A MORPHO-SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN *LUTSOTSO*

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A Thesis Submitted to the School of Arts and Social Sciences in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

September 2021

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources and support and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

Hellen Selah Odera **Signature……** **Date…….**

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CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a thesis entitled '**A Morpho-Syntactic Analysis of Tense and Aspect in *Lutsotso***'

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DEDICATION

To my family; you have always wanted the best for me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to my supervisors: Dr. David Barasa and Dr. Atichi R. Alati, for their combined efforts and time they spared for supervision of this thesis. It was through their patience, consistent encouragement, constructive criticism and insightful guidance throughout that I was able to shape and complete this thesis on time. I would also like to thank my tutors for their valuable guidance throughout my studies. You provided me with the tools that I needed to choose the right direction and successfully complete my thesis.

I am grateful for the insightful comments offered by Dr. Mudogo during the process of writing this thesis. I am also particularly grateful for the assistance given by Prof. Peter Matu, his invaluable feedback improved the quality of this work.

This thesis would not have been possible without the exceptional support of my mother, Dr. Evaline Osore, whose knowledge on Lutsotso language was a great inspiration to this work. I am also sincerely grateful to my research assistant, Mr. Andala Murasi who made my experience in the field possible and worthwhile. My special thanks are extended to all the community members and informants that I interacted with in all the research areas that I visited and whom I am unable to single out individually due to space constraints.

Finally, I am extremely grateful to my parents for their unfailing support and for all the sacrifices they made for me. You have always been there for me. I am deeply indebted to my little sister, Faith, for doing the figures illustration in this work. God bless you all.

Odera H. S

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on tense and aspect in the verb structure of Lutsotso, a dialect of the Oluluhya macro-language. While numerous studies have been conducted on the analysis of the Oluluhyia macro-language at phonological, morphological and syntactic levels, these studies were exclusive of inflection on the Lutsotso verb. The present study discusses the morphological configurations of tense and aspect in Lutsotso. The study also establishes that the Lutsotso verb inflection can be checked for correct derivation using the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program. The Minimalist Program is used as a model of description in this study as it accounts for the morpho-syntactic nature of language. The feature checking theory and the principle of full interpretation necessitate verb movement for feature checking in structure building process. The study uses primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources include actual words elicited from respondents, audio-recordings and video-recordings archives. Secondary data was obtained from the library. Data was collected through informal interviews, elicitation technique, translation tests and texts written in Lutsotso. Data was analyzed at different levels, that is, constituents of Lutsotso verb, the inflectional category of tense and the category aspect. The study area was Kakamega Central Sub County, in Kakamega county. Purposive sampling was used in the identification of informants. The study targeted native speakers of Lutsotso and a sample size of one hundred and fifty native speakers among them twenty informants. The study established that the Lutsotso verb consists of more than one morpheme expressing a particular grammatical meaning, that there is a combination of morphemes in the description of tense and aspect in Lutsotso. The inflectional features of the Lutsotso verb are also examined as part of the study's morphological analysis. The verb is composed of features such as the root and prefixes, suffixes and the final vowel. Further, it gives the basic syntactic structure of a Lutsotso sentence. The Lutsotso tense system includes the past, present and the future. From this analysis, the following conclusions are made: Firstly, tense in Lutsotso is a grammatical category marked morphologically by various inflectional morphemes. There is a combination of morphemes in the description of tense and aspect in Lutsotso. Secondly, Lutsotso is an SVO structure language and the analysis of its basic sentence structure can adequately be described using the Minimalist Program. The feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program is suitable in the analysis of tense and aspect in Lutsotso. The study has established also that tense and aspect categories interact largely by co-occurring in the same verb phrase. Indeed, it is difficult to study one category without referring to the other. The study will contribute to the understanding of the morpho-syntactic nature of tense and aspect in Lutsotso.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACC Accusative

AGR Agreement

AGRo Agreement Object

AGRs Agreement Subject

AGRsP Agreement Subject Phrase

ASP Aspect

AUX Auxiliary

AUX Auxiliary Verb

DET Determiner

FPST Far Past Tense

FUT Future

FV Final Vowel

GB Government and Binding

HB Habitual

IM.FUT Immediate Future

INF Infinitive

INFL Infection

INT.FUT Intermediate Future

INT.PST Intermediate Past Tense

IPFV Imperfective

IPT Immediate Past Tense

ITER Interactive Aspect

LF Logical Form

MP Minimalist Program

NF Near Future

NOM Nominative

NP Noun Phrase

NPST Near Tense

OM Object Marker

PF Phonological Form

PFV Perfective Aspect

PL Plural

PRF Perfective

PRS Present

R.FUT Remote Future

RPST Remote past tense

SAM Subject Agreement Marker

SBJV Subjunctive

SG Singular

SM Subject Marker

SPEC Specifier

TNS Tense

To Object Trace

Ts Subject Trace

Tv Verb Trace

UG Universal Grammar

V Verb

VP Verb Phrase

DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Root: a non-analyzable form of a word that expresses the word's basic lexical content.

Bound morpheme: is one that cannot stand alone.

Dialect: language varieties that share certain linguistic features that warrant them to be classified as members of one language

Extension: is a morpheme that extends the meaning of the word to which it is linked.

Far (remote) past tense: is used to indicate events or situations which took place long time ago, some days, months or years ago.

Free morpheme: a morpheme that can stand on its own.

Inflection: the feature of verbs and nouns that indicates number, tense, aspect, mode, and agreement.

Morphological processes: the formal manipulation of stems to change their meanings to fit their syntactic and communicational context.

Morphosyntax: the interface of morphology and syntax.

Prefix: a bound morpheme attached to the front of a root.

Stem: it usually consists a root. Although, it may be analyzable into a root and derivational morphemes.

Suffix: a bound morpheme linked to the back of a root.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Oluluhya language has a dialect called Lutsotso, which is the subject of this chapter. In addition, the statement of the problem and the research questions are included, as are the study's goals. The study's rationale and scope are also explained.

1.1 Background to the study

Lutsotso verb inflection is the subject of this research. Lutsotso is a dialect of the Oluluhya macro-language which belongs to the Niger Congo family, Bantu, Masaba (E.32) (Eberhard et al., 2020). It is spoken by the Batsotso people who live in Kakamega County. It is classified by Guthrie (1971) as belonging to the HADGA group, a sub-group number 30, which is in Zone E of the Bantu languages. Oluluhyia macro-language is composed of the following 19 dialects; Lutsotso, Lubukusu, Lutachoni, Lumarama, Lukisa, Lumarachi, Luwanga, Lusamia, Lukhayo, Lunyala, Lukabras, Lunyore, Lwisukha, Lwidakho, Lutiriki, Lugisu, Maasaba, Lutura and Lulogoli (Eberhard, (eds.) 2021, Marlo 2009).

Osogo (1967) divides these dialects into four major groups: northern dialects, central dialects, eastern dialects, and southern dialects. Lutsotso belongs to the central dialects of the Oluluhyia macrolanguage. The debate over whether Lutsotso is a language or a dialect is currently ongoing. Itebete (1974) and Osore (2009) both define Lutsotso as a dialect, and this research follows suit. Oluluhyia dialects have phonological, semantic, and syntactic commonalities. However, there are differences that give each dialect a linguistically unique character, necessitating research into

particular dialects. Despite these differences, Oluluhya dialect speakers may still communicate with one other without any difficulty.

The area inhabited by the Batsotso is divided into five: Butsotso East, Butsotso West, Butsotso North, Butsotso South and Butsotso Central. This study was conducted in Butsotso Central and South. The population of Lutsotso speakers found in Kakamega County was estimated to be 162,822 as contained in the (KNBS, 2020) report of the Kenya national population census carried out in 2019. The Oluluhya dialects that neighbour Batsotso are: Luisukha, Luidakho, Lukisa, Luwanga, Lunyala and Lukabras.

According to Kenya's language policy, lower primary classrooms are taught in the catchment area's language, which also happens to be the mother tongue of the vast majority of the children that attend them there (Kenya Constitution Declaration 2010). As a result, Lutsotso is the language of teaching at pre-primary and lower-primary levels (Murasi 2000, Osore 2009). Apart from being used as a medium of instruction, Lutsotso is used for personal interactions and trade in the areas where it is spoken (Murasi, 2000). Language plays an important role in the lives of its users and therefore the need for research on the morpho-syntax of Lutsotso verb inflection. Inflection is a process of word creation that happens in various contexts defined by syntax; in which a word is changed to convey distinct grammatical categories such as tense, case, voice, aspect, person, number, gender and mood (Bauer 1983). The concepts of tense and aspect revolve on the passage of time. They're distinct subcategories of a larger system. There are two types of tenses: present and past; aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of an action, event, or circumstance. 'Tense and aspect link the event expressed by the verb to time in the past, present, or future,' say Leech and Svartvick (2002, p.66) when describing tense and aspect.

Tense and aspect are two key concepts that will be examined in depth in this study thanks to the definitions provided here. Tense is a grammatical category that pertains to time, according to Trask (1999, p. 207). The number of temporal differences that may be expressed in any given language is infinite. If the grammar of a language makes these temporal differences, then that language possesses the concept of tense. Lutsotso's morphology indicates the tense category.

Due to Lutsotso's agglutinative nature, the study begins with an examination of the Lutsotso verb. The morphological analysis divides a word into constituents and generates rules to account for the subdivided pieces (Haspelmath, 2002). The morphological analysis will employ inflectional principles to explain Lutsotso's verbal inflectional morphology. A verb has multiple affixes, and it plays an important function in a sentence by combining a lot of information to make a complete a sentence (Nurse & Philippson, 2003). Single-word verbs were originally made up of eleven slots centered around a root. The root is combined with optional derivational suffixes and inflectional prefixes to form the verb (Van der wal, 2015). In Lutsotso, like in most Bantu languages, inflectional prefixes that denote relative, negative, subject, tense, aspect, and object are found on the left, whereas (derivational) extensions and inflectional morphemes that mark aspect, mood, and other categories are found on the right. Most Bantu languages retain this or a similar structure, while others have modified it and a few have reduced it while others have made it longer. This study sought to find out the order of morphemes that mark tense and aspect in Lutsotso and how they cooccur on the verb.

Tone may also be used to mark tense and aspect in some languages like Chichewa. According to Mchombo (2004), Chichewa is a tone language with high and low tones represented in two levels. The verb structure is made up of a stem and

proclitics, which contain grammatical information. Negation, tense and aspect markers, modals, conditional markers, and directional markers are all communicated using this information. He further claims that while object marking is not required, subject marking is required within the verb structure. Grammatical agreement is reliant on an obligatory feature of subject marking in this case. According to Zwicky (1998), the nucleus of Chichewa verbal morphology is a verb root or radical that comprises multiple prefixes and suffixes that serve diverse grammatical functions. They further claim that the regular verbal radical and the suffix [a], also known as the final vowel, exchange. The verb root is usually prefixed in basic phrases, indicating the subject, person, number, tense, and aspect. Although this study discusses verb inflection just like the present study, Lutsotso language is non-tonal unlike Chichewa which is a tonal language. Mchombo's work also provides relevant literature on Bantu languages.

The research shows a significant difference between the two functional categories of tense and aspect from the Minimalist Program's point of view (Chomsky 1995). The results will serve as a valuable resource for anybody interested in learning more about Lutsotso verb inflection.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This is a morpho-syntactic investigation of Lutsotso verb inflection. In particular, the study focuses on tense and aspect in the verb structure of Lutsotso. The study establishes how the verb in Lutsotso is distinctly morphologically marked with tense and aspect. In addition, it explains how the marking of tense and aspect interrelate in Lutsotso. The concepts of tense and aspect are key in describing and explaining the grammar of a language. Aspect and tense systems seem to be entangled. As such, both allow speakers to link situations with time, but they also give different slants on time. Tense provides a representation of the moment at which the incident happens. Aspect gives distinct time representations within the case. In Lutsotso, the two categories are viewed as interdependent but deeply intertwined. As such, this study sets out to investigate how the co-occurrence of tense and aspect on Lutsotso verb look like using the concepts of the Minimalist Program for analysis.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study were to:

1 Identify and explain the morphological constituents of the Lutsotso verb.

2 Analyse morphological realizations of tense and aspect on the Lutsotso verb.

3 Describe the Lutsotso tense and aspect morphological forms using the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program.

1.4 Research Questions

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What are the morphological constituents of the Lutsotso verb?
2. What are the morphological realizations of tense and aspect on the Lutsotso verb?
3. How adequate is the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program in the description of tense and aspect morphological forms in Lutsotso?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The goal of this research is to determine and describe the Lutsotso tense and aspect. It's critical to grasp a language's grammar in order to use tenses and aspects effectively. Even in Bantu languages, the line between morphology and syntax is not always well defined (Okombo, 2000). The two levels in their interrelatedness, technically form the grammar of language in so far as their principles are in composition and complementariness, applicable to sentence construction and analysis. The Lutsotso verb inflection must be thoroughly learned based on research by youngsters utilizing it in their formative learning phases or by those attempting to acquire Lutsotso. That is why this research aims to address this knowledge gap.

According to Kaviti (2004), Bantu languages share several structural and lexical characteristics, including as gender classes and Concordial agreement prefixes. Bantu languages are closely related. Consequently, our results on Lutsotso verb inflection will have broad implications for research in Bantu Grammar as a whole.

Chomsky's Minimalist Program provides the theoretical foundation of the research (1995). The concept of tense and aspect are important in explaining the grammar of a

language. The study therefore investigates the Lutsotso tense and aspect with a view of showing that the syntax of Lutsotso sentence is a function of morphology. Thus, the study will contribute to the understanding of the morpho-syntactic nature of tense and aspect in Lutsotso as well as suggest areas that need further research in Lutsotso morpho-syntax.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

Within the Minimalist Program's theoretical framework, this research analyzes the morpho-syntactic verb inflection featuress of the Lutsotso dialect of Oluluhya macro-language. This is especially true in terms of tense and aspect. According to Kenyan language policy, Lutsotso is taught in the lower elementary grades as a second language (declaration 2010). As a consequence, comprehensive knowledge of grammatical categories such as tense and aspect is essential.

The study focused on tense and aspect because these grammatical categories are key in explaining the grammar of a language. Tense and aspect are realized morpho-syntactically on the verb. To provide a complete study of any Bantu language, Guthrie (1948) asserts that the morphosyntax must be considered. It is common knowledge that most verb phrases are composed of two types of words: main verbs and auxiliary verbs. Research focuses on the primary verb, which is heavily influenced by inflection. Although they have an impact on Lutsotso verb structure, person, class, and number are not covered in depth in this study.

Furthermore, the research is confined to introspected data, corpora data and elicited data. To arrive at introspected data, the researcher relied on the native speaker's intuitions. The researcher purposefully selected corpus data from texts written in

Lutsotso. In addition, an interview schedule was also used to obtain information from 20 informants. Sampling was limited to subjects from Butsotso regions.

1.7 Chapter summary

For the purposes of studying tense and aspect verbal inflections, the background information presented in Chapter one has been crucial. The study's background and problem statement have been provided. Research topics and goals have been addressed as well as the extent of the study's reach. The next chapter is devoted to literature review and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines relevant literature and explains the study's theoretical framework. Beginning with a discussion of linguistic literature, the chapter will then go on to a study of verbal morphology in depth. Study of Lutsotso and other Bantu languages will thereafter be a major part of this chapter’s emphasis. Finally, the Minimalist Program as presented by Chomsky (1995) will be discussed under the section on theoretical framework.

2.1 Literature on Verbal Morphology

Tense, mood, aspect, and voice are all covered under Verbal Morphology. Every language uses a different set of qualities to identify and contextualize the verb's use. Verbal morphology featuress including tense, mood, aspect, and voice are very frequent. To use the terminology of Schmidtke and Karsten (2006), mood is an indication of the speaker's intention or attitude. Indicative moods include those found in many languages across the world, such as the conditional, imperative, and subjunctive. The relationship between the verb and the argument NPs is referred to as the sentence's voice. The subject of the verb in the active voice is the person or thing doing the action. The verb then adopts active morphology. When using a passive voice, the patient or object of the verb is raised to the role of the sentence's subject. Prepositional terms may be used to indicate the agent, and passive morphology can be used by the verb instead (Karsten 2006).

Tense and aspect have been the subject of many investigations. A linear view of time, according to Comrie (1976), has a deictically defined "now" (zero) point at the

beginning of the line. In deictic tenses, the tense typically relates to the "now" of the speaker. Instead of encoding "various ways of perceiving the internal temporal constituents of a situation," aspect is not deictic (Comrie, 1976, p.3). Tense is the methodical coding of the connection between two locations along the time axis. There are two points in Reichenbach's notion of tense: the reference point (RP) and the time of the occurrence (ET). It is the speech time (ST) that serves as the default reference point (RP) for events in the system (Givon 2001). (Givon, 2001, p.286) shows these interactions in figure 1.

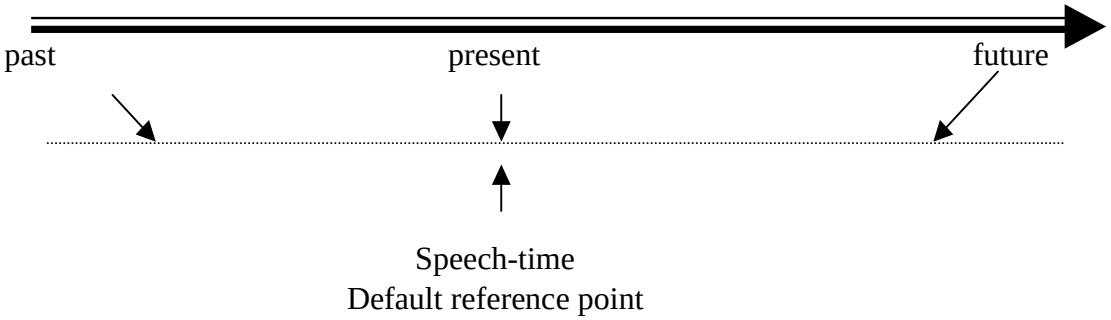

Figure 1: Tense divisions

In figure 1, there are three major tense divisions:

• Past: Event time precedes speech time

• Present: Event time is simultaneous with speech time

• Future: Event time follows speech time

When it comes to tense, it's essential to remember that communication isn't always about when something happened; nevertheless, some sort of temporal marking is always required. Additionally, it is important to consider who to communicate with and at what time and how to communicate with them. That's why tense must be separated from time in grammar (Besha 1989). Temporal adverbs, which work in conjunction with tense, are often used to lexicalise the when an event took place in

the past. Participant exchanges may also include unspecified knowledge. There may be some common data, such as the reference point (RP). As a result, tense may be viewed as more of a characteristic of speech than a feature of individual sentences (Besha 1989).

