THE STRUCTURE OF COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN LUNDA[*]

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This paper provides a functional and descriptive study of complement clauses in Lunda, a language spoken in Zambia. While the structure of infinitival comple-ment clauses is analogous to that found in many languages, other types of com-plement clauses present unique morphosyntactic features. Some dependent con-structions are introduced by complementizers which agree in person and number with the subject of the main clause. These complementizers derive from per-sonal possessive pronouns rather than from the verb of saying, as is the case in some Bantu languages, and they have other functions besides introducing em-bedded clauses. Other clauses disallow complementizers and the verb shows no temporal reference, coding either the perfect or progressive aspect. The inter-pretation of time in such clauses is dependent on that of the main clause.

1.   Introduction.

This paper is a study of the structural properties of the various types of comple-ment clauses in Lunda, a Bantu language spoken in the Northwestern province of Zambia. It does not deal with other kinds of complex constructions such as rela-tive clauses, conditionals and adverbial clauses, as these constructions display dif-ferent morphological and syntactic behavior from complement clauses. The con-structions can be divided into three distinct categories: infinitival complement clauses, clauses without complementizers, and those that are introduced by com-plementizers. While infinitival complement clauses do not generally seem to be different from those of other languages, one type of finite complement clause pre-sents a unique morphosyntactic feature, in that the complementizer is variable,

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agreeing in person and number with the subject of the main clause. Additionally, the same type of complementizers introduce the complement of the direct object and the locative noun phrase. These complementizers also appear in interrogative constructions attached to the question morpheme *-di* after verbs of saying.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 briefly looks at the syntactic and semantic properties of infinitival complement clauses. Section 3 deals with finite complement clauses which disallow complementizers. Section 4 is concerned with complement clauses that are obligatorily introduced by complementizers, and Section 5 provides a summary of the study.

2.   Infinitival Complement Clauses.

As in other Bantu languages, the verb of an infinitival clause is not marked with tense and lacks an overt nominal subject. In Lunda, an infinitival complement clause is characterized by the verb stem prefixed with the infinitive marker *ku-*. With respect to their syntactic behavior, such clauses can further be grouped into two subdivisions, one group of which consists of complement clauses whose verbs lack an expressed subject, while the other type possesses an overtly expressed subject that is different from that of the verb of the main clause.

2.1 Infinitival complement clauses after one-place verbs. The verb of the embedded infinitival complement clause has no overt syntactic subject; the nominal subject remains unexpressed in the clause since it is understood as being the same as that of the verb of the main clause. Semantically, the subject of the main clause is co-referential with the subject of the infinitive complement clause. The verb of the main clause codes what Givón (1990, 2001) refers to as "inception, termination, continuation, success, failure, attempt, intent, ability, obligation, and possibility."

(1)   a. Mumbanda watumba kacháyi.
            mu-mbanda   wu -a -tumb -a   ka-cháyi.
            1   -woman   SA1-TNS-plant-fv   12 -finger millet
            'The woman planted finger millet.'

        b. Mumbanda wamanisha kutumba kachayi.
            mu-mbanda   wu -a -man -ish   -a   ku -tumba   ka-chayi.
            1   -woman   SA-TNS-finish-CAUS-fv   INF-plant   12-finger millet
            'The woman finished planting finger millet.'

As in English and other languages, the nominal subject *mumbanda* 'woman' of the main clause in (1b) must also be the subject of the embedded infinitive verb *kutumba* 'to plant'. It is the controller of the dependent clause. Given in (2) below are examples of such complement clauses with different types of predicates.

(2) a. Walómbeli kuya nakunooka kumukála.[1]
         wu -a -lómb-el -i   ku-ya na -ku -nook   -a ku -mu-kála
         SA1-TNS-ask -RP-fv   INF-go and-INF-take a break-fv LOC-3 -village
         'He had asked to go to the village and take a break.'

     b. Akwenzi alékeli kuzáta.
         a-kwenzi   a -a -lek-el -i   ku -zát -a
         2-youth   SA2-TNS-stop-RP-fv INF-work-fv
         'The youth had stopped working.'

     c. Muntu wakáñenyi kutéma.
         mu-ntu   wu -a -kañany-en -i   ku -tém   -a
         1 -man   SA1-TNS-fail   -RP-fv   INF-cut down trees-fv
         'The man failed to cut down trees.'

     d. Ndimi wavulamena kusenda muhínyi.
         ndimi   wu -a -vulamen-a ku-send -a   mu-hínyi
         1-farmer SA1-TNS-forget   -fv INF-carry-fv   3 -handle
         'The farmer forgot to carry the handle.'

As can be seen from the examples in (2), the verbs of the complement clauses *ya* 'go,' *nooka* 'rest' in (2a), *záta* 'work' in (2b), *kañanya* 'fail' in (2c), and *senda*

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[1] The following abbreviations are used in this paper: APPL applicative, AUX auxiliary, CAUS causative, COMP complementizer, CONJ conjunction, COP copula, DEM demonstrative, FUT future, fv final vowel, IMP imperative, IMPF imperfective, INF infinitive, LOC locative affix, NEG negative, OM object prefix/agreement, POSS possessive, PRO pronoun, POSS possessive, -Q interrogative, QUOT quotative, REL relative clause, RFUT remote future, RP remote past, SA subject prefix/agreement, SUBJ subjunctive, TAM tense, aspect and mood, TNS tense, 1sg first person singular, 1pl first person plural, 2sg second person singular, 2pl second person plural. Numbers denote the various noun classes, Ø null subject. Examples in this study are in the Lunda orthography and the velar nasal and the voiced postalveolar fricative are represented by the symbols ñ and *zh* respectively.

'carry' in (2d) lack an explicit subject, and thus are all marked with the infinitive prefix *ku-*. The subject of the complement is understood to be the same as that of the verb of the main clause. This syntactic property is one of the 'behavioral properties' of subjects following Keenan's (1976a) criteria where an overt subject is missing on the verb of the complement clause.

What may be interpreted as the equivalent of English 'how to' complement clauses are infinitival clauses, as they bear exactly the same syntactic structures as infinitival complement clauses in Lunda. In other words, there is no formal and syntactic distinction between dependent infinitival complement clauses and 'how to' dependent complement clauses, as exemplified by the verbs *kwiluka* 'to know' and *kudíza* 'to learn' in (3).

(3)   a. Yáya welúka kutúña matála.

yaya	wu -a -iluk -a	ku -tuñ -a	ma-tála
1-elder brother	SA1-TNS-know-fv	INF-build-fv	6 -houses

        'My elder brother knows how to build houses.'

    b. Muhela índi wakadíza kuchíma.

mu-hela	índi	wu -aka -díz -a	ku-chím-a
1 -sister	POSS1	SA1-RFUT-learn-fv	INF-sew -fv

        'His sister will learn how to sew.'

In (3a) and (3b), the subjects of the main clause verbs *iluka* 'know' and *diza* 'learn' are controllers of the complement clause verbs *tuña* build' and *chima* 'sew'. The complement clause comes immediately after the verb of the main clause, just like infinitival complement clauses.

