on Plateau Tonga as spoken in Mazabuka district.

1.1.2 The orthography

The study uses the (1977) approved orthography of the Government of the Republic of Zambia. The orthography follows the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The consonants used are: b [β], bb [b] and b [b] after a homorganic nasal; cc [tʃ], c [j], d [d], f [f], g [g], h [h], h (hard) [hh], j [dʒ], kk [k], k [ɣ] except after a nasal where it is pronounced as [k]; l [l], m [m], n [n], [ŋ], ny [ɲ], p [p], s [s], t [t], v [v], w [w], y [j] and z [z]; w and y being the two semivowels. This is clearly presented in table 1 below.

Table1. Tonga consonants and semi-vowels

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palato	Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m		n	ny		ŋ	
Stop	p bb		t d			kk g	
Fricative	β	f v	s z		c	k	h
Affricate					cc j		
Lateral			l				
Glide	w				y		

The graphemes ‘f’ and ‘v’ are always followed by ‘w’. The homorganic nasal is considered to be one and the same phoneme but the convention dictates that it be ‘m’ before ‘b’, ‘f’ or ‘v’ and ‘n’ elsewhere. This, as already stated, is motivated by the point of articulation of the phoneme preceded by the nasal, (ILCAA, 1987). The consonants ‘z’ and ‘s’ may be blended with ‘y’. The sourced material, however, has been presented as extracted. For instance the grapheme ‘ŋ’ is written as ‘ng’ in Nyanga (1989) while Hanengeta (1988) and Kanchele (1998) present it as ‘ŋ’.

There are five vowels and the double vowels represent long vowels. These are presented in table 2 below.

Table 2. Tonga vowels

	Front		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	I	ii	u	uu
Mid	E	ee	o	oo
Low			a	aa

The orthographic convention does not use tone marking. However, for the section dealing with tone in this study, an acute accent (´) is marked on vowels with high tone and no marking is indicated for low tones. For rising tones, the first vowel has low tone while the second next vowel has a high tone. For falling tones, the opposite prevails; the first vowel is high while the second next vowel is low.

1.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

An adverbial is a word, phrase or clause that modifies the verb of the main clause in complex sentences. This study concerns adverbials of clausal status. According to Webster (2007:7), an adverbial clause is “a subordinate clause that modifies the main or principal clause by adding information about time, place, concession, condition, manner, purpose, and result...” A subordinate clause is included in or connected to the main clause and may be optional. Although adverbial clauses may be optional, it does not mean that they are of less importance in a grammar of a language for they respond to the unforeseen questions. Their modifying effect plays a great role in explicating not only meaning but attitude as well.

Asher (1994: 41) clearly states that, “adverbials that are not adverbs are either adverbial phrases or clauses.” This means that adverbial clauses have their own rank

which has not been well explored in Tonga, just as in some of the Zambian languages. Asher (ibid) further says that, "...the adverbial clause is a subtype of the subordinate clause". This is because subordination includes complementation, relativisation and modification as exemplified below.

- (1) a. *umwaambile mwana **kuti** ndiyooboola cifwumo.*
 'tell the child **that** I will come tomorrow', (complementation).
 b. *mwana wakandaambila wasika.*
 'the child **who** told me has arrived', (relativisation).
 c. ***kuti** umujane mwana, undaambile.*
 '**if** you find the child, you should tell me', (modification).

While there is a conjunction in (1a) and (1c), there is no conjunction in (1b). Although the conjunctions used in (1a) and (1c) are the same, their function in each of the sentences is different as the English gloss clearly distinguishes them.

1.2.1 The syntax of adverbial clauses

It has been well expressed by various authors that adverbial clauses in English have a variable order. Many researches, further, indicate that adverbial clauses are introduced by conjunctions while a few have distinguished between adverbial clauses introduced by conjunctions and those without conjunctions. The syntax of adverbial clauses in many scholarly works indicates the general syntactic function, that of a modifier of a verb, adverb, adjective, a clause or a sentence. Adverbials are also divided into four main syntactic categories: conjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts and adjuncts. Conjuncts are peripheral to the clause to which they are attached. Subjuncts are generally realized as viewpoint adverbials. Adjuncts differ from disjuncts on the basis that adjuncts mainly involve focusing devices; can be the focus of a cleft sentence, a question, or a negative expression, to mention a few. They are integrated in the main clause where as disjuncts are peripheral. There is also a classification of restrictive and non-restrictiveness. Restrictive adverbial clauses limit the situation in the main clause to

the circumstance described by the adverbial. Non-restrictive adverbial clauses make a separate assertion, supplying additional information.

([https://www.tu-](https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/sections/linguist/real/independent/eafrica/Diss-Diana/dissch4-2.htm)

[chemnitz.de/phil/english/sections/linguist/real/independent/eafrica/Diss-](https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/sections/linguist/real/independent/eafrica/Diss-Diana/dissch4-2.htm)

[Diana/dissch4-2.htm](https://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/english/sections/linguist/real/independent/eafrica/Diss-Diana/dissch4-2.htm)), downloaded on 12.12.16. There are also assumptions that, “All adverbial clauses are accomplished by a form of conjoining with subordinating conjunctions.” (<https://books.google.com.uk/books?id>). In Tonga, however, subordinating conjunctions are a limited class. There are very few adverbial clauses that are solely introduced by conjunctions. Their structure also displays a difference from those of English and other languages studied. Each of the elements signalling the adverbial clause may be a free form, compound or bound. Some clause types use both conjunctions and bound elements. Clauses signalled by free forms are said to be of syntactic means while bound ones are of morphological means. While some adverbial clauses use a combination of syntactic and morphological means, other types purely use morphological means.

The ordering of sentential constituents in adverbial clauses also varies considerably. Earlier researches have indicated the iconic sequence as expressed by Diessel (2008) where the logical sequence and other competing processes determine the order of adverbial clause in relation to the main clause. For instance, temporal after-clauses (clauses of anteriority) precede the main clause more frequently than before-clauses (clauses of posteriority). Wiechmann and Kerz (2012) have indicated that even Diessel (2005)’s iconicity of sequence has limited generalisations. What has been viewed as more practical is the semantic and discourse-pragmatic factor.

The present study indicates that types of conjunctions and the various elements that signal adverbial clause subtypes do contribute to the motivation of the order of adverbial clauses to the main clause. Another interesting phenomenon is the way structural elements are arranged in Tonga. Further, most of the studies on syntax of adverbial clauses simply look at the order of main and adverbial clause. As it is well known, syntax deals with the arrangement of sentential constituents including the

properties of tense, aspect, mood and polarity. Tense for instance, in Tonga does determine what type of adverbial clause it is. The inadequate literature in Tonga and the differences between Tonga and the already studied languages motivated the researcher to carry out this study.

1.2.2 The semantics of adverbial clauses

The classification of adverbial clauses into types in natural languages is determined by the subordinating conjunctions. In English, the subordinating conjunctions are heads of the adverbial clauses, except in very few non-finite and subjectless constructions. This study explains the meanings provided by the elements signalling adverbial clauses. A number of authors have discussed temporal, purpose, conditional, concessive, reason, result, manner, comparison, place, comment, contingency, exception and proportion, although each have not exhausted the list. Further, most of the works on adverbial clauses have dealt with semantics at a broader perspective, without looking at the various meanings different subtypes communicate.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Although Tonga is a fairly documented language, there is inadequate literature on adverbial clauses in the grammar accounts. The problem therefore is that there is very little representation at syntax and semantics levels of the analysis of adverbial clauses in Tonga. There is no study known by the researcher, so far, advanced to account for the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga in the manner that this study has done. To the knowledge of the researcher, only temporal, purpose and conditional clauses have been done. As already stated, there is shallow information on the same.

1.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study is twofold:

- (a) to analyse the syntactic features of adverbial clauses in Tonga; and
- (b) to establish the semantic functions of adverbial clauses in Tonga.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- (a) to account for the internal structure of adverbial clauses in Tonga;
- (b) to establish the sequence of tenses in sentences containing adverbial clauses;
- (c) to account for the ordering of Tonga adverbial clause types in relation to the clauses they modify;
- (d) to determine how to identify adverbial clauses without conjunctions; and
- (e) to identify the various semantic functions performed by various adverbial clauses in Tonga.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to achieve the above objectives, the researcher endeavoured to answer the following questions:

- (a) What are the structural properties of adverbial clauses in Tonga?
- (b) What are the sequences of tenses in sentences containing adverbial clauses?
- (c) What position do adverbial clauses in Tonga take in relation to the clauses they modify?
- (d) How are adverbial clauses without conjunctions identified?
- (e) What semantic functions are performed by elements signalling adverbial clause types in Tonga?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

As this study accounts for the semantics and syntax of adverbial clauses in Tonga, it may contribute to the study of the language in Zambia. The method of data collection may also be used as a classroom methodology where learners are given data by the teacher to analyse so as to draw observable generalisations and note behavioural patterns of adverbial clauses in the language. It may also act as a reference to scholars

of Linguistics of Zambian Languages and Linguistics and African Languages in some colleges and universities respectively, thus benefiting scholars and linguists in general.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter one is an introductory chapter that provides the background of the study of adverbial clauses as clausal constituents of subordinate constructions. It gives information about Tonga and states the problem that has triggered this research, the aim, objectives, research questions and significance of the study. It further explains the structure of the dissertation, and gives the scope and limitation of the study.

Chapter two presents literature that has been viewed relevant to the study of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. It begins with what has been written in Tonga in relation to adverbial clauses. It then tackles the literature dealing with the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses.

Chapter three explains the methodology used. It states the research approach and design used. It also explains the sample type and techniques used, and how data was collected and analysed.

Chapter four has dealt with the syntactic analysis of adverbial clauses of Tonga. It has looked at the general structure of adverbial clauses and the syntactic arrangement of clausal constituents. It has also looked at the order of adverbial and the main clause in an adverbial construction.

Chapter five gives a detailed description of the semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga according to clause types. Each clause type is analysed according to the semantic subtypes dictated by the conjunction or verb form signalling it.

Chapter six provides the summary of findings at syntactic and semantic levels of analysis and the conclusion of the study. It also gives the recommendations of the study.

Examples have been given cumulative numbering in each chapter since these have been heavily used in the analysis chapters to justify the phenomena discussed. Tables, however, have been given cumulative numbers throughout the work because they are relatively few. The study has not included endnotes or footnotes because everything has been explained in-text.

1.8 SCOPE OF STUDY

A full list of adverbial clauses in any language has not been established yet. A number of authors have dealt with varying numbers of adverbial clauses in their studies. This study deals with the most frequent adverbial clauses in the language; the clauses of time, purpose, condition, reason, result, concession, manner, comparison, place, and comment (mostly written).

1.9 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The presentation of the syntax of adverbial clauses with the metalanguage has posed a problem because a one-to-one correspondence of the structural constituents and semantic meanings of the constituents of the Tonga adverbial clauses with those of English is not usual. One morphological constituent in Tonga is expressed by various syntactic constituents in English and the order of constituents may not correspond as exemplified below.

- (2) *atulonge nkaambo kulangana kumulomo lyoonse ncibi.*
 let us shift because to look each other to mouth always it is
 bad.
 ‘Let us shift because frequent quarrelling is bad’.

- (3) *...ino kukkala catyeni* *kuti tupangane kabotu?*
 ...what to sit it has done what so that we agree each other well?
 ‘why don’t you sit so that we agree (on something) with each other well?’
- (4) *kuzwa* *ciindi cakafwa* *bakaintu bakwe...* *wakali kubamba*
 from time that died wife his... he was to
 care
 mwanaakwe *musankwa* *alike...*
 child his boy alone...
 ‘from the time his wife died, he used to care for his son alone’.

To have a complete one-to-one correspondence, there would be need of separating the morphemes of the Tonga constituents to match the English translations. This, however, would render the constructions ungrammatical and meaningless.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has given an introduction to the study of adverbial clauses in Tonga. It has explained the status of the language in Zambia. It has stated the problem, objectives, research questions and the significance of the study. It has also given the structure and scope of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

All languages use adverbial clauses and these have been studied and analysed using various theories and methods in specific languages, by various authors and scholars. This study has included only aspects of literature that has been considered to be of relevance to the study of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga.

The chapter discusses what has been written on adverbial clauses in Tonga. It advances to discuss the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Lozi. Although in Lozi, the study is of direct relevance to the present study because it is one of the studies that has covered the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in a related language.

2.2 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN TONGA

As has already been stated, adverbial clauses have not yet been adequately studied. This section gives the existing review of adverbial clauses in Tonga; temporal, purpose and conditional clauses.

Collins (1962) has attempted to write on adverbial clauses which he classifies under 'Other Subordinate Clauses'. Such presentation of adverbial clauses, separate from 'Subordinate Clauses' (where relative clauses have been discussed), poses a problem to whether relative clauses are superior or more important than adverbial clauses. For adverbial clauses presented under 'Other Subordinate Clauses', Collins has on a scratchy note discussed only temporal ('when', 'before' and 'until'), purpose and participial clauses. Further, conditional clauses are presented in a separate chapter. As already stated, of all the various adverbial types, he discusses temporal, purpose and conditional clauses only. Furthermore, his overall presentation carries the notion that

adverbial clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions as is the case in most accounts on adverbial clauses.

2.2.1 Temporal clauses

On temporal clauses, Collins only deals with the Tonga equivalents of the English conjunctions; ‘when’, ‘before’ and ‘until’. The author says that the word for ‘when’ in Tonga is got from a stem *na-* which is treated as an objective relative, and that it can have an antecedent *-li*, such as found in expressions as in (1a) and the interrogative as in (1b) which carries the meaning of time.

- (1) a. *lya Pasika*
li- a Pasika
‘during Paschal season’
b. *lili?*
‘which time’, that is, ‘when?’

Collins also states that the conjunction *na-* is formed by compounding with the singular pronominals; *e* for 1st person singular, *o* for 2nd person singular and *a* for 3rd person singular while *o* is used for all plurals. The term ‘conjunction’ however, is inappropriate because a conjunction is essentially a syntactic element whereas *na-* is a morphological element. From the examples that Collins gives, it is evident that the morpheme *ni-* (as this study terms it) has in most cases variants that are constrained by morphological rules although in some cases, it is a matter of preference. For instance, *na+e = ne*; *na+o = no*; *na+a = na* and are all used in present tense for 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular but *ni-* can as well be used with 1st and 2nd person singular in both tenses. In the past, the past morpheme *-ka-* is affixed after the subordinating particle (an element that does not belong to any of the word classes) and the subject morpheme; thus *nitwa (ka) /notwa (ka)*; *nimwa (ka)/ nomwa (ka)*. The past tense morpheme and the subordinating particle, however, has been analysed differently in this study as will be seen in 5. 3.1. 2.1. The adverbial clause can be presented with

double nasalisation as in (3a). Collins further says that *na-* can be predicated as in (2b) and (2c) below. Here the reader will be essentially guided by the English gloss on which one is the adverbial clause.

- (2) a. *nemboola balakondwa*
‘when I come, they are glad’
b. *buzuba bwansondo nentabeleki.*
‘Sunday is when I do not work’.
c. *kumazuba nabeleka mumbewu.*
‘the evening is when he works in the vegetable garden.’ (Collins, 1962: 113).

According to Collins, the double nasalisation is absorbed by the initial nasal ‘*n*’- in (2c), that is, in expressions with ‘persons’ other than the first person singular.

Collins has given other ways of expressing ‘when’. One way is by the use of the hodiernal past in the present and proximate future time.

- (3) *Timoti waboola (or aboola) balaseka.*
‘when Timothy arrives, they laugh’.

However, example (3) can be glossed differently from Collins’ as, ‘when Timothy comes, they will laugh’.

The other way of expressing ‘when’ is by use of the hodiernal past of “telescoped” form of *ya-* plus infinitive used in remote future time only.

- (4) *Timoti waakuboola (or aakuboola) bayakuseka.*
‘when Timothy arrived they laughed’ (Collins, 1962: 113).

The constructions in (3) and (4) have two problems; the subject marker in the verbal constituent of the adverbial clause is implied for 3rd pers. sg. and not an explicit *wa-* (*u-a*). The verb is in the hodiernal future tense of a temporal while the main clause verb is in the hodiernal future tense of the indicative. Looking at the English gloss, it would be realised that the time references in both clauses are wrong and the concept of the verb root *-bool-* ‘come’ is different from ‘arrive’ as indicated above.

Collins says that another way of expressing ‘when’ is where the proximate subjunctive is used in present and past time.

(5) *Timoti aboole, bakaseka.*

‘when Timothy arrived they laughed’ (Collins, 1962: 113).

Collins further says the conjunction ‘before’ is formed by compounding the temporal *na-*, the negativer *-ta-*, another *-na-* (unemphatic) or *-ninga* (emphatic) and the verbal stem. *Nentana* ‘before I’ or plural; *notutana* ‘before we’ are present unemphatic while *nentaninga* ‘before I’ or 2nd person singular; *notaninga* ‘before you’ are present emphatic. *Nendata (a) na-* or *nindata (a) na* ‘before I’, *naata (a) na-* ‘before s/he’ are for past unemphatic while *nendata (ka) ninga* – */nindata (ka) ninga-* ‘before I’, *naata (ka) ninga* ‘before s/he’ are for past emphatic expressions.

(6) a. *Joni waliko kale nindatanasika.*

‘John was there already before I arrived’.

b. *wakalitalikide kale kabataninga boola.*

‘he had already started before they came’ (from Collins, 1962: 114).

From the researcher’s intuition, what prevails in the previous paragraph is the concept of ‘not yet’ to express the notion, ‘before’. In (6b) for instance, the verbal of the adverbial clause has the particle *ka-* and the negativer interrupted by the subject marker, a phenomenon not discussed by Collins (1962).

The other time conjunction that Collins deals with is ‘until’. For this one, he says *limwi* or *kusikila limwi* and the future subjunctive are used in the future or *na-* + past + the indicative in the past (ibid).

- (7) a. wait till I come.
 kolindila limwi mboole/ nkaboole.
 b. he waited till I came.
 wakalindila limwi nindakaboola.

The other use he discusses is *kusikila ciindi na (nca)* + the indicative.

- (8) wait till I come.
 kolindila kusikila ciindi nemboola/ ncemboola. (Ibid)

Apart from these three; the ‘when’, ‘until’ and ‘before’, Collins does not discuss other temporal conjunctions or particles that exist in the Tonga corpora. The author neither discusses the order of adverbial types in relation to the main clauses nor does he explain the various semantic relations of the same. In addition, the presentation of the English version preceding the Tonga construction in the explanation of the use of the conjunction ‘until’ indicates that the data is from English. Further, Collins’ work is quite prescriptive.

Keenan (1992) has written on temporal clauses and similarly has just focused on purpose, temporal and conditional clauses. This is because he draws his writing from earlier publications as already mentioned. Keenan (1992: ii) takes after Collins’ (with very minimal adjustments on the presentation) as he says, “I have drawn widely on the work of Fr. Bernard Collins S. J. and of Dr. Dan O’Brien...” The researcher, despite having made an effort, has however not seen the publication by O’Brien.

Keenan fairly tackles the structure and gives the various constructions according to the nominal classes of the language. Tense and aspect have also been tackled although not

adequately. He discusses and exemplifies the concept of ‘when’ in present, past (recent and remote) and future. On issues pertaining to mood, the author has been so keen to state the subjunctive in the structures that contain them and these are not even classified under any of the adverbial clauses stated above. Some clauses that are included however are of a different type even though they may have double roles.

- (9) *twajana kasimbi ka- kaciswa*
 ‘we found a little girl sick’

This can be an adverbial answer to the questions ‘when’ or ‘how’, that is, ‘at the time when the girl was sick’ or ‘in the state of sickness’ respectively.

Carter (2002) has dealt with temporal forms under morphology. The author has indicated that the present and past tenses have preprefixes and that *nó-* is for present, and *ní-* (with variants) for past tenses.

2. 2.2 Purpose clauses

Concerning purpose clauses, the author discusses two forms. The first is the use of the infinitive after verbs of motion. He further says, “...as an emphasiser, *kuya*, *kuzi* or *ku-* can be added to the infinitive,” (ibid: 117).

- (10) a. *waboola kutubona.*
 ‘he has come to see us’.
 b. *wakaboola kuzi kutubona.*
 ‘he came with the express purpose of seeing us’.

The second way of expressing purpose is by using *kutegwa* plus the future subjunctive. Collins considers *kuti* and *kuteeti* as variants of *kutegwa*.

- (11) *wakamucenga mwami kutegwa amupe mwanaakwe musimbi.*

‘he deceived the chief that he might give him his daughter’ (op cit: 118).

Keenan (op cit: 55) indicates the positive and negative form of purpose clauses and gives the structure of purpose clauses in Tonga as, “Main statement + kuti + subjunctive,” and “Main statement + kuti + negative + subjunctive.”

All sentences in the examples and practice exercise for translation are in the above structures and these are forms of the same structure; the positive and negative. Keenan does not explain the concept of modification, that is, the clause that modifies the other. Although it is possible to distinguish the clauses; main and subordinate, it is necessary to show other constituent elements and features included in the structures.

2.3.3 Conditional clauses

Collins discusses conditional clauses outside the idea of subordination, as already stated, and simply provides a synopsis. The author identifies two kinds of conditionals in Tonga (as he classifies them); simple conditions (not implying unfulfilment) or (in future time) its likelihood and modified conditions (implying unfulfilment) or (in future time) its likelihood with “would” or “should” in English. For each, emphatic (E) and unemphatic (U) forms in the present, past and future have been discussed, (Op cit: 122-124). For simple conditions, Collins (ibid) says, “The only part which needs care is ‘if plus the verb following it’.” The basic structures of the forms are given as indicated in table 3 below.

Table 3. Simple Conditions

		U	E
(a) Present:	kuti	+ present subj	+ present subj. of –li + pres. indic.
(b) Past:	kuti	(not used)	+ present subj. of –li + pres. indic.
(c) Future:	kuti	+ fut. subj	+ past indic. (or remote) + past indic. of ya + the

		infinitive.
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(Collins, op cit: 122)

For modified conditions, Collins advises that both the condition and the conclusion must be considered. Table 4 indicates the basic structures for this kind.

Table 4. Modified Conditions

	U	E
(a) Present/ (b) Past:	(kuti) na + past tenses in both clauses	(kuti) na + imperf. of kunga in both clauses
(c) Future:	kuti+ past, + inga + past or present (E)	(not used)

(Collins, op cit: 123)

In account of the conditionals, Collins gives examples using the structures for each kind. Although Collins gives this account, the various semantic functions of these conditional types are not explained in detail. The various syntactic structures and the subordinating elements of conditional clauses have also not been accounted for. All the examples given have the adverbial clauses in initial position.

Collins discusses participial clauses without any specification because most of them are not adverbials while others are temporal and manner adverbial clauses (op cit: 118-119). The semantics and syntax of the various clauses using the *ka-* participle (a particle in this study) have not been discussed. The *ka-* participle that the author discusses pertains to temporal adverbials only, (Collins (1984: 118 and 119)).

Collins therefore does not offer adequate information that the present study has provided. The author simply provides examples that are not explained. Actually this presentation of adverbial clauses is more prescriptive as it gives instructions on how to use the prescribed constructions. This could be because the work was initially meant for Europeans learning the language.

Although Keenan (1992) describes the different categories of conditional clauses (fulfilled and unfulfilled), the author does not explain the distinction between the two clauses. The clauses are simply referred to as the ‘first’ and ‘second part’ of the given sentences. The author does not state which of the two clauses is adverbial and does not broadly explore other possible constructions. Despite the valid argument that conditionals in Tonga need to be approached from the Tonga point of view, not to translate from English conditional structures, Keenan presents the work on conditionals by giving a construction in English first before the Tonga version. This is a clear indication that the Tonga sentences have been derived from the English ones. This poses a problem in the analysis of conditionals in Tonga as it will soon be realised.

- (12) if they had come yesterday, (but they did not come) I would have been able to help them (so I did not help them).

Structure: First part of sentence: Temporal clause in the past tense

Second part of sentence: Temporal clause in the past tense

nibakaboola ijilo, nindakakonzya kubagwasya.

‘if they had come yesterday, I would have helped them’ (op cit: 79).

Further, all the examples have been configured in the ‘subordinate clause + main clause’ order. Other expressions of conditionals, their semantics and syntactic properties have also not been tackled.

Keenan also assumes two situations for the construction because the sentences seem to have been derived outside linguistic context. The interpretation, ‘when they came yesterday, it is when I helped them’ (ibid), creates another problem because the sentence becomes a temporal proper. The present study provides a solution for such constructions as will be seen in the next chapters, especially in 4.5.2. Although

Keenan wards off of any criticism, (op cit, ii), his work is of help in that it has helped the present study in establishing the gap in the literature on adverbial clauses in Tonga.

On conditionals, Carter (2002) establishes two kinds; the real and unreal. The real conditional generally refers to present or future time and is introduced by *kuti*.

- (13) a. *kuti wanyema, balasesa*
 ‘if you ‘ve got angry, they fine you’
 b. *kuti koyanda, tulakonzya kukulindila*
 ‘if you like, we can wait’
 b. *Kuti muntu wajya mweenzinyina, talekelelwi*
 ‘if a person has killed his fellow human being, he is not acquitted’

A condition simultaneous with the result is expressed by the present participle as in (b) above but if the condition is to precede the result, the future past participle is used (c). Carter (2002:66) also says that, “‘If’ in the sense of ‘whether’ is *náa...*” This analysis, however, is contrary to that of the present study. *Naa* is equivalent to *kuti* and are both translated as ‘if’. If *naa* is used with the sense of ‘whether’, then it would be playing a different role from that of the conditional conjunction.

For the unreal condition, Carter (2002) generalises that there are two forms of the verb; the *no-* or *ni-* in the ‘if’ clause and *ni-* prefixed in the ‘then’ clause. The present study, however, has shown that the past conditions can use the free forms; *naa* and the compounded *kuti naa*.

Under syntax, Carter very briefly discusses relatives and temporals, focusing on word order. She says a temporal may have a noun subject before or after the verb.

- (14) *zuba nilyakatanta* or *nilyakatanta zuba*
 ‘when the sun rose high’

2.3 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES IN OTHER LANGUAGES

In the foregoing sub-sections, literature on Tonga has been reviewed. This section views literature from Lozi but related to the present study. Sitali (2008) has written on Lozi adverbial clauses, bringing out some of the types present in the language, the syntactic and semantic analyses of the adverbial clauses and the linguistic patterns through which adverbial clauses are introduced. It has also included literature dealing with syntactic order of adverbial clauses in general.

2.3.1 Syntax

A number of authors have indicated that adverbial clauses are a flexible category in complex sentential constructions. They can occur in initial, medial or final position and in some circumstances, can be left out of a construction without distorting the meaning of the construction.

With the syntactic relation of the clauses, Sitali (2008) makes a general conclusion as well as conclusions for each adverbial type. For adverbial clauses in general, Sitali says that adverbial clauses follow the main clause. For particular clauses, it has indicated that clauses of reason, result, purpose, place and manner generally follow the main clause while time and conditional clauses precede the main clause, (op cit: 135,136). Regarding concessive clauses, the phenomenon is that of a balanced scale as Sitali (op cit: 137) says, “The chances are equal.” The author covers adverbial subordination, bringing out the issue of modification of adverbial clauses in Lozi.

Comments on subordinating conjunctions, understood and implied meaning and position of adverbial clauses have been made. It has been indicated that an adverbial clause can be modified by other modifiers such as phrases, words and particles. Examination of the role of preprefixes and analysis of subordinating conjunctions that appear in more than one type of adverbial clauses has also been done. Sitali says that

preprefixes in Lozi do function as subordinating particles and that some subordinating conjunctions have various functions.

Sitali has also examined adverbial clauses that follow each other and the sequence of tenses in the main clause, adverbial clause and the other concurrent clauses. The study indicates that the tenses in the adverbial clause copy the tense of the main clause although there are also tenses that are determined by the sequence of adverbial and main clause.

Although Bantu languages in general and Zambian languages in particular share a number of similarities, as they belong to the same group, differences pertaining to the way sentential constituents are organised may be prominent.

From the internet download, it has been established that longer constituents follow shorter ones, as heavy constituents are expected to appear sentence-final, (english6.net/download.php?id=13007), downloaded on 17.05. 13. Length, therefore, is an important factor for adverbial clause positioning. Other relevant factors for adverbial positioning include complexity of the construction (similar to length), adverbial type, non-finiteness and individual language user. Complex adverbial clauses and non-finite clauses appear sentence final. Most infinitival and prepositional adverbial clauses tend to follow the main clause while individual language users would process given, accessible information earlier in the linguistic construction than new, inaccessible information, (english6.net/download.php?id=13007), (op cit). Similarly, the clause that carries focus is preposed. The same web says, “A complex sentence has a main clause and one or more adverbial clauses,” and says that, “Adverbial clauses usually come after the main clause.” (opcit).

Nordquist says that, “An adverb clause commonly appears after the main clause,” but further says that, “If the action described in the adverb clause precedes the action in the main clause, it is logical to place the adverb clause at the beginning.” The author also asserts that placing an adverb clause at the beginning can help to create suspense

as the sentence builds toward a main point. However, Nordquist's examples are all temporal clauses with 'until' clauses in final position and 'when' clauses in initial position), (grammar.about.com/od/basicssentencegrammar/a/sbadvabclause2-2.htm) downloaded on 22.01.13.

Diessel (2008) distinguishes between left and right branching languages and says,

...in left branching languages like Japanese, adverbial clauses are often consistently placed before the main clause because in this language type, complex sentences are easier to process if the adverbial clause occurs at the beginning of the sentence. (www.personal.uni-jena.de/nx4diho/iconicityofSequence.pdf) 22.01.13.

Diessel further says, "...in right-branching languages like English, final position is the default and the initial occurrence of adverbial clauses is motivated by competing processing forces," (ibid). The question that may be posed at this moment is, 'Is Tonga a left branching language like Japanese or a right branching language like English?'

Diessel (2008) also argues that the ordering of main and adverbial clauses is motivated by functional and cognitive pressures from syntactic parsing, discourse, pragmatics and semantics. This study, however, will not go into detail with each of these. Nevertheless, syntax and semantics are part of this study while discourse and pragmatics, although not part of this study, are realised through the contexts from which most of the adverbial clauses have been sourced. Diessel says that longer constituents are difficult to process when they are placed at the beginning of the subordinate construction. This, therefore, means that when an adverbial clause is shorter than the main clause, it is cognitively placed before that clause. He also says that adverbial clauses denoting prior events often precede the main clause while those that denote posterior events often follow the main clause.

2.3.2 Semantics

Regarding the semantics of adverbial clauses in Lozi, Sitali (2008) has shallowly discussed concessive, conditional, manner, place, purpose, reason, result and temporal clauses. Sitali (2008: 118) says that, “Concessive clauses are used to make two statements, one of which contrast with the other or make it seem suprising because it is unexpected”. The author discusses the usual concessive conjunctions which have been listed as ‘although, though, while, even if, even though, whereas, while and whilst’. The conjunctions which have been translated to Lozi are said to have a root *niha-* which can be followed by pronouns, objects and verbs.

- (15) a. *nihasebelize katata, usiyezi tatubo*
‘even though she/he worked hard, she/he failed the examination’
b. *baluti bafumana kuli nihaike Mutolalibona naziba hahulu mwasikolo...,kezo yahae neili yabukebenga*
‘although Mutolalibona was very intelligent in class..., teachers saw that his act was a criminal one’

On the semantics of conditional clauses, Sitali says, “Conditional clauses are used to talk about a possible situation and its consequences under particular conditions”, and says that the usual conjunctions are ‘if’ and ‘unless’ which translate to *haiba* and *konji/ konji haiba, esi/ esi haiba* respectively in Lozi.

- (16) a. *haiba basa munyali, kuti wakona mane kuipulaya*
‘If he does not marry her, she will commit suicide’
b. *esi hakataha, kona nikaya*
‘unless she/he comes, I will not go’

For clauses of manner, Sitali says they are used to talk about someone’s behaviour and they embrace many types (2008: 120). The usual conjunctions are given as ‘as, like’

and ‘the way’ which are then translated as *kamo/mo* and *inge*. The author further says that *kam-/m-* is the root of the conjunction.

- (17) a. *eza moulatela*
 ‘do **as** you want’
 b. *puma nama kamoulatela*
 ‘cut the meat **the way/ as** you like’

For the clauses of place, Sitali has indicated that clauses of place are used to talk about the location or position of something. The author gives the conjunctions; where, wherever, on, in, and at and the equivalents; *kai, kona, fa, fo, mwa* and *kwa*.

- (18) a. *kona kokuna nilitapi kaufela kunani mezi*
 ‘**where/ wherever** there is fish there is water’
 b. *unangele fa halimu amikekani yeo ye kwaezwi*
 ‘check **on** top of those dishes covered there’

In discussing the semantics of purpose clauses, Sitali (2008:122) says, “Purpose clauses serve to indicate the purpose of an action”. Sitali says the usual conjunctions are ‘in order to’, ‘so that’, ‘in order (that)’ and ‘so as to’ and further says that purpose in Lozi is expressed by the word *kuli*.

- (19) *uswanezi kuina kuli alise likomu*
 ‘he is supposed to stay **so that** he herds cattle’

For reason clauses, the conjunctions, ‘because’, ‘since’ and ‘as’ are used to introduce adverbial clauses in order to indicate the reason for something, (ibid).

- (20) *masholi banga kuli na bapuma kakuli nabonahala hande*
 ‘thieves took it that she/ he was lying to them **because** he looked rich’

Sitali (ibid) says “Result clauses are used to indicate the result of something”. The usual conjunctions discussed are ‘so (that)’ ‘so...that’, and ‘such...that’, even when she has stated that the Lozi subordinating conjunctions of result clauses are not interrupted by other words or affixes. Although the English conjunctions have not been given the equivalent Lozi terms, the elements used in Lozi are *kona kuli*, *kabakaleo*, *mi*, and *kuli mane*.

- (21) a. *bo mahe bashwile **kabakaleo/ kona kuli** upalezwi kufeza sikolo*
 ‘her/ his mother died. **As a result**, she/ he could not complete school’
 b. *neli yomukima **kuli mane** nasa kwani mwasipula*
 ‘she/ he was **so fat that** she/ he could not fit in the chair’

Time clauses have been discussed as clauses used to say when something happens by referring to a period of time or to another event. The usual conjunctions stated are ‘when, before, till, after, since, whilst, as long as, as soon as, while, as, until’ and ‘immediately’. Sitali has indicated that *ha-*‘when’ is a preprefix of the time conjunction ‘when’, ‘while’ and ‘after’. Other Lozi equivalents are *inze* ‘while’, *asika* ‘before’, *mo- + -ela/ eza* ‘whenever’, *kasamulaho*, *hasamulaho*, *hase/ habase* ‘after’; *kuzwa* ‘since’; *aubona* ‘as long as’; *-sa* ‘immediatey/ as soon as’. Each of these as indicated by the Lozi literature have variants that depend on the type of person used.

- (22) a. *bo mahe **hane** bahanalico niyena naca fela ka kuhapelezwa...*
 ‘**when** his mother refused to eat food, he too would only eat after being forced’
 b. *bahapelezwa kunyalwa **inge** basali banyinyani*
 ‘they are forced to marry **while** they are still young’
 c. *luka fita **lusika** ya kale*
 ‘we will pass by **before** we go’
 c. *monikatela, wanililela*
 ‘**whenever** I come, she/he cries for me’

The semantics of adverbial clauses discussed by Sitali (2008) deals with the main types of the adverbial clauses after which ‘the usual conjunctions’ have been provided, (op cit: 119). The main focus is on subordinating conjunctions derived from the English forms. Some of the elements termed conjunctions, however, are not conjunctions at all. For instance, the conjunction ‘because’ is translated as *bakeng’isa* (op cit: 122) where the prefix *ba-* (class 2) is part of the ‘conjunction’. Sitali also discusses nouns that function as ‘subordinating conjunctions’.

- (23) *mabani haluca, sebataha*
‘yesterday when/ while we were eating, they came’

This study, however, does not consider these as conjunctions but adverbial phrases or adverbials at word level. The element that functions as conjunction is the prefix, *ha-* ‘when’ in *haluca* ‘when we were eating’.

Considering the literature above, it is evident that the semantics of adverbial clauses even in Lozi have not been well covered. Sitali (2008) does not explain the various semantic functions of adverbial clause types. The form of conjunctions signalling the adverbial clauses also are different from those of Tonga. However, there are a number of aspects that the present study benefits from the Lozi literature as will be seen in the chapter for syntactic analysis.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The cited literature above has shown that adverbial clauses in Tonga have not been adequately studied and there is scanty material on both syntax and semantics levels. To the best of the researcher’s knowledge, adverbial clauses of concession, reason, result, place, manner, comparison, and comment have not been discussed by the authors of the works on Tonga grammar or any scholarly works on adverbial clauses in Tonga as indicated above. The literature on Lozi is relevant to the language under study for it has some aspects that have given insights for the present study.

There are really some gaps in the literature on adverbial clauses which this study has attempted to bridge up by offering a more detailed descriptive account of the same. Hall (2008:156) says that, "...a full syntactic description of, even English, the most studied of all languages, is still far away." It is, therefore, important to address the many pertinent issues pertaining to the syntax and semantics of any given language such as Tonga.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the procedures used in the study. It states the type of research and design used. It explains the data collection methods and procedure, and the way data was analysed. The study uses a qualitative approach. The research includes designs, techniques and measures that do not produce discrete numerical data. The information is in form of words and has been grouped in categories of adverbial types and subtypes. A qualitative approach has been used to gain an understanding of the various syntactic features and semantic functions of adverbial clauses of Tonga. It has also been used in exploring the underlying reasons and motivations for the order of adverbial clauses in relation to the clauses they modify.

3.2 Research design

This study basically uses the descriptive research design. Data were collected through corpus. The data have been obtained mainly from contexts set in novels as well as from natural speech. The study also involves description of the findings. The researcher, being a native speaker, is part of the source of information and uses introspection in the analysis stage. The analysis does not only look at the frequency of occurrence but also the existence of the phenomena. A number of adverbial clauses have been analysed through the researcher's understanding and interpretation of a particular phenomenon.

3.3 Sample size and sampling technique

This study mainly used secondary sources. These were novels written in Tonga by Tonga authors; *Kalya Uzumanana* by Hanengeta (1988), *Malweza Aatunga Mulongo* by Nyanga (1989) and *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* by Kanchele (1998). There were 519

adverbial clauses collected from the three texts. The texts were purposefully selected to include novels written at least 10 years after the publication of the Ministry of Education (1977)'s *Zambian Languages Orthography*. Probability sampling was used to select a reasonable number of adverbial clauses that represents the corpora. Under discussion and analysis, the study utilises a non-probability sampling, employing the purposive sampling technique where adverbial clauses that have the required information with respect to the set objectives have been used. The criterion for choosing cases depended on the conjunctions and verb forms signalling adverbial clauses in Tonga. This therefore had been a multistage sampling.

Being a native speaker of the language under investigation, the researcher used introspection to establish the syntactic operations and semantic functions of adverbial clauses, including the features of the elements that signal them. Some adverbial constructions that were not captured in the corpus were also provided intuitively.

3.2 Data collection methods

The study uses two methods of data collection; document analysis and introspection. Document analysis, as a form of qualitative research, is a method of data collection in which documents are interpreted by the researcher. Data were collected by reading through the above stated Tonga texts, hence employing a corpus-based approach in data collection. Corpus is a collection of pieces of language that are selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of language. The study has chosen corpus because it offers the researcher with improved reliability as it provides and allows balance in the use of corpora and one's intuition. Since there is involvement of frequency in the syntactic analysis of adverbial clauses, corpus has prevented any bias that intuition (consciously or unconsciously) might have caused. The corpus mainly used a general fictitious register. That is, the context generally set in stories.

In the study, introspection followed by data verification, in some cases, was employed. Introspection was used to make up for the inadequacies as Crystal (1987: 411) indicates that “... corpora whatever their size, are inevitably limited in their coverage, and always need to be supplemented by data derived from the intuitions of the native speakers of the language, through either introspection or experimentation.”

3.3 Data collection procedure

The researcher read through the selected texts to extract the various adverbial clauses. Some adverbial clauses captured from *Kalya Uzumanana* by Hanengeta (1988), *Malweza Aatunga Mulongo* by Nyanga (1989), *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* by Kenchele (1998) and manually collected spoken corpus were listed down.