According to Matthews (2011), tense describes where an event occurs in time, while aspect describes how it plays out across time. When it comes to the English language, it has a two-tense system that distinguishes between a past and a non-past form inflectionally. This is done by adding the suffix -d (or allomorphs such as -t and -ed) to verb stems, or by changing the stem's vowel sound. The modal auxiliary in English establishes a connection to the future.

According to Quirk & Greenbaum (1973), tense refers to "the way in which a verbal action is experienced or viewed (for example as finished or in process) as the connection between the form of the verb and our notion of time and aspect."

Tense and aspect are encoded using three main components in most Bantu languages, according to Gatamu (2014). There are many factors to consider, starting with the verb's tense and inflection, followed by the verb's tone and any other verbs used before or after it. Aspect, according to Comrie (1976, p.3), is "various ways of perceiving a situation's internal temporal constituent"... So, this may be seen as either finished or unfinished depending on your perspective. The languages of the globe utilize a variety of different features. Perfect and imperfect are two terms that are often used to describe concepts. There is no discernible beginning or finish to the perfective; nevertheless, the perfective implies a more boundless span of time in the past or future.

In general, Lutsotso verbal morphology is made up of a root and many 'pre-root' affixes. They are referred to as pre-root since they come before the verb root (Appleby 1961). The following are examples of affix forms:

a. A verbal-prefix that we will choose to refer to as ‘AGR’ (agreement) since it changes its form to reflect concordial agreement with the subject noun. This verbal prefix, must, of necessity, agree with the subject noun, irrespective of whether the subject is overt or in null form.
b. A tense marker that for the purpose of this study we will refer to simply as TNS.
c. An aspect marker that we will refer to as ASP.

2.2 Studies on tense and aspect in other languages

Gatamu (2014) investigates tense and aspect in Kimbeere, a Bantu language. These two classes are morphologically realized and have a systematic pattern of affixation to the verb root. To make the verbs more precise, tense morphemes go before the root verb in a straight line after the subject morpheme. The aspect morphemes are appended to the verb root, with the exception of the present progressive morpheme, which is a prefix. According to the findings, tense and aspect co-occur in verb words in a significant way. It's hard to focus on one subject without thinking about the others. Different tenses are used to convey the perfective, perfect, and imperfect characteristics by co-occurring in diverse temporal references. However, the present and future tenses, which do not always co-occur with aspectual categories, show that tense and aspect categories are different. In addition, there are no tense differences when looking at the present progressive component of the sentence. We notice that the study also identified that tone contrasts and distinctive vowel length play a role in past tense marking unlike in Lutsotso where tense is mainly marked by morphemes.

Finally, the study has used the Feature Checking theory of the Minimalist Program to adequately analyse Kimbeere tense and aspect morphological forms. The present study will also employ the Feature Checking theory of the Minimalist Program in discussing Lutsotso tense and aspect morphological forms. As in the present research, Gatamu's work focuses on verb inflections.

Mwita (2016) was interested in the morphosyntactic realization of tense and aspect in the Bemba verb phrase. It was discovered that Bemba, like most other Bantu languages, is agglutinative. A Bemba verb root may include prefixes or suffixes to bring forth various grammatical qualities such as person, number, mood, negation, subject marker, and object marker, as it is an inflectional language. The research added to the body of knowledge on Bantu languages, particularly Lutsotso, by extending the evidence of tense and aspect marking in Bemba. Tense and aspect are separate in Bemba, according to the research, however they tend to overlap in specific contexts. Bemba verbs are highly inflected for a wide range of categories, including number, tense, and aspect. This research examined the verb's structure. Bemba allows sentences to be formed from a single word using prefixes or suffixes. Researchers studied the Bemba morphology and found that the tense marking is divided into three main categories: past, present, and future. All of the relevant basic phrases were evaluated using the Nurse's Conceptual Framework. Like the present study, Mwita's research focuses on tense and aspect. However, the present study will deviate from the Mwita’s study in that it will have a theoretical orientation of the Minimalist Program.

Basweti (2005) examines Ekegusii's morphosyntactic agreement. Ekegusii constructions must be checked for grammaticality using both feature checking and full interpretation rules in the Minimalist Program. This demonstrates that the

Minimalist Program is suitable for Ekegusii DP (determiner phrase) and sentential (verbal) analysis. Ekegusii's Agreement mechanism is best explained through feature checking. Noun movement examines abstract accusative and nominative case characteristics in a phrase whereas verb movement analyzes tense features. Features of subject and object agreement (number, case, and individual) are also verified before spelling out. Elements are moved about to verify for agreement in the Ekegusii DP, which refers to them as "determiners" generally. Considering that this is another morphosyntactic research, Basweti's findings are helpful since they offer more information on how words are formed. The present research, on the other hand, concentrates on tense and aspect in Lutsotso rather than agreement, as Basweti's work focuses.

Kaviti (2004) examines the morpho-syntax of Kikamba (a Bantu language) within the Principles and Parameters framework as defined by the Minimalist Program. The Research Problem focused on investigating the importance of the functional categories: DET (Determiner), INFL (Inflection), and those contained within INFL, namely, AGR (Agreement), NEG (Negation) and TNS (Tense). Kaviti’s work is relevant to the present study since it is also a morpho-Syntactic study and adopts the Minimalist Program.

Ateso's tense and aspect were examined by Barasa (2012). His research was focused on tense and aspect marking, as well as their distribution and relationship to tone. It is evident that in Ateso, tense is less prominent as compared to aspect. Ateso distinguishes between past and present tenses in two ways. Using this, you can tell the difference between the past and the future tense. The last syllable of the verb is marked with a low tone to indicate the non-past tense. Verbs in both classes one and two are capable of expressing this idea well. However, there are differences between

the two groups in terms of the person agreement indicators. All other class one verbs begin with the prefix e, whereas the first person singular begins with the prefix a. Class two verbs are identified by the e- prefix for the first person singular and the -i suffix for all other individuals. The study also discussed imperfective, perfective, habitual and iterative aspects. The results of the research showed that the perfectives and imperfectives had distinct physical characteristics. Irregularities may be found in the distant past, the present, and the immediate future. In Ateso, there are three types of the habitual. There is the habitual past, the habitual present and the habitual future. According to the findings, reduplication is a characteristic of iterative processes. Iterative and habitual features co-exist, as do the iterative and imperfective, as well as the iterative and perfective. For the reason that Ateso is a verb-initial language, the Minimalist Program's Feature Checking theory applies for researching tenses and aspects in Ateso. This research differs from the present one because Ateso is Nilotic and uses a VSO sentence structure, while Lutsotso is Bantu and uses an SVO sentence structure. This study is relevant to the present study since it has a theoretical orientation of the Minimalist Program that the present study also adopts. This study lays the groundwork for using the Minimalist Program method to analyzing tense and aspect.

2.3 Studies on verb morphology on other Oluluhya dialects

Namulemu (2004) examined Lunyore grammar and narrative discourse in terms of tense, aspect, and mood. Namulemu's study aims to provide an analysis of how Lunyore's grammar and speech use tenses, aspects, and moods. He asserts that Lunyore possesses a tense system consisting of the past, present, and future (i.e., the three main tenses). With the addition of five additional tenses to Lunyore's chronology, the time period may be interpreted five different ways. Like Lunyore,

Lutsotso is agglutinative and has a high AGR, so the two studies are connected. First and foremost, Namulemu's research varies from the present one due to the semantic and phonetic differences between Lunyore and Lutsotso. Namulemu looked at tense and aspect in connection to translation because of Namulemu's lack of linguistic theory. The Minimalist Program method will be used for this investigation.

Masinde (2016) described Lutachoni VP's morphosyntactic structure. The study examined the effects of verb morphological affixation processes on the syntactic structure of the verb phrase. The following conclusions were drawn from this research: Firstly, the bound morpheme is inserted in the starting prefix position in the Lutachoni VP ontological order, while the free morpheme is inserted in the final syntactic position in a phrase. The two morphemes must be components of the linguistic unit in order to establish a contradiction in sentence meaning. Consequently, by increasing the elements within the VP and introducing NegP as the structural representation, they influence the surface manifestation of the morphosyntactic structure of the Lutachoni VP. Further, in the morphology of verbs, Lutachoni denotes agreement just like Lutsotso. The noun class of the associated noun phrase determines the form of the subject and object pronominal morphemes. The distinction between singularity and plurality in number is made. For noun classes 1 and 2, three person distinctions are realized in subjective and objective forms. During morphological operations, the Feature Checking Theory was adequate in accounting for features. It was used to assess features and pick verb complements as NPs and verbs were moved from their base-generated positions in the VP-internal to the surface structure. Lutachoni's verb argument structure is derived using a

feature-checking method. As Masinde focuses on the structure of the entire verb phrase of Lutachoni, the present study looks at verb inflections on the Lutsotso verb.

Watulo (2018) investigated the inflectional structures of Lubukusu verbs. The study confirmed that the understanding of inflectional markings on verbal paradigms is the foundation of a verbal inflectional study. The inflectional slots on the template structure are numbered from left to right. With this knowledge, the template structure was investigated in order to generate a discussion on tense, aspect, and other features of the language's inflectional morphology. Like most Bantu languages, it is a tense aspect dominant language with an inflectional system that is geared towards tense/aspect. Despite the usage of high tones on a few verbal paradigms, the language agglutinates. Tone patterns are therefore used on some tense, aspect, and person morphemes. Lubukusu is agglutinating because of the inflectional morphemes that are attached on the right and the left of the root as in Lutsotso. The study stated that phonological transcriptions should be used in any study of verbal morphology in order to comprehend the underlying and surface levels of paradigms, as well as existent alternations.

The rule-based research inside Inferential Realization is clearly governed by prefixational and realization rules. The former is formed using a verb's paradigm schema, whereas the latter is created using slot analysis of inflectional morphemes. The definition of inferential rule-based morphology is based on these two sets of rules. Within the theoretical context of Inferential Realization theory, this study only looked at Lubukusu's inflectional structure. The present study looks at the Lutsotso verb inflection with regard to tense and aspect.

2.4 Studies on Lutsotso

The Bantu languages, on account of their genetic links bears strong resemblances especially with regard to their basic vocabulary, structural aspects of their grammars, morphological and phonological basic aspects. Bantu languages contain an agglutinative structure, as noted by linguists like Angogo (1983) and Sikuku (1998). Lutsotso, like other Bantu languages, manifests the typical Bantu agglutinative structure where the verbal complex functions as a complete sentence. For example:

1) *a-tsil-e* ` he/she has gone `

   a-subject marker

   tsil -verb

   e- final vowel which must be attached to the verb in order to give it meaning (Angogo 1983).

The root of the verb in Bantu studies is the form that is left after all inflectional and derivational affixes have been eliminated, commonly termed as the verb radical (Kioko, 2005). This makes it difficult to convey meaning unless different affixes are applied to it. Like in many other languages, the verb root in Lutsotso serves as the structural core of the sentence. Since the root is bound, it requires the final vowel suffix for complete meaning as illustrated in example (1) above.

There are also many tense forms, making it feasible, for example, to employ a single verb stem and affixes to refer to up to four distinct kinds of past time and an equal number of future times without the need of any 'time' words. For example; *a -tsi-a* ‘he/she goes’, *a-la-tsi-a* ‘he/she will go’ *ja-tsi-a*, ‘he/she went’ (Angogo, 1983).

According to Osore (2009), the Lutsotso Noun Phrase has an intricate internal structure. Based on Noam Chomsky's 1965 version of the standard theory of

language, this research examined the different ways words are strung together to create Lutsotso grammatical noun phrases. Nominal prefixes in Lutsotso nouns differentiate them from other nouns, according to this research. Words that are linked to a prefix serve as controllers for the rest of the sentence. Prefixes are often used to denote numbers in classes. Lutsotso requires that the class of the head noun be reflected throughout the noun phrase. For example, the phrase, *omu -ndu- omu-laji* (a good person) the prefix *omu* is reflected in the entire phrase. The head noun *omundu* (person) belongs to class 1/2 *(omu /aba*). This is done by concordial affixes (Osore 2009). The study also established that the Lutsotso NP has several nominal inflectional morphemes incorporated in it. The nominal inflectional morphemes appear before the head noun in the NP as pre-modifier morphemes. The morphemes reflect particular nominal characteristics and are implemented on the NP as affixes.

The cyclical nature of grammar made it difficult for Osore (2009) to examine all potential phrase structures inside the Lutsotso NP. According to Osore's research, basic principles that must be followed cyclically do so in a linear fashion. As a result, an unlimited number of generalized phrase markers may be produced from the syntactic component's basis. This research tries to fill the gap left by Osore (2009) in terms of Lutsotso verb inflections.

As Murasi (2000) points out in his study of Lutsotso noun morphs, the first vowel in nouns is a separate morphological unit and does not form part of the following morphology. In place names Murasi observes that the initial vowel is normally ‘E’ but occasionally ‘I’. Whenever this occurs, it denotes the concept of place in general, the sub-sequent morph serving the purpose of expounding it further. Depending on the word, the first vowel may be any of a-, e-, i-, or o- in other nouns, such as common nouns. When this happens, it signifies the general concept of noun. The

subsequent morph serving the purpose of expounding it. Murasi agrees with Osogo (1966), Appleby (1961), Itebete (1974), Were (1967) and Angogo (1983) that Oluluhyia macro-language like other Bantu languages is agglutinative in nature. An essential aspect of this research is how much Murasi (2000) concentrated on the same dialect as this study. This work, on the other hand, is different in two respects from Murasi's. Firstly, Murasi employs the theory of item and arrangement while the present study employs the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993, 1995) in the analysis of tense and aspect in Lutsotso sentence. Secondly, Murasi's research focuses on the Lutsotso morph and where it occurs in nouns. Murasi (2000) concentrates on nominal morphology and ignores inflection in the sentence structure of Lutsotso, in particular the presence of tense and aspect in it.

According to Osore (2017), phrases in Lutsotso with rich verbal morphology and high agreement may decrease NPS. According to the Government and Binding (GB) theory, empty subject and object positions in Lutsotso have a lot of validity. This makes it possible to classify Lutsotso as a pro-drop language, where the principles of GB govern the reference and distribution of null arguments (pro), as well as the licensing and identification of dropped NPS. The investigation reveals that the rich verbal morphology and strong agreement is quite evident in Lutsotso and points to the existence of null arguments (pro) in both subject and object positions whenever the lexical NPS are dropped from the sentence. Given the strong grammatical agreement, the reference of the null arguments (pro) resulting from dropping the NPS can be recovered from AGR since AGR carries the features of the dropped NP. As a result, verbs and subjects cannot be interchanged freely. E.g

(a) Anna a-tsia (is acceptable).

Anna 3SG-go

‘Anna is going’

(b) a-stia Anna (is not acceptable in Lutsotso).

3SG-go Anna

‘Going is Anna’

According to Osore (2017), a null NP (pro) does not exist in an infinitival clause's subject position, and the possibility of a null NP in the object position is linked to the presence of AGR in the verb form. Since it can only appear in the subject position of infinitive sentences, PRO has a very limited distribution. The subject position that is governed cannot be PRO. PRO does not result from movement and therefore control theory operates at D-structure and the LF representation. Conclusively, Osore (2017) looked at argument licensing in Lutsotso sentence using the Minimalist Program, the Mirror Principle and Government and Binding theory. She did not capture verb inflections, and this is the gap that the present study intends to fill using only the Minimalist Program.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

2.5.1 Introduction

The Minimalist Program (MP), developed by Noam Chomsky in the early 1990s, is the foundation of this research. The Minimalist Program is a framework that allows for universal principles common to all human languages and is subject to variations (Chomsky 1995). The MP makes the argument that human language ability shows indications of being coupled with exquisite organization under an optimal design, which suggests that the inner workings conform to the fundamental computational rule of a particular mental organ. In other words, the MP is founded on the notion

that universal grammar is an ideal design in the sense that it only includes the components required to satisfy human mental and physical (phonological) needs. It is based on the minimalist approach to program concepts and parameters that have been established in recent years by generative linguistics, from a theoretical point of view and in light of generative grammar. The theory accounts for the morpho-syntactic nature of language. This is a morpho-syntactic study since tense and aspect are realized morpho-syntactically. To better understand morphosyntactic categories of tense and aspect, I used the Minimalist Program, which offers a good connection between morphology and syntactic categories of a language. Lutsotso also includes a fundamental sentence structure known as SVO, which may be defined using the Minimalist Program. Lutsotso is also an agglutinating language and its morphology is relevant to syntactic analysis. The study therefore investigates the Lutsotso tense and aspect with a view of showing that the syntax of the Lutsotso sentence is a function of morphology. Guthrie (1948) notes that a thorough study of any Bantu language must unavoidably relate to the language's morphology.

2.5.2 The Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program is one version that has developed into a description of the Universal Grammar (UG) properties. It develops a framework which is adequate for the description of UG properties. The Minimalist Program was a development from Government and Binding Theory (Chomsky 1981, 1982) (Werner et al 1996). It aims to simplify the complex rule systems of languages. As Cook and Newson (1988) point out, the Minimalist Program makes grammatical rules simpler by transferring fundamental principles from specialized rule systems for specific languages to more generic and simple systems.

The Minimalist Program proposes that a linguistic structure links two levels of representation: LF (abstract representation of meaning) and PF (abstract representation of sound). LF and PF are referred to be interface levels because they integrate the D-structure and S-structure levels, as well as the logical and phonological forms realized in Government and Binding Theory. Grammar must have some internal structure if it is to connect these two representations effectively. Haegeman (1994) asserts that the language system produces abstract structures that, at some time, will take on an overt form, that is, they will be spelt out in full. Every syntactic derivation begins with a numeration, in which the words to be utilized in the derivation are directly chosen from the lexicon. PF and LF are represented at the spelling out level.

The main components of MP that will be important in the description of tense and aspect in this study include:

i. The lexicon and the computational process.

ii. The checking approach.

iii. Spell-out process.

iv. The morphological aspect in MP.

2.5.3 The Lexicon and the Computational Process

The Minimalist approach accounts for the interface between morphology and syntax. The lexicon is a component of grammar expressing what humans know when they know the words of a given language. The research looks at the lexicon and the computational system in which morpho-syntactic aspects of a language are used to condition derivations. The computational system generates two interface levels of

representation when it interacts with a language's lexicon: the phonological form (PF) and the logical form (LF).