A set of evaluative and emotive state verbs such as *kuwáha* 'to be good, nice, glad,' *kutama* 'to be bad,' *kutela* 'to be worthy of, fit for, suitable to, necessary to' and other impersonal constructions or expressions of evaluation, necessity, obligation, prohibition, and advisability that derive from nouns and adjectives such as *wahi* 'nice, good, pleasant' *chinzhila* 'it is forbidden, it is not allowed, it is wrong,' *swayi* 'quick,' *nsónyi* 'shame' take infinitival complement clauses. The infinitive is used when an obligation is stated in a general sense without referring to a specific person. The verb or verbal expression of the main clause takes the class 7 subject prefix *chi-* which functions as an expletive / dummy subject of the main clause. Despite the involvement of the infinitival prefix, the expletive subject prefix does not control the verb of the complement clause. That is, the infinitival clause verb does not require its subject to be co-

referential with the subject of the main clause. Xhosa and Sotho employ the locative *ku-* as an expletive subject with such types of verbs (Du Plessis 1982:38). Consider the following Lunda examples:

(4)   a. Chachiwáhi kunyámuka lélu.[2]
        chachi-wáhi   ku -nyámuk-a   lélu
        7   -good   INF-leave -fv   today
        'It is better to leave today.'

      b. Chatéla kufunta swayi.
        chi-a -tel   -a   ku -funt   -a   swayi
        7 -TNS-be necessary-fv   INF-come back-fv   quickly
        'It is necessary to come back quickly.'

      c. Chatáma kuzúña.
        chi-a -tama   ku -zún̄-a
        7 -TNS-be bad   INF-fight-fv
        'It is bad to fight.'

      d. Chakála kuhósha.
        chi-a   -kala   ku -hósh-a
        7   -TNS-be hard   INF-say -fv
        'It is hard to say.'

      e. Chinzhila kuhukula mbízhi chochochu.
        chi-nzhila   ku -hukula mbízhi   chochi-o   -chu
        7   -be forbidden   INF-snatch 8-meat   7   -DEM-7
        'It is wrong to snatch the meat like that.'

In (4a-e), the subject prefix *chi-* does not show any control of the subject of the infinitival clause; the subject of the complement clause remains unbound in the sentence and only picks up a referent from discourse. There is nothing to refer to in the main clause.

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[2] The adjective *wahi* 'good' is one of the adjectives that take reduplicated compound agreement prefixes as seen in *chachiwahi* made up of the morphemes *chi-a-chi*.

2.2 Infinitival complement clauses after two-place verbs. The second type of infinitival complement clauses consists of dependent clauses that come after two-place verbs, which can in turn be subdivided into two distinct subgroups, namely basic non-derived verbs and derived causative verbs. The complement-taking verbs with causative semantics fit well under the subcategory of complement-taking verbs that Givón (1990, 2001) describes as manipulate verbs, since they take an agent, and a patient/theme which is also the agent of the complement clause verb. The subject of the infinitive complement clause is not overtly expressed, is independent of the main clause, and is understood to be co-referential with the direct object of the main clause. Consider the following examples that illustrate constructions with infinitival dependent complement clauses occurring after the direct object of the main clause.

(5)   Mukwénzi nakukwásha akwawu kubúza kapila kamenzhi.[3]
        mu-kwénzi   Ø -na -ku -kwásh-a   a-kwawu   ku -búza
        1sg -youth   SA1-TAM-INF-help   -fv   2-friend   INF-dig

           ka-pila   ka-a   -ma-inzhi
           12-furrow   12 -POSS-6   -water
        'The youth is helping his friends to dig a water furrow.'

        Walómbeli chilolu kwimana.
        wu -a   -lómb-el -i   chilolu   ku -iman -a
        SA1-TNS-ask   -RP-fv   leader   INF-stand up-fv
        'He had asked the leader to stand up.'

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[3] The morpheme *na-* is employed to express the present perfect/anterior, in addition to the final vowel *-i*. It also indicates present progressive continuous as well as past continuous when it follows the verb *di* 'be,' which may be deleted, plus an infinitive. Consequently, TAM is used as a cover term for this morpheme when it is used as a tense-aspect marker. The first person singular and class 1 subject prefixes delete with this aspectual morpheme. The two are distinguished by tone.

Ná-d-i.	'I have eaten.'	Na-d-i	'S/he has eaten.'
Ni-di na-ku-da.	'I am eating.'	Wu-di na-ku-da	'S/he is eating.'
Ná-ku-da.	'I am eating.'	Na-ku-da	'S/he is eating.'

(6) Kawumba walétésheli Nswana kuleka mudimu.

Kawumba	wu -a	-let -esh -eli	Nswana	ku -lek -a	mu-dimu
Kawumba	SA1-TNS-bring-CAUS-RP		Nswana	INF-quit-fv	3 -job

'Kawumba caused Nswana to quit his job.'

Mumbanda wakakezha kánsi kúda.

mu-mbanda	wu -a	-kakezha	ka-ánsi	ku -d -a
1 -woman	SA1-TNS-force		1 -child	INF-eat-fv

'The woman forced the child to eat.'

In (5), the verbs *kwásha* 'help' and *lómba* 'ask, request' of the main clause are simple non-derived verbs, while in (6) the verbs *letesha* 'cause' and *kakezha* 'force' of the main clause are derived causative ones.

When the direct object of the verb of the main clause is expressed as a pronominal prefix, it appears in the preverbal direct object slot of the main clause, and not before the verb of the complement clause, as shown in the following examples.

(7) a. Kawumba wamulétésheli kuleka mudimu.

Kawumba	wu -a	-mu -let -esh -el -i	ku -lek -a	mu-dimu
Kawumba	SA1-TNS-OM1-bring-CAUS-RP-fv		INF-quit-fv	3 -job

'Kawumba caused him to quit his job.'

b. Nayikáñeshi kuya.

Ø -na -yi -kañ-ish -i	ku -ya
SA1-TAM-OM2-fail -CAUS-fv	INF-go

'He has prevented them from going.'

The prefixes *-mu-* and *-yi-* attached to *létesha* 'cause' in (7a) and *káñesha* in (7b) are direct object pronouns.

3.   Finite Clauses without Complementizers.

This section deals with complement clauses that cannot be introduced by complementizers or any other overt sign of subordination, such as verb morphology. Such types of embedded clauses occur immediately after the direct object of the main clause without any intonational pause. The verbs that are used in this type of complement clause are transitive perceptual and evidential complement-taking

verbs such as *móna* 'see, discover,' *tíya* 'hear, feel' *wana* 'find, discover,' *bula-kana* 'meet,' *shíya* 'leave behind'.

(8)   a.   Námona anyikwénzi anakwása nguja.
   ni -a -món-a a-nyi-kwénzi a -na -ku -as -a nguja
   1sg-TNS-see -fv 2-4 -youth SA2-TAM-INF-play-fv 9.soccer
   'I saw the youths playing soccer.'

  b.   Náyisiyi ananakwinza.
   Ø -a -yi -shiy -i a -na -ku-inz -a
   1sg-TAM-OM2-leave-fv SA2-TAM-INF-come-fv
   'I left them coming.'

  c.   *Námona námi anyikwénzi anakwása nguja
   ni -a -món-a námi a-nyi-kwénzi a -na -ku -as -a nguja
   1sg-TNS-see -fv COMP1 2-4 -youth SA2-TAM-INF-play-fv 9.soccer
   'I saw that the youths were playing soccer. ' (Lit: 'I saw the youths
    playing soccer. They were playing.')