Although the study concerns adverbial clauses, both the adverbial and main clause has been presented. The reason for presenting the main clause is to make it easier to investigate on the various syntactic and semantic aspects of the adverbial clause constructions. Sentences containing adverbial clauses that are preceded and (or) followed by some sentential constituents that are not needed in the study have such constituents removed and ellipsis dots used.

The data follows the Ministry of Education (1977)’s ‘*Zambian Languages Orthography*’. Further, adverbial expressions in Tonga have been written in italics and glossed in single inverted commas. The English glosses have been presented in normal print and adverbial clauses underlined in both Tonga and English. Square brackets have been used for adverbial clauses modifying other adverbial clauses in multiple adverbial constructions. For reference of the data discussed, see appendix B.

Through the use of corpus, adequate data was collected for the analysis of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. There had been really some phenomena that introspection alone could not have addressed. Therefore, corpus and introspection have complemented each other.

3.4 Data analysis

Data was analysed thematically, that is, the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. Sub-themes of clauses of temporal, purpose, condition, concession, reason, result, manner, comparison, place and comment were also set. The data has been analysed according to the sequence of the objectives; (a) to (d) under syntax while (e) for semantics. Data analysis started immediately after collecting the adverbial clauses from the proposed texts.

At syntactic level, the data were firstly classified into three categories; data with adverbial clauses in initial position, in mid position and those in final position, from each text as indicated in table 6. Each type was again classified as either initial or final, as shown in table 7. The data were then analysed, by type and by the constituents signalling the adverbial clause types. Two sub-classifications were made; those signalled by conjunctions and those signalled by verb forms. With the category signalled by verb forms, a distinction was made between those with morphemes that explicitly translate for particular conjunctions and those that use tense markers (overt or covert) including those using mood and tone.

At semantic level, adverbial clauses were analysed by looking at the semantic functions adverbial clauses perform as they carry out their modifying roles. This was determined by the meanings of the selected sentential elements especially the subordinating conjunctions and verb forms used, as projected from the lexicon of the language and the interpretation of the relation of the adverbial clause to the main clause (cotextually). The collected adverbial clauses were sorted according to type; that is, classifying them as temporal, conditional, manner or purpose clauses. These were again subcategorised into subtypes.

3.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented the methodology used in the study. It has stated the research approach and design, and approach of data collection and sampling procedures used. It has explained the methods of data collection and how data has been analysed. The study has largely used written corpus because written information stands permanently and be able to be analysed with cognitive choice of the ordering and distribution of constituents.

CHAPTER FOUR: SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The syntax of a language is any conventionally acceptable arrangement of language elements that can communicate a thought or idea. It is the interrelation of structural constituents or patterns. Various phrasal and clausal constituents of a language have their own structure. The concept of structural patterns in this study has been extended to the morphology of the elements by which each adverbial type studied is signalled, especially the verbal constituent in clauses that do not have explicit subordinating conjunctions and morphemes functioning as subordinators.

Gleason (1966:128) defines syntax as, “The principles of arrangement of the construction formed by the process of derivation and inflection (words) into larger construction of various kinds.” Based on Gleason’s definition, a language or grammar of a language has principles that govern the arrangement of the construction of words through the process of derivation and inflection and these are further arranged into larger units; phrases, clauses and then the sentences. This, therefore, indicates that syntax begins at word level. The way each word is used with its immediate constituents has a bearing on mood and tense. This, in turn, gives the sense to be communicated. Hall (2008: 156) says, “Arranging words together in sentences is not ... as trivial as it seems.” In Tonga, just like in any other agglutinative language, syntactic structures encompass arrangement of various sentential elements such as words, morphemes, particles, phrases and clauses.

This chapter addresses objectives (a) to (d) set in Chapter One. These are:

- (i) to account for the internal structure of adverbial clauses in Tonga;
- (ii) to establish the sequence of the tenses in sentences containing adverbial clauses;

- (iii) to account for the ordering of Tonga adverbial clause types in relation to the clauses they modify; and
- (iv) to determine how to identify adverbial clauses without conjunctions.

This chapter presents and discusses the syntactic aspects of adverbial clause types that have been obtained in the collected data. It begins with explaining the syntactic types of adverbial constructions. It then describes the structure of adverbial clauses, focusing on constituent arrangement, argument fronting and adjunction. It discusses clauses with null subjects or verbs and how these relate with each other in some of the adverbial clauses in the language. It looks at government of subordinating conjunctions and the sequence of tenses in adverbial and main clauses. It has further analysed the position of adverbial clause types in relation to the main clauses. It has also looked at which clause types are flexible and those that are restricted to a single position. The chapter further discusses adverbial constructions with multiple adverbial clauses. It then discusses the syntax of adverbial constructions without subordinating conjunctions.

There are two syntactic types of adverbial constructions; those signalled by a full word form (a syntactic means) and those signalled by special verb forms (morphological means). It is evident that the study in this chapter deals with a morpho-syntactic analysis as stated in Chapter One. This is because one morphological construction in Tonga represents a syntactic meaning. The analysis of the investigations, however, is solely descriptive, as stated earlier.

(a) Clauses signalled by conjunctions

In this type, the subordinating conjunction is a full word form that does not vary in any circumstance. For instance, *kuti* ‘if’ in example (1) is independent of any constituent as a conjunction and the same form is used in all circumstances. Therefore, it is a regular form.

- (1) a. *kuti kwaba mapenzi, baali kubungana.*
 ‘if there were problems, they would assemble’.
- b. *kuti mebo anduwe twakwatana [da kalitana libonya], taku unga*
 wazyiba mbucakabede kumatalikilo.
 ‘if you and I marry [before the pregnancy shows], no one would
 know what it was at the beginning’.

(b) Clauses signalled without conjunctions

There are two types under this category; where a morpheme or particle adjoined to the verbal constituent is used and where there is no morpheme or particle in the verb form. Clauses without a morpheme use tense, mood or tone, or a combination of two or all of these. Among those with morphemes are irregular forms. These take different forms, depending on the type of person (1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular or plural) referred to.

(i) Clauses signalled by morphological means

These clauses have morphemes incorporated in the verb and these morphemes vary according to the subjects used. In example (2), the element that carries the meaning of ‘if’ is different from the way it is used with the third person singular and third person plural. This is a common phenomenon in clauses signalled by morphemes.

- (2) a. *naaboola, nindaunka.*
 ‘if he / she came, I would go.
- b. *nobaboola, nondaunka.*
 ‘if they came, I would go.

(ii) Clauses signalled by tense or mood

In this category, no subordinating conjunction or morpheme is used and the semantic types are determined by tense or mood. (Example (3) depicts this phenomenon). In this category, tone or cotext may also play a role in determining what type the adverbial clause is. Tone, however, has been used as a distinctive feature in clauses that have identical structures, (see 4.5.2).

- (3) a. *mwabajana bana, mubape cakulya cabo.*
‘if you find the children, give them their food’/
‘when you find the children, give them their food’
- b. *mwaakubajana bana, mukabape cakulya cabo.*
‘if you find the children, you should give them their food’.

Depending on tense, mood, tone and cotext, the expression in example (3a) can either be a conditional or temporal clause as will be seen later in this chapter. The difference between (3a) and (3b) is on the use of the near future in (3a) and the remote future in (3b). Note that (3b) is remote in both time and distance.

4.2 THE STRUCTURE OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses are analysed as constituting a subject and verb, and are introduced by a subordinator as has already been indicated in the preceding section. At this level, adverbial clauses are structurally analysed in the same way as the simple sentence or main clause. They have a subject and verb, and can constitute phrases that have specifiers and complements. Apart from the presence of the subordinator, adverbial clauses are to a greater extent structurally dependent on the main clause as can be seen (especially with mood and tense).

In Tonga, just like in many natural languages, adverbial clauses are signalled by subordinating conjunctions. These conjunctions may be one word constituents or

compound words. Example (4) is an adverbial clause with a conjunction and an explicit noun.

(4) **kuti** mapenzi aakuba...

In the example above, the adverbial clause comprises the subordinating conjunction *kuti* ‘if’, noun *mapenzi* ‘problems’, the subject marker *a-*, tense marker, *-aku-* and verb *-ba-* ‘be’. Some adverbial types and many subtypes in Tonga, however, are not signalled by conjunctions but by morphemes or just verbal forms as shown below.

(5) wakazijosya **mwaatakazijanide**

mu-	-a-	-ta-	-aka-	-zi-	-jan-	-id-	-e
loc18-	agr-	neg-	past-	cl8-	V(find)-	perf-	END

‘...**where** she/ he had not found them’.

In (5) above, there is no conjunction and the element functioning as conjunction is incorporated in VP. The pronominal in the NP slot is a conceptual human singular being. The verbal is also complex and the analysis requires splitting of the verbal constituents as shown above.

4.2.1 Arrangement of constituents within an adverbial clause

Although Collins (1962) says the subject of the clause in temporal clauses signalled by ‘when’ can precede or follow the subordinating element *na-* ‘when’ (a ‘subordinating’ morpheme) adverbial clauses consisting referential expressions tend to have the subject before the adverbial bound element. In the written corpus, the overt subject precedes the adverbial subordinator when first introduced in a discourse. This is cognitively chosen with the explicit fact that the subject need to be introduced before the pronouns (or markers) that refer to the subject NPs are expressed. In Tonga, pronouns are part of the verbal constituent and thus termed subject or object markers if

they are bound personal pronouns, and particles if they are possessives. With anaphoric pronominals, the general phenomenon is that the morpheme *ni-* initiates the adverbial construction. The subject *bantu* ‘people’ in example (6) can take any position in relation to the verbal constituent and the demonstrative *baya* ‘those’. The structure in (6c) is common in speech.

- (6) a. *bantu baya nobakazuminana*,...
 (Lit. people those when they agreed to each other,...)
 ‘when those people agreed to each other, ...’
- b. *baya bantu nobakazuminana*,...
 (Lit. those people when they agreed to each other,...)
 ‘when those people agreed to each other, ...’
- c. *nobakazuminana bantu baya*...
 (Lit. when they agree to each other people those...).
 ‘when those people agreed to each other, ...’

In such circumstances, it is presumed that the subject NP ‘*bantu*’ in clause (6c) above was processed earlier than the subject morpheme *-ba-* for it to be the controller and initiator of the clausal agreement. The verbal constituent also has complex morpho-syntactic organisations of the ‘subordinating’ morpheme, negative marker, subject marker, tense marker, object marker, verb root, verb extension and verb ending just as in (6b) above. For adverbial clauses consisting conjunctions, the subject commonly appears after the conjunction and the rest of the constituents can be arranged as in the main clause, except for adverbial clauses that do not have explicit subjects or verbs. These depend on the subjects and verbs of the main clause.

4.2.2 Argument fronting in adverbial clauses

Argument fronting in most of the adverbial clause types in Tonga seems to be a rare phenomenon especially in the written corpus. However, there are instances when the subject is fronted in the adverbial construction. There are 45 (8.7 percent) clauses out

of 519 collected adverbial clauses that have this phenomenon. Out of the 45, 35 are temporals, 6 concessives, 2 conditionals and 2 clauses of place. Of all the fronted clauses, only one clause appears in final position. The rest are initial clauses dominated by *ni-* ‘when’ temporal clauses.

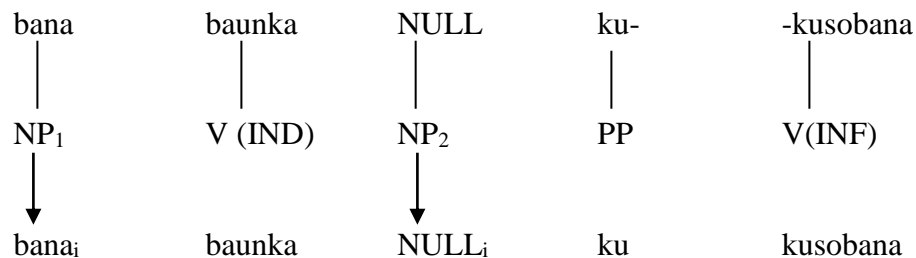
- (7) *syuumbwa naakazwa kumulonga ...*
‘when the lion came from the river’ ...

4.2.3 Subjectless and verbless adverbial clauses

Nkolola (1997: 15) says “... all clauses must have subjects.” However, some adverbial clauses have no explicit subjects (and verbs in some clauses). How then are these accounted for? Asher (1994: 744) says that, “... predicates with unexpressed subjects are clausal constructions.” He also says, “... the subject of a controlled predicate is a unique type of empty NP with the central properties of both ordinary pronouns and anaphors...” That is, to establish the principles of co-indexing NULL subject with other controlling NPs within the construction.

Example (8) accounts for the representation of unexpressed NP in the infinitival purpose clause:

- (8) *bana baunka kususobana.*



‘the children have gone to play.’

In the above construction, the main clause is; *bana baunka* ‘the children have gone’ while the adverbial clause *kukusobana* ‘to play’ gives the information about the purpose for the children’s going away. NULL here stands for the unexpressed NP. The index indicates that the NP that occupies the slot for NP₂ is the same as that of NP₁.

4.2.4 Government of subordinating conjunctions

This section looks at ‘government’ of conjunctions in adverbial clauses. According to Hartmann and Stork (1972: 97), government is “the determination of the morphological form of one word by another.” In English for instance, prepositions are said to govern nouns. In many languages, the subject determines the person and number of the verb. Conjunctions in Tonga govern the mood of the verb of the adverbial clause. Although Collins (1962), identifies four moods; the subjunctive, indicative, infinitive, and the imperative; this section concerns itself with only three moods; the subjunctive, the indicative and the infinitive. The subjunctive is the mood that expresses intention, possibility or wish. The indicative expresses facts while the infinitive is used to express the ‘to’ form of the verb. In Tonga, the infinitive is formed with *ku-*. (The imperative is the mood expressing a command. The imperative is generally less used in communication and is not even used in adverbial clauses).

The conjunctions that govern the subjunctive are the purpose conjunctions; *kuti* ‘so that’ and *kutegwa* ‘in order to’. The temporal conjunction *limwi* ‘until’ also require the subjunctive if expressing the future. The conditional conjunction *kuti* ‘if’ also require the subjunctive when it is expressing a predictive (probable) condition. *Nokuba kuti* ‘although’ govern the subjunctive if expressing a hypothetical concession. All these require the subjunctive because they express intention, wish or desire.

Most of the adverbial conjunctions require the indicative. They require the indicative because the clause which they signal expresses the affirmation in a direct way. The conjunctions that govern the indicative are *nkaambo* ‘because’, *kumwi* ‘whilst’, and *limwi* ‘until’, because they express an affirmation in the adverbial clause.

As has been seen already, there are very few conjunctions that operate for adverbial clauses in Tonga. The mood expressed in the rest of adverbial clauses using morphemes is the indicative.

4.2.5 Sequence of tenses

Before discussing the sequences of tenses in the adverbial and main clause, it is cardinal to explain the tense system of Tonga. Table 6 gives the tense system of Tonga and encompasses the features of aspect and mood since these are contained in the verbal constituent and do relate to each other.

There are five tenses in Tonga; the present, the prehodiernal past, hodiernal past, hodiernal future and post hodiernal future (Collins, 1962) and (ILCAA, 1987). The present tense is used with the imperative and the indicative to indicate present actions. The prehodiernal past is the past form before the day of speaking whereas the hodiernal past is the past of today (the day of speaking). The hodiernal future is the future of the day of speaking whereas the post hodiernal future is the future after the day of speaking. While the imperative has no aspect, the indicative has a number of aspects even in other tenses such as the prehodiernal past, hodiernal past and the future tenses. The number of tenses and aspects depend on mood. As can be seen in table 6, some moods have more tenses and aspects. The indicative mood, as already stated is the most productive. The data also indicates this phenomenon. The verb form in Tonga just as in many Bantu languages can constitute any of the eleven morphemes as indicated in the following template, with the example *nibatakalikumubambililide* ‘when they had not been caring for him/ her’

Table 5: Verb form template

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Pre-SM	SM	P/Subj Prefix	TM	Asp.	OM	Root	EXT	Pre- ending	END	P/END
<i>ni-</i>	<i>-ba-</i>	<i>-ta-</i>	<i>-aka-</i>	<i>-liku-</i>	<i>-mu-</i>	<i>-bamb-</i>	<i>-ilil-</i>	<i>-id-</i>	<i>-e</i>	
when	they	Not	pHp	PROG	him/her	care	for	Perf.	IND	

The most important verb slots are 7, 10 and 2 (in this order). For instance the imperative comprises slot 7 and 10 only.

In Tonga, just as in many Bantu languages, the indicative, infinitive and imperative end in ‘-a’. The subjunctive ends in *-e* while the negative is formed with the prefix and suffix of the same morpheme; *ta-* *-i*. When the ending *-i* is moved to the first negative element as in the past, the negative form takes *tii-* (resulting from a morphological process involving deletion followed by vowel lengthening). There are various tense and aspect morphemes such as the following:

-la- for present progressive and future (equivalent to the future simple in English)

-aka- for prehodiernal past

-a- for hodiernal past

-yaku- for remote future

-niku- for progressive in the future time

-li- for stative

-ci- for persistent

-id- for perfective

In table 6 below, the morphemes for tense, aspect, mood and negation are indicated. Both positive and negative forms are exemplified. All examples are given in the 3rd

person plural (cl.2) to facilitate explicit tense morphemes. These morphemes, however, are not exhaustive (especially the variations).

Table 6. The tense system of Tonga

	Tense	Aspect	Positive	Negative	Mood
1.	Present		- <i>a</i> <i>kamulima</i> ‘cultivate’	- <i>ta-</i> - <i>I</i> <i>mutalimi</i> ‘do not cultivate’	Imperative
		Persistent	- <i>ka-</i> - <i>ci-</i> <i>kamucibeleka</i> ‘keep on working’		
		Habitual	- <i>la-</i> - <i>a</i> <i>balalima</i> ‘they cultivate’	<i>ta-</i> - <i>I</i> <i>tabalimi</i> ‘they do not cultivate’	Indicative
		Progressive	- <i>la-</i> - <i>a</i> <i>balabala</i> ‘they are reading’	<i>ta-</i> - <i>I</i> <i>tababali</i> ‘they are not reading’	
			- <i>yabu-</i> - <i>a</i> <i>bayaabulampa</i> ‘they are growing tall’	<i>ta-</i> - <i>yabu-</i> - <i>I</i> <i>tabayabulampi</i> ‘they are not growing’	

		Persistent	<i>-ci- -a</i> <i>bacilima</i> ‘they are still cultivating’	<i>ta- -ci- -I</i> <i>tabacilimi</i> ‘they are not still cultivating’	
		Perfective (stative)	<i>-li- id- -e</i> <i>balilimide</i> ‘they have cultivated’ <i>balineneede</i> ‘they are fat’	<i>ta- -id- -I</i> <i>tabalimide</i> ‘they have not cultivated’ <i>tabaneneede</i> ‘they are not fat’	
2.	Prehodiernal past		<i>-aka- -a</i> <i>bakabeleka</i> ‘they worked’	<i>ta-/ tii- -aka- -a</i> <i>tiibakabeleka</i> ‘they did not work’	Indicative
		Progressive	<i>-akaliku- -a</i> <i>bakalikubeleka</i> ‘they were working’	<i>tii- -akaliku- -a</i> <i>tiibakalikubeleka</i> ‘they were not working’	Indicative/ Infinitive
		Persistent	<i>-akaciliku- -a</i> <i>bakacilikubeleka</i> ‘they were still working’	<i>tii- -akaciliku- -a</i> <i>tiibakacilikubeleka</i> ‘they were not still working’	

		Pluperfect	<i>-aka- (-li-) -id- e</i> <i>bakalibelekede</i> ‘they had worked’	<i>ta-/ tii- -aka- (-li-) -id- -e</i> <i>tiibakabelekede</i> ‘they had not worked’	Indicative
3	Hodiernal past		<i>-a-</i> <i>babeleka</i> ‘they have worked’	<i>ta-/ tii- -a</i> <i>tiibabeleka</i> ‘they have not worked’	Indicative
4 4	Hodiernal future		<i>-la- -a</i> <i>balaunka</i> ‘they will go’	<i>ta- -a</i> <i>tabakounka</i> ‘they will not go’	Indicative
		Progressive	<i>-yoobu- -a</i> <i>bayoobuya</i> ‘they are going’	<i>ta- -yoobu- -i</i> <i>tabayoobuyi</i> ‘they are not going’	
		Persistent	<i>-ciyabu- -a</i> <i>baciyaabuya</i> ‘they are still going on’	<i>ta- -ciyaabu- -i</i> <i>tabaciyabuyi</i> ‘they are not still going on’	
			<i>-e</i> <i>babeleke</i> ‘they should work’	<i>-ta- -i</i> <i>batabeleki</i> ‘they should not work’	Subjunctive
5	Posthodiernal future		<i>-yaku-/ -yoo- -a</i> <i>bayakubeleka/</i> <i>bayoobeleka</i> ‘they will work’	<i>ta- -ka- /-yoo- -I</i> <i>tabakabeleki/</i> <i>tabayoobeleki</i> ‘they will not work’	Indicative

			<i>-ka- -e</i> <i>bakabeleke</i> ‘they should work’	<i>-ta- -ka- -i</i> <i>batakabeleki</i> ‘they should not work’	Subjunctive
			<i>-kaaku- -e</i> <i>bakakubeleke</i> ‘they should work’ (more remote)	<i>ta- -kaaku- -i</i> <i>tabakakubeleki</i> ‘they should not work’ (more remote)	Subjunctive/ infinitive
		Progressive	<i>-nikuyaku- -a</i> <i>banikuyakubeleka</i> ‘they will be working’	<i>ta- -nikuyaku- -I</i> <i>tabanikuyakubeleki</i> ‘they will not be working’	Indicative/ infinitive
		Persistent	<i>-cinikuyaku- -a</i> <i>bacinikuyakubeleka</i> ‘they will still be working’	<i>ta- -cinikuyaku- -I</i> <i>tabacinikuyakubeleki</i> ‘they will still not be working’	

		Perfective	<i>-nikuyaku- -id- -e</i> <i>banikuyakwiimbide</i> ‘they will have sung’	<i>ta- -nikuyaku- -id- -e</i> <i>tabanikuyakwiimbide</i> ‘they will not have sung’	
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Generally, the tense of the verb in the adverbial clause is influenced by the tense of the verb of the main clause verb phrase (MCVP), that is, if the verb of the main clause is in the past tense, the adverbial clause verb tense would be in the past as well. However, there are also a number of instances where the sequence would depend on the sense to be communicated. This section has examined the adverbial constructions dealt with in the study, looking at the various tense agreements. For this section, the bolded elements in the examples are tense morphemes.

4. 2.5.1 Sequence of tenses in temporal adverbial clauses

The general rule of tense of the temporal adverbial clause is to copy the tense of the main clause. If the main clause bears a past tense then the adverbial clause would be in the past tense as well (whether the tense morpheme is explicit or not).

- (12) a. *ni- **-aka** -mana kuuma mani, wa- **-aka-** ya mu-
mbewu*
when pHp finish to beat grass he pHp go in
garden
‘after slashing the grass, he went in the garden’.
- b. *mbuba-**a**-unjila buyo munzi, ba-**a**-mvwa muya wacinca*
‘as they just entered the village, they felt the change of the atmosphere
- c. *tu-yaku-bajana twa-**aku**-unka*

‘we will find them when we go’

In (12a) above, the tense in the adverbial clause is the same as that of the main clause verb, the prehodiernal past (the past of yesterday). In example (12b), the tense is in the hodiernal past (the past of today), represented by the morpheme *-a* while in (12c), both verb tenses are in the posthodiernal future. There are, however, instances when the tense of the adverbial clause does not copy the tense of the MCVP, depending on the sense to be communicated as shown in example (13), (although this has an overlap with the conditional sense).

- (13) *u-yaku-tutumina mali mbu-u-a-mvwa mbotupenga*
‘you will send us money since you have heard how we are suffering’

The tense in the main clause is in the posthodiernal future while the adverbial clause tense is in the hodiernal past.

4. 2.5.2 Sequence of tenses in purpose adverbial clauses

The data has shown that the purpose clauses expressed by conjunctions usually have the present tense (expressed by the present subjunctive) in the adverbial clause while the main clause may take any of the appropriate time references. However, there is freedom of tense sequence. The tenses used vary according to the time of reference. Therefore, the present tense can be used with present, present with future, past with the present and past with the future. This depends on the sense to be communicated as stated above.

- (14) a. *ba-aka-tijaana kuti ba-a-mulete...*
‘they ran so as to bring her...’.
- b. *ncobeni boonse ba-aka-unka kutegwa ba-ka-mvwe...*
‘truly, everyone went (there) so that they hear...’.

- c. *kucita kuti mizimo kaitugwasya mucindi camapenzi, tuleelede kwiipiila...*
 ‘so that our ancestral spirits help us in times of trouble, we must honour them...’.
- d. *bana ba-la-ya kutegwa ba-ka-kkale kabotu kumbele*
 ‘children learn so that they live well in future’

For instance, (14a) has a past-present sequence, (14b) has a past-future, (14c) a present-present (with zero tense morphemes) and (14d) a present-future sequence.

4.2.5.3 Tense sequence in conditional clauses

A variety of tenses and verb moods are used in conditional constructions. Conditionals expressing events that are factual and those of scientific truth use the present tense in the conditional clause and the hodiernal future in the main clause. For those expressing probability, the conditional clause may take any of the time references but the main clause would be essentially in the future (hodiernal or post hodiernal). For improbable conditions, the hodiernal past is used in the conditional clause and a conditional mood (expressed by *ni-* in the verbal constituent) is used in the main clause. Those expressing impossibility usually use the prehodiernal past in the conditional clause and the conditional mood with the prehodiernal past in the main clause. It is also possible to have a hodiernal past in the main clause of a construction expressing impossibility when the supposition of the condition set is false or simply a wish.

- (15) a. *naa uøyanda kundijaya, kondiøjaya...*
 ‘if you want to kill me, kill me...’.
- b. *kuti u-ka-lombe kabotu, u-yakuteelela bamwaaba nkobati kakwiizanyane kulila.*
 ‘if you pray sincerely, you will hear how the foxes would scream’
- c. *nond-aka-mubuzya, na-aka-ndaambila.*
 ‘if I had asked him/her, he/she would have told me.’

- d. *kuti w-a-bikka munyo mumeenda, u-la-yaaya.*
'if you put salt in water, it dissolves

In (15a), the tense in the main clause is in the present and that of the adverbial clause is also in the present (expressed by the imperative). This is the present-present sequence. Examples (15b), (15c) and (15d) have the future-future (pHf), past-past and present-future (Hf) sequences respectively. Note that the symbol 'ø' indicates a tense morpheme which is not explicit.

4.2.5.4 Tense sequence in concessive clauses

Concessive clauses use all the tense types. In most cases, the concessive clause takes the tense of the clause it modifies although it is possible to have a different tense (depending on the sense to be communicated). The past can be used with the present or future, the present with the future. In (16a) below, the tense sequence is past-past (pHp) whereas (16b) has the present-future (Hf) sequence.

- (16) a. *nokuba kuti u-aka-manide ino kusamba..., kankasaalo ka-aka-mweenda...*
'even though he had just finished bathing ..., he sweated.'
- b. *...nokuba kuti andiøweele mwami, mbubo mwana u-la-fwida mumaanza angu ...*
'even though the Lord forsakes me, the child will at least die in my hands...'

4.2.5.5 Tense sequence in clauses of reason

There is free use of all the time references in the adverbial clauses of reason. The tense in the reason clause may or may not be the same as that of the main clause. This depends on the logical sequence of the events of the clauses and the sense to be communicated.

- (17) a. *muta-ka-mulwani nkaambo tamu-ka-piluki kabotu,*
 ‘you should not fight him because you would not return in peace.’
- b. *nd-a-kkomana nkaambo nd-a-umana mulimo*
 ‘am happy because I have completed the work’
- c. *akaambo kakuti ta-aka-likulya kabotu, nguzu zyakwe zi-aka-talika*
 kuceya...
 ‘because he/ she had not been eating well, her strength began to
 deteriorate...’
- d. *akaambo kakuti u-ø-tukkila bazyali bako, to-ka-zwidilili mubuumi*
 bwako
 ‘because you insult your parents, you will not prosper in life’

In (17a), the main clause event and the adverbial clause events are expected to take place in future. This therefore is a future-future tense sequence (pHf). Example (17b) has a present-present sequence, (17c) has a past-past sequence (pHp) while (17d) has a future-present sequence.

4.2.5.6 Tense sequence in clauses of result

There is also freedom of tense sequence in the clauses of result. The tense sequence depends on the logical sense although in most cases the adverbial clause verb copies the tense of the main clause verb. The past and present tenses are used in the clauses expressing result. The future tense is rarely used unless hypothetical events are set.

- (18) a. *mulandu ngu-a-kulituka nobeni aboobo muta-a-tutongookeli*
 ‘you are responsible for the case so do not complain against us.’
- b. *milonga y-aka-zwide miseenga aboobo meenda tana-aka-cili kukkala*
 mutuzyiba ...
 ‘rivers had been full of sand. as a result, water no longer collected in
 the small dambos...’

- c. *cakulya ci-ya-kuvwula aboobo kunyina u-ya-kulomba bamwi*
 ‘food will be in abundance, so no one would beg from others’
- d. *ba-aka-nununa bantu banji aboobo ba-ya-kupegwa bulumbu*
 ‘they saved a lot of people, so they will be rewarded’

In the above examples, (18a) has the present-present tense sequence while (18b) and (18c) uses the past and the future in both clauses respectively. In (18d), however, there is the past-future sequence because the main verb event happened in the past and the adverbial event is expected to take place in the future (pHf).

4.2.5.7 Tense sequence in clauses of manner

All tenses are used in manner clauses but the tenses that are mostly used are the present and past tenses. Mostly, the tense in the adverbial clause agrees with the tense of the main clause verb.

- (19) a. *ba-aka-ile kuleka mbuba-aka-leka kunyonka,*
 ‘they just stopped the way they stopped breastfeeding.’
- b. *aci-ka-citike mbuli mbo-Ø-ciyanda ...*
 ‘let it happen (in future) as you wish (now)...’
- c. *manego a-aka-li kuligwa mbuli bu-Ø-ligwa musozya wamangamwe*
 ‘manego were eaten the way dry boiled maize is eaten’
- d. *mu-yoo-tangala bu-yoo-tangala baabo bakafwa muli Kilisitu*
 ‘you will rejoice the way those who died in Christ would rejoice’

The tense sequence, as can be seen, in (19a) is the past-past. In (19b), (19c) and (19d) we have the future-present, past-present and future-future sequences respectively. In the case of (19b) and (19c), the present tense morpheme in the adverbial clause is a zero morpheme.

4.2.5.8 Tense sequence in clauses of comparison

The tenses that seem to have freedom of use are the past and present, although the future is also possible for predictive eventualities. The present can be used even when the main clause verb tense is in the past. Tense sequence, just like in the types already discussed, depends on what is to be communicated.

- (20) a. ... *muntu ooyu u-aka-li kulibonya mbuli kuti u-~~o~~-lifwide* ...
(Lit. person this he was to be seen like that he is dead)
'...this person appeared as if he was dead ...' .
- b. ...*ncopapalisya kucita ci-la-ile kukweetela penzi limbi kwiinda mboci-~~o~~-bede*
'what you are trying to do will just lead you into another problem than what it is (now).
- c. *u-yoo-ba mucete kwiinda mboba-yoo-muyeeela bantu banji*
'he/ she will be poorer than what many people would think about him/ her'

In (20a) there is a past-present sequence while (20b) has a future (Hf)-present sequence. In (20c) there is a future-future sequence expressing a predictive event. However, it is rare to make such predictions in the language.

4.2.5.9 Tense sequence in clauses of place

There is also freedom of tense usage in adverbial clauses of place although most clauses copy the tense of the main verb clause.

- (21) a. *mubili u-yaku-piluka kubulongo nko-u-aka-zwida*
'the body will return to the soil where it came from'
- b. *Hatimba u-aka-unka mukkoce muba-aka-kkede* ...

‘Hatimba went to the veranda **where** they sat ...’

- c. *nkuuw-a-ya, u-yaku-jana bantu bamisyobo yaandeene.*
‘wherever you go, you would find people of different races.’

As can be seen in (21b), the same tense is used in both clauses; the past-past sequence. In (21a), we have a future-past sequence and present-future in (21c).

4.2.5.10 Tense sequence in comment clauses

Tense in comment clauses is logically possible only with the past and present tenses. This is because we comment on what is or what has already been said. The main clause, however, can take the present, the past or the future.

- (22) a. *mbuli mbotu-a-mvwa kale, simunzyaakwe Mutinta...u-aka-unkide*
kumilimo...
‘as we have already heard, Mutinta’s uncle had gone for work...’
b. *mbuli mboba-aka-ambawide, mugoti u-aka-akusigwa*
‘as they had discussed (the matter), the borehole was sunk’

In (22a), there is a past (Hp)-past (pHp) sequence while (22b) has a past-past (pHp) sequence.

In this section, we have seen that there are very few clause types that have strict rules on tense sequence. Temporal clauses strictly copy the tense of the main verb but there is more freedom in the tense sequence of clauses of reason, result and place, depending on the sense to be communicated.

4.3 POSITION OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

As stated already, the position of an adverbial clause in relation to the main clause is flexible; may occur in initial or final position and in some circumstances, in medial position, (Quirk and Greenbaum (1973). In deep structure (by default), adverbial

clauses are sentence-final. Different position of some adverbial clauses therefore is a result of syntactic movement. However, there are restrictions for such occurrences in some adverbial clause subtypes of Tonga.

Adverbial constructions with shorter constituents are normally sentence-initial. Similar to the shorter-longer constructions, adverbial clauses that are structurally less complex occur predominantly in initial position. Considering the reason clause in (23) below, preposing the longer and complex clause would render the sentence ungrammatical.

- (23) a. ...**mb**waakasikila buyo aajinkila lubuwa, musimbi wakayanda kujoka **nkaambo** kwategwa tiicakali kuboneka kabotu kuti mweenzu ankata yakwe amutwe watalika kuzunga abasankwa.
- ‘**immediately** she reached the edge of the yard, the girl desired to go back **because/as** it was not right for a visitor to flirt around with boys’.
- b. * **nkaambo** kwategwa tiicakali kuboneka kabotu kuti mweenzu ankata yakwe amutwe watalika kuzunga abasankwa, musimbi wakayanda kujoka **mb**waakasikila buyo aajinkila lubuwa.
- ‘**because/as** it was not right for a visitor to flirt around with boys, the girl desired to go back, **immediately** she reached the edge of the yard’.

Constructions such as (23a) are even difficult to process because the focus of the whole construction would be lost if the shorter clause was to be postposed as can be seen with example (23b) above. This is supported by the notion that shorter constructions are placed before longer ones. (www.personal.uni-jena.de/~x4diho/Iconicity_of_sequence.pdf).

Table 7 below indicates the statistical position of adverbial clauses by source. Only secondary sources have been included. As explained in Chapter One, K, M and B are clauses sourced from *Kalya Uzumanana* (Hanengeta, 1988), *Malweza Aatunga Mulongo* (Nyanga, 1989) and *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* (Kachele, 1998) respectively.

Table 7 indicates that there were many initial clauses and very few clauses occurring in medial position while the number of final adverbial clauses collected was relatively lower than that of initial clauses.

Table 7. Position of adverbial clauses in relation to main clauses

Source	Initial	Medial	Final	Total
K	194	01	113	308
M	43	00	52	95
B	57	01	58	116
Total	294	02	223	519

It can, therefore, be stated that adverbial clauses in Tonga very rarely interrupt the clauses they modify. For the relation of initial and final clauses, it requires further investigation before making a general conclusion as early as this point. In Sitali's (2008) analysis of Lozi adverbial clauses, there is relatively a notable margin between initial and final position of adverbial clauses (127: 185 of the 312 clauses). Although Sitali's analysis is believable and agrees with the many accounts about the general order of adverbial clauses, this study has indicated that there are more initial clauses in the collected data than final ones. This, however, is not enough for a generalisation as it has already been indicated that there are a number of motivating factors in the positioning of adverbial clauses in a language. Some clauses that favour initial position might outnumber those that favour final position in another language just because there may be more of the clause type of initial position in the collected data. This study, therefore, has looked at the conjunctions, verb forms and morphemes signalling adverbial clauses in Tonga to determine the position of such clause types. This is why in both the semantic and syntactic analyses chapters, the study has focused on the adverbial clauses signalled by a particular element or means.

There are 519 adverbial clauses in the collected corpus of which 294 are initial, 2 medial and 223 final as indicated in table 7 above. Of the initial clauses, 183 are temporal, 41 concessive, 37 conditional, 7 comment, 4 locational (clauses of place) 4

purpose and 19 reason clauses. With the final positioned clauses, 62 are clauses of purpose, 10 of manner, 17 of time (temporal), 24 of result, 58 of reason, 26 of comparison, 11 concessive, 9 place and 6 conditionals. Table 8 shows the distribution of adverbial clauses in the data by type, source and position. Percentages are given for quick reference.

Table 8. Distribution of adverbial clauses by type, source and position

		INITIAL		MEDIAL		FINAL		TOTAL		GRAND TOTAL	
CLAUSE TYPE	SOURCE	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Temporal	K	139	47.3	0	0	05	2.2	144	27.7	200	38.5
	M	26	8.8	0	0	09	4	35	6.7		
	B	18	6.1	0	0	03	1.3	21	4		
Purpose	K	01	0.3	0	0	35	15.7	36	6.9	65	12.5
	M	0	0	0	0	09	4	09	1.7		
	B	02	0.7	0	0	18	8.1	20	3.9		
Conditional	K	13	4.4	0	0	03	1.3	16	3.1	43	8.3
	M	10	3.4	0	0	02	0.9	12	2.3		
	B	14	4.8	0	0	01	0.4	15	2.9		
Concessive	K	18	6.1	0	0	01	0.4	19	3.7	52	10
	M	06	2	0	0	01	0.4	07	1.4		
	B	17	5.8	0	0	09	4	26	5		
Reason	K	19	6.5	0	0	42	18.8	61	11.8	77	14.8
	M	0	0	0	0	07	3.1	07	1.4		
	B	0	0	0	0	09	4	09	1.7		
Result	K	0	0	0	0	07	3.1	07	1.4	24	4.6
	M	0	0	0	0	06	2.7	06	1.2		
	B	0	0	0	0	11	4.9	11	2.1		
Manner	K	0	0	0	0	04	1.8	04	0.8	10	1.9
	M	0	0	0	0	05	2.2	05	1		
	B	0	0	0	0	01	0.4	01	0.2		
Comparison	K	0	0	0	0	12	5.4	12	2.3	26	5
	M	0	0	0	0	08	3.6	08	1.5		
	B	0	0	0	0	06	2.7	06	1.2		

Place	K	01	0.3	01	50	04	1.8	06	1.2	14	2.7
	M	01	0.3	0	0	04	1.8	05	1		
	B	02	0.7	0	0	01	0.4	03	0.6		
Comment	K	03	1	0	0	0	0	03	0.6	08	1.5
	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
	B	04	1.4	01	50	0	0	05	1		
Total		294	100	02	100	223		519	100	519	99.8

Table 8 shows that there were many temporal clauses used in the collected corpus than any other type and a number of them are preposed. There are very few comment clauses in the data. This indicates that temporal clauses are highly used than any type while comment clauses are rare. This might be the reason why in some accounts such as Quirk and Greenbaum (1973)'s, comment clauses are considered as attitudinal disjuncts. Temporal, purpose, conditional, concessive, reason and place clauses can appear either in initial or final position. The table also indicates that clauses of result, manner and comparison are restricted to final position while clauses of comment favour initial position.

4. 3. 1 Position of temporal clauses

As stated above, temporal clauses are flexible for they can appear in both positions in relation to the main clause. In many instances, temporal clauses are preposed. Out of 200 temporal clauses in our data, 183 occur sentence-initial. This clause type is frequently used in the Tonga copora, especially that the data was collected from novels, with stories that are characterised by social events. Table 8 indicates that temporal clauses have the highest percentage among the presented adverbial clauses. Although Hudson's analysis is on English language, it also indicates that adverbial clauses of time are the most frequent type (www.chemnitz.de.phil/english/chairs/linguist/real/independent/eafrica/Diss-Diana/dissch5-3-2.htm). This is because when temporal clauses appear with any other adverbial clauses, they are preposed. Another assumption that has seemed possible is that any kind of discourse (spoken or written) uses this for time reference and many

occurrences refer to time of their happenings as already alluded. Many temporal clauses in Tonga also tend to be shorter than the main clauses and often carry given information. This is in line with what some scholars have advocated, as stated above, for the position of adverbial clauses. Further, particular adverbial subordinators and morphemes dictate the position of the temporal adverbial clause as will be seen below. Table 9 gives a statistical account of the temporal adverbial subtypes, indicated by the elements signalling them.