The lexicon may be mined for morpho-syntactic and lexical data using a technique called numeration. The morpho-syntactic and lexical components are connected to create projections and partial trees via a computational process known as merge. Previously known as the D-structure in the GB, the MP does not contain this connection between the lexicon and surface structure [syntactic representation]. This is the structure building process of the minimalist program. The Minimalist Program, according to Chomsky (1993), is simplified to generic rules that ensure a linguistic expression is properly represented solely at the interface level. For example, although in GB theory all of the above structures are realized, the interface level of the Minimalist Program only has the Logical Form and the Phonological Form. This is where you'll find all the lexical and morphological information regarding nouns and verbs.

Chomsky (1993) highlights the process of movement from lexicon to interface level. To begin with, a technique known as numeration is used to extract a selection of morpho-syntactic and lexical elements from the lexicon. These are joined through a computational process known as merge. The merge combines the elements into projections and partial trees. In the Minimalist Program, the projection principle which is used in GB is done away with instead, the lexical items from the lexicon are represented into the specifier-head or head complement. Consider the illustration below:

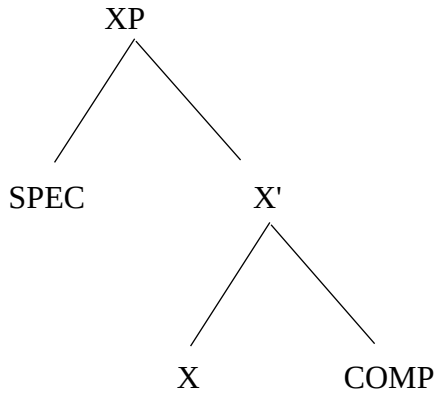

Figure 2: The specifier-head or head complement relationship.

(adapted from Barasa 2012:10).

Structure construction varies from projection principle in that it is driven by need. Structures may only be created if the morpho-syntactical or lexical information in the lexicon permits them to be derived from the morphological or lexical evidence in the language. If case assignment isn't required under the particular head relationship, language may create partial trees with a head but no complement in this manner.

2.5.4 The Checking approach

Minimalist Program movement is a last resort method for checking features that would otherwise remain unchecked and lead to the derivation crashing at either Logical Form (LF) or Phonological (PF) in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995). Using a checking method, the lexicon's existing terms are compared to the affixes in new ones. To license inflectional and derivational features of affixes, the feature checking method is used when a lexical stem (mostly a verb stem in Lutsotso) rises and adjoins openly to different functional heads, finally examining its features.

Words are moved for checking in the Minimalist Program unlike in the Government and Binding theory (Barasa 2012). Lexical elements in the sentence structure are

checked to verify suitable features are present. For grammar and inflectional characteristics, the syntactic locations in sentences are verified against their accuracy. The necessity for checking creates positions in the structure building process. For TNS and ASP inflectional features, the proper specifier position is checked. AGRs and agreement objects are treated differently in the new theory than they were in the old one, which was divided into AGRP and TNSP to produce tense, agreement subjects (AGRs), and agreement objects (AGRo).

According to the split-INF-hypothesis, TNS and agreement have two distinct functions. Pollock (1989) notes that INFL no longer exists but is separated into TNS, agreement subject (AGRs) and agreement object AGRo projections. See Figure 3 for an illustration of this:

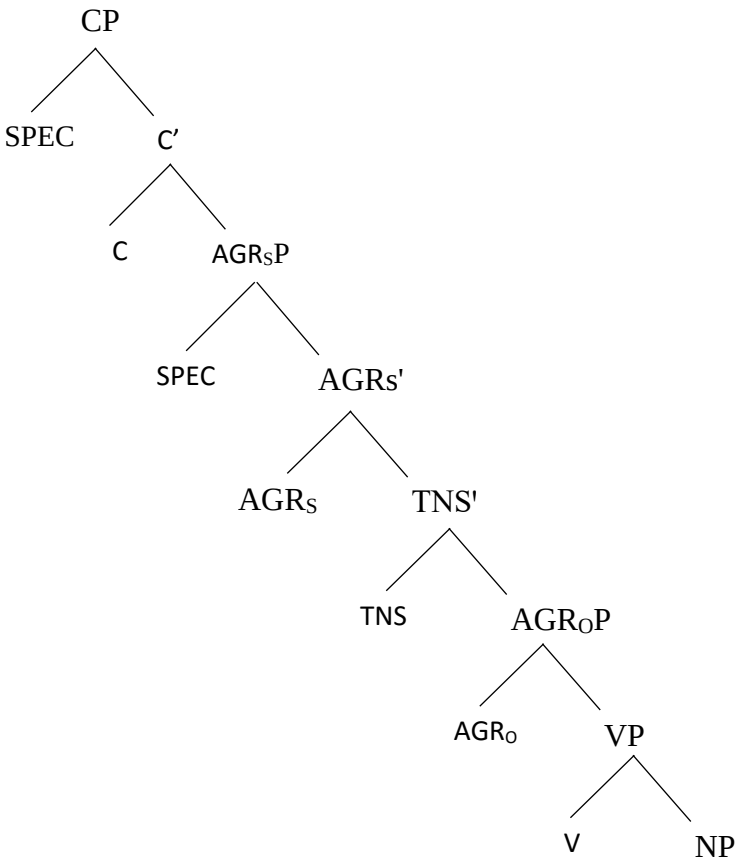

Figure 3: Chomsky's derivation tree (adapted from Schroeder, 2008:28)

Gender, number, and person features are all present in AGRs and AGRo. This distinguishes between the agreement marking of AGR's subject and object roles. This helps cater for basic sentence structures that incorporate morpho-syntactic verb inflections and case marking.

2.5.5 The Spell-out

Derivation is the calculation of a grammatical representation at a moment where the structure is split into two: PF and LF interface levels is attained. As soon as the' spell-out' point is reached, the kind of movement that affects the phonological form (particularly movement happening before spell-out) and movement to LF may be determined. The LF level assigns a semantic representation to syntactic structures, which are interpreted as well as understood (Haegeman,1994, p.615).

PF and LF representations are calculated independently in order to prevent crashes and the creation of ungrammatical constructions as a result of grammar connections. This is done to meet the Full Interpretation (FI) criterion, which stipulates that only significant components that may be represented using LF and PF representations should be provided. As they sort out the phonological and semantic information for structural descriptions, PF and LF are significant. Phonological information is not allowed at LF, neither is logical information allowed at PF. The concept of Procrastinate governs feature movement during spell-out, postponing movement as long as possible since covert movement is considered more economical than overt movement. As a result of the concept of full interpretation, the structure-building process is constrained, and no elements that are not licensed lexically or morphologically emerge at the interface level. Full Interpretation lets us distinguish between well-formed constructs and those that are not. When it comes to syntactic construction, Economy dictates that just what is absolutely essential be included. The

following figure depicts the computational process that results in the creation of the two interface levels after the point at which spell out is used:

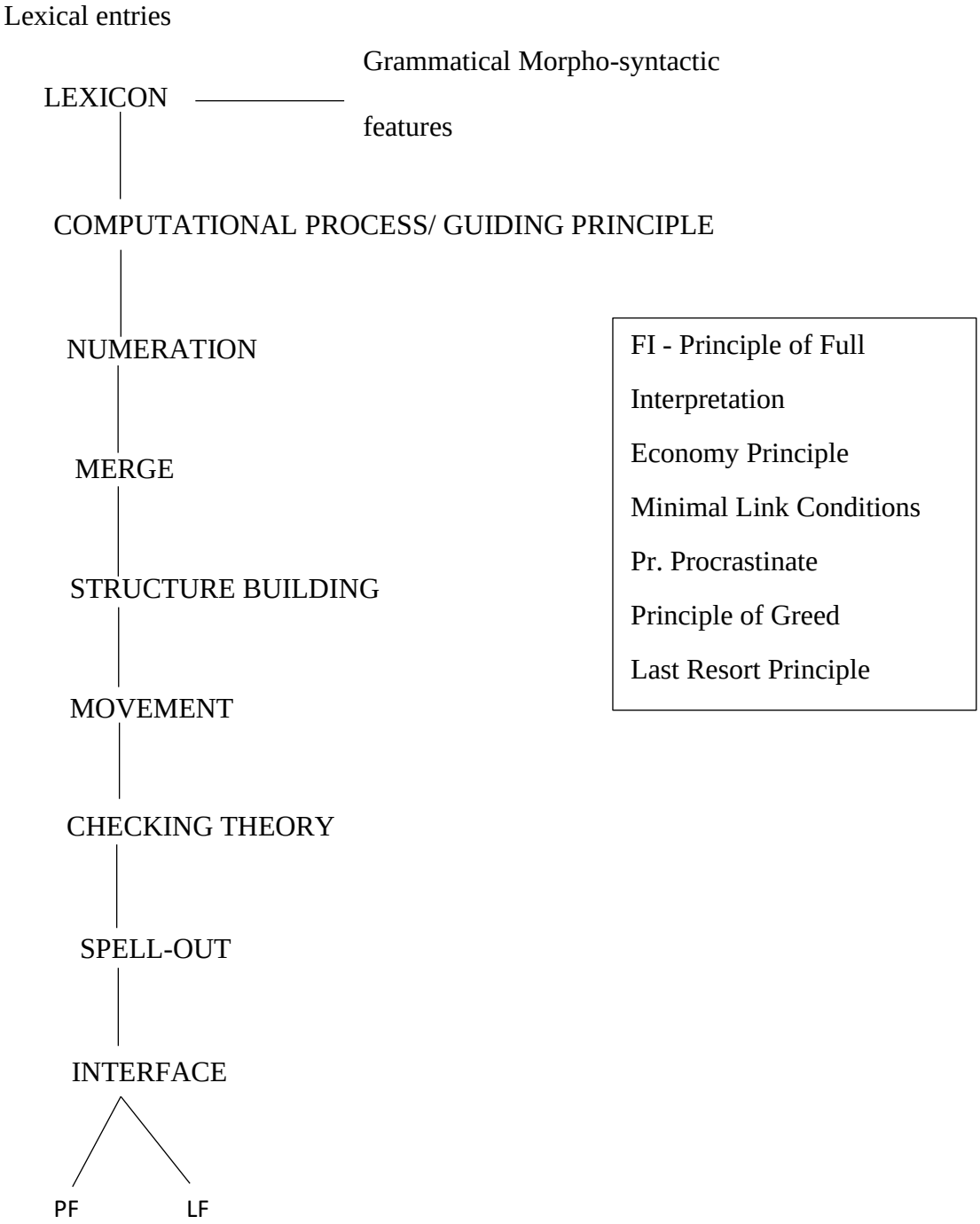

Figure 4: An Overview of the Computational Process: Minimalist Program Chomsky (1995) (adapted from Schroeder 2008).

2.5.6 The Morphological Aspect of the Minimalist Program

The application of the Minimalist Program is heavily reliant on the morphology of a language. This is pointed out by Chomsky (1993, p.32) who states that the computational process is driven by morphological necessity. Movement on the structure building process is thus dependent on the strength of the morphology of the language.

The morpho-syntactic nature of the Minimalist Program allows for the numeration of inflected nouns and verbs from the lexicon, unlike in GB where the morpho-syntactic features were put in the deep structure level. The inflected verbs and nouns from the lexicon are projected to the respective heads in the VP. The Minimalist Program does not need verbs and nouns to be represented at the deep structure level in order to pick features for correct representation at the surface structure. As noted by Barasa (2012), the Minimalist Program's lexicon includes the V-features TNS and AGR as well as the verb in its lexicon. These V-features are used to analyze the verb's characteristics after it has been obtained from the lexicon and before it appears on the PF and LF.

Languages are considered as having strong or weak AGR features. In order to eliminate the abstract characteristics before spelling out into PF and LF, the strong AGR may be seen at the PF and therefore forces verb movement. Languages with low AGR, on the other hand, are hidden from view at PF. These languages do not need verb movement since no features need to be checked and the verb will automatically appear at the PF and LF.

2.5.7 Summary on the Minimalist Program

The Minimalist Program is founded on the idea of principles and parameters, which is economy in derivation and representation. Economy, minimal link conditions, the procrastination principle, and Greed are all interdependent and direct movement. The Minimal link condition states that movement is only possible into the nearest only position. Procrastinate ensures that movement occurs only when it is required and is authorized by any morphosyntactic or lexical evidence in the language. Furthermore, the concept of Last Resort ensures that a short movement is preferable to a longer one. The Greed Principle, which is a self-serving Last Resort, is directly related to it. It ensures that movement is only possible if the requirements for movement of the element are satisfied in terms of spell-out and convergence (Chomsky, 1995) these principles have possibilities for variation called parameters. Another way of putting it is that languages vary in the parametric values they choose for every parameter. The Minimalist Program may be described as syntactic representation that employs a justified structure while minimizing the levels of representation used. Since the Lutsotso language is agglutinative and has a distinctive morphology, this hypothesis is applicable to the present research.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has formed a basis to the analysis of Lutsotso inflectional properties for tense and aspect. The chapter has also offered literature review of the verbal morphology, a review of tense and aspect as well as literature on tense and aspect in other languages that fall within the same language family as Lutsotso. Literature on Lutsotso has also been given. The chapter has showed that the study is carried out

within the framework of Minimalist Program as proposed by Chomsky. The chapter that follows will discuss research methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the study's research methodology in detail. The study's target population, sample population, and sampling methods are all highlighted in this section. The study methods and data collecting techniques are also described in this section. The chapter finally looks at data analysis and presentation procedures used in the study.

3.1 Research Design

The research is purely descriptive. A descriptive design, according to Creswell (1998), is useful for studying a big population and using techniques like interviews and observations. To test hypotheses or answer questions about the present state of the issue, descriptive research collects data, according to Gay (1981). Additionally, according to Selinger and Shohamy (1989), descriptive research focuses on naturally occurring events and utilizes data that is gathered directly from the source or gleaned from other sources. The research drew on primary and secondary data sources. There were primary sources such as the actual words that respondents had to provide, as well as library research that offered basic knowledge on the verbal morphology of other languages and how it applied to Lutsotso. The fieldwork gathered data that included linguistic information from the Lutsotso people. Using descriptive research, researchers may prove the presence of phenomena by writing about them in detail. To conduct effective descriptive research, it is necessary to use informants who are native speakers of the language being studied (Milroy 1987). The investigator, who should also be a native speaker of the language under study, utilizes his/her

competence in the language to analyze and describe the data to arrive at a model of the grammar under the aspect of the language being studied. Once the prerequisites for descriptive linguistics study were fulfilled, Lutsotso tense and aspectual categories were identified and explained in connection to the Minimalist Program. Using this method, the researcher focused on the language item under investigation in the interactive context where it happened. Being fluent in the Lutsotso dialect of the Oluluhyia macro-language gave the investigator an advantage when analyzing the informants' information.

The descriptive research design is under the qualitative research model. The qualitative model was suitable since it includes ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field, and participant-observer research methods. This approach allowed a holistic analysis of tense and aspect in Lutsotso, particularly the morphological feature markings. Qualitative research, according to Denzin & Lincoln (1994), involves an interpretative naturalistic approach to its subject matter and is thus multi-method in nature with this emphasis. Qualitative researchers, on the other hand, do research to attempt to understand or interpret events in terms of the meanings individuals ascribe to them.

3.2 Study area

The study was carried out in Lurambi constituency, Kakamega Central sub-county, in Kakamega County. Kakamega Central sub-county is important to the local people because it is an administrative, education and centre for local trade in the area (Murasi, 2000). Butsotso is divided into five regions: Butsotso East, Butsotso South, Butsotso Central Butsotso North and Butsotso West. Butsotso East, Butsotso Central and Butsotso South are in Lurambi sub county while Butsotso North and Butsotso West are in Navakholo subcounty of Kakamega County. The study chose Butsotso

regions because the mother tongue speakers who live there use Lutsotso as their main language of communication. The geographical scope of this study was specifically narrowed to Butsotso Central and Butsotso South since the regions have native speakers of Lutsotso, although these areas have similar demographic characteristics with the rest of Butsotso regions. Butsotso East was used in the pilot study. The neighbours of Lutsotso speakers are Marama and Wanga to the South, Isukha and Idakho to the East, Nyala to the West and Kabras to the North (see appendix 2) Butsotso is situated between latitude 00 30 and 00 30N and between longitudes 340 30E and 350 E. The population of Lutsotso speakers is 162,822 distributed as follows: Butsotso North 52,083, Butsotso Central 32, 690, Butsotso South 19,442 Butsotso East 29,798 and Butsotso West 28,809 (KNBS 2020).3.3 Study population

This section discusses the sample population and the methodology used to choose it. The representativeness of the sample has an impact on the study's reliability and validity. Butcher (1994, p.18) says that a representative sample is one that "...reflects the population correctly such that it is a microcosm of the population."

3.3.1 Target population

This research was conducted on native Lustotso speakers. On the basis of Bryman (1998, p.85), it may be said that the population is "...essentially the universe of units from which the sample was chosen." Chomsky in Radford (1988) believes native speakers to be the ideal speakers and listeners of a particular language. Study participants who were fluent in both English and Lutsotso were able to make intuitive judgments regarding the creation of grammatically acceptable sentences when it comes to verb inflection.

As indicated by the informants of the research, the speakers of the Lutsotso present different sociolinguistic patterns. The literate category of the population is

multilingual as they speak Lutsotso, Swahili and English. Given the social and professional networks, this segment of the population favors English and Swahili to Lutsotso. English is the official language of instruction in schools and is utilized for formal reasons. The non-literate category, which has not undergone formal education, uses Lutsotso and Swahili to relate to trade and socio-cultural roles with non-natives. This population has elevated levels of communicative competence in Lutsotso, as for most of their lifetime they have spoken the language. However, Lutsotso speakers outside of Butsotso do exist. Due to land restrictions, these speakers either moved out of the speaking location to settle elsewhere or may have taken up job engagements in far off locations. The study, on the other hand, was limited to those who were native speakers and lived among the local people.

It's possible that non-native speakers of a language are more fluent than native speakers due to sociolinguistic variables that are linked to attitudes about language (Hudson, 1996). There's evidence to support the idea that native speakers retain their language's grammar better than non-native speakers.