The nominal object *anyikwénzi* 'youths' in (8a) and the class 2 object pronominal prefix *-yi-* in (8b) are also the subjects of subordinate clauses. This is clearly shown by the presence of the subject agreement prefix *a-* attached to the verb of the embedded complement clauses. The presence of the complementizer *námi* in (8c) renders the construction ungrammatical.

  When the complement clause is a passive construction, the direct object of the main clause triggers a coreferential object agreement marker on the subordinate verb, and the class 2 subject prefix *a-* fills the subject slot.

(9)   Chinenzaña namóni nkáyi anakumuhaña kúdi mutúpa.
  chi -ní -a -inz -a -aña Ø na -món-i nkáyi
  when-1sg.-TNS-come-fv-IMPF 1sg. TAM-see -fv duiker

   a -na -ku -mu -hañ -a kúdi mu-túpa
   SA2-TAM-INF-OM1-chase-fv by 3 -lion

  'As I was coming, I saw a duiker being pursued by a lion.'

The nominal direct object *nkáyi* 'duiker' of the main clause is also the object of the embedded complement clause, as can be seen by the presence of the object agreement marker *mu-* prefixed to the verb.[4]

The verb of the complement clause does not show any temporal reference, as it may be coded with either the perfect aspect morphology for events completed prior to those encoded by the verb of the main clause, or the progressive aspect for ongoing and simultaneous events and states. In other words, the interpretation of the time of the complement clause is dependent on that of the preceding main clause. Consider the following examples.

(10) a. Wúkuwana atwansi anakuda.
          wú -ku -wan-a a-tu-ánsi   a -na -ku -da
          SA2sg-FUT-find -fv2-13 -child   SA2-TAM-INF-eat
          'You will find the children eating.'

      b. Wúkuwana atwansi anadi.
          wú -ku -wan-a a-tu-ánsi   a -na -d -i
          SA2sg-FUT-find -fv2-13 -child   SA2-TAM-eat-fv
          'You will find the children have eaten.'

      c. Wúkuwana atwansi mwaka ada déhi.[5]
          wú -ku -wan-a a-tu-ánsi   mwaka   a -a -d -a   déhi
          SA2sg-FUT-find -fv2-13 -child   time   SA2-TNS-eat-fv   already
          'You will find the children had already eaten.'

Complement clauses without complementizers appear more frequently in narratives[6] and may also be combined with an adverbial clause of time, as illustrated by the examples in (11) and (12) with verbs in the anterior/perfect and progressive aspect respectively.

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[4] Lunda obligatorily requires the object marker to co-occur with the nominal object when the latter is fronted in passive constructions. This syntactic behavior also applies to left-dislocation.

[5] The noun *mwaka* 'time, year' in (10c) is used adverbially in combination with the adverb *déhi* 'already.'

[6] About this type of complement clauses, (White 196? — the last digit of the printed date is not legible in the manuscript) states that the "actions being narrated are commonly referred to as if the actions were being described by a present eye witness".

(11)   Chinafuntíli, nawéni mukánda wédika déhi, anakuwuzátisha.
    chi -ni -a -funt -il -i   ni -a   -wan-in -i   mu-kánda
    when-1sg-TNS-go back-RP-fv   1sg-TNS-find -RP-fv   3 -book

       wu -a -idik -a   déhi   a -na -ku -wu -zat -ish -a
       SA3-TNS-come-fv   already   SA2-TAM-TAM-OBJ3-work-CAUS-fv
    'When I went back, I found that the book had already come out and was
    being used.' (Lit: 'When I went back, I found the book has already come
    out, it is being used.')   (Kakoma 1988:iv)

(12)   Chashíkilíyi kwitála, Sayitamba wawéni ñodindi wudi muchinsambu
    nakwóta kési.
    chi -a -a   -shik -il -i -yi ku -itala   Sayitamba wu -a   -wan-in -i
    when-SA2-TNS-arrive-RP-fv-1   LOC-house   Sayitamba   SA1-TNS-find -RP-fv

       ñod-indi   wu -di   mu -chi-nsambu Ø -na -ku -ota   ka   -isi
       wife-POSS1 SA1-be   LOC-7 -kitchen SA1-TAM-INF-warm self.12-fire
    'When he arrived home, Sayitamba found his wife in the kitchen warming
    herself by the fire side.' (Lit: When he arrived home, Sayitamba found his
    wife is the kitchen warming herself by the fire side.')   (Matoka 1995:63)

4.   Clauses with Complementizers.

Lunda has three types of finite embedded complement clauses that are introduced
by complementizers, depending on the type of the governing predicate which they
are associated with. Some clauses come after the prefix *chi-*, which is used as a
complementizer. Embedded interrrogative 'yes-no' complement clauses are
headed by the invariable complementizer *neyi* 'whether,' while the last group of
dependent complement clauses comes after variable subject-agreeing comple-
mentizers.

4.1 The complementizer *chi-*. As seen in subsection 2.1, a certain number of
emotive and evaluative verbs takes the subject prefix *chi-*, which functions as an
expletive subject. These verbs or verbal expressions also take embedded tensed
complement clauses introduced by the complementizer *chi-*, which is different
from the subject prefix, although the two are homophonous and occur as prefixes
attached to the verb. The tense expressed in the complement clause does not de-

pend on the verb of the main clause. The event may be located in the past, present or future tense.

(13)　Chinawáhi nánkashi chiwúnénzi.
　　　chi -na -wah -i　　nankashi　　chi　-wu-na　-inz -i
　　　SA7-TAM-be good-fv　very　　　　COMP-2sg -TAM-come-fv
　　　'It is very good that you have come.'

　　　Nátíyi kuwáha chiwúnénzi.
　　　Ø -na -tiy -i　　　ku -waha　　　chi　-wu-na　-inz -i
　　　SA1-TAM-feel-fv　　INF-be happy　COMP-2sg -TAM-come-fv
　　　'I am happy that you have come.'

The prefix *chi-* appears as a complementizer attached to the verbs *kuwaha* 'to be happy, to be good' and *kutíya kuwaha* 'to feel good, to be happy' which are used as an adjective in the main clause.

　　　Nominal subjects occur after the verb in this type of construction, that is, the complementizer forces the nominal subject to move into the postverbal position. In addition, the verb suffixes *-yi* and *-wu* for class 1 and 2 subjects respectively. In other words, there are two subject markers – the preverbal subject prefix *a-* which is the same for both singular and plural, and the postverbal affix. The construction is similar to certain types of adverbial clauses with third person subjects.[7] However, the treatment of these constructions is beyond the scope of this paper.

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[7] The complementizer *chi-* is different from the class 7, 8 and 9 relativizers *chi-, yi-* and *zhi-* used in headless relative clauses with the meaning 'that which' and 'those which'. The relativizer *chi-* can also be when used adverbially in embedded clauses; it may mean 'if, when, because, how, after, as'. The difference between the two lies in the fact that the clause with a relativizer may be either the subject or the object of the verb.

　　　Nayíli　　　　　　mumpáta　　nami　　　nákamóni
　　　ni-a-y-il-i　　　　mu-mpata　　nami　　　ni-ka-mon-i
　　　1sg-PAST-go-RP-fv　LOC-bush　　COMP.1sg　1sg-FUT-see-SUBJ
　　　　zheláña　　　　　　　　　akwétu.
　　　　zhi-a-a-il -aña　　　　　akwetu
　　　　REL10-3pl-TNS-do-IMPF　　fellow friends
　　　'I went in the bush so that I could see what my fellow friends do.'