Table 9. The distribution of temporal subtypes

SUBTYPE	INITIAL	FINAL	TOTAL
<i>kusikila/limwi</i>	0	02	02
<i>kumwi (ka-)</i>	05	08	13
<i>ni-</i>	114	04	118
<i>ka-</i>	02	01	03
<i>ka-ci-</i>	03	0	03
<i>mbu-</i>	06	0	06
<i>ka-tana</i>	10	02	12
<i>-man-/ zu-</i>	26	0	26
(tense and mood)	17	0	17
TOTAL	183	17	200

As can be seen in table 8 above, the many initial clauses are those signalled by the *ni-* morpheme especially those translating as ‘when’ (as compared to those translating for ‘as’) while clauses signalled by *kusikila limwi* favour final position. Preposing clauses with *kusikila limwi* would communicate an offensive command.

Many temporal clauses appearing sentence-initial are followed by a main clause that is followed by a chain of other adverbial clauses, making the main clause so complex. It is to this point that the choice of which clause to be processed first (according to the effect required) would need consideration.

4.3.1.1 Temporal clauses signalled by conjunctions

As stated in Chapter One, adverbial clauses are signalled by conjunctions just as in English and many other natural languages. There are only two temporal clauses established, that are signalled by subordinating conjunctions. These are clauses with *kusikila limwi* ‘until/ till’ and *kumwi* ‘while/ whilst’.

Clauses signalled by *kusikila limwi* can either precede or follow the main clause although the default position is sentence-final. Initial position is used to communicate an emphatic meaning. The emphatic expression is always used with the subjunctive mood in the adverbial clause and an imperative in the main clause. This construction is used with the present and future tenses. The conjunction can be used as a compound or the two compounding words used independently. The conjunction is the head of the clause.

- (24) a. *ndakatalikila kwakwe kwiiya **kusikila limwi** ndamanizya*
‘I started schooling at his place **till** I completed.’
- b. *Busiku ... wakaiila **limwi** wakatala.*
‘Busiku... cried **until** he was tired.’
- c. *...Syuumbwa wakazumanana kwiita mulongwaakwe **kusikila Kawo wakaingula.***
‘...Syuumbwa continued calling his friend **until** Kawo responded’.
- d. ***kusikila (limwi)** ndiboole, utazwi amunzi*
‘**until** I come back, do not leave home’

Temporal clauses signalled by *kumwi* favour the final position. If in initial position, they press emphasis on the eventuality of the modifying clause. In (25) below, *kumwi* is the subordinating conjunction whereas *ka-* is a particle acting as an auxiliary. In this analysis, however, the particle is part of the verbal constituent. In addition, this particle can operate without the free element. While optionalising the free element does not affect the grammaticality of the construction, leaving out the bound element

in (25) below would render the construction ungrammatical. This therefore, entails that the operation of *kumwi* obligatorily requires a morphological means.

- (25) *wakamanizya kukanana Haatimba **kumwi kajala cijazyo***
*u- -aka- manizya kukanana Haatimba **kumwi ka-***
*he (TM) finish to talk Haatimba **while***
-a- -jala cijazyo...
(2nd sg.) close door...
 ‘Haatimba completed speaking **while** closing the door’.

When the subject of the adverbial clause is different from that of the main clause, *kumwi* and the particle *ka-* are intercepted by the subject NP of the adverbial clause.

- (26) *...wakatalika kukanana musambazi **kumwi meso kaatazwi ali Nkombo.***
 ‘the sales person started talking **while** the eyes focused on Nkombo.’

In examples (25) and (26), the conjunction *kumwi* is used with the particle *ka-* as is shown by the bolded elements. The particle *ka-* can however be used without *kumwi* and give the same meaning if a prefixal element referring to the subject of the main clause is used or if the construction is in the present or future tense, (see example (27) below.

- (27) *bakamutola kumaanda Mutinta **kumwi bayaabumuseka...***
ba- -aka- -mu- - tola kumaanda Mutinta kumwi
they PAST her take to homes Mutinta while

ba- yabu- mu- seka...
they PROG her laugh...
 ‘they took Mutinta home **while** laughing at her...’

4.3.1.2 Temporal clauses without subordinating conjunctions

As already stated in the introduction of this chapter, a number of adverbial clauses in Tonga are signalled by special verb forms. These verb forms may or may not contain subordinating elements. What prevail in the analysis of these clauses are the conceptual features of the elements used. Many temporal clause types are signalled by morphemes. These are affixed to the subject morpheme which is bound to the verb morpheme or infixed between the subject morpheme or other verbal constituents and the verb root. Various morphemes such as tense markers and verb extensions are also attached to the verb root as mentioned earlier. The verbal constituent, although a word, constitutes a number of morphemes that have a syntactic function. The morphemes to be discussed here are *ni-*, *ka-*, *ka- -ci*, *ka- -tan-*, *mbu-*, *man-* and *zu-*.

Clauses signalled by *ni-* carry a number of functions as has been indicated in (5.2.1.2.). The *ni-* clauses that signify that the action of the adverbial clause happens at the same time with that of the main clause frequently take final position. When there is focus, however, the adverbial clause is logically placed in initial position. In each of the adverbial clauses, the element signalling the adverbial clause is adjoined to the verbal constituent. The adverbial clause structure therefore is a morphosyntactic one.

- (28) a. *basankwa balasobana nibeembela*
 ‘boys play when herding’ .
- b. *basankwa baya kukuzela nobateembeli*
 ‘boys go fishing when (they are) not herding’
- c. *bana balalota niboona*
 ‘children dream when sleeping’.

For clauses indicating that one action (the action of the adverbial clause), happens after another (action of the main clause), the general phenomenon is to place the adverbial clause in initial position. This follows the notion asserted of the logical sequence of the actions.

- (29) *nobakasika..., bakakkala ansi...*
‘when they arrived..., they sat down’.

no-	- ba-	-aka-	-sik-	-a	ba-	-aka-	-kkal-	-a	a-	-nsi
CONJ	SM	TM	VR	END	SM	TM	VR	END	loc	
position										
<i>when</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>(past)</i>	<i>arrive</i>		<i>they</i>	<i>(past)</i>	<i>sit</i>		<i>pp</i>	
<i>ground</i>										

Note that the *ni-* element takes various forms (*ni-*, *ne-*, *na-*, *no-*) for particular pronominals. Some of the variants are dialectal. Collins (1982) generalises it as the *na-* element while Carter (2002) terms it *nó-* for present tenses and *ni-* (with variants) for past tenses. Because of this, it is termed an irregular form. Various adverbial clause types using an adjoined element display similar irregularity. Contrary to Carter’s (2002) analysis, it has been discovered that other forms rather than *nó-* are used in present tenses, (see (28a) above).

Temporal clauses signalled by the *ka-* particle expressing simultaneity are favourably placed in final position unless conveying an emphatic notion or used for focus. Note that the particle has the sense of ‘as’ or ‘while’, and in many instances functions like the English participle, in temporal clauses.

- (30) a. *bakaima kwakaindi kalamfwu kabamyontana milaka*
‘They stood for a longer period of time kissing each other.’

- b. *ka- -a- -jala cijazyo, Haatimba wakamanizya*
while (agr) close door Haatimba he finished
kukanana.
to talk
‘while closing the door, Haatimba completed speaking’.

When the *ka-* clause expresses that an event happens when another event had happened, the adverbial uses the perfective morpheme *-id-* and the ending, *-e* in the verb. The verbal constituent is usually used with the adverb *kale* ‘already’. The normal position for this form is sentence-final.

- (31) a. *bandijana kandijikide kale*
ba- -ndi- -jan- -a ka- -ndi- -jik- -id- -e
 they me find (IND) **while** I cook Perf. (SUBJ)
kale
 already
 ‘they found I had cooked already’
 b. *bandijana kanditajiki*
 ‘they found me not cooking’
 c. *bandijana kanditana jika*
 ‘they found I had not yet cooked’

When used with the second person singular, the *ka-* particle takes the *ko-* shape and *-ke-* with the contracted first person singular. It is also an irregular element.

The *ka-* *-ci-* element is another form of the *ka-* participle, with the added sense of ‘still’. This is the persistent aspect morpheme explained in 4.2.5 above. While clauses signalled by the *ka-* element can either be sentence-initial or final, temporal clauses introduced by the participle *ka-* + *-ci-* element logically occur sentence-initial. This is because the action of the adverbial clause occurs before the commencement of the main clause action. Placing the adverbial clause sentence-final is due to the focus of the main clause information as in (32c) below.

- (32) a. *kaciyeeya boobu, kujulu kwakatalika kwiibuka makumbi ...*
 ‘**while** she thought like this, clouds began to form in the sky.’

- b. *kacikkede kunywa tunambi, wakamvwa muntu uuzya mukupa uuma kalangu...*
 ‘whilst she sat drinking beer, she heard a milk sales person sounding a bell...’
- c. *basimbi banji muminzi balamita kabaciya*
 ‘many girls in villages get pregnant whilst schooling’

Note that the element signalling the adverbial in the verbal is split by the subject morpheme as clearly seen in (32c). In (32a) and (32b), the subject morpheme is a zero element. In some analyses, the *-a-* for singular fuses into a single vowel or is deleted. The element behaves the same way as the imperative form explained by Collins (ibid) except the one dealt with here carries an adverbial function while Collins’ expresses a command, (Collins, op cit: 58-59). Hence when referring to the second person singular, *ko- -ci-* form is used while *ka- -ci-* is used for the rest of the nominal referents. When the first person singular is contracted, the subject morpheme precedes *ka- -ci-* and the vowel used is ‘e’ as mentioned above. Compare (33a) and (33b) below:

- (33) a. *kandicijika, bakasika beenzu*
 ‘while (I was) still cooking, visitors arrived’.
- b. *nkecijika, bakasika beenzu*
 ‘while (I was) still cooking, visitors arrived’.

The element *ka- -tan-* is a participial form with additional meaning of ‘not yet’. In adverbial clauses, the form is interpreted as ‘before’. *Ka-* is the participial particle, *-ta-* is the negative morpheme and *-na* expressing the sense of ‘yet’. Similar to the foregoing section, the subject marker splits the element that denotes ‘before’. However, this is viewed as a special verb form.

In the collected corpus, there are 10 initial and 2 final clauses signalled by *ka-tan-*. This is contrary to the notion of logical sequence of events.

- (34) a. *ka-tana talika kusya, kwakaboola mootokala....*
 ‘before he started digging, there came a vehicle...’
- b. *inziba ka-i-tana akuyeeya kuti ncinzi cicitika, mutwe wakali mukanwa lyakaaze.*
 ‘...before the dove realized of what was happening, the head was in the cat’s mouth’.
- c. ...*ko-tana yumuka, mwaambile mucembele apaile.*
 ‘...before you start off, tell the old woman to pray.’
- d. ...*n-ke-taniga kutondezya nzila, mebo amukaintu wangu tuyanda kuti utubelekele ...*
 ‘before I show you the way, I and my wife would like you to work for us ...’

Temporal clauses signalled by the morpheme *mbu-* (morpheme equivalent to ‘immediately’) commonly precede the main clause. This is because the particle carries an emphatic expression. For this reason, it is usually used with the adverb *buyo* (carrying the notion ‘just’). There are 5 initial and 1 final clause signalled by the *mbu-* morpheme. The morpheme uses various vowels according to the kinds of pronominals referred to.

- (35) a. *wakacibona mukaintu mbwaakaboolela kumwaanzya.*
 ‘his wife noticed (the attitude) immediately he came to greet her’.
- b. ...*mbwaakasikila buyo aajinkila lubuwa, musimbi wakayanda kujoka...*
 ‘...immediately she reached the edge of the yard, the girl desired to go back ...’
- c. *mbubaunjila buyo munzi, bamvwa muya wacinca*
 ‘as they just entered the village, they felt the change of the atmosphere’
- d. *tandibajani mbweboolela*
 ‘I do not find them whenever I come’.

Clauses signalled by *-man-* and *-zu-* are frequently preposed. This is because the adverbial clause event precedes the main clause event. In the data, all the 26 adverbial clauses signalled by the elements carrying the notion ‘after’ are preposed. The elements signalling the adverbial clause is usually followed by an infinitive verb translating as an English participle. The elements denoting ‘after’ use the *ni-* morpheme prefixed to the subordinating morphemes or the temporal subjunctive in the past. For this reason, the forms can be translated as ‘when’ plus the literal concept ‘finish’. On the other hand, the concept of the conjunction ‘after’ in Tonga is expressed by describing the completion of the event using the *ni-* ‘when’ element.

- (36) a. *amane kwaamba majwi aaya, wakazumanana*
 [finished to say words these, she continued
kweenda
 to walk]
 ‘**after** saying these words, she continued walking’.
- b. *naakamana kuuma mani, wakaya mumbewu*
 [Lit. ‘when she/ he finished to beat grass, she/ he went in garden’
 ‘**after** slashing the grass, he went in the garden...’.
- c. *nobakazwa akubandika makani aalukwato lwabana babo, bamadaala bakaandaana*
 [Lit. ‘when they moved away to talk issues of marriage for children theirs, old men they dispersed]
 ‘**after** discussing marriage issues for their children, the old men dispersed.’

Just like the form *ka- -tan-*, the constituent containing *-man-/ -zu-* are seen as auxiliaries because they precede the main verb of the adverbial clause. Note that *-zwa* is *-zu-* + *-a* before coalescence takes place.

4.3.1.3 Temporal clauses signalled by tense and mood

In the previous sub-subsections, we have accounted for types of adverbial clauses indicating the ordering of these in relation to the main clauses. It has been shown that some adverbial clauses are signalled by subordinating conjunctions or elements that help in the classification of the adverbial clauses. There are, however, some instances where a clause without a subordinating element has been identified and classified.

In some temporal clauses, there is no subordinating element or morpheme and only the form of the verb is used. These clauses are best interpreted by either the tense morpheme or the mood of the verb form with consideration of the syntactic environment in which they occur. Some future tense forms and the subjunctive, including tone which will be discussed later in the study are used. Tone is not discussed here because it is used to distinguish one adverbial type from the others and this has been discussed under 4.5.2.

- (37) a. *mwaakusika buyo atalaa mulonga ngomuya kutondezegwa,*
muyakulimvwida...
‘when you just reach across the river that you will be shown, you will hear for yourself...’ (pHf).
- b. *mulalimvwida* *mwasika buyo atalaa mulonga ngomutiitondezegwe*
‘you will hear for yourself when you just reach across the river that you will be shown’ (Hf).

In (37a), the tense morpheme *-aku-* and the context of the whole adverbial in relation to the main clause help in the interpretation of this temporal adverbial type. This type is the same as the temporal clauses signalled by *ni-*. The *ni-* clauses do not have an explicit subordinating element when used with the hodiernal and posthodiernal future. The *ni-* morpheme therefore can be viewed as a temporal mood whose form is influenced by tense.

Example (38) shows the use of the subjunctive mood in the expression of temporal clauses without subordinating morphemes. As indicated in (38b), clauses using the subjunctive cannot be postposed. Therefore, the normal position is sentence-initial. Actually, all the 17 clauses signalled by the subjunctive and infinitive in the collected data are preposed.

- (38) a. *basike kusyokwe, Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu ...*
 ‘as they reached the bush, Bulyi told Cikupu ...’ (subjunctive)
- b. **Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu basike kusyokwe*
 ‘Bulyi told Cikupu as they reached the bush’

4.3.1.4 Syntactic polarity in temporal clauses

Negation in temporal clauses is possible but may require reshuffle of the adverbial constituents, as can be seen in examples (28b) and (31b) above. Some temporal clauses use the negative inceptive (as used by Collins 1962) to express negation, ((31c) and (35e)), while in others, negation of any kind is impossible. For such cases, it is only the main clause verb that allows negation as indicated in (35d) above. Clauses of posteriority do not take a negative form because these already carry a negative morpheme in the base that has the subordinating element. The negative morpheme in all temporal clauses generally follows the subject marker unlike in declarative statements where it precedes the subject marker.

Temporal clauses of simultaneity in Tonga frequently occur in final position (see clauses signalled by *ka-* ‘as’, *kumwi* ‘while’, *ka-ci* ‘whilst’ and some *ni-* ‘when’ clauses). Clauses of anteriority (the after clauses) are frequently preposed. Actually, all the clauses of this kind in our data are preposed (clauses signalled by the concepts of *-man/-zu-*) while clauses of posteriority (before clauses signalled by the element *ka-tana*) may be posed sentence-initial or final with the former being the most frequent. This is in line with Diessel’s (2008) conclusion on conceptual order of temporal clauses. In Tonga, the constituents denoting ‘whilst’ and ‘before’ are interrupted by

the subject marker of the main clause. Note that the subject marker for expressions dealing with second person and third person singular is null (See (32a, 32b, 34a) and (34c) above) which we have assumed that possible morphological processes have occurred to the deep structure in order to derive these surface structures. The subject markers represent the English personal pronouns as seen in the glosses.

4.3.2 Position of purpose clauses

Purpose clauses can occur either sentence-initial or sentence-final. As table 8 indicates, there are more final purpose clauses than initial ones; 62 (95.4 percent) out of 65 of the collected purpose clauses. The default positioning of purpose clauses therefore is sentence-final because all the subtypes are possible in final position as will be seen in the next subsections.

4.3.2.1 Purpose clauses signalled by conjunctions

There are two conjunctions that are used to express purpose in Tonga, *kutegwa* and *kuti*. Although the conjunctions have the same semantic meaning, they are dealt separately for an obvious reason that they do not syntactically behave the same.

Clauses signalled by *kutegwa* can either precede or follow the main clause freely. However, clauses with this conjunction frequently occur in final position. Placing them in initial position is a matter of emphasis. In the data, there are 35 initial and 3 final clauses of this type.

- (39) a. *kutegwa mumvwe ncomwiitilwa, mwaboola mubunji*
 ‘so that you hear what you have been called for, you have come
 in numbers ’
- b. *ncobeni boonse bakaunka kutegwa bakamvwe ncobakali*
 kwiitilwa.

‘Truly, everyone went there so that they hear what they were called for’.

- c. *mukakkalane afwaafwi amusaanyoko Chalesha kutegwa kamuswayana.*

‘(you should) settle close to your age mate, Chalesha, so that you visit each other’.

While purpose clauses signalled by *kutegwa* can be used in initial or final position freely, those signalled by *kuti* frequently occur sentence-final (25 in the corpus). When these appear in initial position, they are usually used with some constituents such as *kucita* ‘to do’ as in (40b) below. Actually, our corpus has no initial ‘*kuti* clause’ apart from those few used with *kucita* preceding *kuti*. However, it is possible to have these in initial position as exemplified in (40c) below.

- (40) a. *bakatijaana kuti bamulete...*
‘they ran so as to bring her...’.
- b. *kucita kuti mizimo kaitugwasya mucindi camapenzi, tuleelede kwiipiila...*
‘so that our ancestral spirits help us in times of trouble, we must honour them...’.
- c. *kuti akabuzye, wakaunka munsu-munsu*
‘so that he asks, he went nearer.’

4.3.2.2 Purpose clauses without subordinating conjunctions

Purpose clauses are well expressed with conjunctions. However, there are instances where purpose is expressed without a conjunction or any morpheme. There are two categories under this sub-section; clauses signalled by the infinitive *ku-* and those without any morpheme or element.

Purpose clauses signalled by the infinitive *ku-* only appear sentence final. As already stated in the preceding chapter, this form is bound to the verbal morphemes and is influenced by the verb of the main clause that carries the meaning of motion. The main clause argument therefore, controls the relation of the purpose clause. Consequently, the subject in the purpose clause is the same as that of the main clause although it is not explicit. This is a subject control phenomenon.

- (41) a. *baama baya kumantoolo kukuula munyo.*
 ‘my mother has gone to the stores **to buy salt**.’
- b. *sena waboolela kutunyonganya?*
 ‘have you come **to disturb us**?’
- c. *bana boonse baunka kuku sobana*
 ‘all the children have gone **to play**.’

Preposing purpose clauses signalled by the infinitive renders them ungrammatical.

4.3.2.3 Purpose clauses signalled by tense and mood

Purpose clauses that are expressed without any explicit element can only appear sentence final. The construction is possible in the present or future and using the subjunctive mood. Just like the clauses with the infinitive, positioning them sentence initial renders the constructions ungrammatical.

- (42) a. *amuzitole mpongo kumulonga zikanywe meenda.*
 ‘take the goats to the river **(so that) they drink water**’.
- b. *... inga masiku bayide kunditumina zyeelo kutegwa zyindisine ₁*
 [bacaale balikke] ₂ [kabakwetwe] ₃
 ‘she usually sends me ghosts **so that they strangle me** ₁ **[(in order that) she remains alone]** ₂ **[married,]** ₃’
- c. *swena mumsi-mumsi ubone*
 ‘move nearer **(so that) you see**’

Note that clauses indexed 2 and 3 do not have an element signalling them as purpose clauses but because they appear in the context of clause 1, a purpose clause signalled by a conjunction, they are also interpreted as purpose clauses. As can be noticed, the subjunctive mood and future tense are determinant factors in each of the sentences in (42), (See sentences 304K114 and 307K114 of Appendix B1 as well).

4.3.2.4 Syntactic polarity in purpose clauses

Negation in purpose clauses is possible. When the adverbial clause of purpose is expressed with the negative verbal, it implies that the action of the main clause takes place in order to prevent the occurrence of the action in the subordinate clause. This phenomenon is possible with clauses signalled by *kuti* and *kutegwa*, (see example (17c) in Chapter Four). Like in temporal clauses, the general phenomenon is to place the negative morpheme after the subject marker. Those signalled by the infinitive would render the proposition meaningless. Instead, the verbal of the main clause is the one that is negated as shown in (43) below:

- (43) a. **bana boonse baunka kukutasobana.*
 ‘all the children have gone not to play.’
 b. *bana boonse **tii**baunka kukusobana.*
 ‘ all the children have not gone to play.’
- (44) a. **sena waboolela kutatunyonganya?*
 ‘have you come not to disturb us?’
 b. *sena **tii**waboolela kutunyonganya?*
 ‘have you not come to disturb us?’

Note that the bolded elements in examples (43) and (44), are negative morphemes. The two forms are variants of the negative morpheme, *ta-*. Note also that the acceptable variant in the forms discussed in (43) and (44) is *tii-* (the hodiernal past negative).

Purpose clauses can occur in any position in relation to the main clause but this solely depends on the conjunction or element signalling the adverbial clause. Clauses signalled by conjunctions are free in any position, with the clauses signalled by *kutegwa* freer than those of *kuti* while clauses signalled by the infinitive and the subjunctive are restricted in final position.

4.3.3 Position of conditional clauses

Table 8 indicates that the position of conditional clauses in relation to the clause it modifies is generally sentence-initial. It has indicated that 37 conditional clauses forming 86% of the conditional clauses collected are initial clauses while 6 (14%) are final. Under the iconic assumptions, conditional clauses precede the main clause because conditional clauses refer to an event that is conceptually prior to the one expressed in the main clause, (www.personal.uni-jena.de/~x4diho/inconicityofsequence.pdf) (ibid). Fiorentino also says, “Conditional clauses usually precede the main clause” (www.academic.edu/1109850/The_ordering_of_adverbial_and_main_clauses_in_spoken_and_written_Italian_a_Corpus_based_approach). The motivation for positioning conditional clauses sentence-initial is to remove the ambiguity that may be posed by the main clause proposition. That is, it may be taken as a true state of affair.

4.3.3.1 Conditional clauses signalled by conjunctions

From the collected data, it has been established that conditional clauses are mainly signalled by the conjunctions *kuti* and *naa* as well as compounding the two conjunctions as *kuti naa*. All these forms translate as ‘if’ in English and are interchangeable as indicated in the chapter for semantics. Other conjunctions that are possible in the language are *cita* and *kufwumbwa* although they are sometimes used with *kuti* (but not with *naa*).

Conditional clauses signalled by *kuti*, *naa*, or *kuti naa* frequently precede the main clause for the reason given above. It also removes the assumption that the statement be considered true automatically. Although all the conjunctions can be used interchangeably, *kuti* dominates the other forms. To some extent, all preposed conditional clauses are emphatic as compared to the postposed ones.

- (45) a. *kuti naa ukalombe kabotu*, *uyakuteelela bamwaaba nkobati kakwiizanyane kulila.*
 ‘if you pray sincerely, you will hear how the foxes would scream’ .
- b. *naa uyanda kundijaya*, *kondijaya ...*
 ‘if you want to kill me, kill me...’ .
- c. *kuti ukalombe kabotu*, *uyakuteelela bamwaaba nkobati kakwiizanyane kulila.*
 ‘if you pray sincerely, you will hear how the foxes would scream’
- d. *kuti mapenzi aakuba*, *kamuswaangana.*
 ‘if problems occur (in future), you should meet (to discuss).

The adverbial clauses in (45) above can be placed in final position without changing the meaning. The ‘if- clause’ in Tonga may be preceded by some constituents such as nominals and other adverbials. This is a more emphatic way of expressing the discourse structure. Example (46) below is worth to consider.

- (46) a. *webo naa wayanda kundileka ... caambwa buyo ...*
 ‘if you want to divorce me ...just say it...’.
- b. *mebo kuti wandaambila bwini...*, *kunyina cibi ncondinga ndacita...*
 ‘if you tell me the truth ...there is nothing bad that I would do...’.

In (46a) above, emphasis is on the subject of the adverbial clause and in (46b) on the object. Further, *naa* seems to be more emphatic than *kuti* and the compounded form is the most emphatic.

The other form of the conditional adverbial clause is the use of *cita* + the subjunctive or the infinitive; the equivalent of ‘unless’ in English. When the infinitive is used, the focus of the statement is generic, as expressed in (47b) below. The constructions with this form also favour the initial position.

- (47) a. **cita** ubale acanguzu, tokazwidilili.
 ‘**unless** you study hard, you will not pass’.
- b. **cita** kubala acanguzu, kunyina nonga wazwidilila mumisunko
 ‘**unless** one studied hard, you cannot pass the examinations’

There is also another construction similar to the one in (47) above. This is the use of *kufumbwa* with an optional *kuti* + the indicative or the subjunctive. The subjunctive in conditional clauses is only used in present and future tenses and should be contrasted from the subjunctive used in temporal clauses; the past subjunctive). Note also that *kuti* in (48b) is obligatory but optional in (48a).

- (48) a. **kufumbwa (kuti)** wabala acanguzu, uyakuzwidilila mumusunko.
 ‘**as long as** you study hard, you will pass the examination.’ or,
 ‘**provided** you study hard, you will pass the examination.’
- b. **kufwumbwa kuti** u bal- e acanguzu, uyakuzwidilia.
 kufwumbwa + *kuti* + SM + v-subj + adv + main clause.
 ‘**provided** you study hard, you will pass’

This form is also used in rhetorical constructions (using the infinitive).

- (49) a. **kufwumbwa** (e_i) kubala acanguzu inga wa_i
 provided to read with power PMod you
 zwidilila.
 pass through
 ‘**provided** one studies hard, you can pass’.

- b. *inga wakonzya **kufwumbwa** kubeleka acanguzu*
‘you can manage provided you work hard’

It can be realised here that in the Tonga construction in example (49a) above, the subject is null but the construction is understood to have a syntactically conditional relation with the main clause in which the subject of the adverbial clause is generic; it does not refer to any specific person or object in the world. The nominal in the main clause controls that of the adverbial clause. The indexing of the nominal slot e_i and wa_i in (49) above indicates that the subject in the ‘if- clause’ is determined by the subject marker of the ‘then-clause’. Note that the ‘if-clause’ and ‘then-clause’ are used here as dummy clauses, for clauses setting the condition and clauses stating the premise respectively.

4.3.3.2 Conditional clauses without subordinating conjunctions

There are two morphemes that are used to signal conditionals; the *ka-* participle and the conditional morpheme *ni-*. The two conditional elements influence the use of *ni-* in the main clause, expressing a conditional mood rather equivalent to ‘would’ in English.

Conditional clauses signalled by *ka-* rarely appear in final position. The conditional element and the verb root have a high tone when used in initial position and becomes Low with a downdrift tone sequence when the adverbial is in final position.

- (50) a. ... ***kándizyiba** kuti ulalabalika...nindatakasola kukwatwa kuli ndiwe.*
 [S[CONJ] [pro zyiba)(comp) V(ulabalika)] [MC (conditional)]
 ‘**had** I known that you yap anyhow, I would not have married you’.
- b. *nindatakakwatwa kuli nduwe **kandizyiba** kuti ulalabalika*
 ‘I would not have married you **had** I known that you yap anyhow

Note that *kuti* in example (50) is not an adverbial subordinator but a relative complementiser. Adverbial clauses, therefore, can be modified by other subordinate clause types. Note also that the particle is used as a kind of inversion in (50) above.

The particle *ka-* may be prenasalised when used with the first person singular pronominal as examples (51a) and (51b) indicate below. The *ka-* particle in this study is termed a conditional mood (to distinguish it from the temporal *ka-*. This mood is also present in some Zambian languages such as Bemba as exemplified in (52) below.

- (51) a. *kandijisi ncolomba, nindakupa.*
 ‘if I had what you are asking for, I would have given you’,
 b. *nkejisi ncolomba, nondakupa.*
 ‘if I had what you are asking for, I would have given you’.
- (52) a. *katukwata nga twakupeela*
 ‘if we had, we would have given you’.
 b. *nkwata nga nakupeela*
 ‘if I had, I would have given you’.

Although there is no explicit particle in the Bemba construction using the first person singular (52b), it is assumed that a special morphological process might have occurred. This is evident in the way the particle is explicitly used with other types of persons such as the first person plural in (52a).

In Tonga, it is possible to use the basic conjunctions, *kuti* and *naa*, and the particle *ka-* together as exemplified in (53). *Kuti* and *naa* can interchange position, (compare (53a) and (53b) below although the *naa* frequently follow *kuti* as used in (45a) above. There is also freedom by the adverbial clause to which position it can take. The motivation for the use of such combinations in this type seems to be of emphasis, regardless of position.

- (53) a. *naa kuti kakuli utujisi mumunzi, tulalya busu*

‘if there is one who has them in the village, they eat mealie meal’.

- b. ***kuti naa kakuli utujisi mumunzi, tulalya busu***

‘if there is one who has them in the village, they eat mealie meal’.

The three elements can be used by themselves and would still achieve the same effect. In these constructions, therefore, there is optionally a combination of syntactic means and morphological means. This phenomenon, where a syntactic means combines with a morphological means to signal adverbial clauses, is also evident in other clause types such as reason, manner and comparison clauses as will be seen later. This phenomenon has been termed a morpho-syntactic means.

Conditional clauses signalled by *ni-* also favour initial position. The element is used with past and future tenses. The element influences use of the same element in the then-clause to express a conditional mood. As can be remembered, the *ni-* element is also used in temporal clauses. These will be distinguished from each other later in the chapter.

- (54) a. ***nibaboola, nibatupa zyakulya*** (Hp)
‘if they came, they would give us food’
- b. ***nibakaboola, nibakatupa zyakulya*** (pHp).
‘if they had come, they would have given us food’
- c. ***neeboola, neekuletela zyakulya*** (Hp with contracted 1st pers.sg.)
if I came, I would bring food for you
- d. ***na-aku-unka nguwe, naa-ta-aku-sweeka*** (pHf with 3rd pers. sg.)
‘if s/he went (there) her/ himself, s/he would not get lost’.

Note that *na-* in (54d) is derived from *ni-* + *a* and that it is different from *naa*, a conjunction discussed in example (45b) and (46a) above.

4.3.3.3 Conditional clauses signalled by tense and mood

The other phenomenon that has been discussed is the use of a construction that appears like a temporal ‘when’ where no subordinating element or morpheme is used but barely the tense or mood. That is, using the tense morphemes in the present and future. However, with the construction expressing a condition, it is possible to use it with the basic subordinators, *kuti and naa*, whereas it is impossible with the temporal construction. For this reason, *kuti and naa* are seen as optional constituents as already mentioned above. In example (55) below, the elements in bold are tense morphemes.

- (55) a. *mwaakubaa coolwe, muya kucijana ncomuyanda...*
*mu- **aku**- ba- a coolwe,...*
 ‘**should** you be lucky, you will find what you want’.
- b. *muyakucijana ncomuyanda mwaakubaa coolwe*
 ‘you will find what you want **should** you be lucky’
- c. *mwaboola abana benu, tatukoomuzumizya kunjila*
 ‘**if** you come with your children, we will not allow you to enter’
- d. *wazigusya nswi mumeenda zilafwa*
 ‘**if** you remove fish from the water, it will die’
- e. *mwatola ciindi cilamfwu, tulamuka*
 ‘**if** you take long, we will be late’

As can be seen above, there is no subordinator indicated. The adverbial clauses (55a) and (55b) use the post hodiernal future tense expressed by the tense marker *-aku-*. The English gloss however, has used a modal. In (55c) to (55e), the present tense marker *-a-* is used. This form is seen as the *ni-* type discussed in the previous section where the past and future use the morpheme *ni-* while in the present and some future tense forms (with specific referents) the element is not expressed.

4.3.3.4 Syntactic polarity in conditional clauses

In Tonga, conditionals can be negated. The default position of the negative element in conditional clauses is after the subject morpheme. In the perfective aspect and past forms however, the negative constituent usually precedes the subject morpheme,

[compare (56a) and (56b) below]. Note that *tii-* and *ta-* are variants of the negative morpheme *ta-* ‘not’. Each of the variants is only possible in particular environments. The bolded morphemes in (56) below are negative markers.

- (56) a. *mwataakumujana*, *mutakajoki*.
 ‘if you do not find him/her, do not come back’.
- b. *kuti* ***tii-*** *-ba-* *unka*, *tu- la- ba- jana*
 if not they go we will them find
 ‘if they have not gone, we will find them’.

To make a general comment on the order of the negative marker in relation to the other sentential elements in conditional clauses is not easy, although it appears clauses signalled by conjunctions use both variants as *tii-* in the past but *ta-* in the present and future. In the future tense, the negative marker used is *ta-* and it follows the subject marker whereas in the present and past tenses, the *tii-* or *ta-* is used but precedes the subject marker.

Conditional clauses generally favour initial position as has been explained above. The tenses used in the conditional clause vary but the main clause take some forms of the future tense and the conditional mood. Negation is possible in both the ‘if-clause’ and the ‘then-clause’.

4. 3. 4 Position of concessive clauses

Concessive clauses are disjuncts and are peripheral to the associate clause. Just like temporal and purpose clauses, they can be either preposed or postposed. The usual position in Tonga, however, appears to be sentence-initial. This is contrary to what is asserted by the internet website which says, “Concessive clauses are found to predominantly follow the associated main clause,” (www.daniel-weichmann.eu/download/Wiechmannkerzdraft). Stali (2008) does not take side as she

says the phenomenon is of a balanced state of affair. As table 8 indicates, there are 41 initial concessive clauses in the collected corpus against 11 final ones.

4.3.4.1 Concessive clauses signalled by a conjunction

Concessive clauses are signalled by the compound conjunction, *nokuba kuti* which can translate as ‘even though/ though/ although’ in English. In some circumstances, *nokuba* is barely used alone, that is without *kuti*. The subordinator is rarely preceded by an NP. Generally, argument fronting in concessive clauses is possible but not a common phenomenon. In (57a) and (57b), the concessive clause follows the main clause while in (57c), it has been preposed. The subordinator has been used without *kuti* in (57b) to express a complete thought.

- (57) a. *nsekamukaki mwanaako pe **nokuba kuti mumoyo nkezyi kuti mwanaa Bimbe.***
 ‘I will not reject your child although I would know it is Bimbe’s
- b. *certificate ulijisi **nokuba nsaamuzi tapaside kabotu.***
 ‘she has a certificate although she has no good pass in Mathematics’.
- b. ***nokuba kuti bina Choombela bakamutanda, lyoonse wakali kubagwasya ...***
 ‘even though Choombela’s mother chased her, she always helped her’...

Out of the 52 collected concessive clauses in the data, only six clauses have the subordinator preceded by an NP; a very rare phenomenon in the language.

- (58) a. ***Mutinta nokuba kuti wakakatala, wakazumanana kutija ...***
Mutinta (NOM) nokuba kuti (CONJ) u- (SM) -aka- (TM)-katala- V(IND), ...
 (Lit. Mutinta even though she was tired, she continued to run away)
 ‘even though Mutinta was tired, she continued running away’.

- b. ayalo nanda **nokuba kuti** mubuyake yakali mpati...
 also house **even though** in structure was big...
 ‘**even though** the house was big in structure, ...’

Example (58a) above is fairly ordered than (58b) and it is difficult to determine what motivates such rare constructions although it appears it is a matter of emphasis.

4.3.4.2 Concessive clauses without subordinating conjunctions

The element that signals concessive clauses is *ni-*. It is likened to the *ni-* element such that *na-*, *ne-* and *no-* are termed variants of *ni-*. The forms of these variants are used with specific prefixes of the referents as has been the phenomenon in the preceding sections. Used in concessive clauses *ni-* translates as ‘even though, although, even if...’ just as the conjunction discussed above. Although the morpheme is used in concessive clauses, there are only two of such clauses in the written data, (144K39 and 230K74).

- (59) a. **nolituba** ngunyoko
 ‘**even though** (she is) old, she is your mother.’
 b. **nalampa oobuya Mutinta**, bazyali bakwe mbafwaafwi kapati.
 ‘**although** Mutinta is that tall, her parents are very short’.
 c. *Muchindu ulabeleka* **naciswa**
 ‘Muchindu is working **although** (she/ he is) sick’.

Although concessive clauses signalled by *ni-* can appear both sentence-initial and final, the adverbial clause in (59a) can only occur in initial position.

4.3.4.3 Syntactic polarity in concessive clauses

Negation in concessive constructions is free in all forms and the two negative variants; *ta-* and *tii-* are used. The negative marker is *ta-* when used with the 2nd person singular in the past, 1st persons in the present and all types of referents in the future (except for 1st pers sg. contracted form). It is *to-* when used with the 2nd person singular in the past, present and future. *Tii-* is used with 1st and 3rd persons in the past. The negative marker precedes the verbal constituent but follows the conjunction or element signalling the adverbial. It is followed by the subject marker (explicit or implicit) or the verbal morpheme in agreement with the subject. The tense form of the verb is infixes between the subject marker and the verb root. If the verbal constituent carries an object, the object marker is infixes between the tense marker and the verb root. The sentences in (60) below exemplify some phenomena discussed in this subsection. The bolded elements are negative markers. Note also that the negative morpheme in (60a), (60c) and (60e) is split by the verb root and as such called a discontinuous morpheme.

- (60) a. *nokuba kuti **tobali**, uyakulemba munsunko cifwumo*
‘although you do **not** study, you will write the examination tomorrow’
- b. *nataiyide, musongo*
‘even though he/ she is **not** learned, he/ she is clever’
- c. *notalyi kabotu, ulijisi mubili mubotu*
‘although you do **not** feed well, you have a healthy body’
- d. *nokuba kuti **ηanda tiiyakali mpati**, wakalaampuwo anjiyo*
‘although the house was **not** big, he/ she was proud of it’
- e. *nokuba kuti **nsimuboni**, nkwali mucilawo*
‘even though I do **not** see him/ her, he/ she around’

The section has indicated that the concessive clauses frequently appear sentence-initial. Concessive clauses utilise the compound conjunction ‘*nokuba kuti*’ and the morpheme ‘*ni-*’. The conjunction is highly productive. The morpheme takes various

forms for different pronominals. Negation is possible in both the concessive and the main clause.

4.3.5 Position of clauses of reason

Although reason clauses can occur sentence-initial and sentence-final, their frequency of occurrence in the data collected indicate that they are generally postposed. This is because of the logical sequence of the eventualities. As stated earlier, there is generally a temporal sequence such that the situation in the reason clause precedes in time that of the main clause. The adverbial clause gives reason for the action that has already been performed in the main clause. As such, there are 77 clauses of reason in the data with 19 (24.7 percent) clauses appearing sentence-initial while 58 (75.3 percent) are sentence-final.