3.3.2 Sample population

One hundred and fifty (150) native speakers among them twenty informants were purposively selected from Butsotso South and Butsotso Central. The study relied on 20 informants who were native speakers of Lutsotso for transcription and translation of the corpus data. Among the 20 informants were 2 research assistants who were also linguists and native speakers of Lutsotso. The study depended on the research assistants to counter check the data for objectivity and correctness.

Table 3. 1

Sample distribution in Butsotso Central

Butsotso Central	Number
Informants	10
Shisiru local baraza	10
Interpersonal interactions from mixed chamas	10
Church service at Buchinga church of God	45
Total	**75**

Table 3. 2

Sample distribution in Butsotso South

Butsotso South	Number
Informants	10
Emweywe local baraza	10
Interpersonal interactions from mixed chamas	7
Shisango ACK church	48
Total	**75**

Table 3. 1 and 3. 2 above illustrate the sample distribution in Butsotso Central and Butsotso South respectively.

3.4 Sampling techniques

In order to come up with a sizeable and regulated number of sentences and relevant information, the researcher sampled the population that would make the work manageable and realistic within the time frame and the resources available for this research. In this respect, the research used purposive sampling technique (also known as judgemental sampling technique) in the identification of native speakers of Lutsotso. Purposive sampling technique is whereby a sample is chosen according to

researchers' personal judgement in order to cultivate an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Borg & Gall, 1996). Therefore, sample members are chosen because they possess the characteristics required. In this study, the function of purposive sampling was to direct the investigator to target and select only those who are Lutsotso native speakers and language domains that had the linguistic information needed. In this research, the criterion that the researcher used to select the informants was that: the informants were to be native speakers of Lutsotso who had been using the language mostly and had lived among the Batsotso for most of their lifetime. The study selected native speakers who had a high degree of language proficiency. It is believed that the older native speakers have continuously used the language and thus have a gained enough proficiency in their first language (L1) (Barasa 2017). On this basis, adult native speakers aged 35 years and above were included in this sample. These age brackets are recognized by the Kenya Constitution, G.O.K (2010), Article 260. The article (G.O.K 2010) describes an individual between 18 and 35 as a youth. Anyone over 18 is an adult, while the one below 18 is a child. Senior citizens are known to be people who have attained the age of 65 and above. The study regarded participants who are 35 years of age and above as the perfect representation of adulthood on the basis of this age distinction. During the informal interview the researcher wanted Lutsotso native speakers who had reached an educational standard of form four and could translate English sentences to Lutsotso well.

According to Sankoff (1980) large samples tend to be unnecessary for linguistic surveys because linguistic behavior is apparently more homogeneous than other types of human behavior studied in social survey. Sankoff (1980, p.52):

…even for quite complex linguistic communities, big samples tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytic return.

Dornyei (2007) notes that a qualitative inquiry is not concerned with how representative the sample is, but instead, the main goal of sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what is learnt.

For this reason, the study settled on a sample size of 150 participants (among them 20 informants) who were native speakers of Lutsotso. This sample size was intended to provide adequate data that would be manageable to allow for justifiable conclusions.

A linguistic sample population of ninety (90) simple sentences containing tense and aspect in Lutsotso was targeted. Ninety (90) was considered representative enough since the literature available in linguistic research cautions against the use of large sample sizes in language surveys because they appear to be impractical, redundant and on the whole unnecessary (Sankoff, 1980). The study used the corpus data collected from the field as follows: data collected from the field focusing on naturally occurring speech in which 90 sentences were collected, and texts written (Linani elialangwa mbu Kotia and Akokhwibula mwana) in Lutsotso where 10 sentences were collected. Church services, Local barazas and interpersonal interactions allowed effective self-expression and were therefore were used by the researcher to collect data. Ninety (90) sentences were collected from Butsotso and were tape recorded and later transcribed and translated. The sentences were distributed as follows;

Table 3. 3

Linguistic sample distribution in Butsotso Central

Butsotso central	Number of sentences
Interpersonal interactions from a mixed *chama*	10
Shisiru local barazas	10
Church service at Buchinga church of God	10
informal interview	10
Total	**40**

Table 3. 4

Linguistic sample distribution in Butsotso South

Butsotso South	Number of sentences
Shisango ACK	10
Emweywe local baraza	10
Interpersonal interactions from a mixed *chama* group	10
informal interview	10
Total	40

Table 3. 5

Linguistic sample distribution in Lutsotso texts

Data from texts written in Lutsotso	Number of sentences
Linani elialangwa mbu Kotia	5
Akokhwibula omwana	5

Table 3. 3 and 3. 4 illustrate the distribution of sentences sampled from Butsotso Central and Butsotso South respectively. Table 3. 5 on the other hand, shows the distribution of sentences collected from texts written in Lutsotso. Texts written in Lutsotso were analyzed through qualitative content analysis.

Informal interviews with the 20 informants were also conducted for objectivity and correctness in order to verify the validity of data collected from the above areas.

3.5 Data Collection tools

The data collecting strategy outlined here was intended to guarantee the study's objectivity. Despite the fact that the researcher is a native speaker of Lutsotso, the data used in this study came from informants with whom the researcher had direct contact. Only the data analysis makes use of the researcher's native speaker skills. The research needed data to be collected in three stages. To begin gathering data, the researcher sat in on sessions where only Lutsotso was used as a medium of communication. The researcher visited local baraza meetings, church services, and regular chama group interpersonal interactions. The linguistic output during these sessions was then tape-recorded. The recorded information was transcribed and from it the initial data of Lutsotso simple sentences were extracted. This data was described as 'initial data' because it was used to generate more relevant data of simple sentences with different verbal inflections.

3.5.1 Informal interviews

To facilitate interviews, an interview schedule was created (Appendix C). This method was used to generate linguistic output that included basic sentence structures not seen in the initial data. For instance, many of the sentences extracted from the transcribed information were presented in past tense. Therefore, informal interviews

were used to elicit linguistic output that contained syntactic structures in present tense and future tense. The researcher prompted informants to give information on current social, political and economic issues so as to get information presented in present tense. To get information presented in future tense, the informants were prompted to give information on what they thought the current issues in focus would be at a specified time in future.

3.5.2 Elicitation Technique

In the corpus of simple phrases selected from tape recordings of the researcher's sessions and informal interviews, there were insufficient simple sentences whose verbs had the necessary study verbal characteristics. This led to data gaps. The elicitation technique (elicitation tools Appendix D) was therefore, used to fill the gaps produced in the data.

Using elicitation technique, researchers may access the intuition of a native speaker in both a direct and indirect manner (Milroy1987). Therefore, using the data already available, elicitation technique was used to get different types of simple sentences from informants. The simple sentences given by informants were mainly handwritten. Elicitation technique was also used to search for invariance in the data collected.

The method made it possible for the researcher to collect linguistic information from a wide range of sources on a certain syntactic structure. An invariance test was performed on the syntactic structures whose verbs differed across the informants to gauge the range of distribution. In the invariance test, a particular simple sentence was subjected to specific transformation. Informants were asked to give the correct form of that simple sentence when taken through that transformation. The most

recurring form of that sentence was taken to be the most acceptable form, and therefore grammatical, which formed part of the final corpus. Information given by informants through elicitation technique was handwritten for analysis

3.5.3 Library research

The library research was used to gather secondary data. Data gathered in the field was supplemented with information gleaned through library research and other secondary sources. A significant amount of time was spent at the library researching relevant fields of linguistics. Public university libraries were consulted for relevant material that might have helped with the investigation. Some of the data sources included unpublished journals, manuscripts, and the Lutsotso tale books. Data was jotted down by hand in the form of notes. The SIL international manual was also used to ensure that all verbs are captured. The Bantu Orthography Manual is a resource among the Bantu sub-group of Niger-Congo languages for developing writing systems. Combined with a list of tools for Bantu linguistic knowledge and the focused advice of a coterie of respected Bantu linguistic experts, it provides a strategy for orthography growth.

3.5.4 Corpus Compilation

The data collecting techniques described in Section 3.5 were designed to gather simple sentences to create a linguistic fragment typical of Lutsotso simple sentences. The study analyzed the corpus of Lutsotso simple sentences so as to establish and describe the morphosyntactic rules affecting the morpheme structure in the verb of Lutsotso simple sentence. The final corpus constituted Lutsotso simple sentences whose verbs exhibit the following verbal properties:

(a) Agreement verbal properties:

- Number

- Person

(b) Configurational verbal properties

- Tense

(c) Inherent verbal properties

- Aspect

3.6 Pilot study

A pilot study was carried out at Butsotso East to establish the content validity of the research instruments before proceeding to the field for actual study. The results of the pilot study helped to simplify the whole research process. Preparation for the bigger project begins with a pilot study to gather data that may be used to answer any remaining doubts or concerns. Both the study's merits and shortcomings are highlighted by this (Selinger & Shohamy,1989). To determine whether or not the instruments were accurate, the researcher used test-and-retest method. The researcher made subsequent changes or modifications before proceeding to the actual field. It was during the study pilot that the researcher was able to standardize the interview questions. For example, the researcher realized the need to include a section for native speakers to translate sentences containing tense and aspect from English to Lutsotso.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data analysis involves sifting, organizing and synthesizing the data so as to arrive at the results and conclusions (Selinger & Shohamy, 1989). After data collection, irrelevant information was eliminated and the relevant data was then qualitatively analyzed at different levels. Data was taken through three levels of analysis in order to achieve the objectives. The first level of analysis was to identify the constituents of the Lutsotso verb (morpheme analysis). This involved parsing of the simple sentences into morphemes. Although the study focused on the verb in Lutsotso simple sentence, the morpheme analysis had to be carried out on the entire sentence covering the subject and the object and/or the complement. This is due to the agglutinative nature of Lutsotso. The process of parsing sentences into morphemes was guided by the morphological aspect of the Minimalist Program. The analyzed Lutsotso forms below illustrate this process:

1. im-□wa i-la-li-a i-ɲama
   3SG-dog 3SG-FUT- eat -FV SG-meat
   'The dog will eat meat'

The second level was the analysis of the morphological realizations of tense and aspect on the Lutsotso verb. This involved the analysis of Lutsotso tense and aspectual system.

The data below illustrates the process:

2. ɔmu-siani a-Ø-liitsa-nga ɔ□usuma
   SG-boy 3SG-PRS-eat-IPFV ugali
   'The boy is eating ugali'

The third and final level was the analysis of the morphosyntactic categories of tense and aspect in Lutsotso within the Minimalist Program. The order of occurrence of

tense and aspect in basic sentence structures were put in the Minimalist Program for checking purposes using the Checking Theory.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the university and a research license from NACOSTI to help gain access to the authority of the administration needed to be sought in the field while doing research. The respondents' consent was sought before involving them in the study. The respondents were assured of the confidentiality of the information that they would provide; that it would only be meant for academic purpose. Respondents had the freedom to decline participating in the study for whatever reasons.

3.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented a description of research methodology. This study was descriptive in nature and targeted a sample size of twenty informants among them two research assistants and a linguistic population of eighty simple sentences containing tense and aspect in Lutsotso. Judgement or purposive sampling technique was used to obtain the samples. The research is based on both primary and secondary sources of information. Primary sources contained the exact words the respondents said. This includes audio and video recordings as well as manuscripts. A combination of informal interviews and the elicitation method was used to get the data. In Butsotso East, a pilot study was conducted to determine the validity of the research instruments' content. A letter of reference from the university as well as a research permit from NACOSTI were requested to assist the researcher obtain access to institutions and research locations in the field. Before engaging the participants in the research, their permission was obtained.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by looking at the Lutsotso verbal structure, that is, the verb root, the final vowel and the infinitive form. This is in alignment with the first objective of the study that sought to describe the morphological constituents of the Lutsotso verb. The chapter also gives agreement in the feature, person, number, subject verb markers and object markers. This is followed by a discussion on tense and aspectual forms in Lutsotso as per the second objective of the study.

4.1 The Lutsotso verbal structure

The discussion of the Lutsotso verbal structure is crucial since Lutsotso is an agglutinative language and its verbs consist of more than one morpheme expressing a particular grammatical meaning. Like other Bantu languages, the Lutsotso morphological forms on verbs indicate agreement, tense, aspect and voice. These affixal morphemes must occur in a particular order in conformity with the grammatical rules of the language, otherwise, if they do not ungrammatical verbal forms result. Tense and aspect morphemes in Lutsotso follow the same order for all types of verb constructions. The constituents of a Lutsotso verbal form consist of a root and a final vowel suffix.

4.1.1 The verb root

The root of the verb, usually called the verb radical in Bantu studies, is the form that remains when all inflectional and derivational affixes have been removed (Kioko, 2005). The root, thus, cannot carry meaning in isolation until when various affixes are added to it. The verb root in Lutsotso, just like in many other Bantu languages,

form the nucleus of the verb structure. Since the root is bound, it requires the final vowel suffix for complete meaning as illustrated in example 1 below:

1(a) rem-

VR

(b) rem-a

VR-FV

'Cut'

The root in 1a above cannot carry meaning on its own. Example 1b carries complete meaning because the final vowel has been added.

A majority of verb roots in Lutsotso have the structure CVC as the consonantal cluster is interrupted by a vowel phoneme in the medial position. This is illustrated in the example below.

2 (a) CVC

lim-a

VR-FV

'Dig'

(b)CVC

ruk-a

VR-FV

'Tame'

(c) CVC

lɔl-a

VR-FV

'See'

(d) CVC

xup-a

VR-FV

‘Beat’

(e) CVC

li-a

VR-FV

‘eat’

In example 2 above, *lim-ruk-*, *lɔl-, xup*-and *li*-are the verb roots taking the structure CVC with the vowel (*-a)* the final position.

4.1.2 The infinitive

The infinitive is the basic form of a verb that is unmarked for person, tense, aspect, mood or concordial agreement (Payne,1986). In Lutsotso, the infinitive form of the verb is generated by prefixing ‘xu-'/uxu- to the verb stem. It's most commonly encountered in the first slot in a verbal structure. It's worth noting that the subject marker and the infinitive in Lutsotso do not co-occur.

Consider the examples below;

4(a)ɔxu-kɔn-a

INF-VR-FV

‘To sleep’

(b) xu-□aj-a

INF-VR-FV

‘To play’

5(a) *je-ɔxu-kula

SM-to-buy

‘He/she to buy’

(b)*ja-xu-waja

SM-to-graze

‘He/she to graze’

In the above examples, the infinitive forms ɔ*xu*- and *xu*- is prefixed to the root ‘-kɔn-’ in (4a) and ‘□aj’ in (4b), respectively. The verb root has the final vowel ‘-a’ as its suffix. In example (5a) and (5b) the SM *je*- and *ja*- cannot co-occur with the infinitive markers *oxu*- and *xu*-, otherwise it will lead to ungrammatical structures in Lutsotso.

4.1.3 The final vowel

The final vowel, abbreviated as FV, is added on the root of the Lutsotso verb for complete meaning. The final vowel is usually /-a/ in Lutsotso. This vowel varies depending on mood of the sentence. For example, the FV /-a/ marks the subjunctive mood which expresses a suggestion, a necessity or an indirect command/order. The FV /-a/ also marks the imperative mood which is the attitude on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance (Crystal 1976). The examples below illustrate this.

6(a) ɔ-lim-a

2SG-dig-SBJV

‘You dig’

(b) remʊl-a

slash-IMP

‘slash’

The final vowel /a/makes the subjunctive mood in (6a) above and the imperative mood in (6b) above.

4.2 Agreement

Riemsdijk and Williams (1986) define agreement (AGR) as a set of features including specifications for gender, number and person. In Lutsotso, these features must agree with the subject NP before they are eventually realized on the verb. These features must also agree with the object NP in cases where the verb inflects for an object marker. Osore (2017) notes that in Lutsotso, sentence constituents are brought into grammatical agreement by morphemes which inflect on the verb, and represent or carry the features of the subject or object. Examples of such morphemes are the subject marker (SM) and the object marker (OM). In this study, these two morphemes are referred to as subject agreement marker and object agreement marker. The feature number indicates whether an NP is plural or singular. In Lutsotso, AGR manifests the nominal features of number, class and person of lexical NPs. The NP, that is, the subject of a verb must agree in number class and person with the inflected SA in the verb. Similarly, the object NP must agree with the OA. The Lutsotso data presented agreement in number and person.

4.2.1 Agreement in class /number

The class of the subject or object in Lutsotso is an important feature that is shown in agreement. The agreement marker must reflect the class to which the NP belongs. The class prefix of the NP marks AGR. Agreement in the features number and class can be illustrated as shown in (7) below:

	Noun	AGR on the verb
7(a)	ɔmwa-na	a-lia
	SM-baby	2SG-eat
	‘Baby’	
	Class one	class one
	Singular	singular
(b)	a□a-ana	□a-lia
	SM-babies	3SG-eat
	‘Babies’	
	Class two	classes two
	Plural	plural
(c)	eʃi-fum□i	ʃi-funiʃe
	SM-chair	3SG-broken
	‘Chair is broken’	
	Class 7	class 7
	Singular	Singular
(d)	e□i-fum□I	□i-funiʃe
	SM-chairs	3PL-broken
	‘Chairs are broken’	
	Class 8	Class 8
	Plural	Plural

In (7a) above, the nominal root *-ana* is given a number specification by the prefix -a in singular form and in (7b)-□a for plural form which are the subject agreement

markers on the verb. *omwa-* and a□a- are subject agreement markers on the noun.

In (7c) and (7d), the nominal root *-fum□I* is given a number specification by the prefix *ʃi-* in singular form and □*i-* for plural form respectively, which are the subject agreement markers on the verb.

4.2.2 Subject Marking

The Lutsotso sentence takes the SVO structure. Person and number are integrated inflectional categories representing an overt subject in Lutsotso verbal form. The subject position of a Lutsotso sentence can be occupied by either a noun or a pronoun. This is observed in the subject marker on the verb which reflects person and number of the overt subject. The subject marker in the verb therefore expresses subject incorporation in the verbal form. In other words, the subject marker copies the features of the nominal subject onto the verb morphologically so that these features (person and number) - for instance 'a' is used for singular subjects with the feature specification [+ human] while [i] is used for singular subjects with the feature [-human] as seen in (8) below;

8(a)senɟe a-la-tsi-a xu-kanisa

Aunt 3SG-FUT-go-FV to-church

'Aunt will go to church'

(b)im□wa i-la-li-a i-ɲama

Dog SM-FUT- eat -FV SG-meat

'The dog will eat meat'

(c)imbusi i-la-sinzwa

Goat SM-FUT-slaughtered

'A goat will be slaughtered'

(d) ɔmu-sa;tsa a-la-rema ɔmusa:la

SM-man SM-FUT-cut tree

In (8a) and (8d), the agreement marker is *-a* because the subject *senɟe* ‘aunt’ and *ɔmu-sa:tsa* ‘man’ have the feature specification [+ human]. In (8b) and (8c) the agreement marker is *-i* because the subject *im□wa* ‘dog’ and *im□usi* ‘goat’ have the feature specification [- human].