(14) Chinawáhi nánkashi chanenzíyi mukwénzi.

chi -na	-wah	-i	nánkashi	chi	-a	-na	-inz	-i	-yi	mu-kwénzi
SA7-TAM-be	good	-fv	very	COMP-SA1-TAM-come-fv-1						1 -youth

'It is very good that the youth has come.'

Nátíyi kuwáha chiyanenzíwu anyikwénzi.

Ø -na	-tiy-i	ku -waha	chi	-a	-na	-inz	-i	-wu
SA1-TAM-feel-fv		INF-be happy	COMP-SA2-TAM-come-fv-2					

a-nyi-kwenzi
2-4   -youth

'I am happy that the youths have come.'

The verb *enza* 'come' in (14) is attached with the suffix *-yi* because the subject is third person class 1, while that in (14) suffixes the class 2 morpheme *-wu* for third person plural.

4.2 Embedded interrogative complement clauses. Embedded interrogative complement clauses are introduced by the complementizer *néyi* 'whether, if'. Some of the verbs that take such dependent complement clauses in Lunda are *kwiluka* 'to know,' *kwíhula* 'to ask, to inquire,' *kuzhinoka* 'to doubt, to consider, to ponder' and the defective verb that expresses doubt *kwizhi*[8] 'to wonder, to doubt'.

(15) Kadamaseki wéhwíli múku wíndi neyi akufunta tahindí.

Kadamaseki	wu -a	-ihul-il	-i	mu-kú	wu-a	-índi	neyi
Kadamaseki	SA2-TNS-ask	-RP-fv		father-in-law	1 -POSS-1		whether

a -ku -funt -a   tahindi
2.SA-FUT-go back-fv   or not

'Kadamaseki asked his father-in law whether or not they would return.'

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[8] *Kwizhi* is defective in the sense that it cannot be inflected with a subject prefix or tense marker. It always occurs with the infinitive marker *ku-* and has diverse interpretations such as 'perhaps, doubt, wonder, may be' or just to express uncertainty.

Hélukíli néyi kwizhi nakulota indí kwizhi nakutíya mwalala.

hi	-a	-a	-iluk	-il	-i	neyi	kwizhi	Ø	-na	-ku	-lota
NEG-SA1-TNS-know-RP-fv						whether	may be	SA1-TAM-TAM-dream			

indi	kwizhi	Ø	-na	-ku	-tíya	mwalala
or	may be	SA1-TAM-TAM-listen				really

'He did not know whether s/he was dreaming or he was really listening.'

Kwizhi néyi akuya lélu.

kwizhi	neyi	a	-ku	-ya	lélu
We/I/one wonder	whether	SA2-FUT-go			today

'We/I/one wonder(s) whether they will go today.'

4.3 Subject-agreeing complementizers. It would be worthwhile to talk about independent pronouns and possessive pronouns before introducing the subject-agreeing complementizers, because of the existence of a clear connection between the latter and the possessive pronouns with respect with morphology. The first and second person (both singular and plural) independent pronouns and possessive stems are formally identical. However, there are some differences between the two types of morphemes, in that independent pronouns can stand alone as words, but possessive pronominal stems can only occur attached to agreement prefixes. In addition, the former bears a low tone and the latter carries a high tone on the first syllable. Compare the examples of absolute pronouns in (16) and those of the possessive pronominal stems in (17) below.

(16)   Ami násenda chéña.   'I carried a plate.'

ami	ni	-a	-send-a	chéña
PRO1sg.	SA1sg.-TNS-carry -fv			plate

| eyi | mukwétu | 'you my friend'
|-----|---------|
| PRO2sg | friend |

Enu ambanda yúma yidi kudihi?   'You women, where
                                                      are the things?'

enu	a-mbanda	yi-úma	yi	-di	kudihi?
PRO2pl.	2-woman	8 -thing	SA8-be		where

(17)   kadidi kámi   'my bed'
       ka-didi   ki-ámi
       12 -bed   12-POSS1sg

       itéla déyi   'your house'
       i-tála   di-éyi
       5-house   5 -POSS2sg

       maátu énu   'your boat'
       ma-átu   a-énu
       8 -boat   8-POSS1pl

The two tables below illustrate independent pronouns and personal possessive pronominal stems.

Table 1. Independent Pronouns

1 sg	ami	'me'
1 pl	etu	'we, us'
2 sg	eyi	'you'
2 pl	enu	'you'
class 1	yéna	'him/her'
class 2	wéna	'them'

Table 2. Personal Pronominal Stems

1 sg	ámi	'my'
1 pl	étu	'our'
2 sg	éyi	'your'
2 pl	énu	'your'
class 1	índi	'his/her'
class 2	áwu	'their'

In Lunda, declarative complement clauses are introduced by complementizers which agree in number and person with the subject of the main clause. That is, the complementizers are variable, as their morphology is determined by the subject of the main clause. They consist of the prefix *ni-* attached to a possessive

pronominal stem, as illustrated in the examples (18a) through (18f) using different verbs of perception, utterance and cognition with different subject persons.

(18)   a.   Ami nanúkili námi hinadíñi nankingáku.

   ami   ni -a -anuk   -ili námi   hi -ni -a -di-iñi
   1sg   1sg-TNS-remember-RP COMP1sg   NEG-1sg-TNS-be-RP

        na -nkinga-ku
        with-bicycle -NEG

   'I remembered that I did not have a bicycle.'

   b.   Eyi wádikala néyi hináshiña muntúku.

   eyi   wu -a -dikala-a   néyi   hi -ni   -a   -shíñ-a
   2sg   SA2sg-TNS-deny -fv   COMP2sg.   NEG-SA1sg-TNS-curse-fv

        mu-ntu   -ku
        1 -person-NEG

   'You denied that you did not curse anyone.'

   c.   Mukwénzi welúkili níndi mpáta yatelela kuhimpewa.

   mu-kwénzi   wu-a -iluk -ili   níndi   mpáta
   1 -youth   1 -TNS-know-RP   COMP1   8.country

        yi -a   -telela   ku -himp -ew -a
        SA8-TNS-ought   INF-change-PASS-fv

   'The youth knew that the country ought to be changed.'

   d.   Twahayama nétu mahína asukuma kafwampi mukési.

   tu -a   -hayam   -a   nétu   ma-hina   a -sukuma-a
   1pl-TNS-be surprised-fv   COMP1pl   6 -cloth   TNS-burn   -fv

        kafwampi   mu-ka-ísi
        as if   18 -12 -fire

   'We were surprised that the clothes were burned as if in fire.'

   e.   Mwatela kwiluka nénu hitwákafuntáku.

        mu-a   -tel -a   ku -iluk -a   nénu   hi -tú -aka-funt -a -ku
        2pl -TNS-ought-fv   INF-know-fv   COMP   NEG-1pl-FUT-return-fv-NEG

        'You ought to know that we will not return.'

f. Akwénzi atóñózhokeli náwu Nswana nenzi nakumwóta.

    a-kwénzi   a -a -toñozhok-eli   náwu   Nswana
    2-youth   SA2-TNS-think-RP   COMP2   Nswana

      Ø -na -inzh-i   na -ku -mu -ot   -a
      SA1-TAM-come-fv   TAM-INF-OM1-ask for marriage-fv

'The youth thought that Nswana had come to ask her for marriage.'
(Lit: 'The youth thought that Nswana has come to ask her for marriage.'