4.3.5.1 Clauses of reason signalled by conjunctions

The main conjunctions signalling clauses of reason are *nkaambo* ‘because’ and the compound form *akaambo ka-* (*kuti*) ‘because of.’

Clauses signalled by *nkaambo* are generally postposed. In the collected data, 53 (68.7 percent) of the reason clauses are signalled by *nkaambo* occurring in final position. Whenever *nkaambo* is preposed, it is used with a particle *ka-* attached to the verbal as in (61a). This is a very rare phenomenon, representing 7.8 percent of the clauses signalled by *nkaambo*. In (61b) and (61c), the subordinating conjunction is followed by the subject of the adverbial clause while in (61a), there is no explicit subject. The subject of the reason clause therefore is implied through cataphoric reference.

- (61) a. *nkaambo kakunyukaulwa ooku,* *Busiku wakabuka...*
‘because of being shaken, Busiku woke up...’.
- b. *utapengi pe, nkaambo wuunjila munzi wabasulwe bamalende...*

‘do not be troubled **for** you have entered the village for the hares of the shrine’.

- c. *alimwi ndilayanda kuti mucibikke mubulembo kuti ndijisi da **nkaambo** bataata bandisinikizya kuya kucikolo.*
 ...**because** my father is forcing me to go to school’

Reason clauses signalled by *akaambo kakuti* can occur in initial and final position, with the former being frequent and emphatic. The compound conjunction translates for ‘because of’ in English especially when *akaambo* is used with barely the participial element *ka-*. This study has termed this the participial form.

- (62) a. ***akaambo kakuti** baali kusyoma mumizimo, tiibakali kulonga malonga-longa pe.*
 ‘**because of** trusting in spirits, they never used to shift anyhow.’
 b. ***akaambo kakutalya kabotu**, nguzu zyakwe zyakatalika kuceya buce-buce.*
 ‘**because of** not eating well, her strength began to deteriorate’

The subject of the adverbial clause in (62b) is implied and is controlled by the subject of the main clause. Like in temporal and conditional clauses, a combination of syntactic and morphological means is used.

4.3.5.2 Clauses of reason without subordinating conjunctions

Reason clauses also do use constructions that do not have conjunctions. The only form established under this category is the use of *mbu-* ‘since/ for’, a form identical to the temporal *mbu-* ‘as/ immediately/ whenever (see example 35 above). This form is rarely used and is restricted to a few constructions because it contains negativity. The normal position in relation to the main clause is sentence-initial.

- (63) a. *utapengi **mbu**waunjila munzi wabasulwe bamalende*

‘do not be troubled for/ because you have entered the village for the hares of the shrine’.

- b. *mbwaasika kale, tulabayandula*

‘since he / she has already come, we will look for them’

- c. *mbubakali kusyoma mumizimo, tiibakalikulonga-longa*

‘since they trusted in spirits, they never shifted anyhow’

- c. *mbubatana unjila munzi, atubambe buyo zyilwanisyo zyesu*

‘since they have not entered the village, let us just prepare our weapons’

4.3.5.3 Syntactic polarity in clauses of reason

The negative marker, just as in the other adverbial types discussed above, takes various forms (*ta-*, *to-*, *tii-* and *-si-*), depending on the nominal referent. The negative marker behaves the same way as in concessive clauses; the negative marker is affixed to the verbal constituent and comes before the subject marker as in (63d). In the construction using the particle *ka-* followed by the infinitive, the negative marker is infixes between the infinitival morpheme and the verb root as can be seen in (62b) of 4.3.5.1 above) or object marker if there is any. In clauses signalled by *mbu-*, the negative marker is infixes between the subject marker and verb root or object marker if there is one.

4.3.6 Position of clauses of result

Clauses of result are conjuncts. They have a connective syntactic function in Tonga just as in any other natural language. There are 24 result clauses out of the 519 collected adverbial clauses forming 4.6% as table 8 indicates. Although the percentage of result clauses in the whole data account is relatively low, clauses of result are seen to be restrictive. They only appear in final position. In the data, a 100% of result clauses as postposed constructions has been acquired. The motivation of this order is from the fact that a result follows the event set by the main clause. In relation to this,

Fiorentino (ibid) says, “...result...clauses almost always follow the associated element.” This is in support of the findings of this study.

4.3.6.1 Clauses of result signalled by a conjunction

The conjunction used to signal result clauses is *aboobo* ‘so/for this reason...’. As already indicated above, result clauses signalled by the only conjunction in the corpora collected (and seemingly the only conjunction in the language) occur only in final position.

- (64) a. *Mutinta wakali kwiininwa twaambo twamusyobo ooyu, aboobo wakafwesa kuya kumulonga.*
 ‘Mutinta liked such issues. so, she hurriedly went to the river.’
- b. *mebo ndinyina baama, aboobo nciyumu...kukwatwa kuli ndinywe,*
 ‘I do not have a mother. for this reason, it is difficult ... to marry you.
- c. *ndaamulimo, aboobo utandicelesyi*
 ‘I am on duty, so do not delay me.’

For all the examples presented, the same conjunction is used and all the adverbial clauses follow the main clauses, set off by commas. Example (65a) below has proved that a result adverbial clause cannot be preposed even when it were to be the shorter clause. Note that we can form a reason clause if a result clause becomes the main clause, using the conjunction *nkaambo* as in (65) below.

- (65) a. **aboobo utandicelesyi ndaamulimo*
 ‘so do not delay me am on duty’
- b. *utandicelesyi nkaambo ndaamulimo*
 ‘do not delay me because I am on duty’

4.3.6.2 Syntactic polarity in result clauses

Negation takes the same pattern as in the adverbial clauses discussed in the previous sections (see 65a) above. The negative can be *ta-* or *tii-* and can follow or precede the subject marker depending on the tense used. The *ta-* form is used in the past, present and future with all types of subjects (but not with 3rd person plural) while *tii* is only used in the past.

4.3.7 Position of clauses of manner

Clauses of manner like clauses of result are restricted to final position. All the 10 manner clauses in our data show restrictive final position. Although there is an overlap between manner and comparison clauses (to be discussed in the next section) it has been possible to determine the frequency of purely manner clauses. The subordinator *mbuli* is used with other elements for it to communicate the concept of manner. The compound *mbuli kuti* as already mentioned share the meaning with clauses of comparison. However, a few examples have been given in 4.3.7.1 below. Other elements used with *mbuli* to express manner are bound elements; *mbu-*, and *bu-*.

4.3.7.1 Clauses of manner signalled by conjunctions

The only subordinating conjunction signalling manner clauses (established so far) is *mbuli kuti*. As we can see, the conjunction is a compounded constituent.

Clauses signalled by the conjunction *mbuli kuti*, an equivalent of ‘as if’ or ‘as though’ in English, always follow the main clause.

- (66) a. *weenda **mbuli kuti ulikoledwe***
 ‘he walks **as if he is drunk**’
- b. *Haatimba wakanyamuka **mbuli kuti walumwa...***
 ‘Haatimba stood up **as though (he was) bitten...**’

The manner clauses in the constructions above cannot be preposed because they carry a non-factual state of affairs. If they are preposed, they become awkward; the hypothetical statement would appear as though it is factual.

4.3.7.2 Clauses of manner without subordinating conjunctions

Clauses of manner can as well be signalled by special verb forms. These verb forms incorporate the morphemes *mbu-* and *bu-*. Clauses signalled by these morphemes express pure manner clauses.

Manner clauses signalled by *mbu-* also follow the main clause. The subordinating morpheme is also used in temporal and reason clauses. As already mentioned, the syntactic environment determines which adverbial type is being dealt with.

- (67) a. *bakaile kuleka **mbu**bakaleka kunyonka*
 ‘they just stopped the way they stopped breastfeeding’ .
 b. *utandijayi **mbu**wakajaya baama*
 ‘do not kill me **the way** you killed my mother’

As a general phenomenon, manner clauses signalled by the element *bu-* follow the main clause. The element *bu-* is prefixed to the verbal of the adverbial clause.

- (68) a. *manego akali kuligwa **buligwa** musozya wamangamwe.*
 ‘manego were eaten **in the manner** dry boiled maize is eaten’.
 b. *muntu uciswa cinsuungwe ulakuwa **bukuwa** mubwa*
 ‘a person suffering from rababies barks **the way** a dog does bark’

4.3.7.3 Clauses of manner using both syntactic and morphological means

As has been already seen in some of the adverbial clause types in the preceding sections, clauses of manner can combine syntactic and morphological means. The elements, *mbubona/ mbubwena* and *mbuli* are followed by *mbu-* or *bu-*. *Mbubwena* can be compounded with *mbuli* followed by *bu-* (68b). The *bu-* morpheme (also denoting manner) is attached to the verbal constituent as discussed in 4.3.7.2 above. These can be placed sentence-initial unlike the manner clauses discussed 4.3.7.2.

Clauses signalled by *mbubona/ mbubwena mbu-/ bu-* often follow the main clause and preposing them is a matter of emphasis.

- (69) a. ...boonse bakali kwiisinda ***mbubwena bu- -akali kwiisinda musimbi ooyu,***
 ‘all of them used to wipe off (the tears) ***the way*** this girl was wiping.
 b. *manego wakali ngomucelo wakulya...mbubona mbuli bu- -ligwa musozya wamangamwe.*
 ‘manego was the fruit to eat (while walking) ***in the manner (in which)*** dry boiled maize is eaten.

Clauses of manner signalled by *mbuli mbu/bu-* also favour final position. Placing them sentence-initial expresses emphasis of the adverbial state of affair although some constructions, such as (70c) would be awkward if preposed.

- (70) a. *ndakaubeleka mulimo mbuli mbondakalayililwa*
 ‘I did the work ***as*** I was instructed’
 b. ... bantu banji bakalya akukkomana ***mbuli mbobakonzya.***
 ‘many people ate ***as*** they could’.
 c. *cakamukopa kapati mbuli mbwaakaciinganina...*
 ‘he was very surprised ***how*** he became so concerned (so curious with it)’.
 d. *manego akali kuligwa mbuli buligwa musozya wamangamwe*
 ‘manego were eaten ***the way*** dry boiled maize is eaten’

The construction of the manner clause in (70d) is as follows:

MANNER CONJ + V (PASS) + ACC + ADJ.

Thus: *mbuli* (MANNER CONJ) *buligwa* (V-PASS) *musozya* (ACC) *wamangamwe* (ADJ).

If the passive verbal of the adverbial clause in (70d) is omitted, the construction would be purely a comparison.

4.3.7.4 Syntactic polarity in clauses of manner

Negation in manner clauses seems to be limited to a few adverbial expressions. In most cases, negating the adverbial makes the proposition illogical, (see (71c) below). For constructions such as the one in (71c) what is workable is to negate the main clause proposition.

- (71) a. *wakatambula cipo **mbuli kuti takkomene***
‘she/ he received the gift as if she/ he was not happy’
b. **bakaile kuleka **mbubatakaleka kunyonka***
‘they just stopped the way they did not stop breastfeeding’

On the general, manner clauses favour final position for them to communicate a sensible thought. The elements that communicate pure manner clauses are bare morphemes and the constituents that combine syntactic means and morphological means. Bare morphemes are the most productive. It has been indicated also that negation is not possible in some manner clauses.

4.3.8 Position of clauses of comparison

Clauses of comparison expressing similarity, as stated in the foregoing section (4.3.7), have some similar features as those of clauses of manner signalled by *mbuli kuti*. These also generally appear sentence-final. Table 8 shows that there are 26 comparison clauses in the collected data. The motivation for placing comparison clauses of similarity sentence-final is because they compare asserted state of affairs. There are very few clauses of comparison with explicit verbs or subjects. Further, most comparison adverbial clauses are predicative. They are predication adjuncts and may be obligatory or optional. Actually, Quirk et al (1985: 1074) say that, “Predication adjuncts that are obligatory modify the verb of the main clause whereas optional adjuncts modify the whole main clause.” Interpretation of the subject and verb in many instances is by implication because these are completed by the sense stated in the main clause.

4.3.8.1 Clauses of comparison signalled by conjunctions

Clauses of comparison are signalled by *mbuli (kuti)* and *kwiinda*. As will be seen in Chapter Five, clauses signalled by *mbuli (kuti)* express similarity while those signalled by *kwiinda* express contrast.

Clauses signalled by *mbuli (kuti)* follow the main clause. Unlike those of manner, compounding the conjunction is optional although syntactic cohesion has to be considered.

- (72) a. *bulowa mumutwe bwakali kwiile kweenda **mbuli meenda asiciduunta**.*
‘blood was flowing over his head **like (the way)** spring water (flows)’.
- b. *... muntu ooyu wakali kulibonya **mbuli kuti ulifwide**...*
(Lit. person this he was to be seen like that he is dead)
‘...this person appeared **as if** he was dead ...’.

In (72b), the comparison clause is necessarily required to complete the premise set in the main clause; thus obligatory, whereas in (72a) the adverbial clause is optional. If it were to be left out of the subordinate clause in (72b), the sentence would be ungrammatical or give a different meaning.

In (72b), the NP of the adverbial clause is governed by the NP of the main clause (expressed by the SM (*u-*) while in (72a), there is no explicit verb but it is implied to be the main clause verb governee.

Comparison clauses can be signalled by the particle *ka-* prefixed to the elements *-li* or *-kuli*, all denoting state of being. For this reason, they can be interchanged with *kakube* or *kakubanga* ‘being like’.

- (73) a. *bausyi balasalala **kaali** banyina balasiya kapati.*
 ‘his father is light (in complexion) **while** his mother is very dark.’
 b. *munanda mulasiya **kakube** anze kulatuba*
 ‘it is dark inside the house **when** it is bright outside’.

As already stated, comparison clauses signalled by *kwiinda* express contrast. The conjunction *kwiinda* can be followed by elements (*mbuli/mbu-*) discussed in manner clauses. This also represents the type using both syntactic and morphological means.

- (74) a. *...ncopapalisya kucita cilaile kukweetela penzi limbi **kwiinda***
mbocibede.
 ‘what you are trying to do will just lead you into another problem **than** what it is (now).
 b. *wakanoneezegwa kapati kubona kuti musimbi ooyu ulakanana **kwiinda***
mbuli mbwaakali kumuyeeyela...
 ‘he was very delighted to see that that girl was talking **than** he thought about her.’
 c. *munanda mulasiya **kwiinda** anze*
 ‘it is darker in the house **than** outside’

While examples (74a) and (74b) have explicit subjects and verbal constituents, the subject and verbal constituent in (74c) are implied.

4.3.8.2 Syntactic polarity in clauses of comparison

The negative form of the comparison clause mainly works with state verbs and verbs of perception. The negative marker can either precede or follow the subject marker. In the past tenses, *ta-* takes the *tii-* form and precedes the whole verbal constituent, as can be seen in (75c) below. The bolded elements in (75) are negative markers.

- (75) a. ... *muntu ooyu wakali kulibonya mbuli kuti tafwide*...
 (Lit. person this he was to be seen like that he **not** dead)
 ‘...this person appeared as though he was **not** dead ...’
- b. ... *muntu ooyu wakali kulibonya mbuli utafwide*...
 ‘this person appeared like one who was **not** dead’
- c. *bausyi bakali kusalala kaali banyina tiibakali kusalala*.
 ‘his father was light (in complexion) while his mother was **not** (dark)’.

4.3.9 Position of clauses of place

Clauses of place are adjuncts that may function as predication adjuncts (also obligatory or optional) or as sentence adjuncts (initial or final). The data present 14 clauses of place where 4 are preposed, 1 is sentence medially and 9 are postposed. Although the margin is narrow, clauses of place are generally sentence-final just like in Lozi (Sitali, 2008). The clauses are signalled by purely morphological means.

4.3.9.1 Clauses of place without subordinating conjunctions

Clauses of place are signalled by morphemes attached to the verbals. As stated earlier, these morphemes take after the three locative prefixes that exist in the nominal class

system. These are *a-*, *ku-*, *mu-*; cl.16, 17, 18 respectively, and when used in adverbial clauses, all translate as ‘where’. These morphemes are also characterized by prenasalization whenever used in clauses of place. Bare locatives incorporated in the verbals are also used especially with the copula *-li* ‘be’. In clauses of place, the subject nominal may precede or follow the verbal constituting the morpheme signalling the adverbial clause, a phenomenon of argument fronting discussed earlier in 4.2.2.

- (76) a. ...*munene mpaakakkede kumunzi akali cimpayuma.*
 ‘...**where** the old man settled was a desert.’ (Cl.16)
- b. ...*wakabuzya Busiku kutegwa azyibe nkwaakabede Mukansondo.*
 ‘...she asked Busiku so that she knows **where** Mukansondo was’
 (Cl.17)
- c. *wakazijosya zilyo mwaakazijanide.*
 ‘she/ he returned the food **where** she/he had found them’, (Cl. 18)
- d. *aakafwida mukamwami takubuli bupande-pande*
 ‘**where** the chief’s wife died from, there would not lack some fragments

As indicated, (76a) uses the locative *a-* (cl. 16), (76b) *ku-* (Cl. 17) and (76c) *mu-* (Cl. 18). The locatives vary with other noun class prefixes denoting the subject of the clause. The expression in (76a) is a sentence-initial adjunct. Preposing it would render the construction ungrammatical. On the contrary, example (76b) is a sentence-final adjunct which should not be placed sentence-initial. In (76c) however, the adverbial functions as an optional predicative adjunct. The clause can be left out without distorting the meaning of the structure. If s/he returned the food, then it should be where the food was in the first instance and that is the place s/he had found it. The clause therefore functions as a fulfillment of the idea of the main clause.

- (77) *wakazijosya mwaatakazijanide*
wakazijosya mu- a- ta- aka- zi- jan- id-e

he/ she returned them **where** he/she had not found them

Just like in the analysis of the temporal clause with *ni-* ‘when’, *mbu-* ‘as’ or ‘immediately’, *ka- ci* ‘whilst’ and *ka-* ‘while’, the morphemes that possess the senses of subordination have been incorporated in the verbal constituents of the adverbial clauses in s-structure. In (77) above, there are a number of movements operated within the adverbial constituent. With affixation initiated by adjoining moved constituents, we have the VP comprising a complex morpho-syntactic structure generated in the lexicon;

<i>mu-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-ta-</i>	<i>-aka-</i>	<i>-zi-</i>	<i>-jan-</i>	<i>-id-</i>	<i>-e</i>
where	he/she	not	(past)	them	found	(perf)	(end)

4.3.9.2 Syntactic polarity in clauses of place

Like in many adverbial clause types, especially those signalled by morphemes, the negative marker follows the subject marker which also follows the incorporated subordinating morpheme. In all the tenses, the ‘*ta-*’ form is used. In the examples below, both the morphemes signalling the adverbial clause and the negative markers are bolded.

- (78) a. *wasika **nkubatamuyandi***
 ‘he/ she has arrived **where** they do **not** want her/ him’
- b. *wakazyalilwa muṇanda **mubatakali kukkala***
 he/ she was born in a house **where** they were **not** staying in.

Negators are part of verbal constituents and are placed anywhere within the VP, (either before or after the SM or as a discontinuous morpheme (prefix and suffix operation as in (78a) below). In clauses of place however, the negative markers appear after the subject marker.

This section has clearly indicated that clauses of place in Tonga do not use conjunctions. Some Zambian languages, however, would have conjunctions of some kind.

5.3.10 Position of comment clauses

Comment clauses are disjuncts. They are peripheral to their associate clauses and can syntactically function as parenthetical disjuncts. This means that a comment clause can appear in between the constituents of the main clause. As seen in table 8, seven out of the eight comment clauses in the data are sentence-initial. Therefore, comment clauses in Tonga are generally sentence-initial. However, it is possible to postpone and even parenthesise adverbial comment clauses in Tonga as has been exemplified in (79b) and (79c) below. Being peripheral, the comment clauses are to a greater extent optional for they are a matter of style or attitude. It is also worthy to state that comment clauses are sentence disjuncts because they modify the whole sentence (rather than the verb of the main clause). There is no pure conjunction established for this type just as in the foregoing section.

All comment clauses are signalled by a conjunction that is followed by an obligatory bound morpheme in a verb constituent; a combination of syntactic and morphological means as explained in the previous sections.

- (79) a. ***mbuli mbo-*** *-tu-* *-a-* *-mvwa* *kale ...*
 as we (Hp) hear already...
 ‘as we have already heard...’.

- b. *aya makani, mbuli mbo-* *muzyi ba Chuumangoma, andikonda*
 ‘this news, as you know Mr Chuumangoma, has delighted me’.

- c. *munzi* *wa* *Mwami* *Siame* *ba-* *-aka-* *-u-*

village of Chief Siame they (pHp) it

-zinga ku- -bucedo **mbuli mbo-** ba- aka- zyib- id- -e
invade at dawn **as** (SM) (pHp) know (perf)

(END)

‘they invaded Siame’s village at dawn as they had been used’.

4.3.10.2 Syntactic polarity in comment clauses

Syntactic polarity in clauses of comment may be restricted to a very few constructions. In most constructions, when a comment clause is negated, it loses its grammaticality. Negation in (80a) below has rendered the construction ungrammatical. Even when the main clause is negated as in (80b), the construction still appears awkward.

- (80) a. **munzi wa Mwami Siame bakauzinga kubucedo **mbuli***
mbobatakazyibide
‘Chief Siame’s village was invaded at dawn as they were not used to’
- b. *munzi wa Mwami Siame tiibakauzinga kubucedo **mbuli***
mbobatakazyibide
‘Chief Siame’s village was not invaded at dawn as they were not used to’

4.4 MULTIPLE ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

As has already been stated, adverbial clauses are modifiers. They give additional or more information about the verb (action or state of the verb, or the whole main clause). An adverbial clause, however, can be modified by another or a series of adverbial clauses.

A construction may contain more than one adverbial clause and these may occur in a chain. Such constructions usually use a backward reference for modification. For instance, adverbial clause (2) in example (82) modifies the clause that precedes it and adverbial clause (1) modifies the main clause event; the clause that precedes it, and not the one that follows. There are various adverbial constructions in the data that contain more than one modifying clause. The data has indicated that the main clause may be posed in between adverbial clauses as in (81), or precede a series of them and rarely following a chain of adverbial clauses (82). There are very few instances where two clauses of the same type follow each other as seen with 56K17, 226K74 and 280K97 for temporals.

- (81) [Nokuba kuti wakaliwubila cilomba]₁ kwategwa kunyina milimo njicaamuletela [nkaambo awalo mulumi wakwe buzuba abuzuba wakali kuyaa butantamuka kuli nguwe]₂
 [‘**Although** she acquired a donor fish,]₁ it is said that it did not benefit her
 [**because** her husband was day by day drawing away from her’]₂

In example (81) above, clause (1) contrasts the clause that follows (main clause) and clause (2) gives a reason for the proposition set in the main clause (the clause preceding it).

The following researcher’s construction will be examined. This, however, does not mean that the data has fallen short of multiple adverbial constructions. Here, the adverbial clauses following each other are round bracketed and indexed.

- (82) wakaunka [(alike)₁ (kutegwa afwambaane)₂ (nkaambo lyakali kuyanda kubbila zuba)₃ (naakatumwa)₄]₅,
 ‘he/ she went [(alone)₁ (**so that** he/ she hurries)₂ (**because** the sun was about to set)₃ (**when** he/ she was sent)₄]₅.

In construction (82), the main clause is *wakaunka*, ‘he/ she went.’ The questions that follow according to the information supplied by the adverbial clauses are:

- (i) How?
- (ii) For what purpose?
- (iii) Why?
- (iv) When?

The square bracket indexed [5] however, may be seen as a manner modifier answering the question, ‘How did he/she go?’ Thus supplying the information provided by the four sequential adverbial clauses.

Certain adverbial clauses have a sequence that is permissible in the language. When temporal clauses occur with other clauses in a complex construction, the tendency is to have them sentence-initial. Rarely do they occur finally. This is, actually, one of the reasons why there are so many initial temporal clauses in the data. The other reason is the frequent use of the form with *ni-* which favours initial position. While a few adverbial clauses in the data can interchange position and still give the intended meaning, a great deal of the adverbial clauses occurring in a sequence cannot change position. We can examine (83) below.

- (83) a. *Musankwa ooyu taakali kuyanda kuba muzike pe, aboobo wakalisungula [kuti aunke buyo kunsumbu ya Cikupu] [akaligwe] [nkaambo buzike bulapenzya].*
 This man did not want to be a slave, so he just opted to go to Cikupu’s island [to be eaten] [because slavery life gives trouble]’.
- b. *Mebo lino ndasika kujeleele aamulonga aboobo ndeelede kujoka munsu [nkaambo kuya kumbele andiwe kulaba kulilya].*
 ‘I have now reached a turning point. so I should withdraw [because continuing with you would be ‘self-destruction’]’.

While (83b) can have the two adverbial clauses interchange position, the adverbial clauses in (83a) cannot be moved or interchanged without rendering the construction ungrammatical. Syntactic movement therefore is mostly possible between the main

clause and one adverbial clause. This restriction constrains the notion that adverbial clauses are a flexible category.

4.5 ADVERBIAL CLAUSES OF IDENTICAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In the previous sections, the study has accounted for types of adverbial clauses, indicating the ordering of these in relation to the main clauses. It has shown that most adverbial clauses are signalled by very few subordinating conjunctions and many morphemes in verb constituents that help in the classification of the adverbial clauses. Some of the conjunctions are used in more than one adverbial clause type. There are also some instances where a clause without a subordinator has been identified and classified. How then are these adverbial clauses, with identical conjunctions and morphemes, and those without subordinating conjunctions or morphemes identified in the language of study? To answer this question, we will begin by looking at what some authors have said.

Asher (1994:4470) says, “To determine or identify what kind of adverbial clause a construction possesses, one needs to analyze the syntagmatic lexical relations that the sentential constituents display, that is, the syntactic context in which they occur.” According to Matthews (2005:368), a syntagmatic relation is a “...relation between elements that form part of the same form, sequence, construction ...” or defined by Saussure, “...a relation ... between units present in the same sequence,” (ibid). This relation, in the case of adverbial clause type identification, as it is the concern, however, involves lexical units or elements. We have mentioned the conjunctions and morphemes that are used in more than one adverbial type as the work progressed, so these will not be dealt with here.

4.5.1 Adverbial clauses expressed by special verb forms

The data has shown a considerable number of adverbial clauses without subordinators. Despite lack of the relevant subordinators, the constructions have been appropriately

classified through cotextual analysis of syntagmatic lexical relations; relations directly linked to a verb form. A verb form constitutes tense, aspect and mood. For instance the subjunctive mood indicates purpose (not in all circumstances). Therefore, constructions with the subjunctive may be examined to whether it expresses purpose or time or simply a future intended action or a wish. The purpose for this section therefore is to identify adverbial clauses signalled by special verb forms where mood and tense are the most cardinal factors.

- (84) a. *ndileendesya, ndifwambaane kusika.*
 ‘I will walk faster **so that** I arrive early’, (purpose).
 b. **ndifwambaane kusika ndileendesya*
 ‘**so that** I arrive early, I will walk faster’
- (85) a. *... mwaakuba acoolwe, muya kucijana ncomuyanda ...*
 ‘should you be lucky, you will find what you want ...’ (conditional)
 b. *muyakucijana ncomuyanda mwaakuba acoolwe*
 ‘you will find what you want should you be lucky’
- (86) a. *mwaakusika buyo atalaa mulonga..., muyakulimvwida...*
 ‘**when** you just reach across the river ..., you will hear for yourself...’.
 (temporal)
 b. *muyakulimvwida... mwaakusika buyo atalaa mulonga...*
 ‘you will hear for yourself... **when** you just reach across the river...’
- (87) a. *basike kusyokwe, Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu ...*
 ‘**as** they reached the bush, Bulyi told Cikupu ...’ (temporal)
 b. **Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu ...basike kusyokwe*
 ‘Bulyi told Cikupu **as** they reached the bush’
 c. *Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu kuti basike kusyokwe (complement)*
 ‘Bulyi told Cikupu **that** they (should) reach the bush’

In (84a) above, the adverbial clause is the purpose for the action of the main clause. The structure is seen as a construction of two independent sentences reconstructed as one to express purpose, and the mood (subjunctive) instead of a conjunction or morpheme determines this. The structure for (85a) and (86a) are similar but the types expressed are conditional and temporal, respectively. Example (87a) uses a temporal subjunctive mood, (cf. 84a). In all the adverbial clauses above, there are no explicit subordinators or morphemes. The slot for CONJ therefore, is NULL. Purpose clauses expressed by a subjunctive cannot be preposed and temporal clauses expressed by the subjunctive cannot be postposed as shown in (84b) and (87b) above. Conditional clauses and temporal clauses using tense elements can either be preposed or postposed. This is only possible in the present and future time references. (Compare the (a) and (b) clauses in examples (85) and (86) above).

To present the verb forms in (84-87) above, including (88) below one is able to note that there is no visible conjunction although it is possible to correctly interpret the adverbial clause. The analysis therefore looks at the verb forms (mood and tense).

4.5.2 Adverbial clauses distinguished by tone

There is yet another way of distinguishing adverbial clauses that use the same structure. In the following sentences, tone plays a key role in determining what type of clause each of these is.

- (88) a. *baakuboola abána bábo*
 ‘they have come with their children’ (Indicative)
- b. *báákuboola ábána bábó*, tuyakuunka kubbuwa lyandeki
 ‘when they come with their children, we will go to the airport’
 (Temporal)
- c. *báákubóolá abána bábo*, tuyakubatanda
 ‘if they come with their children, we will chase them’ (Conditional)
- d. *tuyakuunka kubbuwa lyandeki báákubóolá abána bábó*

‘we shall go to the airport if they come with their children’

The phenomenon in this subsection is that there is a suprasegmental morpheme carrying tone to indicate mood. In (88) above, there are different tone markings in each of the clauses. This is to distinguish a statement (indicative) from adverbial clauses and a temporal from a conditional. There is a sequence of L in the verbal of the positive statement (88a) while the temporal verbal (88b) constitutes a downdrift from the H of the subject prefix. For the conditional (88c), there is an alternation of H and L, a phenomenon of tonal polarity. When the temporal clause is postposed, the tone pattern changes to a succession of lows. Note also that tone distinguishes an adverbial clause from a relative clause as indicated in (89a) and (89b) below.

- (89) a. *balátwaambila básíka*
‘they will tell us when they arrive’ (temporal adverbial)
- b. *balátwaambilá basiká*
‘they will tell us those who have arrived’ (relative clause)
(those who have arrived will tell us)
- (90) a. *ndilalyá nebála*
‘I eat when reading’ (Temporal with 1st pers sg.)
- b. *ulalyá nobála*
‘you eat when reading’ (Temporal with 2nd pers. sg.)
- c. *tulalyá nótubála*
‘we eat when reading’ (Temporal with prefix)
- d. *Mutinta ulálya nabála.*
‘Mutinta eats when reading’. (Temporal preceded by a noun)
- e. *Mutinta ulálya nabala.*
‘Mutinta is eating although reading’. (Concession)
- f. *Mutinta úlábalá nalya.*
‘Mutinta is reading although eating’
- g. *Mutinta úlábalá nályá*

‘Mutinta reads when eating’ (Temporal)

- h. *ulábala nalyá mápopwe* ‘s/he is reading although eating maize’

The different tone patterns of the verbal constituents expressing the subordinate clause in (90) above vary according to the syntactic environment. For adverbial clauses using the first and second persons, the tone in the verbal roots of the temporal clauses is H while the concessive clauses use L tone. Although the tone of the preceding word is H, the tone of the syllable of the morpheme expressing concession demands a L while that of a temporal demands a H, (Compare (90f) and (90g)). There is also a downdrift tone feature in the verbal of the concessive clause. This is in line with what Carter (2002) says about each successive L in a sentence. However, when a concessive clause has a complement that has an initial H, the tone of the last syllable of the concessive is raised to the pitch of that H (90h). Adverbial clauses in Tonga, therefore, do agree with tonal polarity, “...a pattern in which a tone bearing unit, generally in an affix shows a tonal value opposite to that immediately adjacent to it” (Micheal, 2004).

We can further distinguish the subtypes of the *ni*- temporal clauses by establishing the tone pattern that a particular temporal displays. For the expression of a habitual act or state, the tone of the verbal constituent is all Low (91a). For the form expressing events that are sequential in the recent past, there is an alternation of High and Low (91b), giving rise to a falling tone while for the form expressing sequential events in the remote past the tone is all High (91c).

- (91) a. *Mutinta ulalota náona* (habitual)
‘Mutinta dreams when sleeping.
b. *Mutinta wálótá naóna* (sequential events in the recent past)
‘Mutinta dreamt when she slept’
c. *Mutinta wákálota náakóóná* (sequential events in the remote past)
‘Mutinta dreamt when she slept’

In (92) below, the (92a) and (92b) constructions are syntactically the same but their meanings are determined by tone, tense and mood.

- (92) a. *níbábóolá, níndáunká.*
 ‘when they came, is when I left.’
 b. *níbaboolá, nindaunka.*
 ‘if they came, I would go.’

The construction in (92a) uses a temporal mood while (92b) uses a conditional mood. While (the adverbial clause in (92b) can be placed sentence finally, maintaining the tone pattern, the adverbial clause in (92a) cannot be postposed because it would lose its syntactic function (it would become the main clause and the main clause would be the modifier).

In verbals using the subjunctive, the phenomenon is that the prefixes are all L while the roots are all H as indicated in (93) below. Note that there is lack of high tone in (93e). This is because of the main clause preceding the adverbial clause that uses the subjunctive and in Tonga, the subjunctive expressing a temporal does not follow the clause it modifies as seen in (38b) of 4.3.1.3.

- (93) a. *asíke amunzi, wakalila* ‘as s/he arrived home, she cried’
 b. *ndisíke amunzi, ndakalila* ‘as I arrived home, I cried’
 c. *zisíke amunzi, zyakalila* ‘as they arrived home, they cried’
 d. *baswílizyé bóobó, bákányandwa*
 ‘as they listened (like that), they were surprised’
 *e. *wakalila asíke amunzi* ‘s/he cried as s/he arrived home’

In Tonga, there is restriction of syntactic movement of a temporal clause using the subjunctive. As can be seen, the construction in (93e) involves a syntactic movement. The whole adverbial chunk in (93a) is extracted from initial position, moved and adjoined to the right of the main clause. However, this is ungrammatical.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has given an account of the syntax of adverbial clauses in Tonga. It has begun by giving the structure of adverbial clauses. Two representations have been given; one with a conjunction as it is assumed that adverbial clauses are signalled by a conjunction and the other without a conjunction. Arrangement of constituents within adverbial clauses has been done and this has just given a general perspective. Argument fronting in adverbial clauses has been analysed as cause of focus as well as logical presentation of subjects before the pronouns that represent them. ‘Government’ of some subordinating conjunctions has been done to examine which moods are governed by which conjunctions. Tense sequences for each type have been examined as well.

The chapter has indicated the distributional evidence of various types of clauses (of time, purpose, condition, concession, reason, result, manner, comparison, place and comment), and has accounted for identification of adverbial clause types in constructions without conjunctions. Such constructions have been analysed using special verb forms, mood, syntactic environment and tone. The chapter has also analysed adverbial clauses in relation to the elements that signal them. Further, negation and the position of the negator in adverbial clauses have also been looked at. It has been established that some clauses take a particular form of the negative marker while others use both forms with specific referents and tenses. It has further given an analysis of adverbial constructions with multiple clause modifiers. These have been viewed to be clauses that modify the action of the preceding adverbial clause even though some adverbial clauses would behave in a similar way to other adverbial clauses as they do for the main clause.

The chapter has analysed the discussed syntactic tendencies of adverbial clauses using a descriptive mode. The constituents can move from one position to anywhere. The extraction of free adverbial clauses however, takes the whole adverbial chunk with its

subordinating conjunction (if explicit). While some adverbial clauses can either precede or follow the main clause, there are adverbial clauses that would not give the same meaning if syntactic movement is operated. Adverbial clauses with null subjects and pronouns have also been accounted. Observation on the typology of Tonga has been made such that some constituents have been split and analysed separately under the concept of lexical categories. This therefore has involved a morpho-syntactic analysis. The study has hence looked at order of clauses signalled by conjunctions, verb forms and those realised by a combination of syntactic means and morphological means.

CHAPTER FIVE: SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has given an account of the syntax of adverbial clauses in Tonga. This has included the structure of adverbial clauses, the analysis of the position of adverbial clause types in relation to the main clause, and how adverbial clause types without subordinating conjunctions are determined. It has further accounted for adverbial clauses that follow each other in one subordinate construction. Frawley (2003: 13) states that, “The relationship between semantics and syntax lies within the larger questions of how the components of a grammar communicate with one another and the nature of the link between meaning and form.” Although there is an interface between syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses, the two levels have been analysed in two distinct chapters.

This chapter presents and discusses the semantic functions of the most frequent Tonga adverbial clauses as determined by the collected corpus and introspection. The chapter has identified and described the various semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. It begins with explaining the semantic functions of adverbial clause types and then moves to the semantic interpretations of the subtypes of the adverbial clauses. It discusses the meanings of some subordinating conjunctions and morphemes signalling adverbial clauses. It has also established which of the subordinators possess multiple functions.

5.2 THE SEMANTICS OF ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

While all adverbial clauses have one syntactic function; that of modification of the main clause, there are several semantic types of adverbial clauses, each determined by the meaning of the conjunction or verb form used. Quirk et al (1985) establish fourteen adverbial clauses as clauses of time, contingency, place, condition, concession, exception, reason, purpose, result, similarity, comparison, proportion, preference, and

comment. As already stated, the semantics of adverbial clauses is determined by the meanings of the elements signalling them. Some clauses are signalled by conjunctions while others are signalled by special verb forms. The conjunctions may be independent, compounded or may require a morpheme bound to the verbal constituent. The independent element may also be used with a bound morpheme as seen in the chapter for syntax. All these have been used to determine the type and meaning of the adverbial clauses.

5.2.1 The semantics of temporal clauses

The semantic function of all temporal clauses is to modify the main clause in terms of time. The various meanings that may be assumed for temporal clauses just as any other clause type are determined by the subordinating conjunction or the morpheme signalling the adverbial clause. This section looks at the various semantic functions by analysing the elements signalling the temporal clauses. As already stated, the section begins with those signalled by conjunctions and ending with those without conjunctions.

5.2.1.1 Temporal clauses signalled by conjunctions

There are very few conjunctions signalling temporal clauses in Tonga. The adverbial conjunctions established for temporal clauses are *kusikila limwi* ‘until’ and *kumwi* ‘while’.

Clauses signalled by *kusikila limwi* express the duration of the time when one event takes place (the main clause event), specified indirectly by the beginning of the second event (the event of the adverbial clause). *Kusikila* can be compounded with *limwi* and the two compounding elements can be used independently. The three forms therefore can be used interchangeably and still give the same meaning. However, the conjunction is seen as a compound and the other forms as contracted forms of the

compounded one. The meaning of the compounded form therefore is ‘to reach for then’, implying duration that should come to an end.

- (1) a. *ndakatalikila kwakwe kwiiya kusikila limwi ndamanizya*
 ‘I started schooling at his place till I completed.’
- b. *Busiku ... wakatila limwi wakatala.*
 ‘Busiku cried until he was tired.’
- c. *...Syuumbwa wakazumanana kwiita mulongwaakwe kusikila Kawo wakaingula.* ‘...Syuumbwa continued calling his friend until Kawo responded.’

In example (1), an action begins at one point and progresses up to the time when it is marked by another event. In (1a), the completion of schooling marks the end of the activity of schooling. The referent continued at the same place where she stayed when she started school up to the time she completed school. In (1b) *Busiku*’s crying is marked by his state of being tired and in (1c) the calling is marked by the response.

The semantics of *kumwi* indicates that two actions are happening at the same time. The participants in the adverbial clauses, that is, the external arguments are essentially the same or included in the argument of the main clause.

- (2) a. *babwa bakwe bobile bakaunka kumootokala kumwi kabakuwa*
 (Lit. dogs his two they went to vehicle while they bark)
 ‘his two dogs went to the vehicle **while** barking.’
- b. *... wakavwuwa awalo Mutinta kumwi kapeta-peta kasani kaacuuno ...*
 ‘...Mutinta also answered while folding a chair cloth’.
- c. *... wakatalika kukanana musambazi kumwi meso kaatazwi ali Nkombo.*
 ‘The sales person started talking while the eyes focused on Nkombo.’
- d. *Bakaima kwakaindi kalamfwu kabamyontana milaka [kumwi musankwa katyanka-tyanka nkolo zyamusimbi]*

‘They stood for a longer period of time kissing each other [**while** the boy pressed the girl’s breasts].