The feature person, which represents the human nominal subject is only associated with class one and two nouns. This feature represents the human nominal subject in the verb. Three persons are distinguished in Lutsotso. These are first-, second- and third-person nominal forms. The person agreement marker exists as a bound morpheme prefixed on the main verb. Agreement in the feature person in Lutsotso is best illustrated by use of personal pronouns as in (9) below:

9(a)nda-sɔma

1SG:PST-read

‘I read’

(b)ɔ-sɔma

2SG:PRS -read

‘You read’

(c) ja-sɔma

3SG:PST-read

‘He/she read’

In (9a), *nda-* is the subject agreement marker attached to the verb *sɔma* ‘read’ while in (b) and (c) have the subject agreement markers ɔ- and *ja-* respectively, attached to

the verb *sɔma* ‘read’. It is also important to note that the subject marker on the verb also reflects person, tense and number of the overt subject.

The Lutsotso language has twenty noun classes (Osore 2009). They determine the verbal prefix to be used and the form of the final vowel in relation to tense, aspect and mood. Table 4. 1 below shows the noun classes in Lutsotso.

Table 4. 1: Lutsotso noun classes

Class	Nominal Prefix	Verb Prefix	Example	Gloss
1	ɔmu-	a-	ɔmuxana aliitsanga	the girl is eating
2	a□a-	□a-	a□axana □alitsanga	girls are eating
3	ɔmu-	ku-	ɔmusa:la kukwire	a tree has fallen
4	emi-	chi-	emisa:la chikwire	trees have fallen
5	li-	li-	liɲɔɲi li□ɔtsa ɔ□ule	a bird is eating millet
6	ama-	ka-	amaɲɔɲi xabɔtsanga	the birds are eating
7	eʃi-	ʃi-	eʃifum□i ʃifuniʃe	a chair is broken
8	e□i-	□i-	e□ifum□i □ifuniʃe	the chairs are broken
9	I(n)	ji-	iŋ’ɔmbe jitsanga	a cow is coming
10	tsi-	tsi-	tsiŋ’ɔmbe tsitsanga	cows are coming
11	ɔlu-	lu-	ɔlusa:la lufuniʃe	the stick is broken
12	tsi-	tsi-	tsisa:la tsifuniʃe	sticks are broken
13	axa-	xa-	axa:na xaliranga	a tiny baby is crying
14	ɔru-	ru-	ɔruana ruliranga	tiny babies are crying
15	ɔ□u-	□u/□w-	ɔ□usuma □ujire	ugali is ready
16	ɔxu-	xu-	ɔxulima xuwere	digging is over
17	ha-	ha-	hangɔ	at home
18	mu-	mu-	Munzu	in the house
19	xu-	xu-	xunzu	on house
20	ɔku-	ku-	ɔkundu kulitsanga	very big person is eating

Source: modified from Osore 2009

We can note that from class 1 - 14, 20 pairs differ in singular and plural, this is because nouns in these classes are countable nouns. Class 15 (ɔ□*u*-class) consists of abstract nouns such as ɔ□*uheli* 'love' and collective nouns such as ɔ□*usuma* (stiff porridge) which are found in the singular form only. Class 16 consists of verbs in the infinitive forms which are used as nouns such as ɔ*xulima* to dig and ɔ*xwey*a 'to sweep'. Class 17, 18 and 19 are locative prefixes which act as prepositions in Lutsotso. Therefore, these prefixes do not mark number. We also note that ɔ*mu*-prefix of class I and class 3 look alike. The difference is that they do not share the same concord prefixes as shown in table 1. Concord prefix for class 1 is*u*-while the concord prefix for class 3 is *ku*-. The noun morphology influences the verb morphology as observed above, the verbal prefix to be employed, as well as the form of the last vowel in relation to tense, aspect, and mood, are determined by the noun classes.

4.2.3 The object markers

The object marker in Lutsotso is prefixed to the verb root to denote an overt object in a syntactic structure. The object position can be occupied by a noun or a pronoun. It occurs as a prefix immediately before the verb root. Like the subject marker, the object marker copies the features of the noun phrase on the verb as illustrated in (10) below:

10 (a) a-la-singa ɔmwa-na

3SG-FUT-wash-FV OM-baby

'He/she will wash the baby'

(b)a-la-mu-singa

3SG-FUT-OM-wash

'He/she will wash him/her'

(c)a-la-mu-sing-a ɔmwa-na

3SG-FUT-OM-FV-wash SM-baby

‘He/she will him/her wash the baby’

In (b), the object marker is *mu-*, occurs immediately before the verb root *singa* (wash).

There is a rule governed relationship between the object marker (morpheme) and the nominal object in terms of their distributional properties. Unlike the subject marker and its nominal subject both of which may be overt in the sentence, the object marker and its nominal object are mutually exclusive in that they cannot co-occur in the same sentence. For instance, in (10a) the object is *ɔmwana* ‘baby’ while the object marker in (10b) is *-mu-*. The object *ɔmwana* ‘baby’ cannot co-occur with the object marker *-mu-* in b above. The object marker in (b) incorporates the nominal object in the verb resulting in the obligatory deletion of *ɔmwana* ‘baby’. In (10a), neither the nominal subject nor object is incorporated in the verb. Example (c) is ungrammatical due to the occurrence of the object prefix *-mu-* and nominal object *ɔmwana* ‘baby’ in the same sentence. In case the object is marked by *-mu-* is *ɔmwana* and not any other a question can be asked like;

(d) *wina ɔu-la-singa ɔmwana?

who-will-FUT-wash-baby?

‘Who will wash baby?’

(e) a-la-mu-singa

3SG-FUT-him/her-wash

‘He/she will wash him/her’

4.2.4 The Nominative and Accusative Marking

Case in Lutsotso is marked by the nominative-accusative case system. The nominative occupies the subject position while the object position is occupied by the accusative form. The nominative form is the marked form while the accusative form is the unmarked form. In the structure building process, the nominative case is checked under the specifier of the AGRs, while the accusative case is checked under the specifier of the AGRoP position. The following sentences illustrate both the nominative and accusative case forms:

11(a)ɔmu-sjani ja-xupa ɔmwana

SM-boy 3SG-beat child

'The boy beat the child.'

(b)ɔmuxana ja-lia liramwa

Girl 3SG-eat banana

'Girl ate a banana'

4.2.5 The Basic Sentence Structure

Lutsotso is a subject initial language of the SVO structure. The subject is the head of the sentence as 12 illustrates:

12□a la-tsi-a ingɔ

They/NOM FUT-go-FV home/ACC

'They will go home'

In (12), □*a-* 'they' is the subject, *-tsia- '*go' is the verb while *ingɔ* 'home' is the object.

4.3 Morphological realization of Lutsotso tense and aspect

4.3.1 Introduction

The discussion of the Lutsotso tense will be the subject of this section as per the second objective of the study. This section describes tense and aspect separately and further discusses the distribution of the two concepts. From the data, it has been noted that tense and aspect are difficult to separate since tense locates an event in time while aspect refers to the way in which an event unfolds within a given time frame.

4.3.2 Tense in Lutsotso

Tense is a grammatical category that relates the time of the action, the event or state of affairs to the time of utterance: the time of utterance being now (Trask, 1999). Tense is viewed from the perspective of the speaker. Tense relates to the point from where one decides that the system works. Tense is therefore, a deictic category and its distinction varies cross linguistically. In this case, some languages such as Ateso have two distinctions; past and non-past while others have more than two; past, present and future (Barasa 2012). According to DeCarrico (2000), tense refers to the present and past forms of verbs. Tense is a function of the verb which refers only to the time of the action. According to Comrie (1985), there are three primary tenses: present, past, and future. The past tense refers to a period of time that occurred before now, whereas the future tense refers to a period of time that occurred after now. The present tense means that the time of the situation is placed at the present moment (now). On this account, we can appropriately divide tense into three; past, present and future.

4.3.3 Tense marking in Lutsotso

Lutsotso uses verb inflection to encode tense. It also makes use of optional time adverbials such as *muma□we□we*`morning', *hamukɔlɔ□a* `evening' to emphasize specific time. The Lutsotso tense system can be represented on a straight-line diagram as in Figure 5 below.

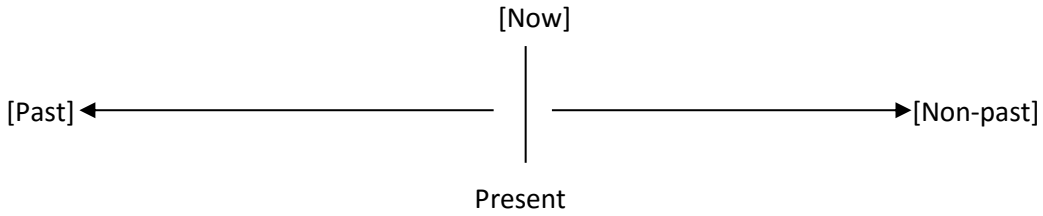

Figure 5: Representation of time.

Adapted from Comrie (1985, p. 2)

Tense in Lutsotso is distributed into the present, past and the future in four degrees as figure 6 illustrate below. These are:

1. Present
2. Past: remote past, intermediate past near past and Immediate past
3. Future: remote future, intermediate future, near future and immediate future

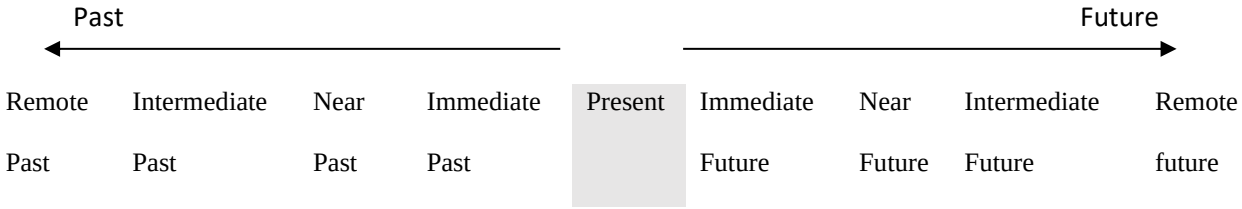

Figure 6: Lutsotso tense distribution (data from the field)

Table 4. 2 shows the distribution of Lutsotso tenses and their corresponding time frames.

Table 4. 2 Lutsotso tenses and their corresponding time frames

TENSE	TIME FRAME
Immediate Past	Just a few minutes earlier in the day
Near Past	Minutes or hours within the same day before the time of speaking
Intermediate Past	A day before speaking
Remote past	Two days, weeks, months, or a year (years) earlier
Present	Now
Immediate future	Immediately after the time of speaking
Near future	Minutes or hours after the time of speaking
Intermediate future	A day after now
Remote future	From a day to a year after now

4.3.4 Present tense

The present tense locates an event at the present moment. Comrie (1985, p.36) defines the present tense as "... coincidence of the time of the situation and the present moment." The present tense usually indicates events that are present or present continuous. Walker (2013) adds that many Bantu languages of the Great Lakes have a present tense denoted by a zero morpheme. In her study, Timbwah observed that the simple present tense is marked by a zero morpheme as a prefix in Lunyole, a language closely related to Lutsotso. Lutsotso marks the present tense non-overtly with a zero morpheme (Ø). The person and tense markers are prefixed to the verb root. Example (13a) illustrates present tense marked by zero morpheme, while 13b and 13c illustrates present continuous tense.

13 mama a-Ø-tex-a amapwɔni

Mother 3SG-PRS-cook-FV potatoes

'Mother cooks potatoes'

In example 13 the present tense is marked non-overtly by a zero morpheme.

4.3.5 Past tense

Comrie (1985, P.36) defines past tense as the "... location of the situation prior to the present moment." Accordingly, the past tense is used for verbs denoting an occurrence that happens before the moment of speaking.

1. Immediate past -This is a simple past tense indicating something that has Just happened.
2. Near past - means an action that took place a few days ago.
3. Intermediate past - means few days ago

   (Some time past today)

   More than a day and less than a week ago.
4. Far (remote) past - means long time ago; some days, months or years ago.

The past tense in Lutsotso is marked by the person marker which is also the subject agreement marker. This is unlike in Kimbeere tone contrasts and vowel length play a role in past tense marking (Gatumu 2014). The adverbials representing time help to specify the exact time as shown in 15below:

15(a)mama ja-texa e-mjɔkɔ

Mother 3SG[PT]-cook PL-cassava

'Mother cooked cassavas'

(b) □a-texa e-mjɔkɔ

3PL-cook PL-cassava

'They cooked cassavas

(c)ja-lɔla i-ngwe ɔmwaka kwawa

3SG[PST] saw SG-leopard year last

'He/she saw a leopard last year'

(d) nda-lɔla i-ngwe ɔmwaka kwawa

1SG-saw leopard last year

'l saw a leopard last year'

In (15a) above, *ja-* is the third person singular subject marker and the past tense marker while (15b) □*a-* is the third person plural subject marker and tense marker. In (15a) and (15d) the adverbial of time *omwaka kwawa* (last year) has been used along tense markers *ja-* and *nda-*.

4.3.5.1 Immediate Past

This is a simple past tense indicating something that has just happened (Comrie 1985). Immediate past is marked by *xa-* and comes after the subject agreement marker which is prefixed to the verb stem as (16) indicates:

16(a)nda-xa-□ukul-a ɔmwana

ISG-IPT-take-FV baby

'I have just taken the baby'

(b)ja-xa-ts-a □ulanɔ

3SG-IPT-come-FV now

'He/she has just come now'

(c) a□a-ʄeni □a-xa-lia

PL-visitor 3PL-IPT-eat

'visitors have just eaten'

(d) ja-xa-fua

3SG-IPT-die

‘He/she has just died’

The immediate past tense in Lutsotso is only used to emphasize on the fact that the action has taken place just now. In (b) the *-xa-* marker emphasizes the fact that he/she was not there a short time previously. In (a), (c) and (d) the immediate past tense shows that the actions have just taken place.

4.3.5.2 Near Past

As noted earlier, near past refers to an action that has taken place not long ago; minutes or hours within the same day before the time of speaking (Gatamu 2014). Near past is marked on the verb by the suffix *-il-*which is placed between the verb root and the final vowel. The illustration in (17) below show near past in Lutsotso.

17(a)ɔmwa-na a-Ø-lia ɔmuchele

SG-child 3SG-PRS-eat rice

‘The child eats rice’ (present tense)

(b)ɔmwa-na a-li-il-e ɔmuchele

SG-child 3SG-eat-NPST-FV rice

‘The child has eaten rice’

(c) nda-□u∫-il-e

1SG-wake-NPST-FV

‘He/she woke up (an hour ago/few minutes ago’

(d) a-sɔm-il-e e□aji□ɔ ŋanga jinɔ

3SG-read-NPST-FV bible today

‘He/she has read the bible today’

In (17a) above we have a zero-morpheme to indicate the present tense while in (17b) (17c) and (17d) the suffix *-il-* is placed between the verb root and the final vowel (which now changes to *-e-*) to indicate the near past tense.

4.3.5.3 Intermediate Past

Intermediate past - means few days ago (Some time past today), more than a day less than a week ago (Comrie, 1985). Intermediate past is shown by use of the person marker and the suffix *-il-* which is placed between the verb root and the final vowel as indicated in (18) below:

18(a)ja-sɔm-il-e eʃìta□u mukɔlɔ□a

He/she-read-INT.PST-FV book yesterday

'He/she read a book'

(b)ja-lim-il-e ɔmu-kunda iɲanga jali

3SG-dig-INT.PST-FV field the previous day

'He/she dug the field the previous day.'

(c)□a-kul-il-e ɔmutɔka mukɔlɔ□a

3PL-bought-INT.PST-FV car yesterday

'They bought a car yesterday'

(d) nda-xup-il-e ɔmwana

1SG-beat-INT.PST-FV child

'I beat the child'

In example (18a), above the person marker *ja-* which is attached to the verb root *-som-* is used to mark intermediate past tense together with the suffix *-il-* which is placed between the verb root and the final vowel. The person marker *ja*-in (18b) and (18c) is attached to the verb root *-lim-* and *-kul-* respectively, to mark the past tense and then together with the suffix *-il-* placed between the verb root and the final vowel to mark the intermediate past tense. In the example (18d) the person marker *nda-* is attached to the verb root *-xup-* is used to mark intermediate past tense together with the suffix *-il-* which is placed between the verb root and the final vowel.

4.3.5.4 Far (remote) Past

Far (remote) past tense is used to indicate events or situations which took place long time ago, some days, months or years ago. Far past tense in Lutsotso is marked by the person markers as illustrated in (19) below:

19(a) ja-lɔl- a im□wa ɔmwaka kwali

3SG: FPST-see-FV dog last year

'He/she saw a dog last year'

(b) ja-ɲɔ-la Kotia

3SG: FPST-found-FV Kotia

'He/she found Kotia'

(c) □a-lɔl-a im□wa

3PL: FPST-see-FV dog

'They saw a dog'

(d) ja-rum-a a□a-xasi-□e ingɔ

3SG: FPST-sent-FVPL-wives-his home

In sentence (19a) and (19b), *ja-* which is a fused marker of tense and person, is attached to the verb root *-lol-*and *-ɲola-* respectively to mark the far past tense in singular. In example (19c) □*a-* also a fused marker of person and tense, is attached to the verb root *-lɔl-*to mark far past tense in plural. In example (19d) the person marker *ja-* is attached to the verb root *-rum-*to mark the far past tense.

4.3.6 Future Tense

The future tense identifies situations that take place after the present moment. Shopen (1995, p.204) has the following…'The future is used for events subsequent to the speech moment." Lutsotso distinguishes four categories of future,

Immediate future= few moments, minutes, hours to the action

Near future = The near future tense shows events or actions that are intended to take place between today and tomorrow

Intermediate future = time ranging from a time more than a day but less than a week.

Remote future = unforeseeable.

The sub-section below illustrates structural instances of the future tense in Lutsotso.