The complementizers *námi* in (18a), *néyi* in (18b), *níndi* in (18c), *nétu* in (18d), *nénu* in (18c) and *náwu* in (18f) introduce complement clauses and are in agreement with the subject of the main clause *ami*, *eyi*, *mukwénzi* 'youth,' the first person plural subject, the second person plural subject, and *akwénzi* 'youths' respectively of the main clause. Note that the forms of the complementizers are different in each one of the examples (18a-c) as they depend on the referent noun or pronoun in the main clause.

    Even when the verb of the main clause is imperative, the complementizer agrees with the addressee, as exemplified by the following sentences in (19).

(19)   a. Itezháku néyi wáluwañesha yúma.[9]

        itezh -a -ku   néyi   wu-a -luwañesha   yi-úma
        accept-fv-IMP2sg   COMP2sg   2sg -TNS-disturb   8 -thing
        'Accept that you disturbed things.'

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[9] In Lunda, verbs are inflected with the morpheme *-ku*, a combination of the locative suffix *-ku* and the vowel *-u*, in the second person singular in the imperative. Some monosyllabic verbs such as *ya* 'go,' *nwa* 'drink' and *dá* 'eat' take either the suffix *-ku* or *-aña* as in *dáña* 'eat' and *yáña* 'go'. The locative is also used in subjunctive constructions as a more polite alternative to the imperative form in the second person singular *Wutwanakeniku*.

    wu-tu   -anaken-i   -ku
    2sg-OM1pl-forgive -SUBJ-LOC
    'Forgive us.'

The affix *-ku* is clearly a locative although it has the same form as the second person singular object prefix. In Chokwe, Luchazi and Luvale, the locative suffix occurs as *-ko*, consisting of the locative suffix *-ku* and the vowel *-o*, and is attached to only monosyllabic verb roots. Words in Lunda do not end in either of the mid vowels *e* and *o*. Furthermore, first and second person object pronouns never appear after the verb, though third persons do occur as pronouns suffixed to the verb.

b. Itezénu nénu atwánsi asenda yúma.

itezh -enu	nénu	a-tu-ánsi	a -ku -send-a	yi-úma
accept-IMP2pl	COMP2pl	2-13 -child	SA2-FUT-carry-fv	8 -thing

'Accept that the children will carry the things.'

c. Twítezhi nétu twáluwañesha yúma.

tú -itezh -i	nétu	tú -a -luwañesha	yi-úma
1pl-accept-SUBJ	COMP1pl	1pl-TNS-disturb	8 -thing

'Let us accept that we disturbed things.'

The complementizers *néyi* in (19a), *nénu* in (19b), and *nétu* in (19c) are all dependent on the coreferent subjects in the main clauses whose verbs are in the imperative mood.

Lunda differs from most Bantu languages in terms of the features of noun classes; it displays a striking distinction between animate nouns and inanimate nouns. Nouns belonging to classes other than 1 and 2 are subdivided into animates and inanimates. Animate nouns display double prefixes in the plural form, that is, they take both their noun class prefix plus the class 2 noun prefix *a-*. Furthermore, with the exception of possessives, animate nouns trigger class 1 and 2 agreement affixes rather those of the classes to which they belong. This generalization also applies to closely related Bantu languages such as Chokwe, Luchazi, and Luvale (Horton 1949, White 1949, 196?, Doke 1967, and Fleisch 2000). The division of nouns into subcategories may explain why complementizers are restricted to the two classes only. Horton (1949:181) observes that the complementizers for "inanimates are infrequent, but are found in native fables" in Luvale. However, this is very doubtful, as fables use animals which, as already mentioned, employ class 1 and 2 complementizers.

(20) a. Kapela wasulukili muwina.

ka-pela	wu -a -suluk-ili	mu -wina
12-snake	SA1-TNS-slither -RP	LOC-hole

'The snake slithered down into the hole.'

b. Atupela asulukili muwina.

a-tu-pela	a -a -suluk-ili	mu -wina
2-13 -snake	SA1-TNS-slither -RP	LOC-hole

'The snakes slithered down into the hole.'

c. Kapela wámuzhaha, wúchini malóka?
    ka-pela   wú -a -mu-zhah-a   wú -chin   -i   ma-lóka
    12-snake   2sg.-TNS-OM-kill -fv 2sg.-run away-SUBJ 6 -wriggle
    'You killed the snake, why should you run away from the wriggles?"

d. Kapela wamona nindi chisakala analuwañeshi.
    ka-pela   wu -a -món-a   níndi   chi-sakala
    12-snake   SA1-TNS-find -fv COMP1   7 -nest

    a   -na -luwañesh-i
    SA2-TAM-disturb   -fv
    'The snake found that the nest had been disturbed.'

The above examples contain a class 12 noun *kapela* 'snake' in (20a) and a class 13 *atupela* 'snakes' (20b) which trigger class 1 and 2 subject agreement markers *wu-* and *a-* instead of *ka-* and *tu-*. Note that the nominal subject in (20b) has two noun prefixes, a class 2 noun prefix *a-* and a class 13 noun prefix *tu-*. Further, in (20c) the left-dislocated nominal object *kapela* 'snake' triggers the appearance of a class 1 object marker *mu-* on the verb instead of the class 12 object agreement *ki-*. Even the complementizer *níndi* in (20d) is triggered by semantic animacy rather than grammatical class 12 to which the subject of the main clause belongs.

      Unlike some Bantu languages such as Bemba (Givón 1972a), Kiswahili (Ngonyani 1999), KiKaonde[10] and other African languages which make use of the complementizer derived from a verb of saying, the morphology of the Lunda subject-agreeing complementizers clearly indicates that they can be traced to the possessive personal pronouns. This distinct feature of complementizers has also been observed in other genetically related Bantu languages such as Luvale (Horton 1949:181), (White 1959), Chokwe (White 196?), and Luchazi (Fleisch 2000:101).

      The complementizer prefix *ní-*[11] might have originated from the first person singular subject prefix. Evidence for this comes from Chokwe, Luchazi, and Luvale, where the first person subject singular prefix *ngu-* appears to be the

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[10] KiKaonde (L. 41), a Bantu language spoken in Zambia, uses the complementizer *mba* that derives from the verb *kwamba* 'to say'. As for Bemba (M. 42), the complementizer is *ti* from the verb *ukutila* 'to say'.

[11] It must be noted that the prefix *ni-* is not a copula in Lunda, though it has the shape of the simple copula found in some Bantu languages such as Bemba. Instead the copula is *hi-* for third persons and *yi-* for first and second persons in Chokwe, Luchazi, Lunda and Luvale.

source of the complementizer prefix. This is contrary to the claim by Horton (1949:181) and (Fleisch 2000:101) that the complementizer prefix in Luvale and Luchazi derives from the Luvale ideophone *gwa* which denotes a clacking sound. Had the complemetizer derived from this ideophone, the complementizer prefix in Lunda would have been *ngu-* like the other three languages, since the high vowel /u/ undergoes the process of glide formation before another vowel. However, Lunda has the same ideophone *ngwa* which means 'cutting, breaking across'. The ideophone *ngu* also exists in Lunda, while it is reduplicated *ngun-gungu* in Chokwe with the same meaning 'to be in good health'. Thus, Fleisch's observation that the ideophones in Luchazi differ very much from the Luvale ones contradicts his agreement with Horton about the origin of the complementizer prefix found in Chokwe, Luchazi, and Luvale.