In examples (2a) and (2b), the participants in the adverbial clause are the same as those of the main clause, while in (2c) and (2d), the subject arguments of the adverbial clause are included or are part of the subject arguments of the main clause. These convey the meaning that two events undertaken by the same participants occur at the same time. Let us also examine a construction where the subject arguments are different.

- (3) **Mutinta wakavwuwa **kumwi** Chuumangoma **katambika** kwanza kuti baazyanye*.
 ‘Mutinta answered **while** Chuumangoma stretched his hand so that they greet each other.’

While the English gloss expresses a clear meaning, the Tonga construction in (3) is not permissible. Mutinta is not the one who stretched a hand. Therefore, *kumwi* cannot be used. For such, a construction with *ka-* is preferred, (see (4) below). Note the punctuation as well.

- (4) *Mutinta wakavwuwa, Chuumangoma **katambika** kwanza kuti baazyanye*.
 ‘Mutinta answered as Chuumangoma stretched his hand so that they greet each other’.

5.2.1.2 Temporal clauses without conjunctions

There are a number of temporal clauses without conjunctions. These use special verb forms. The verb forms may or may not have explicit morphemes that have the same function as subordinators. The subtypes dealt with here are clauses signalled by *ni-*, *ka-ci*, *ka-*, *mbu-*, *ka-tan-*, and *–man-/ -zu-*.

There are two semantic functions that the clauses signalled by *ni-* as a temporal perform when it is used with simple and past tenses;

- (a) when one action occurs at the same time as another and
- (b) when one action follows another.

The phenomenon in (a) usually expresses habitual actions, factual state of affairs or mutual processes. The eventuality of the adverbial clause takes place simultaneously with that of the main clause.

- (5) a. *Mutinta ulalota **naona***
 ‘Mutinta dreams **when** sleeping.’
- b. *Mutinta **naakali kwiimba** ..., Busiku waali kulangilila ...*
 ‘**when** Mutinta was singing, Busiku was watching’.
- c. ***naakali kutijaana** ... mubili wakwe waali kukankama ...*
 ‘**when** he was running, his body was shaking’.

In example (5a), the action of dreaming happens on every occasion of Mutinta’s sleep, which means that every time that Mutinta sleeps, she dreams. This therefore, is habitual. In examples (5b) and (5c) the events occur simultaneously. They are not habitual actions in the past. They simply indicate that one action was taking place at the time of the occurrence of another action in the past. However, the events in example (5b) are factual where as those in (5c) express mutual processes.

The phenomenon in (6) below expresses sequential actions. One action happens after the completion of another action. For instance, ‘roaring’ happens after the event of seeing the boy.

- (6) *Chikupu **naakabona musankwa ooyu**, wakavwuluma.*
 ‘**when** Chikupu saw this boy, he roared’.

Although both events are in the past, the event of the adverbial clause happened before that of the main clause.

The other semantic function of *ni-* is to express an action occurring simultaneously but not as a habit. This semantic use of *ni-* here (not the same as in examples (5b) and (5c)) translates for the English ‘as’.

- (7) a. ... *naenda* ... *waali kulindila kuti abone nobamujaya* ...
‘as she walked, she was waiting to see them kill her’.
- b. *nalemba, mizeezo yakwe yakalikule-kule*
‘as he/ she wrote, his/ her mind wondered far away

The two eventualities in examples (7a) and (7b) are seen to be taking place at the same time. That is, the events of ‘walking’ and ‘shouting’ and those of ‘waiting’ and ‘wondering’ respectively, occurred at the same time. However, they are neither habitual nor sequential.

Ka-ci, as seen in the gloss, is similar to the morpheme *kumwi* discussed above but its semantics is quite different. *Ka-ci* ‘while/ whilst’ signals clauses that express the meaning of one action happening at the time when the other action is in progress.

- (8) a. *kaciyeeya boobu, kujulu kwakatalika kwiibuka makumbi* ...
‘while (she) thinking like this, clouds began to form in the sky.’
- b. *kabacikkede kunywa tunambi, bakamvwa muntu uuzya mukupa uuma kalangu* ... ‘whilst they sat drinking beer, they heard a milk sales person sounding a bell ...’

In example (8), the events in the main clauses took place in the due course of the events for the adverbial clauses. In (8a) the action of thinking was in progress when the clouds began to form. The adverbial clause in (8b) answers the question, ‘When did they hear the milk man sounding a bell?’ That is, ‘whilst they sat drinking beer’.

There are three categories of clauses signalled by *ka-*. These will be dealt with as Category (a), (b) and (c) according to their semantics.

Temporal clauses signalled by *ka-* indicate that;

- (a) an event in the main clause happens at a time when another action is happening,
- (b) two events occur simultaneously and
- (c) the event of the main clause happens before the event of the adverbial clause.

1. Category (a) clauses

These are the *ka-* clauses indicating that an action in the main clause happens at a time when another action (the adverbial event) is in progress. Just as the one in 3.2.2.2, the event for the main clause happens when the event for the adverbial clause has already started.

- (9) a. *keenda ... wakamvwa bantu banununa.*
‘as she walked, she heard people talking (in low voices).’
- b. *kakkede mukkoce, wakabona mubwa.*
‘sitting in the veranda, he/she saw a dog ...’
- c. *nkelemba, ndamvwa muntu ukonkomona acijazyo.*
‘while writing, I heard a person knocking on the door’.

The *ka-* particle can as well be interpreted as ‘while’ or as a participle as seen above. We can therefore interpret the construction in (9b) as ‘while he sat in the veranda, he saw a dog’. Thus indicating that during the time that he sat in the veranda, he saw a dog.

2. Category (b) clauses

The *ka-* particle of this category is used to indicate that two events occur simultaneously.

- (10) *wakeebela namacaaca busiku boonse kalindila mulumi.*

‘she watched the television the whole night as she waited for her husband.’

The two events in (10) above happened at the same time. It is assumed that the two events commence and end at the same time.

3. Category (c) clauses

The other use of the *ka-* particle is to indicate that the event of the adverbial clause is completed before the event of the main clause happens. For this, *ka-* is used with the perfective morpheme (*-id-*) of the verbal signalling the temporal clause.

- (11) a. *kazwide muopesi lyakwe, luwayile lwakalila.*

‘having left his/ her office, the telephone rang.’

- b. *kabanjide mumunzi, bakamvwa jwi libaita*

‘having entered the village, they heard a voice calling them’

As can be seen from the glossing, the *ka-* particle translates for the English participle although some constructions prefer a subordinator. This is why Collins (1962) considers it a participle.

The morpheme *Mbu-* is used with the verbal predicate of an adverbial clause of time to indicate that one action happens at the time when another action is ending.

- (12) a. *mbwaakamana kubala lugwalo..., mudaala wakatanta bbasi ...*

‘immediately he finished reading the letter that..., the old man

boarded a bus’.

- b. *wakacibona mukaintu **mbwaakaboolela kumwaanzya.***
‘his wife noticed (his attitude) **immediately** she went to greet him.’
- c. *...**mbwaakasikila buyo aajinkila lubuwa,** musimbi wakayanda kujoka*
‘**as soon as** she reached the edge of the yard, the girl desired to go back’

Barely at the time of completing the action of reading, had the old man boarded a bus, (12a). In (12b), the attitude of the old man was noticed at the time that Hatimba’s wife went to greet him. In (12c), the girl reached the boundary but did not cross over. The construction is usually used with the adverbial *buyo* ‘just’ as in (12c) although the adverbial word has not been translated.

Temporal clauses signalled by *ka- -tan-* indicate posteriority, that is, time before. These indicate that one action (main clause) happens before the completion or expected completion of another action (adverbial clause). The notion of ‘before’ is derived from the morpheme *-tan-* which means ‘not yet’ and *ka-* as a particle as discussed above. Carter (2002) terms this form the negative inceptive of the participial form.

- (13) a. ***ka-a-tana** talika kusya, kwakaboola mootokala....*
‘**before** he started digging, there came a vehicle.’
- b. *.... **inziba ka-i-tana** akuyeeya..., mutwe wakali mukanwa lyakaaze.*
‘**before** the dove realized..., the head was in the cat’s mouth.
- c. *...**ka-o-tana** yumuka, mwaambile mucembele apaile.*
‘**before** you start off, tell the old woman to pray.’
- d. *...**n-ke-tanina** kutondezya nzila, mebo amukaintu wangu tuyanda kuti utubelekele ...*
‘**before** I show you the way, I and my wife would like you to work for us ...’
- e. *... **banyina ka-ba-tanina** akumanizya kwaamba, wakabuzya.*

‘...before his mother completed speaking, he asked.’

All the constructions in (13) express actions that are expected to be done before another action takes course. In (13a), a vehicle came (main clause event) before he started digging (the event expected to be done). In (13b) the dove is expected to realise it is being attacked by the cat. In (13c), the referent is expected to start a journey but need to fulfill another action (to tell the old woman) before undertaking the journey. Examples (13d) and (13e) show the seriousness of the expected actions and these are expressed by the extension of *ka-tana*, that is, by the addition of *-inga*. Following Collins (op cit: 113), such expressions will be termed emphatic while those in (13a) to (13c) unemphatic. The work to be done in (13d) is cardinal and the question asked in (13e) is crucial. All the events in (13) above, however, need fulfillment before the ones in the modifier clause. Therefore, the event signalled by *ka-tana* ‘before’ are posterior.

From the data base, no clear construction has been seen to translate for the conjunction ‘after’. However, as a natural language, there are ways that the language uses to express this phenomenon. In Tonga, ‘time after’ is expressed by the term *-man-*, carrying the sense of ‘complete’ or ‘finish’ and *-zu-* carrying the sense of ‘movement from’ and also of ‘complete’. Clauses with anteriority function, therefore, indicate that one action (the adverbial clause event) is completed prior to another action (the main clause event). This phenomenon is exemplified below;

- (14) a. *amane* *kwaamba* *majwi aaya*, *wakazumanana*
 finished to say words these, she continued
kweenda
 to walk
 ‘after saying these words, she continued walking.’
- b. *amane kwiimba akupaila*, *wakamvwa masusu aleka kweenda*
mumutwe.
 ‘after singing and praying, she felt still in the head.’

- c. *naakamana kuuma mani, wakaya mumbewu*
 (Lit. when he finished to beat leaves, he went in garden)
 ‘**after** slashing the grass, he went in the garden’.
- d. *Nobakazwa akubandika makani..., bamadaala bakaandaana*
 ‘**after** discussing issues.... the old men dispersed.’

Examples in (14) are typical of the *ni-* ‘when’ clauses expressing the (b) phenomenon. However, these are classified in this section for they posit a feature different from the *ni-* clauses. Each of the ‘after’ clauses above is followed by another verbal expression. Therefore, the first verbal is considered as the subordinating verbal element, a special verb form signalling the adverbial clause. If example (14d) is translated as in (15) below, assigning the first constituent the literal meaning, the expression would lose its original semantic sense.

- (15) **when** they went (away) discussing...., the old men dispersed, [a translation of (14) using ‘when’].

As stated above, the meaning of the construction has changed. When the constituent *man-/zu-* are translated as ‘finish’ or ‘complete’, the meanings of each construction in (14) will be retained. This is the only way to express ‘time before’ temporals.

Temporal clauses can be expressed without an explicit element in the verbal constituent. Interpretation of these is by context determined by the tense and mood. The surface structure (where tone plays a role) can also help in determining the meaning of an adverbial construction that has no subordinating morpheme.

- (16) a. *balatwaambila basika.*
 ‘they will tell us **when** they arrive’.
- b. *mwaakusika buyo atalaa mulonga..., muyakwaabona maanda...*
 ‘**when** you just reach (the side) across the river...., you will see the houses...’

- c. *basike kussyokwe, Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu*
 ‘as they reached the bush, Bulyi told Cikupu ...’

In example (16a) above, the adverbial clause in the Tonga construction has no conjunction but is translated as ‘when’ adverbial expressing sequential events. The adverbial clause only has *ba-*, a subject marker, *-a-* which is a tense marker, *-sik-* as the verb root and *-a*, which is the ending. Interpretation of the adverbial clauses in such a construction is by use of special verb forms or tense forms. Just like (16a), (16b) uses a tense form. The subjunctive mood in (16c) gives an interpretation of temporality in the past. The tone also plays a role because (16a) can be a relative clause to mean ‘those who have come’. Details about these have been dealt with in the chapter for syntactic analysis (see 4.5.1 and 4.5.2).

5.2.2 The semantics of purpose clauses

Purpose clauses semantically function to indicate the purpose for the action of the main clause event. Guerrero (2009) following Cristofaro (2003) says,

A purpose clause encodes a particular relation between two events. This relation is such that one of the linked events (the one coded by the main unit) is performed with the goal of obtaining the realisation of the other one (the one coded by the purpose or dependent event),
 (wings.buffalo.edu/linguistics/people/faculty/vanvalin/rrg/RRG09/Guerrero1-extendingthechallengeofcontrol.pdf). Downloaded on 26. 05. 12.

Purpose clauses therefore, are goal oriented for they endeavour to fulfil a certain goal through a planned event. When the adverbial clause of purpose is expressed with the negative verbal, it implies that the action of the main clause takes place in order to prevent the occurrence of the action in the adverbial clause. The following subsections will show the semantics of purpose clauses and the thematic roles of the arguments contained in them. These are also discussed according to the elements signalling the

adverbial clause. The section begins with the clauses signalled by conjunctions then discusses those signalled by verb forms containing adverbial morphemes before those with tense morphemes.

5.2.2.1 Purpose clauses signalled by conjunctions

The conjunctions that have been established for purpose clauses in the Tonga corpus are *kuti* and *kutegwa*. These have been dealt together because they have the same function in purpose clauses. They are mainly used with the subjunctive to express an intention of an action or state of affair. The subordinating conjunction *kuti* literally means ‘to say,’ that is, the infinitive *ku-* + *-ti*. This property is highly borrowed from the complementiser *kuti* in relative clauses. In this study, purpose and conditional clauses use the conjunction to introduce the adverbial clauses. Used in purpose clauses, it shares the phenomenon with the other purpose subordinator *ku-tegwa* ‘to be said’ and in many cases, the two are interchangeable. While *kutegwa* can be used in (17a) and (17b), however, *kuti* cannot be used in (17c). The conjunction *kutegwa*, therefore, can be said to be the unmarked form for it can be used with purpose clauses of any kind.

- (17) a. *mwana ulasaninwa kabotu **kuti** akkomene.*
 ‘a baby is fed well **so that it grows.**’
- b. *... wakaunka munsu-munsu **kuti** akabuzye,*
 ‘...he went nearer **so that he asks.**’
- c. *... kufwumbwa ncotuyakujana tukabweze ... **kutegwa** nzala*
 ...whatever we find we get... so that hunger
- eeyi itakatulwani*
 this it not fight us
- ‘we should get whatever we find **so that we would never be hit by such hunger.**’

In (17a) above, a child is fed well for the purpose of making it grow. There is no intention expressed but the state indicates a fact. In (17b) however, the purpose clause clearly expresses intention whereas in (17c) the eventuality is that of future expectation. We can as well examine purpose clauses that evoke willingness for another state of affairs to take place. Example (18) below illustrates this phenomenon.

- (18) *bakasindikilwa kutolwa kumulonga bakaa kuzubulwa kutolwa mutala kutegwa bayube mumalundu....*

‘those who were escorted to the river were ferried across so that they hide in the mountains.’

In example (18), the people escorted are beneficiaries of the actions expressed in the main clause and the purpose clause. The referents thus are willing to undertake the event (to hide). The use of passive verbals of the main clause (-*sindikil-w-a* ‘be escorted’, -*tol-w-a* ‘be taken’, -*zubul-w-a* ‘be ferried’ indicate that the action is done by someone else. Let us examine also a construction with a passive in the purpose clause.

- (19) *Mutinta mizeezo yakwe yakali yakuti alisungule buyo kuti ajatwe, [afwide antoomwe amwanaakwe].*

Mutinta’s thoughts were that she just sacrifices herself so as to be caught and die together with her child.’

In (19) above, the action denoted by the passive verb in the purpose clause indicates that the action was intended to be done by someone but with the willingness of the same subject. The external argument of the main clause (Mutinta) is essentially the same as that of the purpose clause even though it is only interpreted through the ‘third person singular subject agreement element’, *a-*. Therefore, ‘Mutinta’ and the prefix *a-* in *ajatwe* ‘she be caught’ are co-referential constituents (arguments), with the external

argument of the main clause as controller of the external argument of the purpose clause (the controlee).

In (17c), there are different agents; the logical external argument, *-tu-* ‘subject marker’ and *nzala* ‘hunger’. Therefore, there is no referential relation of the subject NPs. In some circumstances, the internal argument of the main clause controls the external argument of the purpose clause, as indicated below.

- (20) *musankwa_i wakalomba musimbi_j kutegwa a_j -mu_i -sindikile*
 ‘the boy_i requested the girl_j so that she_j escorts him_i’

The boy performs the action of the main clause while the girl is the performer of the intended action. In example (20), there is both subject and object control.

5.2.2.2 Purpose clauses without conjunctions

There are two established expressions of purpose clauses without conjunctions; the one using the infinitive and the one without an explicit element.

Purpose clauses generally are signalled by constituents that bear an infinitive (*ku-*, *ku-ti*, *ku-tegwa*,). We have discussed *kuti* and *kutegwa* above because they are free forms. The form that is to be discussed under this subsection is the infinitive *ku-* ‘to’. This form is bound to the verbal morpheme and is influenced by the verb of the main clause that carries the meaning of motion. It is used with such verbs as *boola* ‘come’, *tola* ‘take’ or *unka/ ya* ‘go’. This semantically indicates that the participant or external argument in the purpose clause is the same as that of the main clause. The main clause argument therefore controls the relation of the purpose clause.

- (21) a. *bana boonse baunka kukusobana*
 ‘all the children have gone to play.’
 b. *baama baya kumantoolo kukuula munyo.*

- ‘my mother has gone to the stores **to buy salt.**’
- c. *sena waboolela **kutunyonganya?***
 ‘have you come **to disturb us?**’

In examples (21) above, the constructions involve verbs of movement; *-unk-/ -ya-* ‘go’ and *bool-* ‘come’. The infinitive *ku-* is used to introduce the adverbial clause of purpose; a clause expressing intention for the main clause as it answers the question; ‘For what purpose...?’ *Bana* ‘the children,’ *baama* ‘my mother’ and the referent in (21c) are the same participants in both the main and purpose clauses. However, the semantic roles in each of the clauses (main and purpose) may be different. In (21a) *bana* ‘children’ is the agent and assumes experience of the purpose clause. They are the ones performing the action of going as well as playing. In (21b), *baama* ‘mother’ is the one performing the actions of ‘going’ and that of buying, while in (21c), the referent in question is the same actor for the intention.

The arguments in the subordinate clauses are semantically omitted but understood. Purpose of motion constructions therefore are understood to have two phases of a single event.

Purpose clauses that are expressed without any explicit element can be interpreted contextually using verb forms.

- (22) a. *amuzitole mpongo kumulonga **zikanywe meenda.***
 ‘take the goats to the river **so that they drink water.**’
- b. ... *inga masiku bayide kunditumina zyeelo **kutegwa zyindisine***₁
*[bacaale balikke]*₂ *[kabakwetwe]*₃
 ‘she usually sends me ghosts **so that they strangle me** ₁[(**in order that**)
she remains alone]₂ [*married,*]₃’.

In (22a) above, the Tonga construction has no subordinating conjunction but has been interpreted as purpose clause contextually whereas clauses 2 and 3 of (22b) are

interpreted as purpose clauses because they appear in the context of a purpose clause. The use of the subjunctive is also a determinant factor for interpreting (22a) as a purpose clause.

This section has indicated that the information given in the early accounts of purpose clauses is shallow. Although the information in Collins (1962) and Keenan (1992) is shallow, it gives basis for this study.

5.2.3 The semantics of conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are constructions used to express possible or counterfactual propositions and their consequences. Wikipedia has the following to say about conditional sentences:

Conditional sentences are sentences expressing factual implications, or hypothetical situations and their consequences. They are so called because the validity of the main clause of the sentence is conditional on the existence of certain circumstances, which may be expressed in a dependent clause or may be understood from the context.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conditional_sentence) downloaded on 06. 05. 13.

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) also say that an interclausal conditional is an expression of what consequence would hold, given the conditions in a particular state of affairs. Procter (1995) says, a conditional sentence expresses the idea that one thing follows from another and this can be expressed as follows:

IF condition A	THEN	condition B	or
Condition B	IF	condition A	

(Procter 1995: 284)

The IF-clause termed the protasis expresses the condition and the THEN-clause termed the apodosis expresses the consequence.

In Tonga, conditional clauses are signalled by *kuti* (*naa*) which translates as ‘if’. The subordinator can be used as a compound form while the compounding elements can still be used independently and still give the same meaning. For instance, *Kuti baunke...*, *Naa baunke...*, *Kuti naa baunke...* all translate as, ‘if they go...’.

This section presents the semantic functions of conditionals differently from the rest of the adverbial clauses because a type may be signalled by the same conjunction or element. We partially assume the semantic classification suggested by Wikipedia: implicative (factual), predictive and speculative (counter factual). The fourth conditional (not in order of classification); the non-predictive will be added. For clauses without conjunction, exemplification has been given under each subtype.

5.2.3.1 Implicative conditional clauses

A conditional sentence is said to be implicative if it essentially states, ‘if one fact holds, then so does another’. This kind of conditional is used to express a general or scientific truth and certainty; among the others. In the *Cambridge International Dictionary of English*, this semantic type is termed a ‘zero conditional.’ The premise therefore, is as a supposition from the view point of reality or premise based on fact. Exemplification below is only for the sub-subcategories stated above:

- (23) a. ***kuti** wajaya muntu, balaanga bamapulisa.*
 ‘if you kill a person, the police do arrest.’
- b. ***kuti** wabikka munyo mumeenda, ulayaaya.*
 ‘if you put salt in water, it dissolves.’
- c. *wagusya nswi mumeenda, ilafwa.*
 ‘if you remove fish from water, it dies’.

In (23a) above, the notion is a supposition from the view point of reality. It expresses certainty; thus the equation ‘A = B’. The conditional expressions in (23b) and (23c) give scientific truth. Here the state of affairs in ‘B’ (main clause) is always caused by the action of ‘A’ (condition). Once the condition is set, the consequence then follows.

5. 2.3.2 Predictive (Probable) conditional clauses

This condition carries a premise of greater future probability. It concerns a situation dependent on a hypothetical future event. The protasis can occur with all tenses but the fulfillment is in the future – thus its likelihood.

- (24) a. *naa uyanda kundijaya, kondijaya...*
 ‘if you want to kill me, kill me’.
- b. *kuti ukalombe kabotu, uyakuteelela bamwaaba nkobati kakwiizanyane kulila.*
 ‘if you pray sincerely, you will hear how the foxes would scream’.
- c. *waakulomba kabotu, uyakuteela bamwaaba nkobati kakwiizanyane kulila*
 ‘should you pray sincerely, you will hear how the foxes would scream’.

In (24) above, the likelihood of the events hypothesised depends on the participants’ will.

5. 2.3.3 Non- Predictive (Improbable) conditional clauses

This conditional carries a meaning which is contrary to fact. It states a connection between events for situations which are not likely to happen. The if- clause is imaginary and the premise is unlikely or imagined. The following exemplify this phenomenon:

- (25) a. *kuti naali kuyanda kwiiya, naatali kuli banyinakulu ino.*

'if he wanted to learn, he would not be with his grandmother now.'

- b. naasika usyi, naamweengela cuumbwe.

'if his father arrived, he would mark the grave for him.'

In (25a), the external referent is 'temporarily' away and it is possible that he can arrive at any time to learn, but this possibility is not justifiable. He may; he may not. Similarly in (25b), 'his father' may or may not arrive.

5.2.3.4 Speculative (Counterfactual) conditional clauses.

In a speculative conditional, a situation is described as dependent on a condition that is considered to be false or seen as unlikely. This type expresses imaginary (wish without implication) or possible events in the past which would never be fulfilled.

- (26) a. kuti nikwali bantu naakakwiila...

'if there were people (around), she would have shouted...' (express impossibility)

- b. ...naali nyina ooyu Mutinta, notwaamba kuti antela nkuyanda kuloboka.

'had it been Mutinta his mother, we would have said perhaps she wants to escape.' (false supposition : the son would never be his mother).

- c. ...nindali musilisi uumbi, nindakugwasya.

...if I be doctor different I would you help

'If I were another doctor (with different values), I would have helped you ...'

(expression of a wish without implication) .

- d. nondakalimubuzide, naakandaambila.

'if I had asked him/her, he/she would have told me.'

Examples (26a) to (26d) are impossible conditions. Example (26b) as already indicated is false because 'he' is not the mother. Example (26c) indicates a wish (not

real). This particular doctor will never be another. Both the prothesis and the apodosis in (26a) and (26d) are in the past. Consequently, they express events that could have been possible but were not fulfilled (without any other chance of having them fulfilled).

Keenan (1992), following Collins (1962) has dwelt on conditionals, including the semantics of the subordinator ‘*kuti*.’ Keenan and Collins’ accounts however, fall deficit of the semantic classification that this study has provided (concerning conditionals) above.

5. 2.4 The semantics of concessive clauses

Clauses of concession express ideas which suggest the opposite of the main clause event or state of affairs, or make it seem surprising. They can assume various semantic roles depending on the communicative act. Generally, there is a contradictory proposition in the adverbial clause to that of the main clause.

5. 2.4.1 Concessive clauses signalled by conjunctions

In Tonga, the concessive clause is mainly signalled by the subordinating conjunction *nokuba kuti* ‘although/ though/ even though/ even if’, having variants of the same conjunction (*nekuba, nikuba, nakuba*) most of which are dialectal. The semantic property of *nokuba kuti* as used to introduce concessive clauses is ‘when it be (to say).’ Most of the concessive clauses utilize the compounded conjunction.

- (27) a. ...*nokuba kuti buzuba oobu kwakali kutontola anze, mukati kampako eeyo mwakali kukasaala*
 ‘although this (particular) day was cold outside inside that cave was warm.’
- b. *nokuba kuti wakamanide ino kusamba...* *kankasaalo kakamweenda...*
 ‘even though he had just finished bathing ..., he sweated.’

- e. *ayalo ηanda **nokuba kuti** mubuyake yakali mpati pele yakamuceyela*
'**even though** the house was big in structure, he found it small '.

In (27a) and (27b), the concessive clauses express ideas which suggest the opposite of the main clause state of affairs. On a day with cold temperature, as expressed in (27a) and (27b) above, we expect the whole area to be cold but the inside of the hole, on the contrary, is warm and we do not expect an individual to sweat just after taking a bath on a cool day. In (27c), it is surprising that the referent finds a big house small for him just for this particular moment.

Concessive clauses can also express hypothetical eventualities.

- (28) ...***nokuba kuti** andiweele mwami, mbubo mwana ulafwida mumaanza angu ...*
'**even though** the Lord forsakes me, its okay. The child will die in my hands... '.

In example (28), there is no fact about the Lord's forsaking the speaker but that is just an assumption that such a thing may happen. It is also possible to use a concessive to express rejected facts as in the example below.

- (29) ***nokuba kuti** ndazulwa, nsekwe kupa mali ngomuyanda.*
'**even though** I am guilty, I will not pay the fine you are demanding.

5. 2.4.2 Concessive clauses signalled by without conjunctions

Some concessives in Tonga are signalled by morphemes that appear like the temporal *ni-* 'when'. These, to a greater extent, indicate factual conflict of eventualities in the main clause.

- (30) a. ***nolituba** ngunyoko*
'**even though** (she is) old, she is your mother'.
b. ***nalampa oobuya Mutinta**, bazyali bakwe mbafwaafwi kapati.*

‘although Mutinta is that tall, her parents are very short’.

- c. ***nolikkomena obuya**, bbwe eelyo lyakayusubele buyo akabwe kaniini*
‘although it was that big, that stone just balanced on a small stone’.

The concessive construction in (30a) expresses that in whichever state one’s mother (or generally a ‘parent’) may be, such a one would not cease to be a mother or parent. Actually, this is a rebuking statement. Similarly, (30b) and (30c) are contrary to our expectation.

5.2.5 The semantics of clauses of reason

Clauses of reason express a reason for undertaking the main clause eventuality. Cristafaro (2003) says, “A reason construction is regarded as one encoding a causal relation between two events, such that one of the two (the event encoded by the reason clause, or the dependent event) represents the reason for the other event (the main event) to take place (wals.info/chapter/127: reason clauses),” downloaded on 23.09.12.

5.2.5.1 Clauses of reason signalled by conjunctions

Clauses of reason in Tonga are chiefly introduced by *nkaambo* ‘because’. The subordinator is commonly used with finite verbs although it is possible to use it with non-finite verbs as well. *Nkaambo* means ‘it is an issue’, which has been given the English equivalent above. This is the unmarked variant because it can be used with all verb types.

- (31) a. ...*tamweelede kumulwana **nkaambo** tamukapiluki kabotu pe*,
‘you should not fight him **because** you would not return in peace.’
b. *utapengi pe, **nkaambo** wuunjila munzi wabasulwe bamalende...*
‘do not be troubled **for** you have entered the village for the hares of the shrine’.
c. *ndakkomana **nkaambo** ndaumana mulimo*

‘am happy because I have completed the work’

In (31), the semantic relation is that of circumstance and reason. In all the examples in (31) a finite adverbial expression is used. This is also a general phenomenon that clauses with *nkaambo* use finite expressions.

The other conjunction signalling reason clauses is *akaambo kakuti*. Clauses signalled by *akaambo ka-* (*kuti*) are mainly used to express cause and effect. The subordinator has similar meaning to that of *nkaambo*. *Akaambo kakuti* means, ‘with the issue of to say’. The subordinating constituent translates for the English prepositional construction ‘because of’ or ‘for the reason of.’ The prepositional construction is motivated by the non-finiteness of the verb used with the subordinator; the participle (*ka-*) and (or) the infinitive (*ku-*).

- (32) a. *akaambo ka-kutalya kabotu*, *nguzu zyakwe zyakatalika kuceya buce-buce*.
‘because of not eating well, her strength began to reduce bit by bit.’
- b. *akaambo ka-kunyukaulwa ooku*, *Busiku wakabuka...*
‘because of being shaken, Busiku woke up ’.
- c. *akaambo ka-nzala mpati*, *bakali kulya kufwumbwa ncobajana*
‘because of the great famine, they ate whatever they found’
- d. *akaambo kakuti bakali kumuyandisya...*
‘because they loved him/her so much...’

In (32) above, the effect expressed in the main clause is caused by the premise set by the adverbial clause. Note also that when a construction using a prepositional expression is followed by *kuti* it is translated as ‘because’ as in (32d) and when *nkaambo* is used with the participle and the infinitive, it is translated as ‘because of’ as in (32a) to (32c) above.

In Tonga, clauses of reason are interpreted as events that take place before the event of the main clause as can be seen in (32). This is in line with Quirk et al (1985:1103) who say that, “For all types, there is generally a temporal sequence such that the situation in the subordinate clause precedes in time that of the matrix clause.”

5.2.6 The semantics of clauses of result

Clauses of result in Tonga are quite distinct. They express an event that is a result of another prior event or state of affairs. Clauses of result semantically depict factual and hypothetical eventualities. They are signalled by the subordinating conjunction *aboobo* ‘therefore/ consequently/ so.’ The subordinator carries the meaning ‘and like that’ or ‘and as such’. Although the subordinator is the only conjunction that has been established in the collected corpus, the translation of the sentences into our metalanguage shows that the expressions use different types.

- (33) a. ...*ndinyina baama, **aboobo** nciyumu ntaa...kukwatwa kuli ndinywe*
 ‘I do not have a mother. **for this reason**, it is very difficult to marry you.’
- b. *mulandu ngwakulituka nobeni **aboobo** mutatutongookeli.*
 ‘you are responsible for the case **so do not complain to us**.’
- c. *ayalo milonga yoonse yakazwide miseenga **aboobo** meenda tanaakacili kukkala mutuzyiba ...*
 ‘all the rivers were also full of sand. **as a result**, water no longer collected in the small dambos’.

In (33a), the appropriate translation is ‘for this reason,’ in (33b) ‘so,’ and in (33c) ‘as a result’. Some of them may be interchangeable while others may not. For instance, the subordinator in (33b) cannot be interchanged with ‘as a result’ in English. Example (33a) expresses a hypothetical eventuality whereas (33b) and (33c) express factual result for the proposition set in the main clause.

5.2.7 The semantics of clauses of manner

Clauses of manner express how or the way something or someone behaves or does something. Wikipedia states that clauses of manner “...are used to talk about someone’s behaviour or the way something is done.” In Tonga, clauses of manner are signalled by *mbuli* (*kuti*) ‘like/ as’ and the bound morphemes *mbu-* and *ka-*. *Mbuli* (*kuti*) share the semantic role with comparison clauses although we can have some clauses exclusive of the other. The meaning of *mbuli* is ‘being’ or ‘to be’ (from the stem *-li* ‘be’).

- (34) a. *acikacitike **mbuli mbociyanda** ...*
‘let it happen **as you wish** ...’
- b. *wakasondela alimwi mulwija amane waleka **mbuli kuti kuli camunjila mumeso**.*
‘he peeped in the horn, and then stopped **as though** something entered **his eyes**.’
- c. *...wakavwiila Hatimba **katondezya kutakomba**.*
‘Hatimba answered **without (showing) concern**.’
- d. *bakaile kuleka **mbubakaleka kunyonka**,*
‘they just stopped **the way** they stopped breastfeeding.’

In (34a), the meaning of the adverbial clause is that it should happen in the manner or the way the referent wishes. The clause solely expresses manner. Example (34b) also indicates the manner in which the participant stopped the activity of peeping in the horn. That is, as though someone had entered his eyes. Similarly, (34c) and (34d) using the manner particles *ka-* and *mbu-*, express how Hatimba answered and the way they stopped (the activity mentioned earlier in the text) respectively. Therefore, all the adverbials answer the question, ‘How?’ or ‘In which way?’

5.2.8 The semantics of clauses of comparison

We have stated in the foregoing section that *mbuli (kuti)* share the semantic role with clauses of comparison although some clauses only express manner. In the same way, comparison clauses can be exclusive of manner clauses. Note, however, that clauses of comparison in this study encompass clauses of similarity and contrast, which have been dealt in 5.2.8.1 and 5.2.8.2 below. They, therefore, compare two or more events or state of affairs to indicate their similarities or to contrast them.

5.2.8.1 Clauses of similarity

Clauses of similarity place the eventuality mentioned in the adverbial clauses on the same scale as those of the main clause. They indicate equality. These clauses are mainly signalled by *mbuli (kuti)*.

- (35) a. *Tandeelede kupona atalaanyika **mbuli mbu-oteelede kupona ayebo** ...*
'I am not supposed to live on earth **just as you are not supposed to.**'
- b. *cisi cakali kwiile kuumwine wii **mbuli kuti kwafwa mukamwami.***
'The area was very quiet **as though** a chief's wife had passed away.'
- c. *...bakali kudilimuka ... **mbuli kuti kwasika mulilo uumpa sokwe pati.***
'...they (the birds) were flying off **as though** there was a fire burning a big bush.'

In (35a), the comparative clause indicates the similarity of the state of affair to that of the main clause. This means that both individuals referred to in the predicates of the clauses are not supposed to live on earth. In (35b) the silence that prevailed around that area is equated to that experienced when the chief's wife dies. In similar manner, the way of flying by the birds in (35c) is associated to the way a big bush burns. In all

the similarity clauses exemplified above, however, there is no control of the argument constituents. In each, the subject of the adverbial clause is different from that of the main clause although it is possible to have the same subject in both clauses.

5.2.8.2 Clauses of contrast

These clauses state how dissimilar the eventuality in the dependent clause is from that of the main clause. They indicate inequality. Clauses of contrast are signalled by *kwiinda* ‘than’, *kaali/ kakuli* ‘while/whereas/whilst,’ or using zero conjunction. The conjunction *kwiinda* carries the meaning ‘to surpass’ because even where preference is expressed, the preferred weight surpasses the one not preferred.

- (36) a. *wakanonezegwa kapati kubona kuti musimbi ooyu ulakanana kwiinda mbuli mbwaakali kumuyeeyela,...*
 ‘he was very delighted to see that that girl was talking than he thought about her...’.
- b. *bausyi balasalala kaali banyina balasiya kapati.*
 ‘his father is light (in complexion) while his mother is very dark,’.

In examples (36a) and (36b), contrast is clearly expressed by the compound and free subordinating conjunctions.

Each of the above can further be classified as factual or hypothetical. They are factual if the events being compared express facts as in (36b) and hypothetical as in (35) and (36a).

5.2.9 The semantics of clauses of place

Clauses of place modify the main clause in terms of stating the location of the eventuality of the dependent clause. Clauses of place are signalled by morphemes or particles that take after the three locative prefixes of the language; (class 16, 17 and

18). These clauses answer the question, ‘where?’ In answering this question, they indicate the position or area of location.

In Tonga, the locative prefix of class 16 indicates the surface location of a thing(s) or object(s). When used in a predicative or verbal construction (in which adverbial clauses fall), the prefix may be prenasalised as ‘*mp-a*’. The locative, just like other preprefixes, varies with the subjects used.

- (37) a. *Hamwaandwe wakazwa kumulyango waya **aakakkede** Lwando.*
‘Hamwaandwe moved from the doorway (and) went **where** Lwando sat,’.
- b. *... bakagwisya makumi obile amakkwacha babika **mpobakaambilwa** ...*
‘they got twenty kwacha (and) put **where** they were told,’.

The two examples, (37a) and (37b) indicate that the places where the events of the modifying clauses take place are surface areas; with (37b) using the nasalised form.

This locative indicates the meaning of a relative position of something towards something. Used in a clausal expression, the meaning is relative to the event in the main clause. The prenasalized locative uses the nasal ‘*n*’.

- (38) a. *ndakabalika kuya kuzyuli **nkundakajana mukaintu wangu ulilede***
ansi...
I ran to the bedroom **where** I found my wife lying down .
- b. *...wakabuzya Busiku kutegwa azyibe **nkwaakabede Mukansondo.***
‘She asked Busiku so that she knows **where** Mukansondo was’.

Clauses signalled by the locative *mu-* carry the meaning of in(side). This semantic clause type therefore indicates the notion of being contained in or within a location.

- (39) Hatimba wakaunka mukkoce **mubakakkede** ...
‘Hatimba went to the veranda **where** they sat ...’

It is also worthy to note that the locative-verbal expressing the adverbial clause of place under this subtype uses the prefix of the class barely and the possible variations are a result of morpho-phonological processes:

mu + a => mwa → mwabede, ‘where she/he is’.

mu + i => mwi → mwiiibede, ‘where it (goat) is’.

mu + o => mo → mobede, ‘where you are’.

mu + e => mwe → mwebede, ‘where I am’.

mu + u => mu → muzibede, ‘where they (cl.8/ 10) are’.

Collins (op cit: 5) says, “The locative prefix *mu-* keeps *m* when verbal.” This is in support of the phenomena explained above. However, this study does realize the prefix as *mu-* as explained above and not as expressed by *m* in Collins’ account.

The above locatives may be preceded by the word *kufwumbwa* which subsumes the role of the adverbial subordinator with the notion of ‘any location.’ The prefixal particles complete the other meanings as in examples (37), (38) and (39).

- (40) a. *kufwumbwa aali matete, alimeenda.*
 ‘wherever the reeds are, there is water, (surface location).’
- b. *kufwumbwa kuli bantu, takubuli twaambo.*
 ‘wherever there are people, there are usually issues, (location towards).’
- c. *kufwumbwa muwazibika tulazijana.*
 ‘wherever you have put them, we shall find them.’ (location inside)
- d. *kufwumbwa nkuwaya, uyakujana bantu bamisyobo yaandeene.*
 ‘wherever you go, you would find people of different races.’

In examples (40a) to (40d), the constituents signalling the adverbial clauses indicate the notions ‘on whatever place’, ‘at whichever place’, ‘in whichever place’ and ‘to

whichever place’. Example (40d) uses the nasalized form identical to the one explained in 5. 2.9. 2 above.