4.3.6.1 Immediate Future Tense

Immediate Future tense indicates situations that take place immediately after the present moment (Gatumu 2014). The prefix *-la-* attached to the verb stem marks this tense as exemplified in 20 below:

20 (a)a-la-tex-a eʃili□wa

3SG-FUT-cook-FV food

'He/she will cook food'

(b)ɔ-la-tex-a eʃili□wa

2SG-FUT-cook-FV food

'You will cook food'

(c) a-la-tsex-a

3PL-FUT-laugh-FV

'They will laugh'

(d) a-la-lil-a

3SG-FUT-cry-FV

'He/She will Cry'

In example (20a) and (20b) above, the infix *-la-* is attached to the verb stem *-tex-* to mark the immediate future tense.

4.3.6.2 Near future tense

The near future tense in Lutsotso shows events or actions that are intended to take place between today and tomorrow. In the near future, instead of the final *-a-* the verb ending is *-e-*. In addition, the suffix *-na* is put before the subject agreement marker as 21 illustrates:

21(a)a-sɔm-a eʃita□u

3SG:PRS-read-FV book

'He/she reads a book'

(b)ɔmu-sjani na:-sɔm-e eʃita□u

SG-boy FUT-3SG-read-FV book

'The boy will read a book'

(c) Likɔndi na-li-sinzwe mukam□a

Sheep NFUT-3SG-slaughtered tomorrow

'A sheep will be slaughtered tomorrow'

(d) na-a-kul-e i-ndika

NFUT-he/she-buy-FV SG-bicycle

'He/She will buy a bicycle'

In (21a) above, the verb 'soma' read is in the present tense with *-a-*as the final vowel.On the other hand, in (21b) the near future tense is marked when the final vowel in the verb 'sɔma' read changes to *-e-*. In addition, the prefix *na*-which is the near tense marker is placed before the subject agreement marker *a-*. In (21c) and (21d) the prefix *na-* is placed before the subject agreement marker -li- and -a- respectively.

4.3.6.3 Intermediate future tense

Intermediate future tense indicates a time roughly more than a day but less than a week ahead. The intermediate future tense marker is *-xa-* with final vowel of the verb changed from *'a'* to *`e'*as exemplified in 22 below:

22(a)ɔmwana a-Ø-li -a ɔ□usuma

ɔmwana 3SG-PRS- eat-FV ugali

'Child eats ugali'

(b)ɔmwana ja-xa-li-e ɔ□usuma

ɔmwana 3SG-INT.FUT-eat-FV ugali

'Child will eat ugali'

(c) □a-xa-tsir-e

3PL-INT.FUT-go-FV

'They will go'

(d) Im-□wa ja-xa-lum-e li-paka

SG-dog 3SG-INT.FUT-bite-FV SG-cat

'Dog will bite the cat'

In example (22b) above, the intermediate future tense marker *-xa-* is prefixed between the person marker *ja-* (SG) and the verb stem *-li-*then the final vowel of the verb changes from *'a'* to *`e'*. In example (22c) the intermediate future tense marker *-xa-* is prefixed between the person marker □*a-* (PL) and the verb stem *-tsir-*. In example (22d) above, the intermediate future tense marker *-xa-* is infixed between the person marker *ja-* (SG) and the verb stem *-lum-*.

4.3.6.4 Remote Future Tense (distant future tense)

The distant future tense marks events or situations that occur in the unknown or unspecified far future. The distant future is marked on the verb by the prefix-*li*-. which is placed between the subject marker and the root of the verb as in 23 below:

23(a) ndi-li-its-a ingɔ

1SG-R.FUT-come -FV home

'I will come home'

(b) ɔ-li-its-a ingɔ

2SG-R.FUT-come-FV home

'You will come home'

(c) a-li-its-a ingɔ

3SG-R.FUT-come-FV home

'He/she will come home'

(d) mama a-li-xup-a a□a-ana

SG mother 3SG-REMFUT-beat-FV children

'Mother will beat children'

In (23), prefix -*li*-that marks the distant future tense is placed between the person marker and the verb stem.

Table 4. 3 shows the distribution of the present and the past tenses in Lutsotso

Table 4. 3: Present and past in Lutsotso

Present	**Immediate past**	**Near past**	**Intermediate**	**Far past (remote)**
a-Ø-lia He eats	ja-xa-lia SM-PST-eat He/she has just eaten	a-li-ile SM/PST-eat He/she ate	ja-li-ile SM/PST-eat He/she ate	ja- lia SM/PST-eat He/she ate
a-Ø-texa He/she cooks	ja-xa-texa SM-PST-cook He/she has just cooked	a-teʃ-ile SM/PST-cook He/she cooked	ja-teʃ-ile SM/PST-cook He/she cooked	ja-texa SM/PST-cook He/she cooked
a-Ø-lɔla He sees	ja-xa-lɔla SM-PST-see He/she has just seen	a-lɔl-ile SM/PST-see He/she saw	ja-lɔl-ile SM/PST-see He/she saw	ja-lɔla SM/PST-see He/she saw
a-Ø-sɔma He reads	ja-xa-sɔma SM-PST-read He/she has just read	a-sɔm-ile SM/PST-read He/she read	ja-sɔm-ile SM/PST-read He/she read	ja-sɔma SM/PAST-read He/she read
a-Ø-tsexa He laughs	ja-xa-tsexa He/she has just laughed	a-tseʃ-ile He/she laughed	ja-tseʃ-ile He laughed	ja-tsex-a He laughed

As Table 4.3 shows, the tenses that fall in the bracket of past (that is immediate past, near past, far past, intermediate past and remote past) are marked as follows: Immediate past is marked by the subject agreement marker plus *xa-* which is prefixed to the verb stem. Near past and intermediate past are marked by *a-/ja-* subject markers respectively when the subject is 3SG and the prefix *-il-*. Far/remote past tense is marked by the subject agreement markers which are also person markers.

Alongside morphological tense marking, lexical tense marking explains the use of temporal adverbials to express tense alongside a time axis. The past and future adverbials of time play a major role in expressing past and future tenses by identifying the exact time when an event happens as in (24) below.

24 mama na-je-tse mukam□a muma□wi□wi

mother FUT-SM -come tomorrow morning

'Mother will come tomorrow morning'

In 24, *na-* is the prefix marking the near future while *mukam□a* 'tomorrow' and *muma□wi□wi* 'morning' are adverbial adjuncts of time specifying the exact time the action denoted by the verb.

Table 4.4 below shows the present and future tense in Lutsotso.

Table 4. 4 Present and Future tense in Lutsotso (Data from the field)

Present	**Immediate future**	**Near future**	**Intermediate future**	**Remote future**
a-Ø- lia He eats	a-la-lia SM-FUT-eat He/she will eat	na-lie SM/FUT- eat He/she will eat	ja-xa- lie SM-FUT-eat He/she will eat	a-li-lia SM-FUT eat He/she will eat
a-Ø-texa He cooks	a-la-texa SM-FUT-cook He/she will cook	na-teʃe SM/FUT-cook He/she will cook	ja-xa -teʃe SM-FUT- cook He/she will cook	a-li-texa SM-FUT-cook He/she will cook
a-Ø-lɔla He sees	a-la-lɔla SM-FUT-see He/she will see	na-lɔle SM/FUT see He/she will see	ja-xa-lɔle SM-FUT-see He/she will see	a-li-lɔla SM-FUT-see He/she-will see
a-Ø-sɔma He reads	a-la-sɔma SM-FUT-read He/she will read	na-sɔme SM-FUT-read He/she will read	ja-xa-sɔme SM-FUT-read He/she will read	a-li-sɔma SM-FUT-read He/she will read

Table 4.4 above shows the present tense and future tense in Lutsotso. The present tense is marked by the zero morpheme which is placed between the SAM and the

verb root. Immediate future is marked by putting *la-* before the verb. Near future is marked by the prefix *na-* INT. F is marked by *-xa-* and remote future by *-li-*.

4.4 Aspect

4.4.1 Introduction

This section will deal with the analysis of aspect in Lutsotso in line with the second objective of the study. According to DeCarrico (2000) aspect refers to the internal time structure of an action, an event, or a situation. In this case aspect deals with the internal temporal shape of events or states. The internal temporal constituency of a situation can be viewed as either complete (perfective aspect) or incomplete (imperfective). Aspect relates to the grammatical viewpoints such as the perfective and imperfective forms. This includes the temporal properties of situations and the situation types as well Comrie (1976, p.3) describes aspect as 'the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. This can be viewed in the present, past or future time. This research aims to look at the features of aspect which are checked using the Checking theory of the Minimalist Program in chapter five. This section will discuss the aspectual forms in Lutsotso. Aspectual forms in Lutsotso include:

Imperfective (Progressive), Perfective, Habitual and the iterative which are discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

4.4.2 The perfective aspect

The perfective aspect of a verb expresses an action or event denoted by the verb as being completed. According to Givon (1984, p.276) 'an event is perfective if at the time -axis it has been completed'. This aspect describes completed events that occurred in the past at the time of reference. It views situations as whole and not as

distinct parts that form a situation. In the perfective aspect, the situation is viewed in its entirety independent of tense (Payne 1997). The perfective marker in Lutsotso is *-re* or *-je*.

4.4.2.1 Perfective aspect in the Past tense

The Lutsotso VP in past tense carries a perfective marker *-re* as a post modifier as shown in 25 below.

25(a) nda-li-ne-nzi-re

1SG-PST-Agrs-go-PRF

'I had, I gone'

'I had gone'

(b) wa-li-nɔ-tsi-re

2SG-PST-Agrs-go-PRF

'You had, you gone'

'You had gone'

(c)ɔmu-xana ja-li-ni-jɔsi-je eʃikɔm□e

SM-girl 3SG-PST-Agrs-wash-PRF cup

'The girl had washed the cup'

(d)xɔtsa ja-li-na-kusi-je likɔndi

uncle3SG-PST-Agrs-sell-PRF sheep

'Uncle had sold the sheep'

The perfective aspect markers in Lutsotso are *-re* and *-je* when the verb is in the past tense as (25a-d) indicates. The morphemes *-re* and *-je* are bound morphemes in complementary distribution. The occurrence of *-re* and *-je* is both syntactically and morphologically determined. They are syntactically determined due to the aspect of past tense on the VP, and morphologically determined by the form of the main verb

although it is not clear under which conditions. An analysis on VPs on Oluluhya languages seem not to establish specific morphological factors which determine the choice between the variants (Appleby 1961, Angogo 1983).

4.4.2.2 Perfective Aspect in the present tense

In Lutsotso, the verbs in perfective present tense have a marker for perfective aspect as a suffix. Like the perfective aspect on verbs in the past tense, the suffixes *-re* or *-je* express the perfective aspect in the present tense as 26 illustrates:

26(a) e-nzi-re ingɔ

1SG:PRS-go-PRF home

'I have gone home'

(b)mama a-kasi-je ingara

mother 3SG:PRS-make-PRF ring

'Mother has made a ring'

The suffixes *-re* in (26a) and *-je* in (26b) are bound morphemes in complementary distribution which express perfective aspect.

4.4.2.3 Perfective aspect in the future

The perfective aspect in the future tense is expressed by use of the suffix *-re* or *-je* which are suffixed to the verb. These are the same suffixes that mark the perfective aspect in the present and past tense. The sentences in example (27) below illustrates the perfective aspect in the future tense.

27(a) a□a-ana □a-la-□a-□a tsi-re jɔ

PL-children 3PL-FUT-AuxV SM- go-PRF ADV

'The children will have gone there'

(b) □a-la-□a □a-kasi-je e□i-fum□i

3PL-FUT-AuxV SM-make-PRF PL-chairs

‘They will have made chairs’

(c) a-la-□ana-fwi-re

3SG-FUT-AUXV SM-die-PRF

‘He/she will have died’

(d) nda-la-□a ni-li-re

1SG-FUT-AUXV SM-eat-PRF

‘I will have eaten’

In the example (27) above, the suffixes *-re* and *-je* occur on the VP as bound morpheme in complementary distribution. The perfective aspect in the future tense has the AuxV-□*a*. The AuxV-□*a* is prefixed with the SM and future tense morphemes *-la-*.

4.4.2.4 Imperfective Aspect (the progressive)

Imperfective aspect is a grammatical notion which indicates that an action is not complete, is in progress or developing (Payne, 1997). The major focus is in the middle phase. Within the continuing process, the end and the beginning of the process is not specified. Lutsotso has the present, past and future forms of the imperfect aspect. The Imperfective aspect in Lutsotso is marked by suffixes-*nga-* and *-nɲia.*

4.4.2.5 Imperfective Aspect in the present, past and future

Imperfective aspect in the present explains an ongoing activity within the present moment at the time of speaking (Payne 1997). In Lutsotso, this aspect is marked by suffixes *-nga* or *-nɲia* as bound morpheme as illustrated in 28 below:

28(a) a-Ø-som-a-nga

3SG-PRS-read-FV-IPFV

‘He/she is reading’

(b)ɔmu-sjani a-li:ts-a-nga ɔmukate

SG-boy 3SG[PRS]-eat-FV-IPFV bread

‘The boy is eating rice’

(c)a-li:si-nɲia ɔmwana

3SG[PRS]feed-IPFV baby

‘He/she is feeding the baby’

(d)□a-kasi-nɲia e□i-mwerɔ

3PL[PRS]make-IPFV PL-baskets

‘They are making baskets’

The markers for the imperfective aspect are *-nga* as in (28a and 28b) and *-nɲia* as in (28c and 28d). The imperfective markers *-nga* and *-nɲia* are in complementary distribution with their occurrence morphologically determined. The occurrence of *-nga* or *-nɲia* is influenced by the environment that surrounds them. This is what is happening in the occurrence of *-nga* and *-nɲia* in (28a), (28b), (28c) and (28d). The morpheme *-nga* appears where the preceding sound is the low open vowel /a/ as in (28a and 28b) while *-nɲia* appears where the preceding sound is /i/ as in (28c and 28d) above.

Imperfective aspect in the past explains an on-going process that took place in the past and continued within an unspecified time in the past (Crystal, 1997, p. 283). In Lutsotso, the suffix *-nga* and *-nɲia* are the imperfective morphemes with the SAM marking the past tense. Consider (29) below:

29(a) ja-sɔma-nga e□aji□ɔ

3SG[PST]-read-IPFV bible

‘He/she was reading a bible’

(b)papa ja-kusi-nɟia emikɔje

papa 3SG[PT]-sell-IPFV ropes

'Father was selling ropes'

(c)a□a-ana □a-recheresi-nɟia tsinganɔ

3PL-children 3PL[PT] listen-IPFV stories

'Children listened to stories'

(d) ja-imba-nga tsi-ɲin□ɔ

3SG[PT]song-1PFV PL-songs

'He/She was singing songs'

The imperfective in the future indicates a process that will go on in the future. The future is based on the present moment of speaking (Crystal, 1997, p.283). The imperfective future in Lutsotso uses the morphemes *-nga* and -nɟ*ia* together with the future time marker as (30a) and (30b) illustrate:

30(a) a-li-saja-nga

3SG-FUT-pray-IPFV

'He/she will (be) praying'

(b) a□a-xa:na □a-li-ɔsi- nɟia tsisiɔngɔ

PL-girl 3PL-FUT-wash-IPFV pots

'The girls will be washing pots'

(c) m-li-texa-nga ama-pwɔni

2PL-FUT-COOK-1PFV potatoes

'You will be cooking potatoes'

(d) □a-xa-kusi-nɟie tsi-ngɔxɔ

3PL-INTFUT-sell-IPFV PL-chicken

'They will be selling chicken'

4.4.3 Habitual

Habitual aspect indicates a regular occurrence of a situation either in the past, present or future Crystal (1997). In this case, the situation or act takes place over a stretch of time. Crystal (1997) defines habitual as a situation in which an action is viewed as lasting for an extended period of time. In this regard, it is not considered as an accident but a characteristic feature of a whole period. The habitual Aspect functions to indicate that an action is a habit (that it takes place repeatedly or always). Apart from marking the daily present, the habitual marker is also used to mark past and future habitual. The habitual marker in Lutsotso is *-nga/nge.*

Habitual in the present indicates a situation which occurs over an extended period of time in the present (Crystal, 1997). The habitual present in Lutsotso is marked by the morpheme *-nga*, a habitual marker, together with the zero morpheme marking for present tense. The immediate past is marked by the morpheme *-xa* while the present is marked by the zero morpheme. The habitual present is indicated in 31a and 31b below:

31(a)a-Ø-kɔn-a-nga

3SG-PRS-sleep-FV-HB

‘He/she sleeps’ (always)

(b)li-pu:si li-Ø-nƗwets-a-nga ama□e:le

SM-cat SM-PRS-drink-FV-HB milk

‘The cat drinks milk’

(c) ɔmwa-na a-nun-a-nga

SM-baby 3SG-suckle-FV-HB

‘Baby suckles’

(d) □a-ɲwets-a-nga amalwa

3SG-drink-FV-HB wine

'They drink wine'

The habitual past indicates situations that took place in the past regularly (Comrie, 1976). The situation indicated took place over an extended period of time. The habitual marker *-nga/-nge/-nɻe* (with *-xa* marking the immediate past tense) is used in Lutsotso to indicate habitual past. See (32) below for illustration:

32(a)a□a-ana □a-xa-kɔn-a-nga

3PL-child 3PL-IM.PT-sleep-FV-HB

'The children used to always slept'

(b)□a-tsile-nge mukanisa ɔmwaka kwali

3PL[RPT]-go-HB church year last

'They used to go to church last year'

(c)ja-lɔnga-nga tsisiɔngɔ

3SG[RPT] -model-HB pots

'He/she used to model pots'

The habitual marker *-nga/-nge/-nɻe* is suffixed on the verb as illustrated in the above examples (with *-xa* marking the immediate past tense) to indicate habitual past.

The habitual future is used to indicate events that are expected to take place regularly in the future. The habitual occurrence is marked by the morpheme *-nga/nge/nɻe* which indicates that the situation is a habit together with the future tense marker as 33 illustrates:

33(a)a□a-ana na-□a-sɔme-nge

SM-children N.FUT-3SG-read-HB

‘The children will be reading’ (near future)

(b)□a-li-lima-nga ɔmukunda

3PL-R.FUT-dig-HB shamba

‘They will dig shamba’ (remote future)

(c) a□a-sɔmi na-□a-xɔle-nɟe amare□ɔ

SM-learners N.FUT-do-HB examinations

‘Learners will be doing examinations’ (near future)

Notably, the habitual aspect in Lutsotso is marked by *-nga/-nge/-nɟe* which are suffixed on the verb as shown in(33a), (33b) and (33c) above. The habitual marker *-nga/nge* is used with both the present tense, future and past form of the verb to express the habitual nature of the action. The habitual marker *-nɟe* is used to indicate that the activity will be done regularly. Table 4. 5 illustrates how aspects co-occur in the past.