Table 3: Subject-Agreeing Complementizers

1 sg	námi
1 pl	nétu
2 sg	néyi
2 pl	nénu
class 1	níndi
class 2	náwu

The selection of the tense in the complement clause does not depend on the tense of the main clause, as the verb of the subject-agreeing complement clauses can be in any tense; it can be in the past, the present or the future.

(21) a. Ashimuna náwu akwinza namelela.

    a -a -shimun-a   náwu   a -ku -inza   na-melela
    SA2-TNS-say   -fv   COMP2   SA2-FUT-come   in -evening
    'They said that they would come in the evening.'
    (Lit: 'They said that they will come in the evening.')

    b. Watóñózhokeli níndi anenzi nakutúña itála.

    wu -a -toñozhok-eli   níndi   a -na -inz -i   na -ku -túña itála
    SA1-TNS-think   -RP   COMP1   SA2-TAM-come-fv   TAM-INF-build house
    'He thought that they had come to build a house.'
    (Lit: 'He thought that they have come to build a house.')

In (21a), the complement clause is an embedded sentence introduced by a third person plural complementizer *náwu*, while in (21b) it is introduced by a class 1 complementizer *níndi*.

In Lunda, verbs of perception, utterance and thought that are used deontically to express 'fear,' 'hope,' 'supposition,' and 'wish' take dependent complement clauses with the verb in indicative future tenses in combination with the sentence adverbs *hadaha, hamwaha, hekwawu* 'perhaps, may be, possibly', and express irrealis meanings.

(22)   Wáfuukula néyi hadaha wukuñanakena.
        wu-a -fuukul-a   néyi   hadaha   wu -ku -ñ̃   -anaken-a
        2sg-TNS-suppose-fv   COMP2sg   perhaps   SA1-FUT-OMsg-forgive -fv
        'You supposed that he would forgive me.' (Lit: 'you supposed that he will
         forgive me')

        Wakúhwéleli níndi hamwaha Matewu wámba kamusumbula.
        wu -a -kuhwelel-el -i   níndi   hamwaha   Matewu   wu -amba
        1.SA-TNS-hope   -RP-fv   COMP1   perhaps   Matewu   SA1-AUX
              ka   -mu -sumbul-a
              RFUT-OM1-marry   -fv
        'She hoped that Matewu would marry her.'

4.4 Direct and indirect quotes. Direct and indirect quotes are structurally indistinguishable as they are both introduced by the same subject-agreeing complementizers. Cross-linguistically, indirect quotes or speeches are characterized by third person pronouns and changes in tense. In other words, the reporting of something said, thought, etc. has deixis adapted to the reporter's speech. However, this is not the case with Lunda. The actual words of the speaker are captured as they are uttered and the deixis is appropriate to the moment when it was made. Changes rarely occur with regard to person and tense, and the deixis is not adapted to the viewpoint of the reporter when quoting someone indirectly. In some cases, though rare, pronoun shifts in the third person pronouns do occur in reported speeches. This phenomenon has also been observed in Luvale (White 1949:72).

(23) Direct Quote:
  a. Womba walezha ñodíndi níndi, "Kumadiki nakuya mwisaña."

Womba	wu -a -lezh-a	ño -díndi	níndi	kumadiki
Womba	SA1-TNS-tell -fv	wife-POSS1	COMP1	tomorrow

ní -aku-y -a	mu -i-saña
SA1sg-FUT-go-fv	LOC-5-bush

  'Womba told his wife (that), "Tomorrow I will go in the bush." '

  Indirect Quote:
  b. Óna muntu wahósha níndi wakaminzhila.

óna	mu-ntu	wu -a -hósh-a	níndi	wu -aka-mu -inzh -ila
1DEM 1	-person	SA1-TNS-say -fv	COMP1	SA1-FUT-OM1-come-APPL

  'That person said that s/he would come for him/her.' ('Lit: That person said that s/he will come for him/her.')

Both the direct quotation in (23a) and the reported discourse in (23b) are introduced by the class 1 complementizer *níndi*.

  The use of direct quotes is more frequent than that of indirect quotes in Lunda. The speaker's actual words are reported exactly as they were uttered. This suggests that indirect discourse might have developed from direct quotations. Consider the following example in which the words of the first person speaking are recorded.

(24) Wela níndi nákenza kumadíki.

wu-a -il -i níndi	ní -aka -inz -a	kumadíki
1 -TNS-say-fv COMP1sg	1sg-RFUT-come-fv	tomorrow

  'He said that he would come tomorrow.' (Lit: 'He said that I will come tomorrow.')

  When the content of the embedded complement clause is not asserted by the subject of the main clause, that is, when a person reports the words as hearsay or not the actual words of an actual speaker, the class 2 complementizer *náwu* is used instead of the one agreeing with the subject of the main clause.

(25) Hátiyayi náwu kudi ñoma

hi -a -tiy -a -yi	náwu	ku -di	ñoma
when-SA1-hear-fv-REL1	COMP2	INF-be	feast

  'when he hears that there is a feast'

Nátiya nawu azhaha nzovu.

ní	-a	-tiy	-a	náwu	a	-a	-zhah-a	nzovu
SA1sg-TNS-hear-fv				COMP2	SA1-TNS-kill -fv			elephant

'I heard that they killed an elephant.'

In the examples in (25), the complementizer *náwu* does not agree with either the class 1 subject *a-* or the first person singular *ní-*.

The same complementizers also function as question morphemes and are affixed to the question marker *-di*[12] with speech verbs in the position where a complement clause would normally occur.

(26)   Andimi anahóshi náwudi?

a-ndimi	a	-na	-hósh-i	náwu	-di
2-farmer	SA2-TAM-say -fv			COMP2-Q	

'What have the farmers said?'

Namulézheli mwana námidi?

ní	-a	-mu	-lezh-eli	mu-ána	námi	-di
SA1sg-TNS-OM1-tell -RP				1 -child	COMP1sg-Q	

'What did I tell the child?"

4.5 Verb ellipsis. It is interesting to note that the language allows the verb of the main clause to be deleted leaving only the subject intact in its position, followed immediately by the complementizer that functions as a non-verbal predicate with the understood interpretation and meaning of the verbs of 'saying,' 'thinking,' and 'intention,' etc.[13] In other words, the verb of the main clause may not be overtly expressed and this phenomenon does not affect the semantics of the entire sentence. The context of an utterance enables the listener or reader to figure out

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[12] When a nominal object is questioned, the verb suffixes the wh-word, as shown by the example below with a non-speech verb.

Andimi   analetidi?

a-ndimi	a-na-let-i-di
2-9.farmer	SA2-TAM-bring-fv-Q

'What have the farmers brought?'

[13] In his description of Luvale, Horton (1949:182) observes that the complementizer is used in a copular sense without a verbal antecedent.

the verb that the speaker or writer leaves out. Despite these elliptical features, the main clause cannot be used as a fragment and the complement clause is not an independent clause as is the case in English (Thompson 2002);[14] it still remains a subordinate clause. Consider the following examples in which complement clauses are either introduced by a complementizer alone or a complementizer preceded by a noun phrase.

(27) Kabuchi níndi: "Énu anvwáli zhámi, bayi mútoñozhoka nénu nakuhósha
       mázu akasawuntu."