5.2.10 The semantics of comment clauses

Comment clauses may be used as complement, relative or adverbial. Since our focus in this study is on adverbial clauses, only adverbial comment clauses have been considered. Adverbial clauses of comment in Tonga are signalled by the subordinator *mbuli* and are usually followed by a prefixed particle *mbu-* in the verbal constituent.

- (41) a. *mbuli mbotwamvwa kale, simunzyaakwe Mutinta... wakaunkide kumilimo...*
 ‘as we have already heard, Mutinta’s uncle ...had gone for work’.
- b. *mbuli mbubakaambawide ba Chuumangoma awisi, mugodi wakaakusigwa...*
 ‘just as Chuumangoma and his father had discussed, a borehole was sunk.’
- c. *...mbuli mbooli kusandulula, ndakonzya kuziyiba kuti Chuumangoma uzwa munanda isuka busi.*
 ‘...as you have been explaining, I can know that Chuumangoma comes from a rich family.’

The comment gives clues for the main clause event and it relates to the antecedent. Comment clauses, therefore, comment on the already stated events which are generally linked with what is to be stated in the main clause. In (41a) for instance, the speaker intends to tell us that it is not necessary to mention the information because it has already been said and so the comment just comes as a reminder. Similarly, the comment in (41b) implies that the discussion was done before the action in the main clause and that discussion was about the event of the main clause (the sinking of the

borehole). In (41c), the speaker makes inferences of what has been explained and makes conclusions about the state of affairs.

5.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has given the semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga. It has discussed at length the semantics of adverbial clauses of time (temporal clauses), indicating the time focus in relation to the main clause event. These have been covered under the subheadings for the constituents signalling the adverbial clauses. It has advanced to look at purpose, conditional, concessive, reason and result clauses as major categories in the language (that is, after temporal clauses). Under purpose clauses, we have discussed clauses that express intention and those that express future expectancy. These have been discussed according to the elements signalling the adverbial clauses.

Conditionals have been discussed according to semantic types: zero condition (factual), predictive, improbable and counterfactual. This is because the conditional clauses established use the same subordinators to express the various semantic functions. Each of the type expresses a semantic role; real or unreal rather implying or not implying fulfillment in the future. The factual and predictive conditionals are the categories implying fulfillment, whereas improbable and counterfactual are the categories not implying fulfillment. For concessive clauses, distinction has been made between those that express facts and those that are hypothetical. As for reason clauses, there are those that express circumstance and reason and those expressing cause and effect.

Clauses of result have been semantically analysed as depicting factual and hypothetical eventualities. Minor clauses (as considered by this study) of manner, comparison, place and comment have also been discussed.

For the clauses without an explicit subordinating element, the subordinator is a zero element. However, it has been possible to determine the type of adverbial clause even

where there is no subordinator using verb forms. The verb forms may contain morphemes that translate for conjunctions or solely dependent on tone.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has discussed the various semantic functions of adverbial clauses in Tonga. The clauses have been discussed according to the elements signalling them, except for the conditionals that have the same subordinating elements.

This chapter gives a summary of the findings under syntax and semantics, before concluding the whole study.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The findings have been presented at two levels of analysis; the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses.

6.2.1 Syntax

At syntactic level, the study has addressed objectives (a) to (d). In addressing objective (a), the study has discussed the structure of adverbial clauses, beginning with the arrangement of constituents within an adverbial clause. Unlike English adverbial clauses, Tonga adverbial clauses can have various arrangements of constituents such as the subject NP followed by a demonstrative then a verbal. It has also discussed argument fronting as a possible but rare phenomenon in the language. The study has also indicated that adverbial clauses may not have subjects as depicted by purpose infinitival clauses. In some clauses, such as those of comparison, both the subject and verb may be implicit. Such clauses are subjectless and (or) verbless. It has also been indicated that adverbial conjunctions govern particular moods.

With tense sequence, the study has shown that there is a general rule; the copy-rule by the adverbial clause, of tense of the main clause verb for most adverbial types. Other

than this, there has been a wide range also of tense sequences; present and future, past and present, and past and future. Aspect and mood also varies considerably, depending on the effect of communication. This has addressed objective (b).

To address objective (c) the research has found that adverbial clause types are not limited to a single order. Even though the ordering of constituents seem to be of a similar pattern, adverbial clauses in Tonga are so complex and their syntactic analysis need separation of the bound elements. The verbal constituent incorporates a number of elements, in many cases, morphemes signalling adverbial clauses. Verb forms and tone, it has been discovered, are used in the analysis of clauses without subordinating conjunctions. The syntactic environment of the sentential constituents is also used. Therefore, clauses have been analysed according to whether they are signalled by conjunctions, morphemes, verb forms, or a combination of conjunctions and morphemes. Further, the conjunctions may be compound constituents that are used with elements that may be bound to the verb phrase or predicate.

Although temporal, purpose, conditional, concessive, reason and place clauses can either be preposed or postposed, the distribution or ordering of these clauses in Tonga seem to be highly motivated by the logical sequence of the events. Temporal adverbial clauses of anteriority are frequently preposed, those describing an eventuality taking place after the main clause eventuality (clauses of posteriority signalled by *kusikila* ‘until’ and *limwi* ‘until’) are frequently postposed while those that describe events taking place simultaneously with the main clause events take either position, depending on the subordinator used. Clauses introduced by *kumwi* are frequently in final position while clauses introduced by the participle particle *ka-* frequent the initial position. For purpose clauses of motion using the infinitive, the general phenomenon is to have them postposed and the free forms also frequently prefer the final position even though they can be preposed. Conditional and concessive clauses are preferably preposed while reason and place clauses frequent the final position. The study has indicated that focus can influence the order of adverbial and main clause. The clause that carries much focus is usually preposed.

Clauses of result, manner and comparison are restricted to final position while comment clauses favour initial position although they can as well appear in medial and final positions (medial position being rare). The study has shown that Tonga is a right-branching language like English because final position is the default position. The initial occurrence of adverbial clauses is motivated by competing processing forces such as logical sequence of events (mostly dictated by the subordinators or elements used), the heaviness of clausal constituents, focus or emphasis and language user's focus. In the study, extraction, movement and adjunction of adverbial chunks from the default position to anywhere has been possible with many adverbial types in a movement that has been termed 'syntactic movement'.

The last part under syntax addressed objective (d) in which adverbial clauses of identical construction have been analysed using verb forms where tense, mood and tone play a role.

6.2.2 Semantics

The findings at semantic level of analysis have indicated a number of issues. The semantics of adverbial clause types in general and the subtypes in particular have been analysed. The study has revealed that there are several specific meanings expressed by various semantic types of adverbial clauses. While temporal clauses are used to indicate when something happens by referring to a period of time or to another event or process, the time of the happening of the eventuality in the adverbial clause in relation to that of the main clause may indicate either time before, same time or time after. These can also be expressed using various subordinating conjunctions and morphemes in verbal constituents. Verb forms have also been used where tense, aspect, mood and tone are determinants.

For purpose clauses, a distinction has been made on clauses signalled by free infinitival conjunctions; *kuti* and *kutegwa* 'so as to / in order to' and those signalled by

the infinitival bound morpheme. Purpose clauses signalled by these conjunctions express intention and future expectation of eventualities. Those signalled by bound morphemes carry the meaning of motion.

Four semantic uses of conditionals have been presented; implicative, predictive, non-predictive and counterfactual. The implicative or factual condition expresses facts; the predictive states the likelihood of occurrence; non-predictive express improbability while the counterfactual condition presents impossible eventualities.

Clauses of concession, it has been indicated, generally express ideas that suggest the opposite of the main clauses event or state of affair. Within this major classification are clauses that express factual conflicts and hypothetical eventualities. The other semantic functions are those of rebukal, offer of advice or a notion contrary to our expectation.

Reason clauses may express a relation of circumstance and reason (expressed by the unmarked variant), and that of cause and effect (expressed by the form used with the bound infinitive *ku-*, and (or) the participle *ka-*).

Clauses of result basically express an event that is a result of another prior event. They semantically depict factual and hypothetical eventualities. Manner clauses simply express someone's behaviour or the way something is done.

Comparison clauses have two semantic roles; that of similarities and that of contrast. Clauses of similarity indicate equality of the event of the adverbial clause with that of the main clause. Clauses of contrast express how dissimilar the eventuality in the dependent clause is from that of the main clause.

Clauses of place essentially indicate the location. Clauses signalled by the locative *a-* indicate the surface location of things and objects, those signalled by the locative *ku-*

indicate the meaning of a relative location of something towards something while those signalled by *mu-* carry the meaning of inside.

Comment clauses have been semantically analysed as clauses that can give various meanings in relation to the main clause expressions. The comment clause may act as a reminder, caution, inference, implication or conclusion.

The semantics of adverbial clauses in Tonga have been successfully analysed by describing the findings of the various phenomena established from the data collected. This was to address objective (e) set in Chapter One where the study has identified the various semantic functions performed by various adverbial clauses in Tonga.

6.3 CONCLUSION

It is worthy to state that adverbial clauses are an important category of a language and serve to answer questions such as when, why, where, in which way and how? By using adverbial clauses in a discourse; written or spoken, one endeavours to supply added information so as to avoid the questions listed above. Although clauses of concession do not respond to any of these interrogative questions, their use supplies viable information in discourse. It has also been discovered that there are more cases without conjunctions in Tonga adverbial clause types than there are conjunctions. Some adverbial clause types such as clauses of place do not use conjunctions at all. The notion that adverbial clauses are introduced by conjunctions has been ruled out in this study.

Syntactic and semantic analyses have been possible in this study through description and explanation of the phenomena interpreted by the researcher. Most of the syntactic analyses in this study are also characterised with a lot of split elements, because the language under study is highly agglutinative. However, both syntax and semantics have been successfully analysed by exploring and describing the various adverbial constructions from both corpus and introspection.

It should be stated, however, that the investigations presented in this study are not exhaustive. There are a number of semantic interpretations and syntactic expressions of various adverbial clauses that could have been discussed in the two previous chapters as well as those that might not have been captured by the corpora (written, spoken and introspection). Such issues are left for further studies.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has shown that adverbial clauses in Tonga have not been studied or presented in a systematic manner that this research has provided. There is very little representation of adverbial clauses in Tonga at syntax and semantics levels. This study therefore, recommends that:

- (i) More research should be conducted on adverbial clauses with focus on phonology and pragmatics. Some adverbial clauses or expressions are best interpreted according to the way language is used situationally. The various prosodic features in the expressions, such as intonation and tone may have a strong bearing on how such expressions would be interpreted.
- (ii) A detailed study of the syntax and semantics of adverbial clauses should be done in other Zambian languages so as to develop the linguistics of Zambian languages. This will in turn make a tangible contribution to the field of theoretical linguistics.
- (iii) Research should be done on other types of subordinate clauses, other than adverbials.
- (iv) Corpus should be used for classroom methodology so as to make discoveries of some rare but salient phenomena of particular expressions or language usage.
- (v) Detailed researches should be done of the language in other study areas, other than subordination, at syntax and semantics levels, including pragmatics.

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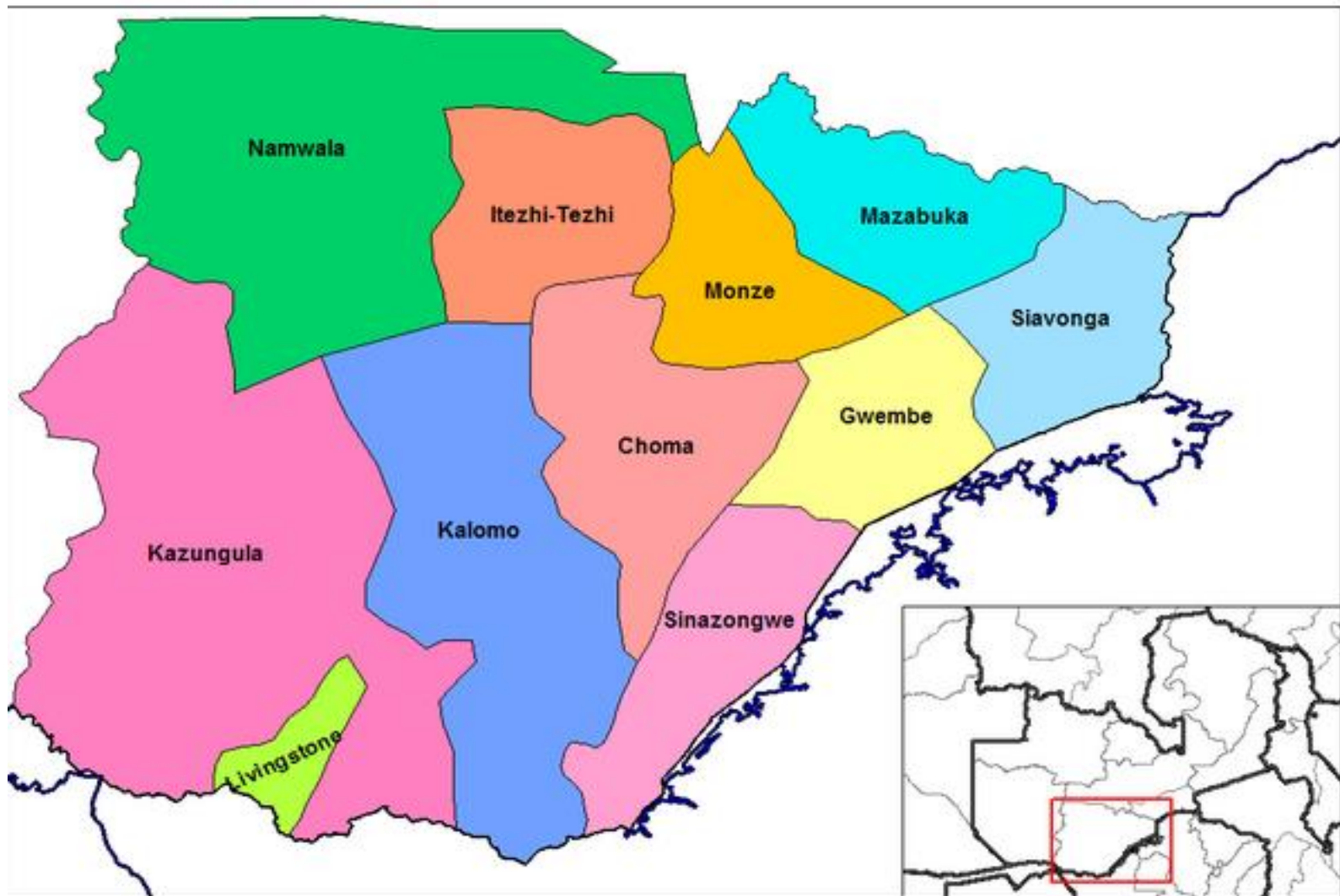
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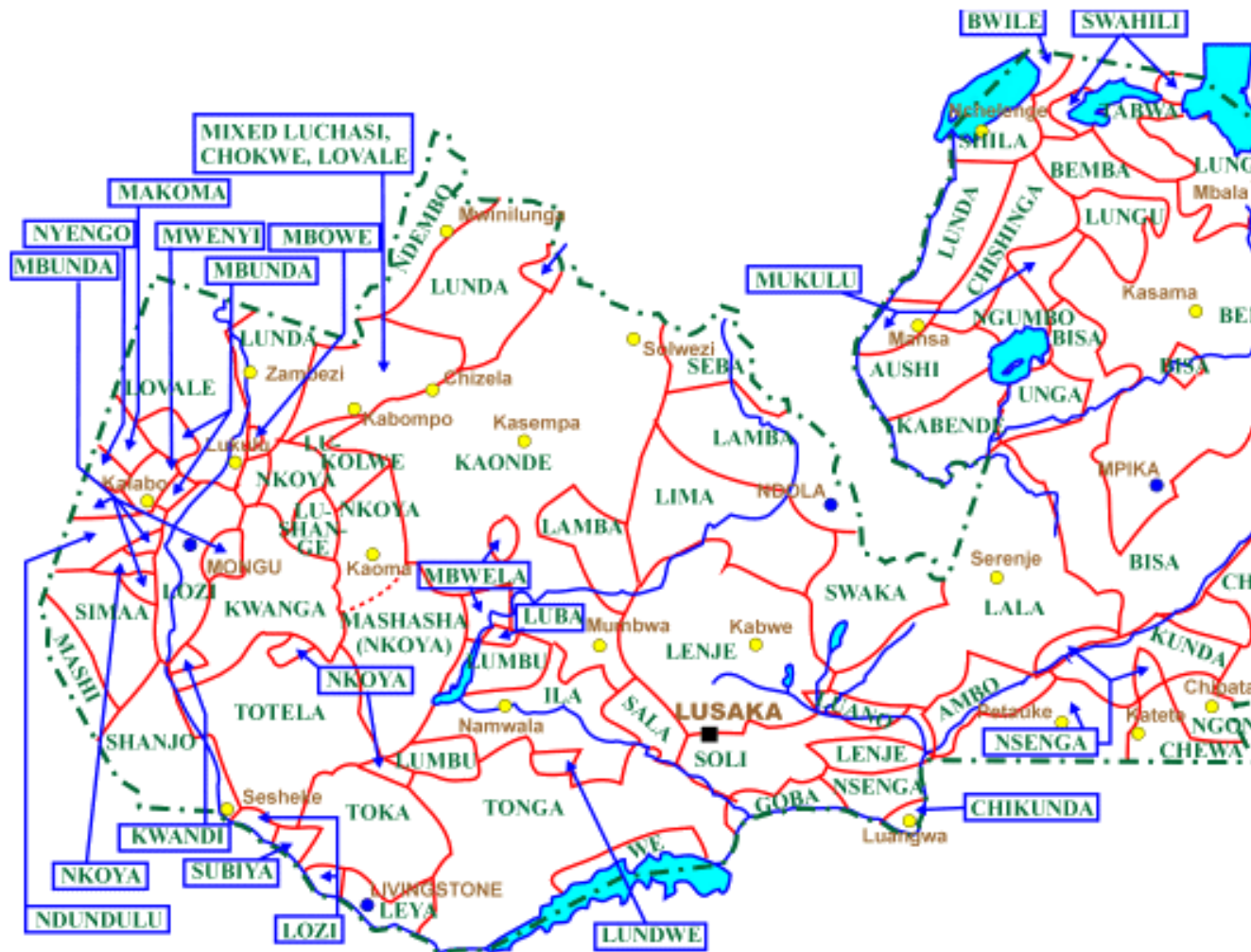
APPENDICES

Appendix A: Maps

Appendix A1: Map of Southern Province



Appendix A2: Linguistic Map of Zambia



Appendix B: The data

The data begins with adverbial clause constructions from *Kalya Uzumanana* (Hanengeta; 1988) followed by those from *Malweza Aatunga Mulongo* (Nyanga; 1989) then *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* (Kachele; 1998). Following these, are adverbial clause constructions from the spoken sources. The research has mainly used written corpus because it uses longer sentences that are logically and cognitively processed with a lot of adverbial clauses than spoken corpus. It has also been discovered that in speech, there is a lot of code-switching that a number of expressions use non-Tonga words that include subordinating conjunctions.

The adverbial clauses collected are glossed so that non-Tonga speakers who may be interested in the corpus would easily make reference. In the glosses, we will realise that the subject and object markers are marked for a particular gender. This is because the adverbial constructions are derived from contexts set in the novels. That is, the characters' sex is known. Those picked from speech and those devised by the researcher, however, are not treated in this manner.

The presentation of both adverbial and main clause has been guided by the fact that the main clauses would be needed especially in the semantic analysis of the adverbial clauses because of the strict dependency that clauses may posit as Brown and Miller (1980:154) say,

...complex subordinate sentences cannot be typically resolved into a string of separate sentences without doing some violence to the dependency relations between the various constituents involved in a single sentence.

to justify the findings especially on the ordering of adverbial clauses in relation to the clauses they modify.

The data have been presented thematically and have been given cumulative serial numbers. Adverbial clauses collected from *Kalya Uzumanana* (by Hanengeta; 1988),

Malweza Aatunga Mulongo (by Nyanga; 1989) and *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* (by Kachele; 1998) have been coded as ‘K’, ‘M’ and ‘B’ respectively. Then these codes are preceded and followed by numbers. The initial figure is the number of the adverbial clause serially collected from one source and the figure after the letter is the page number of the texts from which the adverbial clauses have been sourced. For instance 8B2 means that the adverbial against this code is the eighth collected from *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* on page 2. There are 308 adverbial clauses from *Kalya Uzumanana* (Hanengeta; 1988), 95 from *Malweza Aatunga Mulongo* (Nyanga; 1989), 116 from *Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi* (Kachele; 1998), and 6 from the unorganised spoken sources.

Appendix B1: Data from ‘*Kalya Uzumanana*’

Temporal clauses

- 1K1 *Lutangalo ndubakajisi lwakaindila ciindi muka Cuumba naakatumbuka mwana musimbi.*
 ‘The happiness they had increased when Mrs Cuumba gave birth to a baby girl’.
- 2K2 *Nobakabona kuti calampa ciindi katalibonyi, baatalika kumuyandaula.*
 ‘When they saw that she was not seen for a long time, they started looking for her’.
- 3K2 *Nobakacili kwaamba majwi aaya, bakabona bana...*
 ‘When they were still discussing these issues, they saw the children...’.
- 4K3 *Mwami naakateelela boobo, wakanyema ...*
 ‘When the chief heard that, he was furious...’.
- 5K4 *Nobwakaca..., beembezi bakatola ng’ombe zyabo kumacelelo...*
 ‘When it was dawn..., the herdboys took their cattle to the grazing areas...’.

- 6K4 *Nobakasika kumaanda, beembezi bana Syalyabbubba bakazubulula manyongwe ngobakajisi musyokwe kubapati.*
‘When they reached home, the herdboys of Syalyabbubba village revealed the confusions they had in the bush’.
- 7K4 *Mwami Syalyabbubba naakamvwa makani aaya, wakakopwa kapati.*
‘When Chief Syalyabbubba heard this news, he was very troubled’.
- 8K5 *Nizyakatalika kukwemba nyeele, kuli bakali kwiita...*
‘When traditional musical instruments started blowing, some people were calling...’.
- 9K5 *Nibakateelela boobo boonse bakakkala ansi...*
‘When they heard that, they all sat down...’.
- 10K5 *...eeyi nkondo yakazi kuvwumbuka biyo bana Hampako kabatana akulibambila kabotu..*
‘...this battle started before the Hampako people prepared themselves well...’.
- 11K8 *Asike aakaimvwi Bimbe, wakafwugama ansi kuti amvwe ncobamuyandila.*
‘As she reached where Bimbe was, she knelt down to hear what they wanted her for.’
- 12K9 *...mbwaakaingula Bimbe musimbi kataninga manizya kwaamba.*
‘...that is what Bimbe answered before the girl completed her statement.’
- 13K7 *Mutinta naakasika myaka iili kkumi amyaka yosanwe yakuzyalwa bantu banji bakatalika kumuzalikizya mazina akaambo kakubota.*
‘When Mutinta was fifteen, many people gave her nick names because of the beauty’.
- 14K10 *Nobakamana kubandika, bakaandaana.*
‘When they finished discussing, they parted.’
- 15K10 *Nobakali kwaambaula...bina Choombela kunkoye zyabo kwakaibaila misozi.*

- ‘As the mother to Choombela was talking, tears formed in her eyes’.
- 16K12 . ..waakumubona ukamwaambile Bimbe...
- ‘...when you see Bimbe, tell him...’.
- 17K12 Nokwakainda mazuba otatwe, Mutinta bakaswaangana a Bimbe.
- ‘When three days passed, Mutinta met Bimbe.’
- 18K12 Kumwi kalila, Mutinta wakaambila Bimbe makani akaamba bacembele.
- ‘Whilst crying, Mutinta told Bimbe the information that the old lady said’.
- 19K13 Naakamana kwaamba majwi aaya, mudaala Chijoka wkapilukila kumaanda kumwi kaya buzungaaanya mutwe.
- ‘After saying these words, the old man Chijoka went back home, shaking his head.’
- 20K13 Nateka meenda wakali tyompedwe kapati...
- ‘As she drew water, she was very disappointed.’
- 21K14 Aaba bacembele nibakabona kuti Mutinta watandwa bakamwaambila kuti abatobele.
- ‘When this old woman saw that Mutinta was banished, she told her to follow her.’
- 22K14 Bacembele nobakateelela kuti Mutinta wasika anze, bakamwiitila mukaanda kuti abatile meeenda kumutwe.
- ‘When the old woman heard that Mutinta had arrived outside, she called her into the house so that she pours water on her head.’
- 23K14 Nobakainka boonse balupati-pati bakajana nguzu zyabacembele zyamana.
- ‘When all elderly people went (there), they found that the old lady had already lost all her energy.’
- 24K14 Dilwe nolyakamana wakabula bambi bamulela aboobo wakacaala buyo mubuumba.
- ‘When the funeral ended, she had no one to take care of her so she remained a destitute.’

- 25K14 *Mazuba akwe naakasika, Mutinta wakatumbuka mwana mulombe...*
 ‘When it was her time, Mutinta gave birth to a baby boy...’.
- 26K15 *Naakamana kwaambilwa makani aaya, sibbuku wakaita muswaangano wakaziye...*
 ‘Having been told this news, the village headman called for a private meeting...’.
- 27K16 *Zuba nilyakalangwa kumbo, bantu bakaitana alimwi kuti balibambile.*
 ‘When the sun went towards the west, people called each other again so that they prepare themselves’.
- 28K17 *Nobwakaca cifwumofwumo, [zuba nilyakasika alya ayotela bantombela], ngoma yakalila kuyobolola bantu boonse...*
 ‘When it dawned in the morning, [when the sun reached the time lizards sun-bath], a funeral- drum was played, calling all the people...’.
- 29K17 *Balupati-pati nibakamana kubona kuti zibbudu zyoonse zili kabotu, bakatuma... Sikudwaba.*
 ‘After the elders had inspected all the pieces of luggage, they sent ... Sikudwaba’.
- 30K18 *Nobakacili kukanana makani aaya, kwakasika baalumi botatwe.*
 ‘When they were still discussing these issues, three men arrived’.
- 31K18 *...naakaswena munsu-munsu, wakabuzya cabukali...* ‘
 ‘...when he drew closer, he asked angrily...’.
- 32K19 *Nobakasika kumulonga bamwi bakakkala ansi...*
 ‘When they reached the river, some sat down...’.
- 33K19 *Nobakabungana bakasaanguna kulizula, amane mudaala umwi wakabaambila kuti bakkale aansu balindile asyoonto bapegwe malayilile...*
 ‘When they gathered, they took roll call; then one old man told them to sit down to wait for a while to be given instructions...’.
- 34K20 *Naakali kukanana boobu, ooyu mudaala kumwi wakali kuzungaanya mutwe akulisyoba-syoba kumaanza.*

- ‘When this old man was speaking (like this), he was shaking his head as well as rubbing his hands.’
- 35K20 Naakamana kukanana mpoona wakaita mwana wakwe...
 ‘When he finished speaking, he called his child...’.
- 36K23 ...bamakaintu nibakatalika kuwaala zibbudu zyamabwe, baciwena bakaboola kulangaula zyezyo zyakali kuwa mumaanzi.
‘...when the women started throwing parcels of stones, crocodiles came to look for what was falling.’
- 37K23 ...banyama aaba bakacimwa nibakabona kuti kunyina nyama.
 ‘...these animals became angry when they discovered that there was no meat.’
- 38K23 Ciwen a ooyu mbwaakaakumusisya buyo mwana munkumbwi, wakapiluka akusinkila beenzinyina...
 ‘Immediately this crocodile deposited the baby in the cave, it went back to block its friends.’
- 39K24 Ooyu ciwen wakamutola wakamukwempa katana kunywidilila maanzi...
 ‘This crocodile took the baby, before it swallowed any water’.
- 40K24 Mutinta naakabona kuti mwanaakwe walumwa wakaindiliza kulila...
 ‘When Mutinta saw that her baby was eaten, she cried more...’.
- 41K24 Bamakaintu nibakabona kuti Mutinta walibonena ameso aakwe kuti mwana walumwa, bakakondwa kapati.
‘When the women saw that Mutinta saw with her eyes that the child has been caught, they were very happy.’
- 42K24 Antela waaluba majwi ngindakakwaambila obuya buzuba nindakakujana koteka meenda...
 ‘Perhaps you have forgotten the words I told you that day when I found you drawing water...’.
- 43K25 ...naakateelela kuti bana babamatumbu nyina basyele buyo kumunzi, wakati liwaalile mumaanzi...

- ‘...when she heard that the babies for the other women were just left at home, she nearly threw herself into water...’.
- 44K25 *Bakamutola kumaanda Mutinta kumwi baya buseka akumusempuzya nzila yoonse.*
- ‘They took Mutinta homes while laughing and teasing her all the way’.
- 45K28 *Naakali kweenda kutobelezwa nkomwe yamuloonga, wakabona kwale kakkede aansii.*
- ‘When he walked following the bank of the river, he saw a bird on the ground’.
- 46K28 *...naakasika wakajana mulindi. Asondele mumulindi wakabona busyu bwamwana ulila.*
- ‘When he arrived, he found a ditch. ‘When he peeped in the ditch, he saw a face of a crying child.’
- 47K28 *wakainduluka alimwi kusondela kumwi ooku kalipikisa kumeso...*
- ‘He peeped again while rubbing her eye...’.
- 48K28 *Amane kubweza mwana, wakanjila alimwi musyokwe kuti azumamane kuvwima.*
- ‘After picking the child, he went again into the bush to continue hunting.’
- 49K28 *Naakakatala wakayeeya kuti ajokele kumunzi...*
- ‘When he got tired, he thought of returning home...’.
- 50K28 *Naakalimvwa kuti wakatala kutijaana, wakatalika kweenda.*
- ‘When he felt tired of running, he started walking’.
- 51K28 *Keenda boobo, wakamvwa bantu banununa.*
- ‘While walking like that, he heard people talking (in low voices).’
- 52K28 *Naakasika kumunzi wakabaambila boonse makani ngaakabona musyokwe.*
- ‘When he reached home, he told everyone about his bush ordeal.’
- 53K28 *Tusulwe ootu tumane kuteelela, twakamwaambila mbwaakali kunga ulajokela kumunzi.*

- ‘After listening to his story, the hares told him how he would get back home.’
- 54K29 *Basike kusyokwe, Bulyi wakaambila Cikupu kuti bayandaule cuulu...*
‘When they arrived in the bush, Bulyi told Cikupu that they should look for an anthill...’.
- 55K29 *Lyasika acikasaalizi useluke utalike kweenda kutozya kumunzi kutegwa eeco ncoyanda citakazungaani...*
‘When it is noon, you should come down and start walking home so that what you desire would not shake...’.
- 56K29 *Munanga naakamana kupa malayilile aakwe wakajokela kumaanda akwe.*
‘After the traditional doctor had finished giving his instructions, he went back to his home.’
- 57K29 *Naakateelela kuti kuli ceenda kusyule lyakwe, wakazibauka...*
‘When he heard something walking behind him, he looked around...’.
- 58K29 *Ciindi Cikupu naakaseluka ansi wakabona mpoona wasanduka waba munyama mupati kwiinda muzovwu...*
‘At the time when Cikupu climbed down, he saw that he changed into an animal bigger than an elephant...’.
- 59K29 *Bantu nibakabona caacitika kuli Cikupa bakayeeya kuti ncibotu kuti bamuyase buyo afwide acuulu mpoona.*
‘When people saw what had happened to Cikupu, they decided to stab him so that he dies on the anthill.’
- 60K29 *Naakamywa boobo, wakaseluka akubajaya...*
‘When he heard that, he descended and killed them...’.
- 61K30 *Naakamanizya kulya, wakanjila munsumbu...*
‘When he finished eating..., he entered the island...’.
- 62K31 *Mbwaakalyatila buyo nsumbu musankwa ooyu, Cikupu wakazyiba kuti kwasika muntu.*
‘Immediately this man stepped on the island, Cikupu realised that someone had arrived.’

- 63K31 Cikupu naakabona musankwa ooyu, wakavwuluma.
‘When Cikupa saw this man, he roared’.
- 64K32 Busiku naakamana kusoogwa kumuvwimi, wikalila limwi wakatala.
‘After Busiku had been thrown away by the hunter, he cried until he became tired.’
- 65K32 Syuumbwa naakasika [akali kwaalabana mwana musyoonto]
wakajana kuti Cikupa wasika kale...
‘When the Lion reached [where the baby lay], he found that Cikupa had already arrived...’.
- 66K32 ...naakabona kuti Cikupa wanjila munsumbu yakwe wakapiluka.
‘...when he saw that Cikupa entered his territory, he went back.’
- 67K32 Naakapiluka syuumbwa, wakaswaanganya mulongwe wakwe sulwe.
‘When Lion returned, he met his friend Hare.’
- 68K32 ...ndajata mwana webo kosanina nkaambo nsiyandi kulya twana tusyoonto-syoonto...
‘...when I catch a baby, you would be feeding it because I don’t want to eat small babies...’.
- 69K33 Nikwakainda mazuba masyoonto, Sulwe wamalende uulya wakaambila mukaintu wakwe kuti ulaboola uyanda kweendeenda.
‘When a few days had passed, Hare of the shrine told his wife that he would come for he wanted to take a stroll.’
- 70K35 Naakasika kugonde ooko [nkubakali kukombela mizimo], wakatalika kulila...
‘When he reached the shrines [where they worshipped the ancestral spirits], he started crying...’.
- 71K36 Nikwakasiya, wakapiluka kuṇanda yabacembele kuyakoona.
‘When it was dark, he went back to the house for the old woman to sleep.’
- 72K36 Naakasika mucembele, wakatalika kubbabbalisya kukanana mbuli mwana wiiya kwaambaula ...

- ‘When the old woman arrived, she started stammering like a child learning to speak...’.
- 73K36 *Naakali koon masiku, Mutinta wkalota kuti wabona banyina awisi...*
‘When she was sleeping at night, Mutinta dreamt that she saw her mother and father...’.
- 74K36 *...kotana yumuka, mwaambile mucembele apaile.*
‘...before you go, tell the old woman to pray’.
- 75K36 *Naakamana kulota boobu Mutinta wakansisimuka,...*
‘After dreaming like this, Mutinta woke up...’.
- 76K36 *Nibwakaca mucembele wakaita Mutinta...*
‘When it was day break, the old woman called Mutinta...’.
- 77K36 *Naakamana kwaamba mucembele awalo Mutinta waazyiba kuti mbabanyina abawisi baliko.*
‘After the old woman had spoken, Mutinta realized that that was her mother and father’.
- 78K37 *...amane kupaila bakatolana amulyango...*
‘...when he finished praying, they took each other to the door way...’.
- 79K37 *Nokwakasiya wakayandaula akoona ...*
‘When it became dark, he looked for somewhere to sleep...’.
- 80K40 *Naakasika awo ali basulwe akubamvwa kabambaula, Mutinta wakagambwa kapati.*
‘When she reached where the hares were and heard them talk, Mutinta was very surprised.’
- 81K43 *Nakanana boobu, nkujana misozi ilaibaiba.*
‘Although she was talking like this, tears were collecting in her eyes.’
- 82K43 *Mukaintu wasulwe naakabona boobu, wakasangana kumubandi wabo.*
‘When Hare’s wife saw this, she joined their conversation.’
- 83K43 *Naakamana kwaamba boobu, wakaunka...*
‘After saying this, she left...’
- 84K44 *Mutinta naakatolwa amukaintu wasulwe kumpako [nkobakaambilwa], wakajana kuti busena mbupati...*

- ‘When Mutinta was taken by Hare’s wife to a hole [where they were told], she found that the space was big enough...’.
- 85K44 *Nobwakaca wakaswa ciya akulumba mizimo yakwe.*
- ‘When it was daybreak, she sighed for relief and thanked her ancestors.’
- 86K44 *Sulwe naakapiluka kuzwa nkwaakali kuwezela, wakaletelwe amicele yamisyobo yaandeene andeene...*
- ‘When Hare returned [from where he was hunting], he brought with him fruits of different types...’.
- 87K45 *Mutinta naakabona kuti sulwe walyookeza kwaciindi ceelede, waalomba kuti kaambo kakwe kabandikwe kufwambaana...*
- ‘When Mutinta saw that Hare had rested for a while, she requested that her case be discussed quickly...’.
- 88K45 *...nketananga kutondeza nzila, mebo amukaintu wangu tuyanda kuti utubelekele kulima muunda...*
- ‘...before I show you the way, my wife and I want you to till for us a piece of land...’.
- 89K48 *Naakansinsimuka mukasulwe wakajana nkulota...*
- ‘When Hare’s wife woke up, she found that it was a dream...’.
- 90K48 *Basulwe aaba nobakaambilana ziloto zyabo, bakajana kuti zyeendelana.*
- ‘When these Hares told each other their dreams, they discovered that the dreams were related.’
- 91K49 *Waakwiinda awo [aalila bamwaaba] ukazyibe kuti uli afwaafwi kusika kubacindu...*
- ‘When you pass [where hyenas cry], you will know that you are close to the Bacindu...’.
- 92K50 *Mutinta naakamana kulumba akulaya basulwe, wakagama nzila yamalundu [mbubona mbuli mbwaakali kulayililwa].*
- ‘After thanking and bidding farewell to the Hares, Mutinta directly went to the mountainous path [just as she was instructed].’

- 93K50 *Cakulya ncaakajana kuli sulwe nocakamana, nzala alimwi yakatalika kumupenzya.*
 ‘When the food she had got from Hare got finished, hunger started to trouble her again’.
- 94K50 *Manego wakali ngomucelo wakulya kumwi ooku kayenda [mbubona mbuli buligwa musozya wamangamwe].*
 ‘Manego was the fruit to eat as she walked [the same way as dry boiled maize grains are eaten]’.
- 95K50 *Amane kubamba-bamba cakulya cakwe, alimwi wakeenda.*
 ‘After preparing her food, she again left.’
- 96K52 *Amane kwiimba lwiimbo oolu, yakalila nkwasi kukamba ...*
 ‘After singing this song, she clapped heavily...’.
- 97K52 *Amane kwiimba akupaila wakamvwa masusu aleka kweenda mumutwe...*
 ‘After singing and praying, she felt that hair had stopped moving in her head...’.
- 98K52 *Nokwakainda mwezi omwe amwviki zyobile Mutinta keenda, waakatala...*
 ‘When a month and one week of Mutinta’s walking elapsed, she was tired...’.
- 99K52 *Syuumbwa naakazwa kumulonga, wakajana ukangabede buyo munzila yakwe.*
 ‘When Lion came from the river, he found her lying carelessly on the path.’
- 100K52 *Naakabusya nsingo, wakajana ngusyuumbwa...*
 ‘When she raised her neck, she found it was Lion...’.
- 101K52 *Amane kwaamba majwi aaya, wakalazika mutwe ansi woona.*
 ‘After saying these words, she lay her head down and fell asleep.’
- 102K52 *Syuumbwa naakabona boobu, wakayeeya kuti antela camulazika mukaintu ooyu mbukandu wayoowa...*

- ‘When Lion saw this, he thought that perhaps what sent this woman into deep sleep was fear...’.
- 103K54 *Wasika awo, ukazabuke...*
- ‘When you reach there, you should cross...’.
- 104K56 *Naakasika Kawokantumba, taakwe naakabuzya...*
- ‘When Kawokantumba arrived, he did not ask...’.
- 105K57 *Iguwo lyakaleka kuunga nolyakamusiya Mutinta akati kansumbu.*
- ‘The storm stopped blowing when it left Mutinta in the middle of the island.’
- 106K58 *Mutinta wakazumanana kulyambauzya kumwi keenda kutozya kunanda...*
- ‘Mutinta continued talking to herself as she walked towards the house...’.
- 107K58 *Mutwanga naakabona kuti kuli muntu weenda kuleta kubusena mbwaakaimywi, wakamucinga kunzila...*
- ‘When the servant saw that there was someone coming towards the place he stood, he walked to the road to meet her...’.
- 108K60 *Nobakali kubandika kumwi bakali kweenda kutozya kucaanda cipati.*
- ‘As they were talking, they were walking towards the big house.’
- 109K60 *Nobakasika muni baateelela ijwi lyamwana ulila.*
- ‘When they reached nearer, they heard a voice of a baby crying’.
- 110K60 *Naakabona mwana, moyo wakwe Mutinta wakazwa.*
- ‘When Mutinta saw the baby, her heart leapt.’
- 111K63 *Mutwaanga naakabona kuti Mutinta ulauzyila, wakamwaambila kuti alyookezye kwaciindi ceelede...*
- ‘When the servant saw that Mutinta was dozing, he told her to rest for a while...’.
- 112K65 *Kaciyeeya boobu, kujulu kwakatalika kwiibauka makumbi...*
- ‘while thinking like this, clouds began to form in the sky...’
- 113K67 *Amane kwaamba majwi aaya, wakaita bana bobile...*
- ‘After saying these words, he called two children...’.