Table 4. 5: Co-occurrence of aspects in past

ASPECT	IMMEDIATE PAST	NEAR PAST	INTERMEDIATE PAST	REMOTE PAST
PERFECT	ja-xa-tsi-a He has just gone	ja-tsii-re He went	ja-tsii-re He went	ja-tsia He went
PERFECTIVE ASPECT	ja-xa-tsi-re He/she has just gone	ja-li-na-tsii-re He had gone	ja-li-na-tsii-re He had gone	ja-li-ni-jatsi-re He had gone
HABITUAL ASPECT	ja-xa-tsitsa-nga He/she has been going	a-tsile-nge He used to go	ja-tsile-nge He used to go	ja-tsitsa-nga He used to go
IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT	ja-xa-tsitsa-nga He/she has been going	a-tsile-nge He was going	ja-tsile-nge He was going	ja-tsitsa-nga He was going
ITERATIVE ASPECT	ja-xa-tsitsa-tsitsa. he has gone (frequently)	a-tsile-tsile he-went-went	a-tsile-tsile he/she went-went	ja-tsitsa-tsitsa he went (Frequently)

Source: data from the field

4.4.4 Iterative Aspect (Frequentive)

Iterative aspect indicates situations that are repeated or are done over and over again (Comrie 1976). The events or situations repeated occur one after the other. In Lutsoso, the repeated situation is indicated by complete reduplication of the verb root and the final vowel. The repeated situation may take place both in the present, past and the future. Time adverbials may also be used alongside the iterative aspect also called, frequentive. The following examples 34,35, and 36 indicate the Iterative aspect in the present, past and future (frequentive):

34(a)ɔmu-xana a-Ø-tʃing-a-tʃing-a-nga ɔmwana □ulanɔ

SG-girl 3SG-PRS-carry-FV-carry-FV-IMP baby now

'Girl is carrying the baby repeatedly now.'

(b)a-Ø-kɔn-a-kɔn-a □uliʃise

3SG-PRS-sleep-FV-sleep-FV every time

'He/ she sleeps every time repeatedly.'

(c)□a-Ø-rem-a-rem-a emisa:la □ulanɔ

3PL-PRS-cut-FV-cut-FV trees now

'They are cutting trees repeatedly now'

The iterative aspect in the past is illustrated in sentence 35.

35(a)ɔmu-xana ja-tʃing-a-tʃing-a ɔmwana omwaka kwali

SG-3SG 3SG[PST]-carry-FV-carry-FV baby last year

'Girl carried the baby repeatedly last year.'

(b)ja-kɔn-a-kɔn-a iɲanga jali

3SG[PST]-sleep-FV-sleep-FV day previous

'He/she slept repeatedly the previous day'

(c)□a-rem-a-rem-a emisa:la ɔmwaka kwali

3PL[PST]-cut-FV-cut-FV trees year previous

'They cut trees repeatedly the previous year'

From the data, the past is marked on the SAM and the present by a zero morpheme alongside the time adverbials. Reduplication occurs in both the past and present forms to show iterative aspect.

4.4.5 Iterative Aspect in the future

Lutsotso uses the iterative aspect in the future is used to indicate events that are expected to take place several times in the future. Just like the past and present, the iterative aspect in the future is marked through reduplication of the verb root and the final vowel in the verbal form that express a repeated situation. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of the iterative aspect in the immediate, near and remote (distant) future.

36(a) a□a-sjani □a-la-rem-a-rem-a emi-sa:la iɲanga jinɔ

3PL-boy 3PL-IM.FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV SM-trees today

'Boys will cut trees repeatedly today'(immediate)

(b) a□a-sjani na □a-rem-e-rem-e emi-sa:la

3PL-boy N.FUT 3PL-cut-FV-cut-FVPL-tree

'Boys will cut trees repeatedly' (near)

(c) a□a-sjani □a-li-rem-a-rem-a emi-sa:la

3PL-boy SM-R.FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV PL-tree

'Boys will cut trees repeatedly' (distant)

In above examples, the iterative aspect in the future is marked through reduplication of the verb root and the final vowel in the verbs *-rema-rema*-and *-reme-reme* in the

verbal form. The examples illustrate the occurrence of the iterative aspect in the immediate, near and remote (distant) future.

4.4.6 Co-occurrence of Aspects

The section that follows discusses a combination of the iterative aspect with the habitual, perfective and imperfective aspect in Lutsotso.

4.4.6.1 Iterative and Habitual Aspect in the Present

The iterative and habitual aspect in the present explains a situation within the present moment. The habitual marker *-nga/nge/nɟe* with a zero morpheme marks the present habitual. The reduplication of the verb marks the combination of the iterative and habitual aspect as (37a) and (37b) illustrates.

37(a)a-Ø-sɔm-a-sɔm-a-nga e□aji□ɔ

3SG-PRS-read-FV-read-FV-HB bible

'He/she reads a bible repeatedly.'

(b)a-Ø-tsex-a-tsex-a-nga

3SG-PRS-laugh-FV-laugh-FV-HB

'They laugh repeatedly.'

(c) □a-Ø-lil-a-lil-a-nga

3SG-PRS-cry-FV-cry-FV-HB

With the zero morpheme marking the present, the habitual marker *-nga* is suffixed on the verb *-sɔma-sɔma-*,*-tsexa-tsexa-*and *-lila-lila-*whose roots and final vowels have been reduplicated to capture the combination of the iterative and habitual aspect as (37)illustrates.

4.4.6.2 Iterative and Habitual Aspects in the Past

The combination of the iterative and habitual aspects in the past, the two merged aspects combine with the immediate past marked by the prefix [-*xa*-] and remote (distant)past tense marked by [-*ja*-] or [□*a*-] to indicate the iterative and habitual aspect in the past.The habitual marker is *-nga/-nge/-nɟe* while the iterative marker involves the reduplication of the verb root and the final vowel as (38) illustrates:

38 (a) a□a-xa:na □a-xa-hɔm-a-hɔm-a-nga i-nzu

SG-girl/NOM 3PL-IMPST-smear-FV-smear-FV-HB SG-house/ACC

'Girls used to smear the house frequently' (immediate past)

(b)a□a-xa:na □a-hɔm-a-hɔm-a-nga i-nzu

3PL-girl/NOM 3PL[RPST]-smear-smear-HB SG-house/ACC

'Girls used to smear the house repeatedly' (remote past)

In the above examples, the iterative and habitual aspects in the past combine with the immediate past marked by the prefix [-*xa*-] and remote (distant)past tense marked by [- *ja*-] or [□*a*-] to indicate the iterative and habitual aspect in the past. The habitual marker is *-nga/-nge/-nɟe* while the iterative marker involves the reduplication of the verb root *homa-homa-* as illustrated in 38.

4.4.6.3 Iterative and Habitual Aspect in the Future

In explaining the combination of the iterative and habitual aspect in the future, there is reduplication of the verb root to mark the iterative form. The habitual marker in Lutsotso is *-nga/-nge*.

39(a) a-la-xup-a-xup-a-nga ɔmwa-na

3SG-IM.FUT-beat-FV-beat-FV-HB SG-child

'He/she will beat the child repeatedly'

(b) na-□a-xup-a-xup-e-nɬe ɔmwa-na

NFT-3PL-beat-FV-beat-FV-HB SG-child

'They will beat the child repeatedly'

(c) □a-li xup-a-xup-a-nga ɔmwa-na

3PL-R.FUT-beat-FV-beat-FV-HB SG-child

'They will beat the child frequently'

The reduplication of the verb root and the final vowel marks the iterative, the future tense markers will mark the future tense, while the habitual aspect is marked by *-nga/nge*.

4.4.7 Co-occurrence of the Iterative and the Perfective Aspect

The combination of the iterative and the perfective can be expressed in the present, past and future tenses.

4.4.7.1 Iterative and perfective aspect in the past

The Iterative aspect and the perfective aspect indicate completed action in the past that was done repeatedly. The combination of the iterative and perfective aspect is marked by verb root and final vowel reduplication together with the suffixes *-re-/ -je-/-ja-ra*. This combination occurs in the immediate, near (recent) and remote (distant) past distinctions as illustrated in 40 below:

40(a)a□a-siani □a-rem-e-rem-e-re emisa:la

SM-boy 3PL-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF trees

'The boys have cut trees repeatedly' (immediate past)

(b)a□a-sjani □a-li-□a- rem-e-rem-e-re emisa:la

SM-boys 3PL-AuxV-SM-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF trees

'The boys had cut trees repeatedly' (near past)

(c)□a-kusia-kus-i-ja e□ita□uɔmwaka kwali

3PL-sold-FV-sold-FV-PRF books last year

'They sold books frequently' (remote/distant past)

(d)ja-tsex-a-tsex-e-re

3SG-laugh-FV-laugh-FV-PRF

'He/she laughed repeatedly' (remote past)

The reduplication of the Lutsotso verb root and final vowel (40a, b, c and d) indicates iterative aspect. Past tense is marked by the subject marker, while the perfective aspect is marked by '*re*' as indicated in (40a, b and d), and '*ja*' in (40c).

The variants of the perfective aspect markers are dependent on the morpho-structural form of the verb which is outside the scope of this study.

4.4.7.2 Lutsotso co-occurrence of iterative and perfective aspect in the future

The combined iterative and perfective aspect in the future is marked by reduplication of the verb and final vowel. The suffix -ra, or -re further marks the perfective aspect. This combination of iterative and perfective in the future indicates a completed action that repeatedly takes place in the future. The co-occurrence matches the perfective aspect, the future tense form and the iterative. Examples(40e-h) illustrate the co-occurrence of the iterative and perfective in immediate future, near future, intermediate future and remote future using the verb *rem-a* 'cut'.

40 (e)a-la-rem-a-rem-e-ra mama ɔmusa:la

3SG-FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF mother tree

'He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently' (immediate future)

(f)a□a-siani na-□a-rem-a-rem-e-re mama ɔmusa:la

SM-boys FUT-3PL-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF mother tree

'Boys will cut a tree for mother frequently' (near future)

(g)ja-xa-rem-a-rem-e-re mama ɔmusa:la

3SG-FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF mother tree

‘He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently’ (intermediate future)

(h)a-li-rem-a-rem-e-ra mama ɔmusa:la

3SG-FUT-cut-FV-cut-FV-PRF mother tree

‘He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently’ (remote future)

There is co-occurrence of iterative and perfective in immediate future example (40e). In these instances, the future tense marker is *-la* while the perfective marker is *-ra.* (40f) is the cooccurrence iterative and perfective in the near future and the future tense marker is *na-* and the perfective marker is *-re*. As illustrated in (40f) the co-occurrence of iterative and perfective in intermediate future and the future tense marker here is *-xa-* and perfective marker is *-re*. In (40h) is the cooccurrence of iterative and perfective in remote future where the future tense marker is *-li-* and the perfective marker is *-ra.* In all the cases above, verb root and final vowel reduplication marks the iterative.

4.4.8 Co-occurrence of the iterative and the imperfective Aspect

The combination of the iterative and the imperfective can be expressed in the present, past and future tenses.

4.4.8.1 Iterative and the imperfective in the present, past and future

The iterative and the imperfective in the present is marked by verb root and final vowel reduplication for the iterative aspect, and the morpheme *-nga* and *-nɲia* for imperfective aspect with a zero-morpheme marking the present time. This is exemplified in 41 below:

41(a)a-□aj-a-□aj-a-nga ɔmupira

3SG-play-FV-play-FV-IPFV ball

‘He/she is playing ball repeatedly’

(b)□a-tex-a-tex-a-nga amapwɔni

3PL-cook-FV-cook-FV-IPFV-FV potatoes

'They are cooking potatoes repeatedly'

In the above examples, the iterative and imperfective aspect in the present is formed by the present tense marked by the zero morpheme and then the verbs-□*aja*-□*aja*- and -*texa-texa*- have been reduplicated to mark the iterative. Then -*nga* which is an imperfective aspect marker is suffixed on the verb.

The imperfective morpheme -*nga/nge/nɲe*- with the SAM marking the past combines with the iterative which is formed by the reduplication of the verb root and final vowel to mark the iterative and the imperfective in the past. This is exemplified in 42 below:

42(a)ja-xa-lɔl-a-lɔl-a-nga e□iʃienɔ

3SG-IPT-see-FV-see-FV-IPFV ghosts

'He/she has been seeing devils repeatedly' (immediate past)

(b)ja-lɔl-a-lɔlil-e-nɲe e□iʃienɔ

3SG-see-FV-see-FV-IPFV ghosts

'He/she was seeing ghosts repeatedly' (near past)

(c)□a-lɔl-a-lɔ-la-nga e□iʃienɔ

3PL-see-FV-see-FV-IPFV ghosts

'They were seeing ghosts repeatedly' (remote past)

(42a) illustrates a combination of iterative and imperfective in the immediate past, (42b) shows the near past while (42c) shows the same combination in remote past (Distant past).

The iterative and the imperfective in the future are marked by a combination of the future marker, verb reduplication for iterative aspect and the imperfective marker -*nga/-nɲia/-nɲe*. This can be illustrated in 43 below:

43(a) mama a-la-ʃin-a-ʃin-a-nga

mother 3SG-IMF-dance-FV-dance-FV- IPFV

'Mother will be dancing repeatedly' (immediate future)

(b)a□a-ndu na-□a-ʃin-a-ʃin-e-nɲe

PL-person N.FUT-AuxV-dance-FV-dance-FV-IPFV

'People will be dancing repeatedly' (near future)

(c)□a-li-ʃin-a-ʃin-a-nga

3PL-RFUT-dance-FV-dance-FV-IPFV

'They will be dancing repeatedly' (remote future)

The sentences in (43a), (43b) and (43c) illustrate the co-occurrence of the iterative and the imperfective aspects in the immediate, near and remote future respectively. The Table below gives a summary of the co-occurrence the iterative and the habitual aspect, iterative and perfective, iterative and imperfective aspects in the present and past tense.

Table 4. 6: Co-occurrence of aspects in present and past tense in Lutsotso

ASPECT	Present	Immediate past	Near past	Far past remote) (Remote past)
Iterative and Habitual aspect	a-hɔma-hɔma-nga He smears frequently	ja-xa-hɔma-hɔma-nga He/she used to smear repeatedly	a-hɔma-hɔmile-nɟe He/she smeared repeatedly	ja-homa-homa-nga He/she smeared repeatedly
Iterative and perfective	a-texa-texe-re He cooks repeatedly	ja-xa-texa-texe-re He/she has just cooked repeatedly	a-texa-xe-re He/she cooked repeatedly	ja-texa-texe-re He/she-cooked Reapeatedly
Iterative and imperfective Aspect	a-lɔla-lɔla-nga ebiʃienɔ He sees ghosts frequently	ja-xa-lɔla-lɔla-nga ebiʃienɔ He/she has been seeing ghosts frequently	a-lɔ-lɔlil-nɟe ebiʃienɔ He was seeing ghosts always Frequently	ja-lɔla-lɔla ebiʃienɔ He saw ghosts frequently

Source: data from the field

Table 4. 7: Co-occurrence of aspects in future tense in Lutsotso

Aspect	Immediate future	Near future	Intermediate future	Remote future
Iterative and habitual	a-la-xupa-xupa-nga ɔmwana He/she will beat the child repeatedly	na-xupa-xupe-nɟe ɔmwana He/she will beat the child repeatedly	ja-xa-xupa-xupe-nɟe ɔmwana He/she will beat the child Repeatedly	a-li-xupa-xupa-nga ɔmwana He/she will beat the child repeatedly
Iterative and perfective	a-la-rema-reme-ra mama ɔmusal:a He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently	na-rema-reme-re mama ɔmusa:la He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently	ja-xa-rema-reme-re mama ɔmusa:la He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently	a-li-rema-reme-ra mama ɔmusala He/she will cut a tree for mother frequently
Iterative and imperfective	a-la-ʃina-ʃina-nga He/she will be dancing repeatedly	na-ʃina-shine-nɟe He/she will be dancing	ja-xa-ʃina-shine-nɟe He/she will be dancing repeatedly	a-li-ʃina-ʃina-nga He/she will be dancing repeatedly

Source: data from the field

The immediate (IM.FUT) future, near future (NFT) intermediate future (INT.FUT) and remote future (R.FUT) are marked overtly. Immediate future is marked by putting *la-* before the verb. Near future is marked by the prefix *na-* INT. FUT is marked by *-xa-* and remote future by *li-*.

Figure 7 below shows the co-occurrence of iterative and habitual aspects, the iterative and the imperfective and the iterative together with the perfective aspect.