Kabuchi	níndi	énu	a-nvwáli	zhi-a	-ámi	bayi	mú-toñozhoka
Kabuchi	COMP3sg	2pl	1-parent	1	-POSS-1sg	CONJ	1pl -think

	nénu	Ø -na -ku -hósha	ma-zú	a-ka-sawuntu
	COMP2pl	1sg-TAM-TAM-talk	6 -word	6-12 -disrespectful

       'Kabuchi said: "My parents, do not think that I am saying disrespectful
        words."'   (Chilayi 1989: 25)

(28) Yéna níndi Nswana nénzi nakumwóta.

yéna	níndi	Nswana	Ø -na -inzh-i	na -ku -mu -sumbula
PRON1	COMP1	Nswana	SA1-TAM-come-fv	with-INF-OM1-marry

       'He (thought) that Nswana had come to marry her.'

(29) Étu nétu hímukwinzáku.

étu	nétu	hi -mú-ku -inz -a-ku
1pl.	COMP1pl	NEG-2pl -FUT-come-fv-NEG

       'We (thought) that you would not come.' (Lit: 'We (thought) that you will
        not come.')

The main clauses of (27) through (29) consist simply of the noun phrase *Kabuchi,* the third person singular independent pronoun (class 1) *yéna* 'him,' and the first person plural independent pronoun *etu* 'we, us' devoid of the verb followed by the complementizers that introduce dependent complement clauses. The construction in (27) contains a direct quote introduced by the third person singular

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[14] According to Thompson (2002: 144-5), complement-taking verbs and that-prefixed clauses can be used by themselves as fragments and in places "where they do not occur in the canonical constructions" in English. That is, some constructions that look like complement clauses are simply independent clauses. In addition, complement-taking verb phrases "occur with no overt associated clauses either in the vicinity or in the previous discourse."

complementizer *níndi* agreeing with the subject noun phrase of the main clause *Kabuchi,* and the direct quote also contains another complement clause introduced by the second person plural complementizer *nénu* which is in agreement with the first person plural addressee. The main clause in all of the above examples has an implied interpretation of the verb *say* or *think* in the main clause followed by either a direct or indirect quote which refers to the words or thought expressed.

The independent subject pronoun, which is frequently used when the subject of the main clause is first or second person, may be left out leaving only the complementizer followed by a complement clause.

(30) Námi twayénu kúnu.
      námi   twaya-énu   ku -nú
      COMP1sg   come -IMP2pl   LOC-DEM
      'I say, "come here."'

Additionally, the subject of the main clause can be introduced by the infinitive *kutíya* 'to listen, to hear' or *kuchinka*[15] which function as discourse markers, that is, the main clause may consist of two elements – an infinitive and the subject – plus the complementizer introducing a direct quotative. The verb remains unexpressed and its interpretation depends on the context of the discourse.

(31) Kuchinka Noliya níndi, "Ámi awéni néluki ochu chi nídi nakwila."
      kuchinka   Noliya   níndi   ámi   awéni   Ø -na -iluk -i
      answering   Noliya   COMP1   1sg   self   1sg-TAM-know-fv

            ochu   chi   ní -di   na -ku -ila
            DEM.7   REL7   1sg-COP   TAM-INF-do
      'Noliya answered, "I, myself, know what I am doing."'

(32) Kutíya wéna náwu: "Túyidímbi."
      ku -tíya   wéna   náwu   tú -yi -dimb -i
      INF-hear   PRON2   COMP2   1pl-OM2-deceive-SUBJ
      'And they said: "Let us deceive them."'

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[15] While the origin of the infinitive *kutiya* is clear, the meaning of the infinitive *kuchinka* is not known as it only occurs as a discourse marker in indirect discourses. Its origin cannot be traced.

The infinitive verbs *kuchinka* and *kutíya* 'to hear' are used as discourse markers to introduce the subject *Noliya* and *wéna* 'they/them' of the main clause in (31) and (32) respectively.

The complementizer following a verbal expression can have an implicit meaning which is different from that expressed by the verb of the main clause. The meaning may refer to an utterance or thought, as illustrated in (33):

(33) Amandumi zhíndi chiyamumwéníwu atíyili kuwáha náwu nayilételi yakuvwála.

a-mandumi	zhi-a	-índi	chi -ya -a -mu -món-eni-wu
2-uncle	2 -POSS-1		REL-SA2-TNS-OM1-see -RP -REL2

a-a-tíy-ili	ku -wáha	náwu	∅ -na -yi -let -el -i
SA2-TNS-feel-RP	INF-please	COMP2	SA-TAM-OM2-bring-APPL-fv

yi-a	-ku -vwala
8 -POSS-INF-wear

'His uncles felt pleased when they saw him (thinking) that he had brought
them clothes.'   (Chilayi 1989:22)

4.5 Object complements. In addition to introducing dependent clauses that function as arguments of other clauses, the same subject-agreeing complementizers occur after certain transitive verbs such as 'name', 'call', 'term', 'mention', and 'write' to introduce a complement that modifies or refers to the direct object or a locative noun. The object complement is comparable to what is referred to as a small clause (Haegeman 2001: 58; Wardhaugh 2003: 85) in the theory of Government and Binding, since the clause is smaller than an ordinary clause and only appears as an embedded clause without an overt verb. The following examples illustrate the use of complementizers introducing clauses that name, describe, or modify the object and the locative noun phrase of the main clause.

(34) a. Antu amutúmbili izhína náwu Chidumbu.

a-ntu	a -a -mu -tumb-ili	izhína	náwu	Chidumbu
2-people	SA2-TNS-OM1-name -RP	name	COMP2	Chidumbu

'People named him Chidumbu.'

   b. Mwána wamutambikáña níndi yáya.

mu-ána	wu -a -mu -tambik-aña	níndi	yáya
child	SA1-TNS-OM1-call -HAB	COMP1	1.elder brother/sister

'The child calls him elder brother/sister.'

c. Anvwáli zháwu ayiténéneña náwu antu abúla nyévulu.

    a-nvwáli   zhi-a   -áwu   a   -a   -yi   -ten-en-eña   náwu

    2-parent   2 -POSS-2   SA2-TNS-OM2-call-RP-HAB   COMP2

        a-ntu   a   -búla   nyi-évulu

        2-person   REL2-be without   4 -soul

'Their parents used to call them people without souls.'

Note that *Chidumbu* in (34a), *yáya* 'elder brother/sister' in (34b), and the relativized noun phrase *antu abúla nyevulu* 'the people without souls' in (34c) are object complements that modify the class 1 and 2 object prefixes *mu-* and *yi-*. They are introduced by the complementizers *náwu* in (34a) and (34c), and *níndi* in (34b), which agree in person and number with the nominal subjects, class 2 *antu,* class 1 *mwána*, and the class 2 subject prefix *a-* 'they' of the main clause.

(35)   Wúkuwana hanasónekúwu náwu mukulúmpi washikola.[16]

        wú -ku -wan-a   ha   -a   -na -sónek-i -wu   náwu

        2sg.-FUT-find -fv   REL16-SA2-TAM-write -fv-REL2   COMP2

            mu-kulúmpi   wu -a-shikola

            1   -head   POSS-1 -school

'You will find (the door) where it is written principal.' (Chipoya et al 1995:2)

In example (35), the noun phrase *mukulúmpi washikola* 'school head/principal,' which is introduced by the class 2 complementizer *náwu*, is the complement of the omitted locative head noun *hachisu* 'on the door'. In addition, the form of both the postverbal relativizer *-wu* and the complementizer indicates that the relative clause has a class 2 subject.