- 114K69 *Naakasinsimuka, wakajana bantu baluujisi kulila...*
‘When he woke up, he found people terribly mourning...’.
- 115K71 *Idilwe lyakwe nolyakainda, bakabungana bantu bakwe boonse kubikka*
Bimbe acuuno cabwami.
‘When his funeral ended, all his people gathered to put Bimbe on the throne’.
- 116K73 *Nungu nozyakateelela ijwi lyamuntu, zyakamwaika...*
‘When the pocupines heard a person’s voice, they scampered...’.
- 117K74 *Nobwakaca, [zuba nolyakatalika kuyasa malundu], mulyango*
wakalibonya ...
‘When it dawned, [when the sun shot over the hills], the entrance was clear...’.
- 118K74 *Naakazwa, wakalangalanga mpaakanjide.*
‘When she came out, she checked where she had entered.’
- 119K74 *Naakamana, wakatalika kubwezelela nkuyu...*
‘When she finished, she started picking fig friuts’.
- 120K78 *Bamana kucita boobu, balausitauka munzi oonse...*
‘After doing this, they would fortify the whole village...’.
- 121K79 *Kataninga akumanizya kwaamba aaya majwi mwami, bantu*
bakasalaziba lyameenda...
‘Before completing his speech, people chose a pool for rituals’.
- 122K80 *Nozyakamutola lwabili nonzi, waalota banyina ...*
‘When she was taken by sleep the second time, she dreamt her mother...’.
- 123K81 *...iguwo lyakubucedo nolyakamana kuunga, wakasinsimuka katatu...*
‘...when the early morning breeze stopped blowing, she woke up the third time’.
- 124K87 *...bwaca buyo..., kubule muntu weendeenda nkaambo kulaba pobwe.*
‘...as it dawns..., no one should move about because there will be a celebration.’
- 125K87 *Nobakamana kubandika kaambo aka, bakajokela mwabo-mwabo.*

- ‘After discussing this issue, they returned to their respective homes.’
- ‘This old woman was happy that her saliva was just dropping while smiling.’
- 126K88 *Nolyakatanta zuba, bamanene baabungana kuṇanda yamwami Bimbe.*
- ‘When the sun went up, elderly men gathered at Chief Bimbe’s house.’
- 127K88 *Nobakazulila, Bimbe wakatalika kukanana...*
- ‘When all were in attendance, Bimbe started speaking’.
- 128K89 *Twamana kujaya ṇanda eeyi, tulaleka kwiinde ciindi cili mbocibede ...*
- ‘After destroying this house, we shall let a substantial period of time to pass...’.
- 129K89 *Zyamana buyo kulazikwa amulyango wacikombelo, mweenzu mumutole.*
- ‘Just after laying them on the entrance of the shrine, take the visitor.’
- 130K89 *Nobakamana kuzuminana, ṇombe zyakaletwa...*
- ‘After agreeing with each other, the cows were brought...’.
- 131K89 *Nobakamanizya kufwunda, mudaala wakabaambila alimwi...*
- ‘When they finished skinning, the old man told them again...’.
- 132K95 *Naakamana kubuzya mubuzyo oyu, wikalindila kwiingula kuzwa kubuleya...*
- ‘After asking this question, he waited for the answer from the audience...’.
- 133K97 *Musondi amane kubandika umwi mudaala alimwi wakabuzya...*
- ‘After the diviner had finished speaking, one old man asked again...’.
- 134K97 *Mwaakusika buyo atalaa amulonga ngomuya kutondezegwa, muya kwaabona maanda manji-manji.*
- ‘When you just reach the river that you will be shown, you will see a lot of villages’.
- 135K97 *...mwaakutalika kuzibona nsonje zyamaanda mukakapwaye aans...*
- ‘...when you see the roofs of the houses, you break it down...’.
- 136K97 *Bamane kulaililwa, bakapiluka kumwami wabo kuti bakamwaambile mbuli mbobakaakusonda.*

- ‘After getting the instructions, they went back to their chief to tell him about their findings’.
- 137K97 *Nobwakaca [ansi kakucisia-siya], kwakailingana masumo, tweembe azimwi zilwanyo zyaandeene-andene.*
‘When it dawned, [whilst it was still dark], spears, axes and other weapons were gathered.’
- 138K99 *Kabaciyeeya cakucita, bakateelela bantu baimba...*
‘While they were thinking of what to do, they heard people singing.’
- 139K110 *...banyina kabataninga akumanizya kwaamba wakabuzya...*
‘...before his mother completed her statement, he asked...’.
- 140K111 *Nkweenda buya nkuzuunyana limwi waakusika okuya.*
‘You need to persistently walk till you reach there.’
- 141K113 *Amane kwaamba majwi aaya, bakanyamuka kuzwa ansi mpobakafwugeme...*
‘After saying these words, they stood up from where they had knelt...’.
- 142K114 *Mutinta naakali kwiimba..., Busiku waali kulangilila...*
‘While Mutinta was singing..., Busiku was watching...’.
- 143K114 *...naenda [kuyootula nongo njaakajisi yameenda] ...waali kulindila kuti abone nobamujaya kuti kakuli mwami makani ngaakali kwaamba waali sinizizye.*
‘...as she walked [to put down the water pot she carried], she looked forward to being killed if the chief meant his word’.
- 144K114 *Bantu banji kuteelela muntu ulila, bakayoboloka...*
‘Upon hearing a person crying, many people gathered...’.

Purpose clauses

- 1K5 *...ino kukkala catyeni kuti tupangane kabotu?*
‘...why don’t you sit so that we agree on something?’
- 2K10 *Kuzwa buzuba oobu bana bobile aaba bakatalika kuswaanganina kunze acuulu kutegwa bantu bamumunzi batazyibi cicitika.*

- ‘From this day, these two children started meeting behind an anthill so that the people of the village would not discover what was happening’.
- 3K16 *Bakaitwa boonse kuti baambilwe mbobayeledede kubamba zibbudu.*
- ‘They were all called so as to be told how they were supposed to prepare their luggage’.
- 4K17 *Bakaitwa boonse kuti baambilwe mbuli mbobakeeledede kulibambila.*
- ‘They were all called so that they are told how they should prepare themselves’.
- 5K17 *Ooyu ngowakajisi mulimo wakutola makani kuzwa kumwami kutegwa Mutinta atakadonayiki kuti naa kaambo aaka nkamasimpe.*
- ‘This was the one responsible for message delivery from the chief so that Mutinta would not doubt that the message was true’.
- 6K17 *...mwami wamvula uyanda bana bamvwanda boonse [batolwe] [bakatailwe muziba lya Cikupu] [kutegwa malweza amumunzi ooyu azwe...].*
- ‘...the rain maker wants all small babies [to be taken] [to be sacrificed at Cikupu dam] [so that all the abominations of the village are eradicated...]’.
- 7K20 *Bakaswena munsu-munsi lyakwe Mutinta, baliinza boonse zii kwaciindi cili mbocibede kuti bateelele majwi ngataambe.*
- ‘They drew closer to Mutinta, calmed themselves up for some time so that they hear the words she would say’.
- 8K20 *Ndalikuyeeya kuti cimwi ciindi mizimo ilandigwasya ulakomena kutegwa andime ndijane muntu wakundilela...*
- ‘I thought that may be the spirits would help me, that he would grow so that I would also find someone to take care of me...’.
- 9K22 *Bamwi babo bakacaalizya kuti babonesye nkwandondomena kubbila ansi.*
- ‘Some of them remained behind so that they see how he would sink down’.

- 10K23 *...kwakanyina ciwena umbi wakali kukonzya kumwaatusya abwina oobu kuti anjile pe.*
 ‘there was no other crocodile that could conquer it from that hole so as to enter’.
- 11K27 *...mwana ooyu wakayobwelwe buyo kuti abe bulilu bwajuunza.*
 ‘...this child was just kept to be food for tomorrow’.
- 12K29 *Balombwana aaba bakatolana musyokwe kutegwa Cikupu akasilaikwe.*
 ‘These men went into the bush so that Cikupu may be fortified.’
- 13K48 *Bantu aabo bakabuzanyanya kuti bamuyandaule mukamwini muunda.*
 ‘Those people asked each other so that they look for the owner of the field’.
- 14K56 *Kosika unditolele mukaintu ooyu kunsumbu ya Cikupu...*
 ‘Come so that you take this woman for me to Cikupu’s island...’.
- 15K57 *...wakaunka muns-munsi kuti akabuzye.*
 ‘...she went closer so that she could ask.’
- 16K63 *Kubucedo wakabusya mweenzu wakwe kuti atalike lweendo lwakwe [nkaambo ciindi ncapiluka Cikupa caalondelela kusika].*
 ‘At dawn she woke her visitor up so that she starts off early [since the time that Cikupa returns was nearer].’
- 17K65 *Mutinta mizeezo yakwe yakali yakuti alisungule buyo kuti ajatwe [afwide antoomwe amwanaakwe].*
 Mutinta’s thoughts were that she just sacrifices herself to be caught [so that she dies with her child]’.
- 18K72 *Wakamukkazika ansi mwana kuti balye.*
 ‘She placed her child on the ground so that they eat.’
- 19K75 *Wakatalika kugagalisya bbwe eliya kutegwa alange buci mukati.*
 ‘She started to struggle with that stone so that she checks for honey inside.’
- 20K78 *Kutegwa mizimo eeyi itacaali mumatongo mutwakalonga, tuleelede kutobela milawo minji yabutondi bwesu.*

- ‘So that these spirits do not remain in the abandoned place, we must follow our traditional ethics’.
- 21K84 *Bakatijaana kuti bamulete.*
- ‘They ran so as to bring her’.
- 22K85 *Ndati muswaaangane nobapati mubandikile antoomwe ...*
- ‘I have thought that you meet as elders so that you discuss together...’.
- 23K87 *Bakazuminana kuti kukayaswe nombe ziyobile zineneede kutegwa bantu boonse bakakkomane.*
- ‘They resolved that two fat cows be slaughtered so that everyone celebrates.’
- 24K88 *Kunyina naba omwe wakabuzya Mutinta kuti abaambile camupa buumba.*
- ‘No one asked Mutinta so she tells them what caused her misery.’
- 25K91 *Bantu banji bakaunka kuti bakabone cakabwene bamatumbu.*
- ‘Many people went see what the women had seen.’
- 26K91 *...bakatuma bantu kuti bakayandaule nkuku.*
- ‘...they sent some people to look for a chicken.’
- 27K92 *...Bimbe wakaita balupati-pati kuti babambe makani aakunyongana kwamunzi wabo.*
- ‘...Bimbe called the elders to sort out the confusion about their village.’
- 28K92 *Balo bakalindila buyo kuti bakasaangune kusonda [kutegwa munanga akacizubulule nguwe].*
- ‘They only waited to firstly consult [so that the diviner would be the one to confirm it]’.
- 29K95 *...tatujisi lubono lwakusambala kuti tujane cakulya.*
- ‘...we don’t have wealth to sell so as to have food.’
- 30K95 *...kufwumbwa ncotuyakujana tukabweze ...kutegwa nzala eeyi itakatulwani limbi.*
- ‘...whatever we shall find, we shall take, even slaves for labour so that hunger would not trouble us any more’.

- 31K103 *Banyina cimwi ciindi bakali kutumwa kuti bakaleta maanzi aakusamba mwami kumukalo amasiku.*
 ‘His mother sometimes would be sent to draw water from the well at night, for the chief to bath’.
- 32K109 *Bakatanta atalaa mabwe mapati-pati kutegwa kabasompa kabotu kunzila.*
 ‘They climbed big rocks to form a vantage position to clearly watch the route.’
- 33K113 *Kotobela cakuyubaila kutegwa ukalangilile [naa ndiyakujayigwa].*
 ‘Follow cautiously so that you see [if I will be killed]’.
- 34K114 *Mweelele kumupa ciindi tubone ncayanda kukutauka kubantu aaba.*
 ‘You must give him time so that we see what he wants to do with these people’
- 35K114 *...tuselele munsu tukafwutule nombe...*
 ‘...let us descend downwards to rescue our cattle...’.
- 36K119 *Wakaulangilila mumvwi mpowakawida kutegwa abonesye nkowakaletezya.*
 ‘He studied the actual spot the spear landed so that he establishes where it came from.’

Conditional clauses

- 1K1 *...naa mudaala Cuumba wauma Mutinta, ...abalo banyina...nkulila.*
 ‘...if the old man Cuumba beats Mutinta, ...her mother... would also cry’.
- 2K24 *...kuti nikwafwa Bimbe nitwaamba kuti wapenga.*
 ‘...if it were Bimbe who died, we would have said that she is in trouble.’
- 3K25 *Naa ulazumanana aunke akamwaambile Bimbe...*
 ‘If she is insisting, she can go and ask Bimbe...’

- 4K25 *...toonse tobazike tweelede kutobela milawo yaamba mwami wesu kuti katuyanda kukkala kabotu.*
 ‘...all of us slaves must follow what our chief says if we want to stay well’.
- 5K38 *...kuti muntu wanjila mumunzi wakwe..., ulaba muzike wakwe.*
 ‘...if a person entered his territory..., he would become his slave’.
- 6K49 *Kuti ukalombe kabotu, uyakuteelela bamwaaba nkobati kakwiizanyane kulila.*
 ‘If you request sincerely, you will hear how hyenas will scream.
- 7K53 *Naa uyanda kundijaya, kondijaya...*
 ‘If you want to kill me, kill me...
- 8K54 *...kuti ukanjile munsumbu ya Cikupu tokapiluki peepe...*
 ‘if you enter Cikupu’s territory, you will not return...’.
- 9K66 *...kuti mwana wasola kulila, wamusyonka cakulya...*
 ‘...if a child tries to cry, yank him with food...’.
- 10K77 *...naa kuti kakuli utujisi mumunzi, tulalya busu..*
 ‘...if there is anyone who has them in the village, they eat mealie meal.’
- 11K78 *...kuti bajana kwaamba kuti kulapya abusena oobu, balakaka...*
 ‘...if they found that the place is haunted, they would refuse...’.
- 12K77 *...tulasabila kapati naa twanyema.*
 ‘...they are very noisy if they get annoyed.’
- 13K89 *Twatacita boobu, mizimo yesu inga kaiya kutuseka...*
 ‘If we do not do so, our spirits may laugh at us...’.
- 14K96 *...mwaakubaa coolwe muya kucijana ncomuyanda nkaambo mwana mwana buyo.*
 ‘...should you be lucky, you will find what you want because a child is just a child.’
- 15K110 *Kuti ooyo utisoleke kututobela ndamulwana...*
 ‘If anyone tries to follow us, I will fight him,...’
- 16K111 *...kuti kabali bana babantu, baya kukwaambila nzila itozya kumwami Bimbe.*

‘If they are born of real human beings, they will show you the route to Chief Bimbe’

Clauses of concession

- 1K12 *Nsekamukaki mwanaako pe nokuba kuti mumoyo nkezyi kuti mwanaa Bimbe.*
‘I will not reject your child even when I would know within my heart that it is Bimbe’s.’
- 2K14 *...nokuba kuti bina Choombela bakamutanda, lyoonse wakali kubagwasya...*
‘...even though the mother to Choombela chased her, she always helped her...’.
- 3K19 *Nobalila boobu boonse bakali kulindila Mutinta...*
‘Although they cried like this, they were all waiting for Mutinta...’.
- 4K20 *Nakanana boobu majwi oonse, misozi yakali kukunka kubusyu bwakwe.*
‘Even though she was saying these words, tears were flowing on her face’.
- 5K32 *...nokuba kuti wakasanduka kuba munyama wakali kukonzya kwaambaula muzimwi ziindi.*
‘even though he transformed into an animal, he used to talk sometimes’.
- 6K35 *Nokuba kuti bacembele bamwi bakasoleka kumwaambila majwi akumutontozya Mutinta, moyo wakwe wakaala.*
‘Even though one old woman tried to counsel Mutinta, her conscious could not accept.’
- 7K39 *Nalikanazya boobu kumwi wakali kweenda...*
‘Although she talked to herself like this, she was walking...’
- 8K43 *Nokuba kuti makani ngomukanana ngabantu bobilo, ndamulomba kuti mwaakosaule nkaambo kwasiya...*

- ‘Even though the issues you are discussing are for two people, I request you to summarise because it is dark...’.
- 9K44 ...nokuba kuti buzuba oobu kwakali kutontola anze, mukati kampako eeyo mwakali kukasaala.
‘...even though this day was cold outside, the inside of this hole was warm’.
- 10K51 Mapenzi naamuvwulila boobu wakazumanana kweenda...
‘Although she had so many challenges, she continued walking...’.
- 11K63 Nakuba kuti Mutinta wakalomba kuti atalike lweendo lwakupiluka amwanaakwe, ooku kumwi wakali kuuzyila...
‘Even though Mutinta requested that she starts her return journey with her child, on the other hand she was dozing...’.
- 12K66 Mutinta nokuba kuti wakakatala, wakazumanana kutija kuya kumbele kumwi ooku kaimba nyimbo zyakutembaula mizimo yakwe...
‘Although Mutinta was tired, she continued running forward while praising her ancestral spirits...’.
- 13K72 ...nokuba kuti andiweele mwami mbubo mwana ulafwida mumanza angu...
‘...even if the Lord forsakes me, it is alright the child will die in my hands.’
- 14K74 ...nolikkomena boobu, lyakayusubele buyo acuulu.
‘...even though it was this big, it just balanced on the anthill.’
- 15K75 Nokuba kuti akali kulweela walo ncaakali kuyanda cilikke nkapapa kakutesya mulolo wabuci.
‘Even though they were sweet, the only thing she wanted was a calabash to use for scooping honey.’
- 16K81 Naenda boobu, kunyina amukondo waali kulibonya kabotu peepe...
‘Even though she walked like this, there was no trail that could be clearly seen...’.
- 17K90 ...nokuba kuti waakwatwa kumwami, Mutinta wakali mukaintu ulikutaukila milimo lyoonse...

- ‘...even though she got married to the chief, Mutinta was a woman who could always fend for her self.’
- 18K92 *Nokuba kuti bamwi bakali kuyeeyela Mutinta, bakayoowa kuzubulula...*
- ‘Though some people suspected Mutinta, they feared to disclose it...’.
- 19K105 *Nokuba kuti bamwi bantu baamba kuti muzike ulafwa amajwi mukawwa, kwasunu buyu ndacidenuna...*
- Although some people say that a slave dies with unspoken words, for today I will knock him...’.*

Clauses of reason

- 1K3 *...abasimbi bakalikuligwa banyama akaambo kakutayanda kuteelela bazyali babo.*
- ‘...girls were also eaten by animals because of not obeying their parents’.
- 2K3 *Akaambo kakuvwula kwanombe, meenda akunywa antoomwe amacelelo*
- anombe akaceya kapati nkaambo kanyika kakali kasyoonto.*
- ‘Because of the increase of the cattle, water for drinking and pasture reduced because the land was small’.
- 3K3 *Atulonge nkaambo kulangana kumulomo lyoonse ncibi.*
- ‘Let us shift because frequent quarrelling is bad’.
- 4K8 *Makani akwiita Mutinta akamuyoosya nkaambo wakayeeya kuti antela kuli ncaakabisya...*
- ‘The news of calling Mutinta instilled fear in her because she thought she had committed an offence...’.
- 5K9 *...cilayoosya kubandika makani aaya nkaambo [kuti mwami akaateelele]...*
- njakusoogwa mumulindi wabanyama ...*
- ‘...it is threatening to talk about this issue because [if the chief gets the news] ...I will be thrown into a den of animals...’.

- 6K12 *...ncibotu kuti tulekane nkaambo mate abapati mabi.*
 ‘...it is better that we part away because elders’ complaints are bad’.
- 7K13 *Mwami Sialyabbubba wakanyina lubazu lupati kubazike bakwe*
 nkaambo kakuti sibbuku ngwaakabikkide kulanga bazike wakali
 kumusyoma.
 ‘Chief Sialyabbubba did not have much concern on his slaves because
 he trusted the headman who was in charge of the slaves.’
- 8K13 *...bakali kulikazya beni kuti taali makani akeelede kubandikwa amwami*
 nkaambo bukamboni bulakatazya.
 ‘...they were contradicting themselves that that was not an issue worth
 discussing with the chief because there was no evidence.’
- 9K15 *Nkaambo kakuyoowa milawo, Mutinta taakwe naakajana ciindi*
 cakutondezya Bimbe mwana wakwe mbuli mbwaakabede...
 ‘Because of fearing to face the law, Mutinta never found time to show
 Bimbe how his child was...’.
- 10K15 *Tutabi bakandu kumakani aaya nkaambo mwami lwakwe kumugama*
 tayandi kuti bana bakwe kabaswaangana abazike...
 ‘Let us not be cowards on this issue because the chief himself does not
 want his children to be associating with slaves...’.
- 11K15 *...taelede kwaatelela makani aaya akuyanda kujaya mwana nkaambo*
 lusyomo lwakwe kuli ndiswe lulaceya.
 ‘...she should not get this news about the intention of killing the child
 because her trust in us will deteriorate’.
- 12K16 *...kwakanyina unga ulabapa kaambo nkaambo boonse ...baya kuyeeya*
 kuti makani aaya akazwa kumusondi.
 ‘...no one would give them a case because all of them will think that
 this news has come from the diviner’.
- 13K16 *Mutinta mwana wakamuulika zina lya Busiku nkaambo wakanyina wisi*
 uulitondezya. ‘Mutinta named her child Busiku because the father was
 not known.’

- 14K16 ...wakayeeya kuti kumbele amazuba uya kusikilwa mapenzi nkaambo amukowa taakajisi.
 ‘...she thought she would face some problems in future because she had no relatives’.
- 15K20 ...twakuletela bana besu aaba bacili bavwanda nkaambo mboyanda [kuteywa utupe meenda].
 ‘...we have brought you our babies because they are the ones are you want [so that you give us water]’.
- 16K20 ...mebo ndalisungula kuli coonse nkaambo nceyanda nimvwula...
 ‘...I have sacrificed for anything because what I want is rain’.
- 17K20 Nkaambo kakunyukaulwa ooku, Busiku wakabuka...
 ‘Because of the harsh treatment, Busiku woke up...’.
- 18K20 ...wafwambaana kweenda nkaambo toninga akundibona kuti ino baama nguni...
 ‘...you have gone so early because you have not yet known me as your mother ...’.
- 19K20 Kunyina naba omwe akati kabo ciindi eeco wakamufwida luse Mutinta nkaambo myoyo yabo yakazwide buyo minyono...
 ‘No one amongst them that time felt pity on Mutinta because their hearts were full of jealousy...’.
- 20K22 ...munditole ndicinyina mulimo umbi ngwekonzya kucita wacaala okuno kunze.
 ‘...take me, (for) there is nothing else I can do out here’.
- 21K24 Akaambo kakasena aako kakali kunjizya muya, [Busiku naakaa kusiiigwa mukati kankumbwi] wakakonzya kuyoya.
 ‘Because of the hole that allowed air, [when Busiku was left in the cave], he was able to breathe.’
- 22K25 Ncotwacita twacicita nkaambo ooyu mwana naatuletelezya...
 ‘What we have done has been done because this baby would have caused misfortunes to us...’

- 23K28 *...cakali cizwa catumwa buyo amizimo ya Cikupu. Nkaambo ooku nkokwakali kulubazu kutalikila nsumbu eeyo yamunyama uyoosya.*
 ‘It was just a ghost sent by Cikupu’s spirits because this was the beginning of the island for the fierce animal’.
- 24K29 *Akaambo kakulampa kwazina eeli, ...bakali kumwiita kuti Buli.*
 ‘Because of the length of this name, they used to call him Buli’.
- 25K32 *...nkaambo kakuti tolyi bantunyoko [mbubona mbuli mbwindatali kubalya ambeyo nindakacili muntu], ndinakukuwezela banyama bakulya.*
 ...since you don’t eat your fellow human beings [just the the way I used not to (eat them)] [when I was still a person], I will be hunting animals for you to eat.’
- 26K42 *...mapenzi aangu akaboola nkaambo kakwiimpana kwamizeezo yabantu...*
 ‘...my problems came as a result of differences in people’s opinions...’.
- 27K45 *Utapengi pe, nkaambo wuunjila munzi wabasulwe bamalende...*
 ‘Don’t worry because you have entered the village for the Hares of the shrines...’.
- 28K47 *...mukaintu wasulwe taakwe naakoona kabotu nkaambo wakali kuyabauka.*
 ‘...Hare’s wife did not sleep well because she had nightmares’.
- 29K49 *Utalubi akakoli kakakupa Sikuulukumwi nkaambo ulalubila mumalundu aaya...*
 ‘Do not forget the walking stick you were given by Sikuulukumwi because you will get lost in these mountains...’.
- 30K53 *...nsekonzyi kukuyoowa omwami wangu nkaambo sulwe wandaambila kuti nkwaali mulongwaakwe syuumbwa.*
 ‘...I cannot fear you my lord because Hare told me that his friend Lion is around.’
- 31K53 *...nzila ndakutondezya nkaambo caba ciindi cakutaanguna kubona mukaintu mumasaka ano...*

- ‘... I will show you the way because it is the first time to see a woman in this forest...’.
- 32K54 *...mazila amusyokwe alakatazya nkaambo taalibonyi kabotu pe.*
‘...forest paths do confuse because they are not clearly seen.’
- 33K55 *...ufwambaane kujala meso aako nkaambo ulakutowa...*
‘...you must quickly close your eyes because it is risky...’.
- 34K56 *...mumatwi aako ubikke matuvwu aamutobolo [ngamaubauba]
kutegwa kutajaniki mavwu manji.*
‘...in your ears, you should put mutobolo leaves [because they are light]
so that there isn’t much dust that goes in.’
- 35K67 *...ndijisi lusyomo lwakuti mukuli wangu ooyu ndausiya mumaanza
mabotu nkaambo ulabikkwa nkukona kubulowa bwangu.*
‘...I have faith that I will leave this load in the right hands because it
will be placed just to my own blood.’
- 36K67 *...mweembele bantu bangu mubuntu nkaambo mulimo wakulela bantu
mupati...*
‘...look after my people because the task of looking after people is
great.’
- 37K69 *Nkaambo kamapenzi aaya, [ciindi nonzi nozyakamubba], wakatalika
kulotauka...*
‘Because of these problems, [the time he was taken by sleep], he started
dreaming...’.
- 38K70 *Kaambo kamvwula mpati yakawa, mukondo wakaleka kulibonya
kabotu mwakainda Mutinta, ...nokuba boobo Cikupa wakazumanana
kuyandaula.*
‘Because of the heavy rains (that poured), Mutinta’s foot prints could
not be seen,...even though Cikupa continued searching.’
- 39K74 *Mbwaakacili mafwumo-fwumo, ansi akali kutontola...*
‘Since it was still early in the morning, the ground was still cold...’.
- 40K77 *...akaambo kakuti bakali kusyoma mumizimo akuyoowa zimwi zintu
mbuli zyeelo, tiibakali kulonga malonga-longa pe.*

- ‘...because they believed in ancestral spirits and feared some things like ghosts, they did not shift anyhow.’
- 41K77 *Akaambo kakusyoma muzintu zyoonse eezi, baali kunga mwaka ngobayanda kulonga, batuma balupati-pati.*
‘Because of believing in all these things, they never shifted anyhow.’
- 42K80 *Sunu waingaila mutongo eeli akaambo kamulomo wabasikuliyanda.*
‘Today she is a stranger in this abandoned village because of the talk from selfish people.
- 43K83 *Mbwaakali atalaa mulundu, wakausompa munzi ooyu.*
‘Since it was on top of the mountain, she saw this village.’
- 44K85 *Ooyu ngomunene ngobaali kulindila nkaambo waali musongo...*
‘This is the old man they were waiting for because he was clever...’.
- 45K96 *...tamweelede kumulwana nkaambo tamukapiluki kabotu...*
‘...you should not fight him because you will not return safely.’
- 46K100 *Akaambo kakubota kwakwe, bakali kunga kufwumbwa mpakkede balo bamatumbunyina balamuvwiya...*
‘Because of her beauty, her fellow women used to talk about her wherever she would be...’.
- 47K101 *...akaambo kakuti awalo Busiku ciindi eeco waali mupati kwiinda Mulyata wamunanda imwi, waali kutolwa kukweembela nombe.*
‘...because that time Busiku was older than Mulyata who was from the other wife, he was also taken to help in herding cattle’.
- 48K102 *...akaambo kakutazyala kuli Siame, Mutinta wakatalika kusulaikwa.*
‘...because of not having any child with Siame, Mutinta was despised’.
- 49K103 *Nkaambo kakupenga ooku, wakazyiba kuti ncobeni bakali bazike.*
‘Because of these hardships, he realized that they were really slaves.’
- 50K103 *Ooku kwaali kuyoosya nkaambo banyama banji-banji bakali kusika kuti kwasiya.*
‘This was frightening because many animals used to go there [when it was dark]’.

- 51K104 *Mwami Bimbe kunyina ncaakakonzya kucita kunununa mwana ooyu nkaambo bantu aabo bamwami Siame baali bakali...*
 ‘Chief Bimbe could not do anything to rescue this child because the Siames were more vicious...’.
- 52K105 *Akaambo kakuti bana aba bakali zyibide lyoonse kutundulula Busiku, [mbobakasikila kumacelelo bakatalika kale kumutuma kunyona nombe [akaambo kakuti wakali muzike wabo].*
 ‘Since these children were used to exploiting Busiku, [just when they reached the bush] they started sending him to drive cattle because he was their slave.’
- 53K109 *Wakazyiba kuti lino mwanaakwe wanjilwa muuya mupati uutakwe manyoneno nkaambo mibuzyo njaakabuzya mwana ooyu yakamusakanya.*
 ‘He realized that his son was now possessed with an irreversable spirit because the questions that this young man asked caused her to wonder.’
- 54K109 *... ndanyina ciindi cakumwaambila makani oonse aali kucitika musyokwe nkaambo kakundikasya kubandika andinywe.*
 ‘...I did not have time to reveal everything that was happening in the bush because of the restrictions on communicating with you.’
- 55K110 *..inga tabakonzyi kusoleka nokaceya kuboola kuno nkaambo swebo bakatukoma. ‘...they cannot even try to come here because we were defeated’.*
- 56K110 *...mbasyoonto kapati baliko nkaambo aabo boonse mbotwaali kusyoma basicamba bakamana kujaigwa.*
 ‘they are very few who are there because all the brave ones we were relying on perished.’
- 57K115 *Akaambo kakuti Busiku baamukaka bamuka Bimbe..., lyoonse waali kulibonya*
mbuli mwana usweekede nkaambo kulya kwaali kwakujanikizya buya.
 ‘Because Busiku was rejected by Bimbe’s wife., all the time he appeared miserable because the food was just by chancing...’

- 58K118 *...kunyina ankobakakonzya kumujana nkaambo lubazu ndobaali kumuyeeyela*
takuli nkwaakatozya pe.
‘...they could not find him anywhere because the direction they took to look for him was a wrong one.’
- 59K119 *Kotula ansi zilwanyo zyako nkaambo uli muyamba.*
‘Put down your weapons because you are careless.’
- 60K120 *...ndime ndeelede kuyoowa nkaambo ndalubila.*
‘...it is me who is supposed to fear because I am lost.’
- 61K128 *Bwakabaceda nkaambo musinzo waali mulamfwu...*
‘They had gone overnight because the journey was long..’

Clauses of Result

- 1K9 *...ndinyina baama, aboobo nciyumu...kukwatwa kuli ndinywe.*
‘I have no mother, so it is as hard as a stone to marry you.’
- 2K9 *...makani ngotubamba waano ngeesu tobile, aboobo tatweelede kutalika kwaambaula zinjji [nkaambo [kuti kocita boobo] ulandiletela buumba.]*
‘...the issue that we are arranging here is for the two of us so we should not go into many other matters [because [if you do that] you will bring me misery]’.
- 3K10 *Mizeezo yamusimbi yakazundwa aboobo wakazumina kwaamba kuti luyando lwabo lube lwakaziye.*
‘The girl’s opinions were defeated so she agreed that their affair be in secrecy.’
- 4K12 *Bimbe makani aaya wakaakaka aboobo bana bobile aaba bakalupwa [mbubona mbuli bulupwa muntu wakali kulida buci]...*

- ‘Bimbe rejected this issue so these two youths got addicted to each other [just as a bee hunter]’...
- 5K31 *Musankwa ooyu taakali kuyanda kuba muzike pe, aboobo wakalisungula [kuti aunke buyo kunsumbu ya Cikupu akaligwe] [nkaambo buzike bulapenzya].*
- This man did not want to be a slave, so he just opted to go to Cikupu’s island [to be eaten] [because slavery tortures]’.
- 6K50 *Maanzi aakunywa akapenzya, aboobo inyota yakaindiliza kumubombya mubili.*
- ‘Water for drinking was scarce so thirst made her weaker’.
- 7K59 *...mwana pesi musyoonto nkwali kucilawo cino, aboobo kuti kokonzya tweende*
- umubone mbwabede.*
- ‘...anyway, there is a baby in this place, so if you are able, we can go and see it.’

Clauses of Manner

- 1K17 *Bakalaililwa mbuli mbobakeelede kusisa bana babo...*
yabukali
- ‘They were instructed how they would hide their babies...’
- ‘....none of the crocodiles could remove it so as to enter the cave.’
- 2K27 *Acikacitike mbuli mbociyanda [nkaambo nceyanda ono nkuyandaula mwanaangu]...*
- ‘Let it happen as it pleases [because what I want now is to look for my child]’...
- 3K37 *Mucembele wakapaila mbubona mbuli mbwaakaambilwa Mutinta.*
- ‘The old woman prayed just as Mutinta was told’.
- 4K90 *...bantu banji bakalya akukomana mbuli mbobakonzya.*
- ‘...many people ate and rejoiced as they could.’

Clauses of comparison

- 1K19 *...abalo banabunji aabo bakali kumbele bakagwitikizya kulila mbuli basidilwe balindila mutumba kuti usike kunamaumbwe.*
‘...many of those that were ahead also cried loudly like mourners awaiting a corpse at the grave yard.’
- 2K25 *...batakali kumuyanda bakali banji kwiinda mbwaakalikuyeeya mapenzi aakwe kaatana sika.*
‘...those who did not love her were more than what she thought before her problem started.’
- 3K26 *Eeci cakamupa kupozomoka kulila mbuli muntu wanjilwa basikazwa...*
‘This made her scream like a person possessed with evil spirits.’
- 4K52 *Mumpemo wakali kununka bulowa mbuli muntu uzwa munoka.*
‘Her nostrils smelt blood like a person having nose bleeding.’
- 5K52 *...muntu ooyu wakali kulibonya mbuli kuti ulifwide [akaambo kakukoka akweeka nzala].*
‘...this person appeared as if she were dead [because of being thin and looking malnourished].’
- 6K61 *Mutwanga wakazibaukila kulanga-langa oku akooku mbuli muntu uyanda kutijaana ...*
‘The servant turned his head from side to side like a person who wanted to run away.’
- 7K61 *Wakalidikimuna mbuli muyuni wazwa mumeenda.*
‘He shook himself like a bird that has come out of water.’
- 8K61 *...kumilomo nkooku kwakayuminina kaindi mbuli muntu utalyi kwamyezi minji.*
‘...the lips were already very dry like a person who does not eat for many months.’
- 9K63 *...amunzi akali sumbwide mbuli kuti kukkala mwaanda wabantu.*
‘...the home surrounding was tidy as if hundred people stayed there.’
- 10K66 *Mutinta wakacaazya kukwemba kulila mbuli nombe nsomona yafwilwa mwana wayo.*

- ‘All that Mutinta was left with was to wail like a cow that has lost its first calf’.
- 11K68 *Bimbe wakayoowa kubona wisi wafwida mumaanzaakwe kumulaya mbuli muntu watozya musyokwe kukuweza.*
 ‘Bimbe was afraid to see his father dying in his arms bidding farewell like someone going into the bush for hunting.’
- 12K85 *...twaingaila mbuli mbeba iinyina bulengo.*
 ‘...we are stranded like a rat without a hole.’

Clauses of place

- 1K2 *Bakanjila mukazila katozya kumyuunda kutobelezya mwaali kwiinda bana...*
 ‘They entered the path leading to the fields where the children used to pass’.
- 2K11 *...wakalikunga mpaakkala wayeeya majwi akaamba bacembele...*
 ‘Wherever she sat, she thought of the old woman’s words’.
- 3K27 *...bakayandaula mutontola oomo mobakabungana munsu amusamu kuyusa kumwi kabasekelela lufwu lwamwanana Mutinta.*
 ‘...they looked for a cool place where they gathered under a tree [while celebrating the death of Mutinta’s child’].
- 4K50 *...mpaajana mfwulimuninga, wakkala walyookezya nacilya...*
 ‘Wherever she found bush fruit, she rested while she ate’.
- 5K109 *Lino boola tuyandaule aakukkala abotu-botu,...kutegwa ndikwaambile mbotwakaboola kunyika yabantu eeyi.*
 ‘Now come we look for where we can sit comfortably..., so that I tell you how we came to this foreign land.’
- 6K114 *...Siame wakaunka abusena Mutinta mpaakatulila nongo yakwe,*
 ‘... Siame went to the position where Mutinta put her water pot’.

Comment clauses

- 1K77 *Mbuli mbotwateelela kale, [bantu aaba nobakabona kuti mwami wabo wafwa], baalonga.*
‘As we have already heard, [when these people saw that their chief had died], they shifted.’
- 2K90 *Mbuli mbotwateelela, munzi ooyu wakali wabantu basyoma mumizimo amubutondi bwaandeene.*
‘As we have heard, this village was for people who believed in different traditional ethics.’
- 3K91 *Mbuli mbokwaambwa kale, Mutinta kunyina milawo minji njaakabwene ijatikizya bukkale bwabo.*
‘As already said, Mutinta did not know so much about traditions concerning their way of life’.

Appendix B2: Data from ‘Malweza Aatunga Mulongo’

Temporal clauses

- 1M1 *Luwo lutontola... ndulwakazyi kukatilimuna nilwakazyi kwiile kunjila [mbuli zigwebenga munanda akuululula mapepa].*
‘A cold breeze woke him up when it entered [like bandits in the house, blowing off papers].’
- 2M2 *...kotana sika muopesi yakalombwana aaka, kwakali nakalindu waasamide dimpwilipwi lituba akasoti katuba...*
‘...before getting into this young man’s office, there was a lady in white dress and cap.’
- 3M2 *Ucikwela buyo cuuno [kuti akkale] [naakamana kuvwumba tusani mumpulungwido], wakamvwa fwooni yalila...*
‘Immediately he pulled a chair [to sit] [after arranging curtains], he heard a phone call’.

- 4M2 *Katana vwiila, wakanjila musimbi mukubusi wakalaa ciimo cibotu.*
‘Before he answered, a girl with good stature entered.’
- 5M3 *Ndijisi mulwazi ujisi bulwazi bukatazizye, aboobo uyanda kumubona...*
‘I have a patient who has a complicated disease, so she wants to see you.’
- 6M3 *Wakavwiila cakunyandwa musilisi kasekaseka.*
‘The doctor surprisingly answered while laughing’.
- 7M3 *Kakatana ba kaindi wakamvwa mulangu waamulyango walila.*
‘Before it was long, he heard the door bell sound’.
- 8M4 *Niwakamukkala moyo, wakaleka kulila...*
‘When she was settled, she stopped crying...’.
- 9M4 *Bakubusyima baya kubelesya majwi nzi baakwaamvwa malusi aacibi mbuli bwaceeci?*
‘What will my fellow youths think of me when they hear of such an abominable act’?
- 10M5 *Ndakatalikila kwakwe kwiiya kusikila limwi ndamanizya.*
‘I started school from his home till I completed.’
- 11M6 *Naakaunka mukaakwe, Lwando wakaboola kwangu kalyeeteeka.*
‘When his wife left, Lwando came to my home humbling himself’.
- 12M4 *Naakamana kwaamba boobo, wakaintamuka.*
‘After saying so, he looked up.’
‘The cry from this girl did not threaten the doctor... because there were so many people suffering from the same illness...’.
- 13M6 *Nindakaimana eeyo alimwi wakandisinikizya kuti ndinywe yabili...*
‘When I finished that one, he again forced me to drink the second...’.
- 14M6 *Nindakasinsimuka, ndakajana ndili mubulo...*
‘When I woke up, I found that I was in bed...’.
- 15M7 *Nindakamwaambila acisya Lwando, wakali nyandya-nyandya...*
‘When I told uncle Lwando, he pretended to be surprised...’.