4.6 Subjunctive complement clauses. Some of the evaluative verbal expressions that occur with expletive subjects and take infinitival complement clauses can also take subjunctive complement clauses if a specific person is mentioned, that is, an obligation or necessity is stated as applicable to a specific person. The subject of the subjunctive clause comes directly after the verb of the main clause. The subjunctive mood is characterized by the prefixation of the subject prefix directly

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[16] The class 2 verbal suffix *-wu* is used as a class 2 subject marker coreferential with the subject agreement prefix *a-* when the relativized head noun is either a direct object or a locative noun phrase. This is also found in adverbial constructions.

onto the verb without any tense marker, and the verb stem is coded with the suffix *-i*.[17] For illustration, consider the following examples:

(36)   Chachiwáhi antu anyamuki lélu

chachi-wahi	a-ntu	a -nyamuk-i	lélu
7 -good	2-person	SA2-leave -SUBJ	today

'It is better for the people to leave today.' ('Lit: It is better that the people leave today.')

(37)   Chatela Matewu ayí.[18]

chi-a -telel -a	Matewu	a -y -i
7 -TNS-be necessary-fv	Matewu	SA1-go-SUBJ

'It is necessary that Matewu go.'

Subjunctive dependent complement clauses that express purpose, intention, and desire also occur subject-agreeing complementizers. These embedded clauses have irrealis meanings. The absence of the tense marker indicates that the subjunctive lacks an intrinsic temporal reference, as seen in the examples below.

(38)   a.   Nákéñi námi níkali nkóñi yénu.

Ø -na -kéñ -i	námi	ni -ikal-i	nkóñi	yi-énu
1sg-TAM-want-fv	COMP1sg	1sg-be -SUBJ	9.worker	9 -POSS2pl

'I want to be your worker.' (Lit. 'I want that I be your worker.')

   b.   Túnakéñi nétu kánsi enzi kúnu.

tu -na -kéñ -i	nétu	ka-ánsi	a -inz -i	ku -nú
1pl-TAM-want-fv	COMP.1pl	1 -child	SA1-come-SUBJ	LOC-DEM

'We want the child to come here.' (Lit. We want that the child come here.')

The subjunctive complement clauses in (38a) and (38b) come immediately after the first person singular and plural complementizers *námi* and *nétu* and their verbs *ikala* 'be, become' and *inza* 'come' are inflected with the subjunctive morpheme *-i*.

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[17] The final vowel *-i* is also found with the present perfect in addition to the tense marker-aspect *na-*.

[18] The subject prefix *a-* is used for both classes 1 and 2 in the subjunctive form.

The subjunctive mood in the dependent complement clause is determined by the intrinsic semantic properties of the verb in the main clause, in conjunction with the prototypical inherent meaning of necessity, obligation, desire and wish associated with the subjunctive.

(39)   a.   Twáyilezha nétu ayí.

         tú -a -yi -lezh-a   nétu   chiña   a -y -i

         1pl-TNS-OM2-tell -fv   COMP1pl should   SA1-go-SUBJ

         'We told them that they should come.'

      b.   Amwílili náwu witézhi.[19]

         a -a -mu -il -ili   náwu   wu-itezh-i

         SA2-TNS-OM1-tell-RP   COMP2   2sg -agree-SUBJ

         'They told him that s/he should agree.' (Lit. 'They told him that you

           should accept.')

The use of the subjunctive embedded clause in (39) can be attributed to the inherent lexically specified semantic properties of the verbs *keña* 'want, wish' and *lezha* 'tell' in the main clause, in combination with the inherent meaning of desire and obligation that characterize the subjunctive mood.

    It should be noted that complementizers are optional in subjunctive dependent clauses; they can be deleted without a change in their propositional meanings. Examples of a dependent subjunctive clause introduced by a complementizer and one without a complementizer are given in (40a) and (40b).

(40)   a.   Nákéñi námi kánsi afuntishi nkínga.

         Ø -na -kéñ -i   námi   ka-ánsi a -funt -sh -i   nkínga

         1sg-TAM-want-fv   COMP1sg 1 -child SA1-return-CAUS-SUBJ 9.bicycle

         'I want the child to return the bicycle.' (Lit. 'I want that the child return

           the bicycle')

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[19] Generally, the verb *ila* 'do, make' is used with the meaning of 'tell, order' instead of *lezha* 'tell, show, explain'.

b. Nákéñi kánsi afuntishi nkínga.

Ø -na -kén -i	ka-ánsi	a -funt -sh -i	nkínga
1sg-TAM-want-fv	12 -child	SA1-return-CAUS-SUBJ	9.bicycle

'I want the child to return the bicycle.' (Lit. 'I want (that) the child
return the bicycle')

There is no difference in meaning between infinitival complement clauses
and subjunctive complement with types of verbs if the subject of the dependent
clause is the same as that of the main clause. Consider the construction in (41a)
and its alternative in (41b).

(41) a. Nákéñi níkali nkoñi yénu.

Ø -na -kéñ -i	ní -ikal-i	nkóñi	yi-a	-énu
1sg-TAM-want-fv	1sg-be -SUBJ	9.worker	9 -POSS-2pl	

'I want to be your worker.' (Lit. 'I want that I be your worker.')

b. Nákéñi kwikala nkóñi yénu.

Ø -na -kéñ -i	ku -ikala	nkoñi	yi-a	-énu
1sg-TAM-want-fv	INF-be	worker	9 -POSS-2pl	

'I want to be your worker.'

Subjunctive complement clauses are also employed in discourse for an in-
tended and unfulfilled event or action. In that case, the verb *ila* 'do' is used in the
matrix clause.

(42) Chélili níndi atáli hanyíma wamwéni mutúpa.

chi -a -a -il -ili	níndi	a -tál -i	ha -nyíma
when-SA1-TAM-do-RP	COMP1	SA1-look-fv	LOC-back

wu -a -món-eni	mu-túpa
SA1-TNS-see-RP	1 -lion

'When he thought of looking behind, he saw a lion.'

5.   Conclusion.

This study has explored the structures of the various types of complement clauses
which Lunda has at its disposal. These are infinitive complement clauses,
complement clauses without complementizer and those that require the obligatory

use of complementizers as well as non-finite embedded complements that require complementizers.

Tensed complement clauses that cannot take complementizers occur immediately after the direct object of the main clause. The object follows a limited set of perceptual and evidential complement-talking verbs to code situations and events that are either simultaneous with the main clause or completed prior to those encoded by the verb of the main clause. Embedded inter-rogative complement clauses are introduced by an invariable complementizer.

The prefix *chi-* also functions as a complementizer with emotive and evaluative verbs. Declarative complement clauses are introduced by complemen-tizers which obligatorily agree in person and number with the subject of the verb of the main clause. Besides introducing complement clause, the same complementizers are also used to head the complement of the direct object or a locative noun phrase. They equally function as question morphemes affixing the question marker *-di* with verbs of utterance. These complementizers derive from personal possessive pronouns, and not from the verb 'say' as is the case in some Bantu languages. Depending on the properties of certain verbs, complementizers can be optional in subjunctive complement clauses.

It has been noted that some of the evaluative verbal expressions with ex-pletive subjects that take infinitival complement clauses can also take subjunctive complement clauses if a specific person is mentioned.

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