- 16M7 *Naakamywa boobo waatalika kulya mulilo masizi ulabulula.*
‘When he heard that, he was very furious’.
- 17M8 *Naakamanizya kukanana Caalama, Haatimba wakaumuna kwakaindi kaniini...*
‘When Caalama finished talking, Haatimba was silent for a while’.
- 18M8 *Naakayeeya kwakaindi, wakaintamuna mutwe.*
‘When he thought for a while, he raised his heard’.
- 19M8 *Musilisi wakaumuna kwakaindi kaniini kumwi kalanga kuli Caalama....*
‘The doctor kept quiet for a short time while looking at Caalama...’.
- 20M9 *Wakaumuna kwakaindi kaniini Haatimba kumwi kalangide kuli Caalama.*
‘Haatimba kept quiet for a short time while looking to Caalama’.
- 21M9 *Ndizyi kuti musankwaako aakubola takakuzumini aakubona kuti waalemana [nkaambo taasyi waakuutyola].*
‘I know that when your fience comes back, he would not accept you when he sees that you are pregnant [because he is not the one responsible]’.
- 22M9 *Aakumana kukukaka musankwa wako, ida liya kulibonya.*
‘When your fiancée rejects you, the pregnancy will show’.
- 23M13 *Naakamana wakalanga kuli ba Nkombo a Caalama kumwi katodenzya kuti tanaabazyiba,...*
‘When he finished, he looked towards Nkombo and Caalama, while indicating that he did not recognise them...’.
- 24M14 *Nibakazyi kuswaanya meso, musimbi wakaseka-seka...*
‘When their eyes met, the girl smiled...’.
- 25M20 *Naakasika awo [mpaakaambilwa], wakaima-ima...*
‘When he reached [where he was told], he reduced speed...’.
- 26M38 *Mbwaakamana kubala lugwalo lwakazyila kuli Haatimba, mudaala wakatanta bbasi ...*
‘Immediately after reading the letter that came from Haatimba, the old man boarded a bus.’

- 27M38 *Wakacibona mukaintu mbwaakaboolela kumwaanzya.*
 ‘The wife noticed (his attitude) immediately she went to greet him.’
- 28M41 *...wakamanizya kukanana Haatimba kumwi kajala cijazyo...*
 ‘...Haatimba finished talking while closing the door...’.
- 29M44 *Bakaima kwakaindi kalamfwu kabamyontana milaka kumwi musankwa katyanka-tyanka nkolo zyamusimbi*
 ‘They stood for a longer period of time kissing each other while the boy pressed the girl’s breasts.
- 30M46 *... wakatalika kukanana musambazi kumwi meso kaatazwi ali Nkombo.*
 ‘...the sales person started talking while the eyes focused on Nkombo.’
- 31M46 *Kacikede kunywa tunambi, wakamvwa muntu uuzya mukupa uuma kalangu ...*
 ‘Whilst she sat drinking beer, she heard a milk sales person sounding a bell...’.
- 32M52 *Katana talika kusya, kwakaboola mootokala....*
 ‘Before he started digging, there came a vehicle...’.
- 33M52 *Babwa bakwe bobile bakaunka kumootokala kumwi kabakuwa*
 ‘His two dogs went to the vehicle while barking.’
- 34M52 *Naakamana kuuma mani, wakaya mumbewu*
 ‘After slashing the grass, he went in the garden...’.
- 35M53 *...inziba kaitana akuyeeya kuti ncinzi cicitika, mutwe wakali mukanwa lyakaaze.* ‘...before the dove realized of what was happening, the head was in the cat’s mouth’.

Purpose clauses

- 1M1 *Wakafwambaana kujala mpulungwido akukwela tusani tuvwumbilila kutegwa naa yalaba kataibwene.*
 ‘He quickly closed the window and pulled the curtains so that if there was lightening, he would not see it’.
- 2M3 *Nkumuteelela, nkubomba kutegwa uye malelo.*

- ‘You need to listen and humble yourself so as to win her’.
- 3M3 *Nkumupa ciindi kutegwa aambe zyoonse zili kumoyo.*
- ‘You need to give her chance so that she says everything that is in mind’.
- 4M6 *Wakandikombelezya kuti nduunke [nkemujikilila bana mafwumo-fwumo] [kutegwa batani kuunki aanzala kucikolo] [nentana ya kumilimo].*
- ‘He requested me to go [so that I cook for his children in the morning] [so that they would not be going with hunger [to school] [before I went for work].
- 5M6 *...oobu buzuba wakandisinikizya kuti ndinywe biyo kuniini [nkaambo ulaba alike].*
- ‘...this day he forced me to taste a little [because he would be alone]’.
- 6M9 *Wakalisyamba kuti asyome....*
- ‘She pinched herself so that she believes...’.
- 7M10 *Nzila njaakabelesya, njenzila yilike njaakali kukonzya kubelesya kutegwa Caalama azwe muopesi lyakwe.*
- ‘The method he used was the only one he could use so that Caalama goes out of his office’.
- 8M18 *Caalama wakasinikizya Haatimba kuti bakwatane munsondo zyobilo.*
- ‘Caalama forced Haatimba to marry within two weeks.’
- 9M18 *Ono mbaaba bajisi iya kwabo Caalama kutegwa bakaakumubone musankwa bazyali bamusimbi.*
- ‘Here they are now on their way to Caalama’s home place so that the girl’s parents meet the man.’

Clauses of condition

- 1M1 *Kuti koli musokwe tiicakali kwiindulukwa kulanga nkaambo inga kayiile kuloka yacizike.*

- ‘If you were in the bush, you would not look (there) again because tears would just drop.’
- 2M3 *Kuti nkekonzya kukugwasya, ndakugwasya.*
‘If I am able to help you, I will help you’.
- 3M3 *Kuti wamwiinganina, inga zimwi zyaafwidilila.*
‘If you are not patient with her, some things would not be revealed.’
- 4M5 *Kuti kabaumwine, taku naakali kutongooka...*
‘If they were quiet, he could not complain about them...’.
- 5M3 ...*naa wamwaambila penzi lyakwe, ulakonzya kulimvwa aboobo inga wamugwasya.*
‘...if she told him her problem, he would listen. Consequently, he would help her’
- 6M8 ...*nindali musilisi uumbi, nindakugwasya,*
‘...if I were a different doctor, I could have helped you...’
- 7M8 *Kuti ndazumina kuti ndikucitile, ndila kujaya biya.*
‘If I agree to do for you, I will kill you’.
- 8M9 *Kuti mebo anduwe twakwatana [da kalitana libonya], taku unga wazyiba mbucakabede kumatalikilo.*
‘If you and I marry [before the pregnancy shows], no one would know what it was in the beginning’.
- 9M9 ...*naa ulakaka uyakupona mukusebaana kutaambiki.*
‘...if you refuse, you will live in great shame’.
- 10M10 *Nindalizyi kuti ulicinkukide, nindatalyata atende okuno.*
‘If I knew that you are mad, I would not have set my foot here’.
- 11M18 *nizyatali ng’unzuunzu zyakwe naatakalijana mukooze kanziba.*
‘Had it not been for his curiosity, he would not have found himself in a dove’s trap’.
- 12M23 *Nindatali kweenda we bakaapa nindatali kabotu.*
‘I would not have been walking, grandmother if I were not well.’

Clauses of concession

- 1M1 *Nokuba kuti zuba lyakacili mujulu, ansi kwakali kusiya mbuli kulubundubundu...*
'Even though the sun was still high, the ground was already dark as if it was at dusk.'
- 2M3 *Nokuba kuti ooyu musimbi wakatola ciindi [kuti avwiile], musilisi wakamulindila [kuti aambe].*
'Even though this girl took time to respond, the doctor gave her time to speak.'
- 3M5 *...nokuba kuti ndakali aananda yangu, tiicakandilesya kuunka kubona acisya.*
'...even though I had my own house, it did not stop me from going to see my uncle.'
- 4M12 *Ooyu mukaintu nokuba kuti tanaakaninga sika aciimo cakutegwa 'mukaintu' ... wakaboola waima kumpela aatebule lya Haatimba.*
'Although this woman had not yet grown to a stage of being categorised as a woman,... she came and stood in front of Haatimba's table'.
- 5M18 *Haatimba wakayozya kubalisya kapati, nokuba kuti tanaakali kuciyanda kwiima-yima akaambo kakuti cakali kumuletele ng'onzi.*
'Haatimba slowed down, even though he did not want to drive slowly, because it made him dose.'
- 6M24 *Nokuba kuti kwakasika busi kulubazu nkobakakkede, tiibakabumvwide.*
'Even though smoke blew towards where she sat, she did not notice it.'
- 7M86 *Nokuba kuti wakamanide ino kusamba alimwi kwakali kutontola, kankasaalo kakamweenda...*
'Even though he had just finished bathing and it was cold, he sweated...'

Clauses of reason

- 1M1 *...tiikakacibwene cakali kucitika nkaambo maano oonse kakaabukkide kumulimo ngokakali kucita.*
 ‘...he did not know what was happening because he was only concerned with what he was doing.’
- 2M1 *Eci cakamunyandya nkaambo tanakali kuyeeya kuti mumwezi wa kavwumbi kaniini nkouli kumatatalikilo inga kwaboola yasyikataka [mbuli yakaimikide anze] .*
 ‘This surprised him because he never thought that at the beginning of October there would be a heavy rainfall like the one which had shown outside.’
- 3M7 *Eeci cakaba ceenzu kuli ndime nkaambo taku nindakayindidwe mwezi kuzwa ciindi ncindakakomena.*
 ‘This strange to me because I had never missed a month from the time I grew up.’
- 4M7 *Tiindakasyoma nkaambo kakuti taku nindakaswaanyide musankwa [mbundakabeda muntu].*
 ‘I did not believe it because I had never met a man [since I was born].’
- 5M8 *Kuzwisya da mulanda mupati... nkaambo taaku mbociindene amujayi uujoya muntu uutakonzyi kulikwabilila.*
 ‘Terminating a pregnancy is a big crime... because it is not different from killing a person.’
- 6M10 *Tanaakali kuyanda kwaamba majwi aatali kabotu kuli nguwe nkaambo inga camucisa [kwiinda mbuli cakali kumucisa].*
 ‘He did not want to say a bad word to her because it would pain her more [than what was troubling her].’
- 7M14 *Mebo kayi kusobana kwako ndaakutola kuti nkwancobeni nkaambo ndizyi kuti toli wabamwi babeja.*
 ‘With me I took your joke to be serious because I know you are not one of the liars.’

Clauses of Result

- 1M4 *Buzuba oobu mbubwena musimbi oyu wakali wasanu, aboobo boonse bakali kwiisinda [mbubwena bwakali kwiisinda musimbi oyu].*
- 2M6 *Wakandaambila kuti waakkwanya myaka makumi one amyaka yobilo aboobo wakabamba kapobwe kakusekelela.*
'He told me that he was forty-two years for this reason he made a party to celebrate'.
- 3M9 *Aano mebo ndime sikukugwasya, aboobo kucita boobo taku ncocitikugwasye.*
'I am here to help you so doing that would not help you'.
- 4M15 *Ncotazyi biyo nkuti uulya musimbi mweenima, aboobo inga wacita coonse...*
'What you do not know is that that girl is my cousin, so she can do anything...'.
- 5M41 ...tonookasalazigwa, aboobo mizimo yako tiikonzyi kumuzumina makaintu wako mupya...
'...you were not cleansed so your spirits cannot allow your new wife...'
- 6M98 *Ndaamulimo, aboobo utandicelesyi...*
'I am on duty, so do not delay me....'.

Clauses of manner

- 1M15 *Haatimba wakanyamuka mbuli kuti walumwa simunyewu...*
'Haatimba stood as if he was bitten by a black ant...'.
- 2M47 *Bakaile kuleka mbubakaleka kunyonka.*
'They just stopped the way they stopped breast-feeding.'
- 3M56 ...wakavwiila Hatimba katondezya kutakomba.
'...Hatimba answered without showing concern'.
- 4M 63 *Cakamukopa kapati mbuli mbwaakaciinganina...*

‘He was very surprised how he became so concerned (or so curious with it)...’.

- 5M94 *Tandeelede kupona atalaanyika mbuli mboteelede kupona ayebo...*
‘I am not supposed to live on this earth just as you are not supposed to...’.

Clauses of comparison

- 1M3 *Waasintama mbuli kuti ukanana kumakwe.*
She bent down as though talking to the in-laws’.
- 2M3 *Boonse bakakkala kabaumwine mbuli kuti basikilwa aatakondi.*
‘They all sat quietly as though they had a feneral’.
- 3M9 *... ncopapalisya kucita cilaile kukweetela penzi limbi kwiinda mbocibede.*
‘...what you are planning to do will lead into trouble than what it is now’.
- 4M13 *Wakanonezegwa kapati kubona kuti musimbi ooyu ulakanana kwiinda mbuli mbwaakali kumuyeeeyela...*
‘He was delighted to notice that this girl talks than he expected...’.
- 5M14 *Ncibi kundilanga mbuli kuti njanda kuliwaala aajeleele.*
‘Do not look at me as if I am about to throw myself into a river’.
- 6M49 *Wakasondele alimwi mulwija amane waleka mbuli kuti kuli camunjila mumeso.*
‘He peeped in the horn and then stopped as though something had entered his eyes.’
- 7M52 *Cisi cakali kwiile kuumwine wii mbuli kuti kwafwa muka mwami.*
‘The area was very quiet as though the chief’s wife had passed away’.
- 8M71 *Bulowa mumutwe bwakali kwiile kweenda mbuli meenda asiciduunta.*
‘Blood was flowing over his head like spring water.’

Clauses of place

- 1M12 *Mpaakakkede Haatimba..., kwakasika musimbi mukusi...*
 ‘Where Hatimba sat..., came a young lady...’.
- 2M49 *...bakagwisya makumi obile amakkwacha babika mpobakaambilwa...*
 ‘...they got twenty kwacha (and) put where they were told...’.
- 3M76 *Hatimba wakaunka mukkoce mubakakkede...*
 ‘*Hatimba went to the veranda where they sat...*’.
- 4M87 *Ndakabalika kuya kuziyuli nkundakajana mukaintu wangu ulilede*
 ansi...
 ‘I ran to the bedroom where I found my wife lying down...’.
- 5M95 *Hamwaandwe wakazwa kumulyango waya aakakkede Lwando.*
 ‘*Hamwaandwe went out through the door (and) went where Lwando*
 sat,’

Appendix B3: Data from ‘Buzuba Bwakabi Mbumwi’

Temporal clauses

- 1B1 *Kakkede mpamunya awo Chuumangoma kasanzya, wakazikwiide*
 kutitimuka naakamvwa muntu upanga hoddi kusyule lyakwe.
 ‘While Chuumangoma sat just there washing, he shrieked when he
 heard a person say ‘hoddi’ behind him’.
- 2B1 *Naakamana wakaambila musimbi...*
 ‘When he finished, he told the girl...’.
- 3B1 *Naakaamba boobu kumwi wakali kutondeka kauno....*
 ‘When he said this at the same time he was pointing at the stool...’.
- 4B2 *Amukkale kamwale ninciyanika zisani.*
 ‘Sit young lady whilst I hang the clothes’.
- 5B2 *Nobakalondelela kusika, Chuumangoma wakajoka....*
 ‘When they were about to reach, Chuumangoma went back...’.

- 6B2 *Nibakamana kwaanzyanya Chuumangoma wakalisandulula kuti nguwaaleta Mutinta buzuba bwakainda aboobo wakali kulomba kubonana awalo.*
 ‘When they finished greeting each other, Chuumangoma introduced himself that he was the one who brought Mutinta the previous day, so he asked to see her’.
- 7B2 *Aabo bakaintu nibakabona kuti makani taabajatikizyi, bakaita Mutinta...*
 ‘When that woman saw that it did not concern her, she called Mutinta...’.
- 8B2 *...mbwaakasikila buyo aajinkila lubuwa, musimbi wakayanda kujoka nkaambo kwategwa tiicakali kuboneka kabotu kuti mweenzu ankata yakwe amutwe watalika kuzunga abasankwa.*
 ‘...immediately she reached the edge of the yard, the girl desired to go back as it was not right for a visitor to flirt around with boys’.
- 9B3 *...wakaamba Chuumangoma kumwi katambika kwaanza kumusimbi [kutigwa balayane].*
 ‘Chuumangoma said while stretching his arm towards the girl [so that they bid farewell to each other’.
- 10B4 *...wakavwuwa awalo Mutinta kumwi kapeta-peta kasani kaacuuno [mpakakkede].*
 ‘...Mutinta also answered while folding a chairback for the seat [where she sat’].
- 11B10 *... mutaboni kuti kuli ncondakali kuyanda nindakakwatwa kuli ndinywe.*
 ‘...do not think that there is something I wanted when I married you’.
- 12B15 *Kabaciyandaula mali akuti Mutinta aunke kumunzi, bawisi bakasika mudolopo.*
 ‘Whilst looking for money for Mutinta to go to the village, her father arrived in town’.

- 13B15 *Mbaakasikila wisi Mutinta oko nkwaakaswide, wakatuma mulomo kuli Chuumangoma...*
 ‘Immediately Mutinta’s father arrived where he had visited, he sent a word to Chuumangoma...’.
- 14B32 *Naakabona kuti Mutinta waya kukoona, munene wakaambila mwanaakwe...*
 ‘When the old man saw Mutinta going to sleep, he told his son...’.
- 15B32 *Nibakamana kulalila, Mutinta wakaya muzyuli...*
 ‘When they finished eating supper, Mutinta went into the bedroom...’.
- 16B34 *Nokamanizya cikolo ndakakukkazika...*
 ‘When you finished school, I counselled you...’.
- 17B34 *Nindakaboola, ndakajana oyu musimbi watumbuka....*
 ‘When I came, I found this girl had delivered...’.
- 18B38 *Nicakaba ciindi kamyongwa Mutinta, wakamwva kuti bulwazi bwakaindilila aboobo wakaleka kutongela...*
 ‘After a long period of experiencing labour pains, Mutinta felt that the condition was worsening so she stopped complaining
 ... wakatalika buyo kulila kumwi ulabwenta...
 ‘she just started crying while shouting...’.
- 20B50 *Mutinta naakasika muns-munsi acizyiba, wakaima...*
 ‘When Mutinta reached near the pool, she stood...’.
- 21B64 *Mutinta naakabona kuti mwenzinyina zintu uzilomba kubacembebe, wakacimwa kapati...*
 ‘When Mutinta saw that her friend was asking for things from the old woman, she became very annoyed...’.

Clauses of purpose

- 1B2 *Awalo musimbi wakakkala kutegwa alindile sikumusindikila...*
 ‘The girl also stayed so as to wait for the one to escort her...’.
- 2B2 *Musankwa wakalomba musimbi kutegwa amusindikile...*

- ‘The boy requested the girl to escort him...’.
- 3B5 *Aya mali akali akuti Mutinta akape bamulela kutegwa bakazyibe kuti kuli musankwa ndaba wakali kumuyanda*
- ‘This money was for Mutinta to give her guardian so that she knows that there was a specific boy who loved her’.
- 4B9 *...wakabula mpanga wali sekka kutegwa batabonani a Mutinta kwakaindi kabotu-botu*
- ‘...he had no space to hide himself so that he would not see Mutinta for some good time’.
- 5B11 *Chuumangoma wakayandaula basazinyina kuti bamwiiminine kutwaambo ootu*
- ‘Chuumangoma looked for his relatives so that they stand in for him in those issues’.
- 6B14 *Ndiyanda biyo kuti mooye ndizyibe kutegwa katweendelana antoomwe mutwaambo toonse.*
- ‘I just want to know young lady so that we will be in harmony in all issues’.
- 7B16 *Ncobeni boonse bakaunka kutegwa bakamvwe ncobakali kwiitilwa.*
- ‘Truly, everyone went there so that they hear what they were called for’.
- 8B16 *...Mutinta wakitwa kutegwa abasangane.*
- ‘...Mutinta was called so that she joins them’.
- 9B21 *...yaakumana ndikaboole kutegwa muzikundilange akubona naa micelo yabeleka kabotu.*
- ‘...when they (the medicines) finish I should come so that you check if the medicines have worked well’.
- 10B28 *Wakaunka muns-munsi cabukandu kutegwa akabona naa ninzi cakalubide.*
- ‘He went near her uncourageously so as to see what was wrong’.

- 11B32 *Mutinta waajula citendele cakuzyuli nkwaakabede [kutigwa akonzye kumwva ncobakali kubandika ba Chuumangoma awisi].*
 ‘Mutinta opened the bedroom door where she was [so that she hears what Chuumangoma and his father were discussing]’.
- 12B42 *Chuumangoma kwiina naakamubuzya limbi Mutinta makani aakumita nokuba kubuzya kutigwa azyibe Chibawe kuti wakali ni.*
 ‘Chuumangoma did not ask Mutinta any more concerning her pregnancy not even asking to know who Chibawe was’.
- 13B38 *Waafwambaana kwiita basimukobonyina kutigwa bazikumulanzye...*
 ‘He quickly called his neighbours so that they see (her) for him...’.
- 14B46 *Kutigwa bamwiime kabotu cakulya mwana, Mutinta wakatuma Mukansondo kuti atole cisyu munanda yabacembele ...*
 ‘So that they do not cater for the child’s food, Mutinta sent Mukansondo to take relish in the old lady’s house...’.
- 15B47 *...bakaima kutigwa bamene mate.*
 ‘...she paused so as to ease out’.
- 16B49 *Kutigwa acikonzye kwiinyamuna eeyo nongo, wakalikunga waibikkilalyo atala amutwe ...*
 ‘So that she manages to lift that water calabash, she used to put it on the head in advance...’.
- 17B49 *...wakabuzya Busiku kutigwa azyibe [nkwaakabede Mukansondo]*
 ‘...she asked Busiku so that she knows [where Mukansondo was]’.
- 18B61 *Mucelo ooyu wakauziya abbwe kutigwa ube lusu.*
 ‘This medicine was ground on the stone so that it becomes powder’.
- 19B61 *Andime inga masiku baide kunditumina zyeelo kutigwa zyindisine [bacaale balikke] [kabakwetwe].*
 ‘She also usually sends ghosts so that they strangle me, [so as to remain alone [married]]’.
- 20B69 *Munene wakaita Mutinta mukaanda kutigwa bapane micelo*
 ‘The old man called Mutinta in the small house so that they give each other the medicine’.

Clauses of condition

- 1B4 Kuti kwaba cacitika juunzejilo ukaanke kundikaka.
 ‘If something happens, you would reject me in future’.
- 2B10 Webo naa wayanda kundileka [akaambo kakuti wabona kuti uli mumilandu] caambwa buyo...
 ‘If you want to divorce me [because you have seen that you are under offence], just say it...’.
- 3B14 Mebo kuti wandaambila bwini kuti kuli mbobede kunyina cibi ncondinga ndacita nkaambo ndilakuyanda aboobo awalo mwanaako ndeelede kumuyanda.
 ‘If you tell me the truth that you are pregnant, there is nothing bad that I would do because I love you. Therefore I would have to love your child as well’.
- 4B18 Kuti uulya wandileka ati inga ndalijaya buyo nkaambo mmubotu, ulaamali alimwi ulaacamba.
 ‘If that one divorces me then I would just kill myself because he is handsome, he has money and has patience’.
- 5B23 ...kandizyiba kuti ulalabalika [mbuli muntu uciswa maafwa, nindatakasola kukwatwa kuli ndiwe.
 ‘...had I known that you yep [like a person suffering from epilepsy], I would not have tried to marry you’.
- 6B40 Kuti muntu tanaliyeekezya kujosya mali, wakali kwiide kulanga.
 ‘If a person (debtor) did not remind oneself, he would just ignore’.
- 7B44 ...kuti ndijane walikulila, ndizyi kukulya bukwange.
 ‘If I find he (the child) was crying, I will eat you alive’.
- 8B44 Kuti ndijane tiicazula, aayo matwi... ndizyi kwaanyona.
 ‘If I find it (water calabash) not filled,...I will twist those ears’.
- 9B44 Kuti ndijane wali kwiide kuweluka, ulacibona
 ‘If I find you were just playing, you will see...’.

- 10B55 *Kuti uulya wamutwala, caamba kuti abamwi bana banikujisi banyina babo aboobo kunyina mukaintu uuni kupenzya bana bamweezinyina....*
 ‘If you marry that one, it would mean that each set of children would have their mother, so, no woman would mistreat her friend’s children...’.
- 12B57 *Kuti walanga kumalundu akali kulaale amaanda ookwa Chuumangoma mbuli kuti akali kusunta busi.*
 ‘If you looked at the mountains that were far away from Chuumangoma’s houses, they appeared as though there was smoking’.
- 13B57 *Kuti koli atalaa kalundu kakali munsiminsi amaanda ookwa Haampende, inga walibonena camitwe yabantu nkocakali kunyawita.*
 ‘If you were on top of the hill that was near Haampende’s houses, you would see for yourself the many heads of people lingering about’.
- 14B65 *...kuti nditazumini balanduumba mbuli mbubakali kuuma Mukansondo [kamukatanasika].*
 ‘...if I do not agree, she will beat me the way she used to beat Mukansondo [before you came’].
- 15B70 *Kuti nikwakali bantu naakakwiila*
 ‘If there were people (around), she would have shouted...’.

Clauses of concession

- 1B3 *Buzuba bwacipangano nokuba kuti bwakalimukide kuli Chuumangoma bwakasika.*
 ‘The day of appointment came although it was late for Chuumangoma’.
- 2B4 *...tanaakaleka kwambauzya musimbi nokuba kuti wakali kukaka-kaka.*
 ‘...he did not stop proposing the girl even though she was somehow refusing’.
- 3B9 *Nokuba kuti awalo Mutinta wakazumina kuya kuka bbadela ako, tanaakazyi kuti naa bakali kuunkila nzi.*

- ‘Even though Mutinta agreed to go to the clinic, she did not know what they were going for’.
- 4B9 *Ayalo nanda nokuba kuti mubuyake yakali mpati, pele yakamuceyela....*
‘Even though the house was big in structure, he found it small...’.
- 5B9 *...nokuba kuti wakaliyide, pele wakanyina maano....*
‘...even though he was learned, he was not intelligent...’.
- 6B11 *...nekuba kuti nanda yaba buti eezyi nombe tazyijoki taaku.*
‘...even though the marriage is destroyed, these cattle do not go back’.
- 7B13 *...nokuba kuti bakali kuyandana, kulemana kwaa Mutinta kwaali kweeta kutalangana kabotu*
‘...even though they loved each other, Mutinta’s pregnancy brought confusions...’.
- 8B13 *Nokuba kuti kwakali penzi eeli munanda yabo, Chuumangoma wakali kumuyanda akaambo kazintu zyobilo.*
‘Even though there was this problem in their marriage, Chuumangoma loved her for of two things’.
- 9B16 *Certificate ulijisi nokuba nsaamuzi tapaside kabotu.*
‘She has a certificate, although she does not have a good grade in Mathematics’.
- 10B18 *Pesi nokuba kuti kuli penzi lyakumita, musankwa ulandiyanda kapati....*
‘Even though there is a problem about the pregnancy, the man loves me very much...’.
- 11B19 *Wakazyiba kuti mukaintu wakwe wakapiluka nokuba kuti tanaakali kumuyeeyela.*
‘He knew that his wife had arrived even though he did not expect her’.
- 12B23 *....ndilakonzya kuzyiba kuti ndyamezi yongaye nekuba kuti ndiniini buti....*
‘... I can know how old it is even though it is very small...’.
- 13B23 *Nokuba kuti uli mupati [mbuli mbolilumbaizya] andikwiibalusye kuti tabali bapati boonse bakamubona kale munyati....*

- ‘Even though you are elderly [as you praise yourself], let me remind you that not all adults have seen a buffalo...’.
- 14B24 *Nokuba kuti wakali mumizeezo miyumu ntaa, katinga uso kakamutinga, wakoona nokuba kuti koona kwakali kwakwiide kuyabwayabwa.*
‘Even though he was in great worry, he was taken by sleep, although he had nightmares’.
- 15B29 *Mutinta kumeso kwakwe mboobuya kwakamwenguka nokuba kuti wakali kulibonya kuti kaungu kakaciliko.*
‘Mutinta’s face fairly brightened even though she still appeared low’.
- 16B31 *Nokuba kuti kabili kakwe kakali kaniini kuzwa kubwana, Munene Chinyempe wakalaanguzu kapati.*
‘Even though his body was small from childhood, the old man, Chinyempe was very strong’.
- 17B32 *Nokuba kuti beenzinyina bamuzinga kumulwana, wakali kubatila.*
‘Although his friends ganged to fight him, he used to overpower them’.
- 18B33 *Nokuba kuti wakakkomana, pesi tanaakayanda kubusisa bukali mbwaakajisi muli nguwe.*
- 19B36 *Nokuba kuti zintu zyoonse zyakeendelezegwa kabotu, Cinyempe wakamwaambila mwanaakwe kuti kumoyo kwakwe kwakali kusiya.*
‘Even though everything was well arranged, Chinyempe told his son that he was not free-hearted’.
- 20B40 *Nokuba kuti ooyu munene wakali wvubide kapati, tanaakali siakalifune....*
‘Even though this old man was rich, he was not selfish...’.
- 21B40 *Nokuba kuti myoyo bakaliimwvide kucisa alufwu lwamunene, tiibaanjila zyanyika akutalika kusonda.*
Although they were hurt by the death of the old man, they did not go into the traditions; going into witch finding’.
- 22B48 *Nokuba kuti Chuumangoma tanaakakkuta akwiingula ooku, wakaumuna buyo kutegwa azyeebelezye [nkaambo wakali sicamba].*

- ‘Even though Chuumangoma was not satisfied with this response, he just kept silent so that he observes [because he had patience]’.
- 23B49 *Nokuba kuti waumwa buti, awalo Mukansondo tanaakali kukonzya kubeja kuli wisi akaambo kakuyoowa kuumwa alimwi [wisi mbwanga wazwida amunzi].*
- ‘Even though she would be severely beaten, Mukansondo could not tell her father because of fearing to be beaten again [immediately her father would go out of home]’.
- 24B49 *....wakatalika kukomba pesi nokuba tanaakali kulitondezya kuti ulaleka.*
- ‘She started pleading though she did not seem to stop’.
- 25B53 *Nekuba kuti wabelekesya buti canguzu...taku cijanika nee.*
- ‘No matter how hard you work..., nothing is found’.
- 26B69 *Walo Mutinta nokuba kuti wakali kkomene [nkaambo ncaakali kuyanda wakacijana], tanaakalimvwide kwaanguluka nkaambo munzi ooyu mbowakabede wakamugambya.*
- ‘Even though Mutinta was happy [because she found what she wanted], she did not feel free because the way this village was surprised her’.

Clauses of reason

- 1B21 *Alimwi ndilayanda kuti mucibikke mubulembo kuti ndijisi da nkaambo bataata bandisinikizya kuya kucikolo...*
- ‘I also want you to put it in written that I am pregnant because my father is forcing me to go to school...’.
- 2B22 *Aaya makani nomuzyi ba Chuumangoma andikonda nkaambo kunyina cintu nceyanda aano ansi [mbuli kuba amwana andinywe]...*
- ‘This news, as you know Mr Chuumangoma, has delighted me because there is nothing I like on earth [such as having a child with you...]’.

- 3B30 *Tanaakali kuyanda nokaceya kuti bbaasi limusiye nkaambo wakeelede kusika ku Lusaka mbweena buzuba oobo [kutegwa bakalangane buya a Chuumangoma mwanaakwe].*
 ‘He did not want to miss the bus because he was supposed to reach Lusaka the same day [so that they face each other with his son, Chuumangoma]’.
- 4B38 *Chuumangoma tanaakali kuyeeya kuti mukaintu wakwe inga watumbuka mu mwezi wa Nalupale nkaambo wakacibikkide kuti mukaintu wakwe uyakutumbuka mu mwezi wa Miyoba*
 ‘Chuumangoma did not think that his wife would deliver in the month of December because he had put it that his wife would deliver in May’.
- 5B38 *...wakalikufwa buusu kumwaambila mulumi wakwe akaambo kakuti kumatalikilo wakali mucengede.*
 ‘...she used to be ashamed to tell her husband because she had cheated him at the beginning’.
- 6B46 *...Mutinta wakali kutobela munsu nkaambo wakaibaluka kuti cisyu ncaakapa Mukansondo cakali camulumi wakwe.*
 ‘...Mutinta was also following behind because she realized that the relish she gave Mukansondo was for her husband’.
- 7B48 *Ciindi cakutundulula mwana cakali ncecinji nkaambo Chuumangoma...tanaakali kukkala kapati amaanda.*
 ‘The time for stigmatizing the child was the most because Chuumangoma, ...never used to stay long at home’.
- 8B49 *Wakabona kuti kumulonga nkweena ooko nkokwakali kubotu kumuumina nkaambo Chuumangoma tanaakali kukonzya kuzyiba.*
 ‘She saw that just at the river was the right place to beat her from because Chuumangoma would not know’.
- 9B49 *Utanikundiiti kuti baama nkaambo nseli banyoko peepe.*
 ‘You should not call me mother because I am not your mother’.

Clauses of result

- 1B7 *Chuumangoma wakatalika kuyeeya kuti ambweni Mutinta kuli mbwabede aboobo wakali kuyanda kumusisa buyo.*
 ‘Chuumangoma started thinking that maybe Mutinta was pregnant so she just wanted to hide it from him’.
- 2B16 *Mulandu mbowakapundwa mbombubo aboobo tatuko kukkala kuti tutalike kubamba zyakaambaulwa kale.*
 ‘The way the case was solved remains, so we will not meet [to start discussing what has already been discussed]’.
- 3B16 *Mulandu ngwakulitukka nobeni, aboobu mutatutongookeli naa mwalemenwa.*
 ‘You are responsible for the case so do not complain to us’.
- 4B27 *Mebo lino ndasika kujeleele aamulonga aboobo ndeelede kujoka munsu [nkaambo kuya kumbele andiwe kulaba kulilya].*
 ‘I have now reached the bank of the river so I should withdraw [because continuing with is very dangerous]’.
- 5B29 *Kukuzyalwa Mabende wakali mupati kuli Chuumangoma aboobo wakafwambaana kuziyiba kuti kuli cakalubide akati kabanabukwetenyi...*
 ‘By birth, Mabende was older than Chuumangoma so he quickly noticed that there was something wrong between the couple...’.
- 6B32 *Lubono ndwaakajisi munene wakalubelesya kuyiisya bana bakwe aboobo boonse bana bosanwe mbaakazyede wakabayiisya...*
 ‘The wealth that the old man had had was used to take his children to school so all the five children he had were educated...’.
- 7B33 *Ayalo milonga yoonse yakawide miseenga aboobo meenda tanaakacili kukkala mutuziyiba [mbuli kaindi].*
 ‘All the rivers were also full of sand. As a result, water no longer collected in dambos [as long ago]’.

- 8B36 ...wakaayeya majwi akaamba mwanaakwe aboobo wakazumina kuti
nkokuti amubambile buyo kkwato mwanaakwe kwiinda mumulawo.
 ‘...he thought of the words which his son said so he agreed just to
organize his son’s marriage legitimately’.
- 9B36 Awalo Mutinta wakakkomana kapati aboobo luyando kuli
Chuumangoma lwakaindilila [nkaambo wakamubona kuti
Chuumangoma wakali sicamba]
 ‘Mutinta was also very happy so the love to Chuumangoma advanced
because Chuumangoma had patience’.
- 10B42 Chuumangoma tanaakacizyi kubikkilila aboobo aabo bantu wakali
kubagwasya abalo...
 ‘Chuumangoma did not keep grudge against others, therefore he used
to help those people as well...’.
- 11B49 Mutinta wakalikwiininwa twaambo twamusyobo ooyu aboobo
wakafwesa kuya kumulonga...
 ‘Mutinta liked such issues; so she hurriedly went to the river...’.

Clauses of manner

- 1B18 bakaamba abalo banyina Mutinta cakuliiba mbuli kuti tiibakali
kwaambaula amwanaabo
 ‘...Mutinta’s mother freely said as though she was not talking to her
daughter’.

Clauses of comparison

- 1B1 Aalo maanda akali muns-muns amugwagwa ooyu akali kwiile
kukozyenyi mbuli kuti muntu omwe wakaayaka.
 ‘The houses that were near the road were also very alike as though built
by a single person’.
- 2B21 ...wakaide kuboneka mbuli kuti awalo wakali munakoosiya milonga.

- ‘...she simply appeared as though she was also a white’.
- ‘Though he became happy, he did not conceal the anger that he had’.
- 3B35 *Aalo meso akali kwiile kusubila pyu mbuli kuti kuli walikufweba lulya bayuni*
- ‘The eyes also were crimson red like one who has been smoking dagger’.
- 4B42 *Wakamulela mwana waa Mutinta mbuli kuti wakali mwana wakwe muzyale ...*
- ‘He cared for Mutinta’s child as if he was a child of his blood...’.
- 5B48 *Awalo Mutinta wakasola munguzu zyakwe zyoonse kukkomanisya mulumi wakwe kucita mbuli kuti tanaakali kumupenzya mwana.*
- ‘Mutinta also tried with all her strength to please her husband as though she was not mistreating the child’.
- 6B60 *Buzuba bwakatobela abwalo bwakali kupya mbuli bwakaindi.*
- ‘The day that followed was also hot as the previous’.

Clauses of place

- 1B1 *...mpaakali kusanzyila, wakalibabwene bantu nkobakali kwiinsauka mumugwagwa...*
- ‘Where he was washing from, he saw people hurrying along the road that was near his home’.
- 2B33 *Ncobeni munene mpaakakkede kumunzi akali cimpayuma.*
- ‘Truly, where the old man settled was a dersert’.
- 3B41 *...wakabuzya Busiku kutegwa azyibe nkwaakabede Mukansondo.*
- ‘She asked Busiku so that she knows where Mukansondo was’.

Clauses of comment

- 1B11 *Mbuli mbotwamvwa kale, simunzyaakwe Mutinta ngwaakaswaide wakaunkide kumilimo kumasena aakumigodi...*

- ‘As we have already heard, Mutinta’s uncle whom she visited had gone to work on the mines...’.
- 2B17 *Mbuli mbotukonzya kubona, Mutinta wakabatinta basankwa nkakaako wakategwa ngu Mutinta.*
- ‘As we can see, Muntinta interrupted a series of boys (by birth) that is why she was called Mutinta’.
- 3B39 *Mbuli mbobakaambawide ba Chuumangoma awisi, mugodi wakaakusigwa...*
- ‘Just as Chuumangoma and his father discussed, a borehole was sunk...’.
- 4B45 ...*mbuli mbooli kusandulula, ndakonzya kuziyiba kuti Chuumangoma uzwa munanda isuka busi.*
- ‘...as you have been explaining, I can know that Chuumangoma comes from a rich family.’
- 5B14 *Mbuli mbokonzya kubona ndili muntu sizibi nkakaako ndayeeya kuti ndiliyange ndemwini [kutegwa unditambule mbubona mbwebede...].*
- ‘As you can see, I am a sinful person. [Therefore, I have thought of checking myself] so that you accept me’.

Appendix B4: Data from spoken sources

- 1 *Naasika usyi naamweengela cuumbwe. (conditional)*
 If his/ her father arrived, he would mark the grave for him/ her.
- 2 *Bana boonse baunka kukusobana (purpose)*
 ‘All the children have gone to play.’
- 3 *Nolituba ngunyoko (concessive)*
 ‘Even though (she is) old, she is your mother.’
- 4 *Nkuiwaya, uyakujana bantu bamisyobo yaandeene, (place)*

‘Wherever you go, you would find people of different races.’

5 *Inga ndapiluka buyo kwesu kwiinda kufwida munanda yamwaalumi utandiyandi*. (comparison)

‘I would rather go back home (parents’ home) than dying in the house of a man who does not love me’

6 *Wakacisowa coolwe so kunyina nayakuba amulimo mubotu mbuli waboobuya*. (result)

‘She lost the chance so she will never have such a good job’.