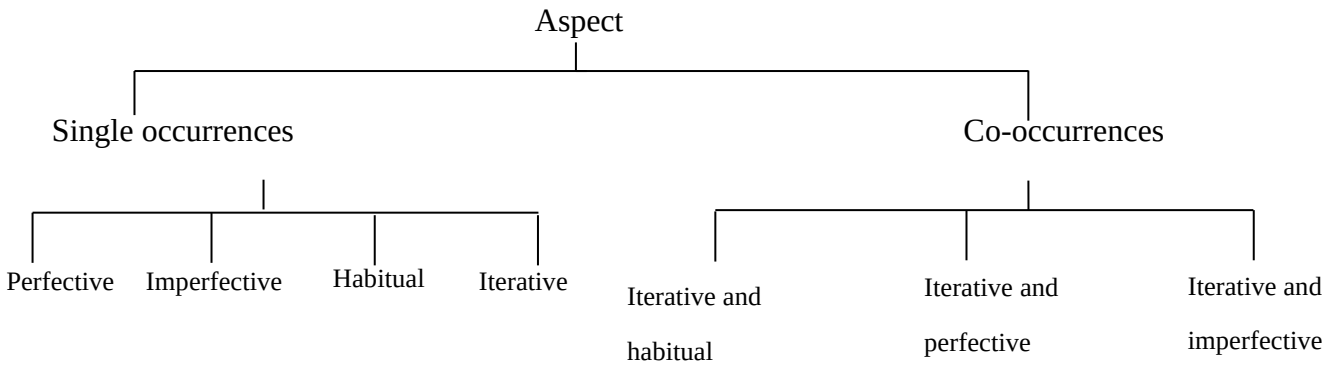

Figure 7: Summary of Lutsotso Aspectual categories

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter examined tense as one of the morphosyntactic features of the Lutsotso verbal form. The morphological tense marking discussed has a syntactic as well as a semantic effect related to time on sentences. The lexical time adverbials such as *mukam□a* 'tomorrow' are important in expressing the specific time when an action happens. This chapter has also discussed aspect in Lutsotso. The aspects that have been discussed include the perfective the imperfective, habitual and iterative. The study has revealed that the perfectives and the imperfectives are morphologically marked. The imperfective occurs in the past, present and the future. The imperfective past is marked by the morpheme *-nga/nɲia/* with the person marker *ja-* marking the past, the imperfective present is marked by the morpheme *-nga/nɲia* with a zero morpheme marking time in the present. The imperfective future uses the morpheme *-nga/nɲia* together with the future marker *-la /na/li* and adverbials indicating time in the future. The perfective is marked by the morpheme *-re/je*. The analysis in this chapter has also revealed that habitual in Lutsotso exist in three forms. There is the habitual past which is marked by the morpheme *-nga/nge* alongside past tense markers and the habitual present marked by the morpheme *-nga/nge* plus the zero morpheme. The habitual future is also marked by the morpheme *-nga/nge* together with the future lexical expressions such as *'mukam□a'* tomorrow and *'muma□wi□wi'* morning. The iterative is marked by reduplication of the verb root. The co-occurrence of iterative and habitual aspects, the iterative and the imperfective and the iterative together with the perfective aspect is discussed. The next chapter discusses the morphosyntactic features of tense and aspect in Lutsotso.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC FEATURES OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN LUTSOTSO

5.0 Introduction

The third objective of the research is addressed in this chapter, which looks at the morphosyntactic features of tense and aspect in Lutsotso. Chapter Four shows how the present, past, and future tenses are divided up in Lutsotso as seen in Figure 6 in chapter 4. The various categories of aspect which include; the imperfective, perfective, habitual and the iterative have been discussed. The aspect groupings provide evidence that the functional category aspect is licensed in Lutsotso and it is marked morphologically in the verbal form. Feature checking requires a head that is built in structure building process for feature checking in order to bring out a grammatical derivation.

5.1 Feature checking

The Minimalist Program's feature checking theory says that lexical categories' features must be verified in an acceptable way (Chomsky 1995).

The accuracy of grammatical and inflectional features is tested against the syntactic positions they occupy in sentence structures. By creating positions throughout the structure-building process, checking becomes more necessary. The process of structure building is motivated by necessity. Structures are built only if they are licensed by the morpho-syntactical or lexical information of the lexicon that can be drawn from the morphological or lexical evidence of the language. If case assignment is not required under the particular head relationship, Lutsotso language may generate partial trees with a head but no complement. Full interpretation permits feature structure by allowing the creation of heads and specifiers that are suitable for

various types of feature checking. The inflectional features for tense TNS and ASP are checked in the appropriate specifier position.

5.1.1 The Basic Sentence Structure in Lutsotso

The basic sentence structure of Lutsotso is subject, verb, object (SVO). This implies that the Lutsotso sentence is headed by the subject as illustrated in example 44 below. According to the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program, the subject, the verb and the object move for the purpose of checking relevant features.

The subject *a□asomi* ‘learners’ moves from the specifier of VP (SPEC/VP) position to the specifier of the AGRs to check nominative case features. The verb *□alatsia* ‘will go’ moves from its base position to the V in the VP to AGRO/AGRO' to check object agreement features, TNS/TNS' to check tense features and finally lands at AGRs/AGRs' where subject agreement features are checked. The object *ingo* ‘home’ moves from NP position to SPEC/AGROP to check accusative case. Sentence 44 is represented by Figure 8.

44 a□asɔmi □alatsia ingɔ

S V O

‘Learners will go home’

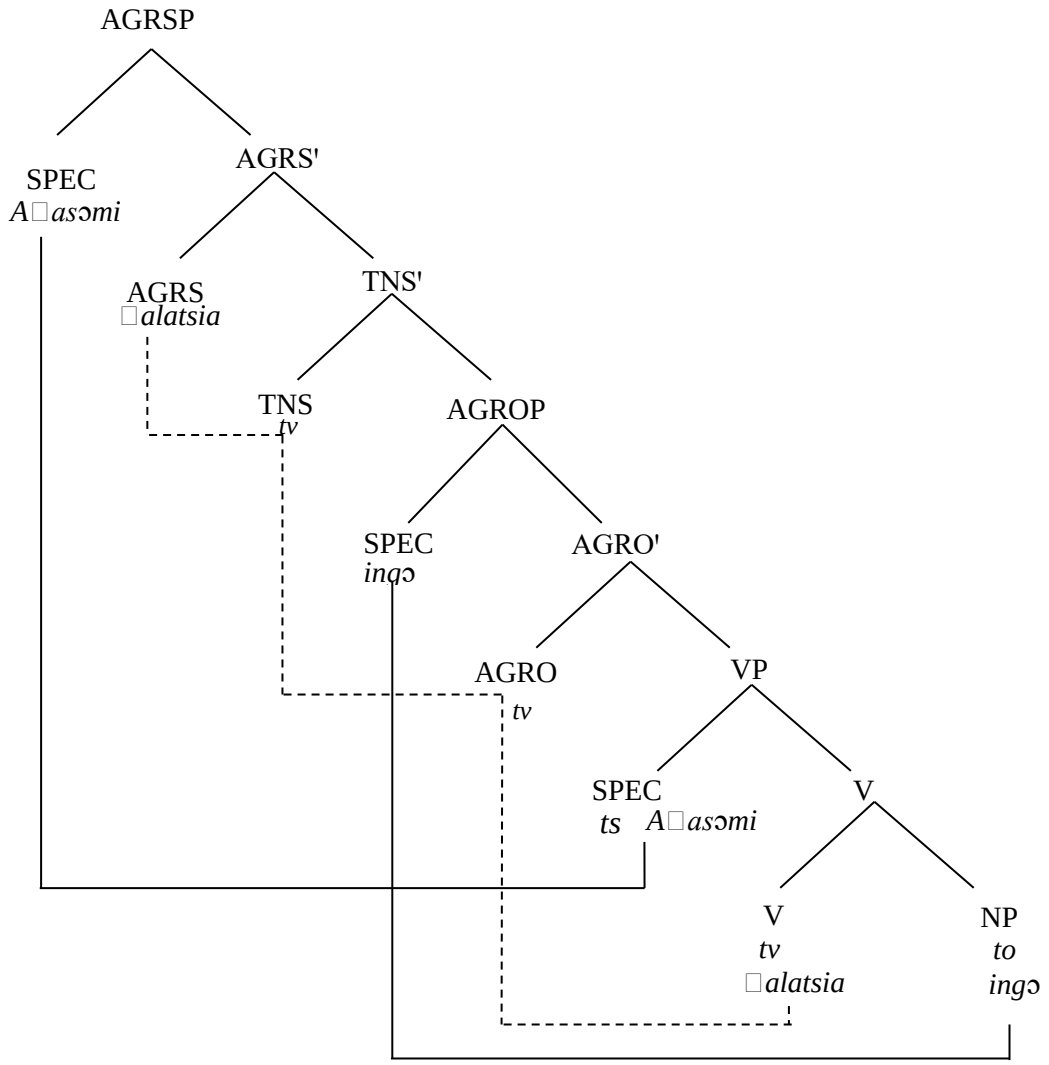

Figure 8: The basic sentence structure of Lutsotso

5.1.2 The Present Tense in Lutsotso

The tense structure construction procedure is the same for all three tense types (present, past and future). Since these structures will be the same, the present tense will be used in the structure building process to represent the rest. The present tense is marked non-overtly with the zero morpheme [Ø] which necessitates movement to the TNS head for feature checking and so a TNS head is created. The verb also has morphemes that mark subject agreement and heads will be created to enable feature checking for these features.

In the structure building for the present tense, the TNS/TNS' head will be built to check for tense features, AGRS/AGRS' head will be created to check subject agreement feature, SPEC/AGRSP for checking nominative case, SPEC/VP to provide a position for the subject as Figure 9 below illustrates.

Sentence 45 is represented by Figure 9

45 mama a-Ø-tex-a amapwɔni

Mother 3SG-PRS-cook-FV potatoes

'Mother cooks potatoes'

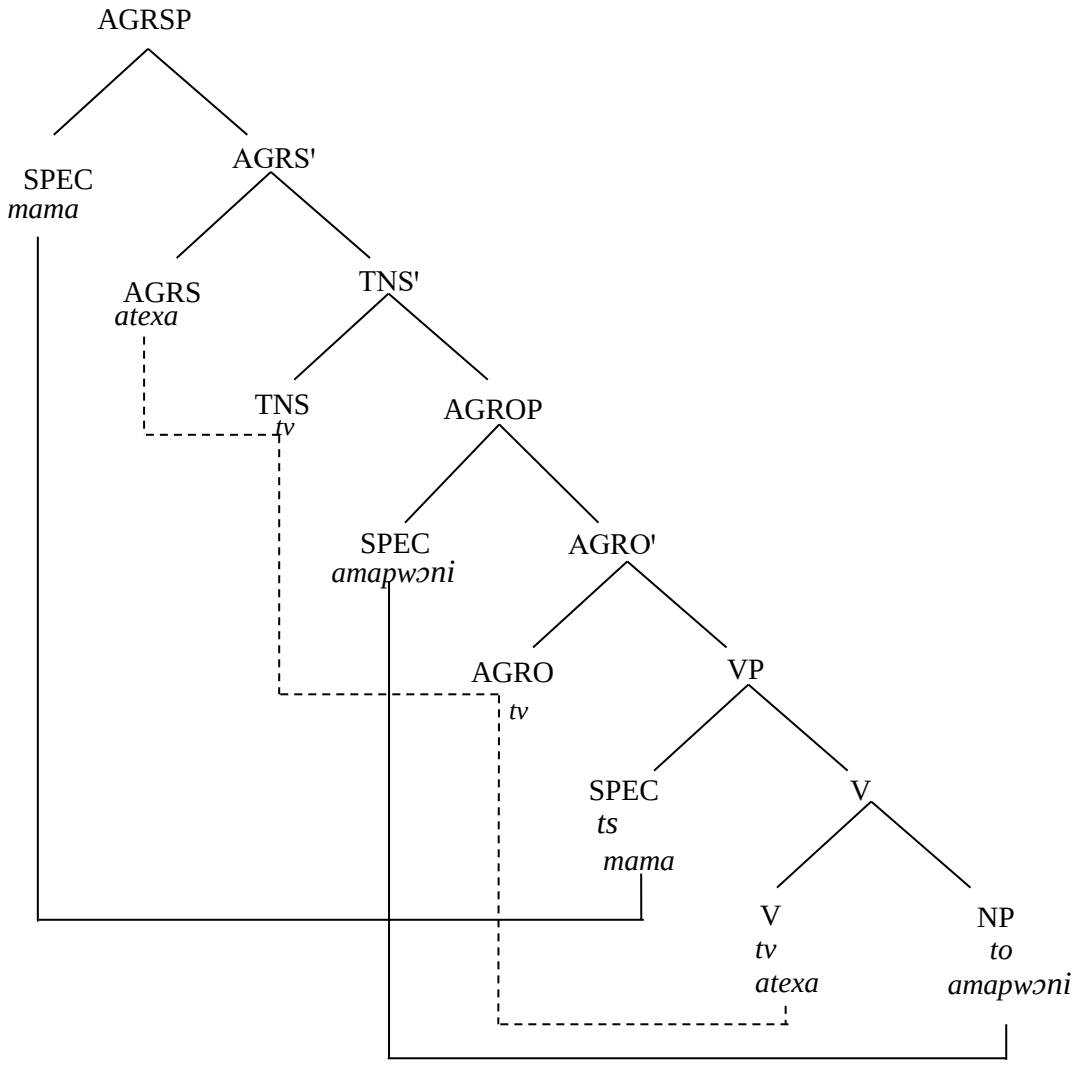

Figure 9: The present tense feature in Lutsotso

As shown in figure 9, the verb atexa ‘is cooking’ moves from its base position to TNS/TNS' head to check appropriate tense (present), then it lands at AGRS/AGRS' head to check agreement with the subject mama ‘mother’. The subject mama ‘mother’ moves from the specifier head of VP (SPEC/VP) to the specifier position of the AGRSP (SPEC/AGRSP) where its nominative case features are checked.

5.1.3 Imperfective present tense

The structure building process for the Imperfective tense will be the same for the three tense forms: present, past and future. The Imperfective present will be used to represent the rest. The Imperfective marker in Lutsotso, *-nɉi,* receives a feature head IPFV/IPFV' for imperfective feature checking. In the representation of the structure building process, the imperfective is checked at the IPFV head. There is an overt subject (*a□asjani*) and therefore, the specifier of the VP for the subject is licensed. The specifier for AGRSP is necessary for nominative case checking. Since there is an overt object (*e□imwerɔ*), the specifier for AGROP is licensed for accusative case checking. The resulting structure from the feature building process of sentence 46 is shown below in Figure 10.

46 a□a-sjani □a-kasi-nɉi-a e□i-mwerɔ

PL-boy 3PL-make-IPFV-FV PL-basket

‘Boys are making baskets’

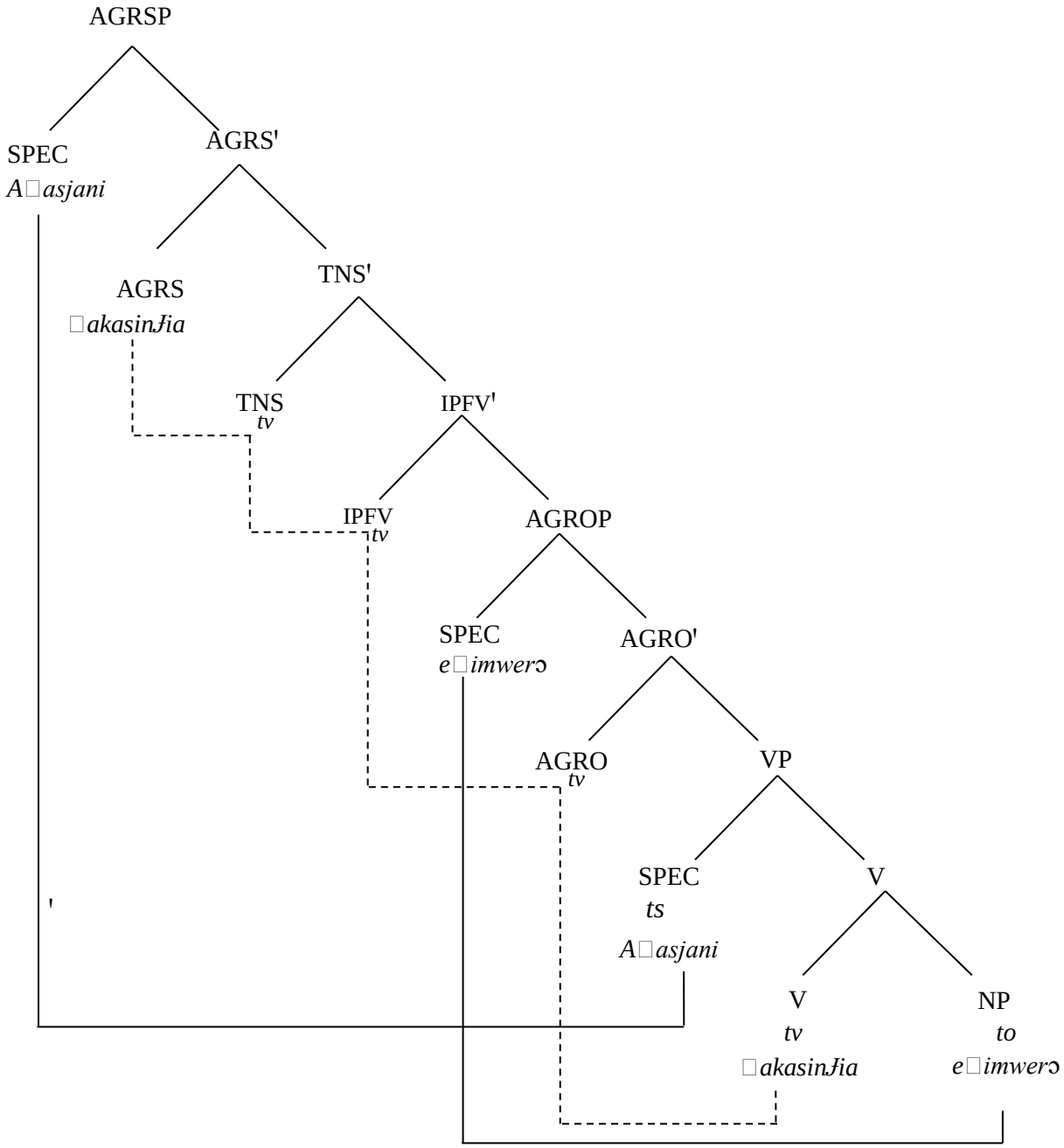

Figure 10: Imperfective present tense

In Figure 10 above, the subject is *a□asjani* 'boys' the verb is *□akasinɲia* 'making' the direct object is *e□imwero* 'baskets'. As figure 10 indicates, there is movement of the subject *a□asjani* 'boys' from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked. Likewise, the verb *□akasinɲia* 'making' moves from its base position to AGRO/AGRO' to check object agreement features, IPFV/IPFV' to check aspect features, TNS/TNS' to check tense features, and finally lands at AGRS/AGRS' to

check subject agreement features. The object *e□imwerɔ* ‘baskets’ moves from the NP position to specifier of agreement object phrase (SPEC/AGROP) for accusative checking.

5.1.4 Habitual Present

A morphological realization of habitual aspect via the suffixation of morpheme – nga in the Minimalist Program requires the construction of an aspect (HB) head for the purpose of feature checking in example (49). As well as this, the present-tense realization is denoted by the zero morpheme [Ø] and requires the use of the TNS head to verify for feature consistency. In the structure-building process, a TNS head is generated to which the verb will be relocated to feature check for suitable tense.

The TNS/TNS' head will check for habitual characteristics such as tense when using the structure HB/HB' to check for habitual present. The subject moves from the specifier of the VP and settles at the specifier for AGRSP where the nominative case is checked. AGROP's specifier is allowed to do accusative case checking since the object is overt. Figure 11 shows the final structure of sentence 47 after the feature-building procedure has been completed.

49 li-puusi li-Ø-nɟwetsa-nga ama□e:le

SG-cat SM-PRS-drink-HB milk

‘Cat drinks milk (always)’

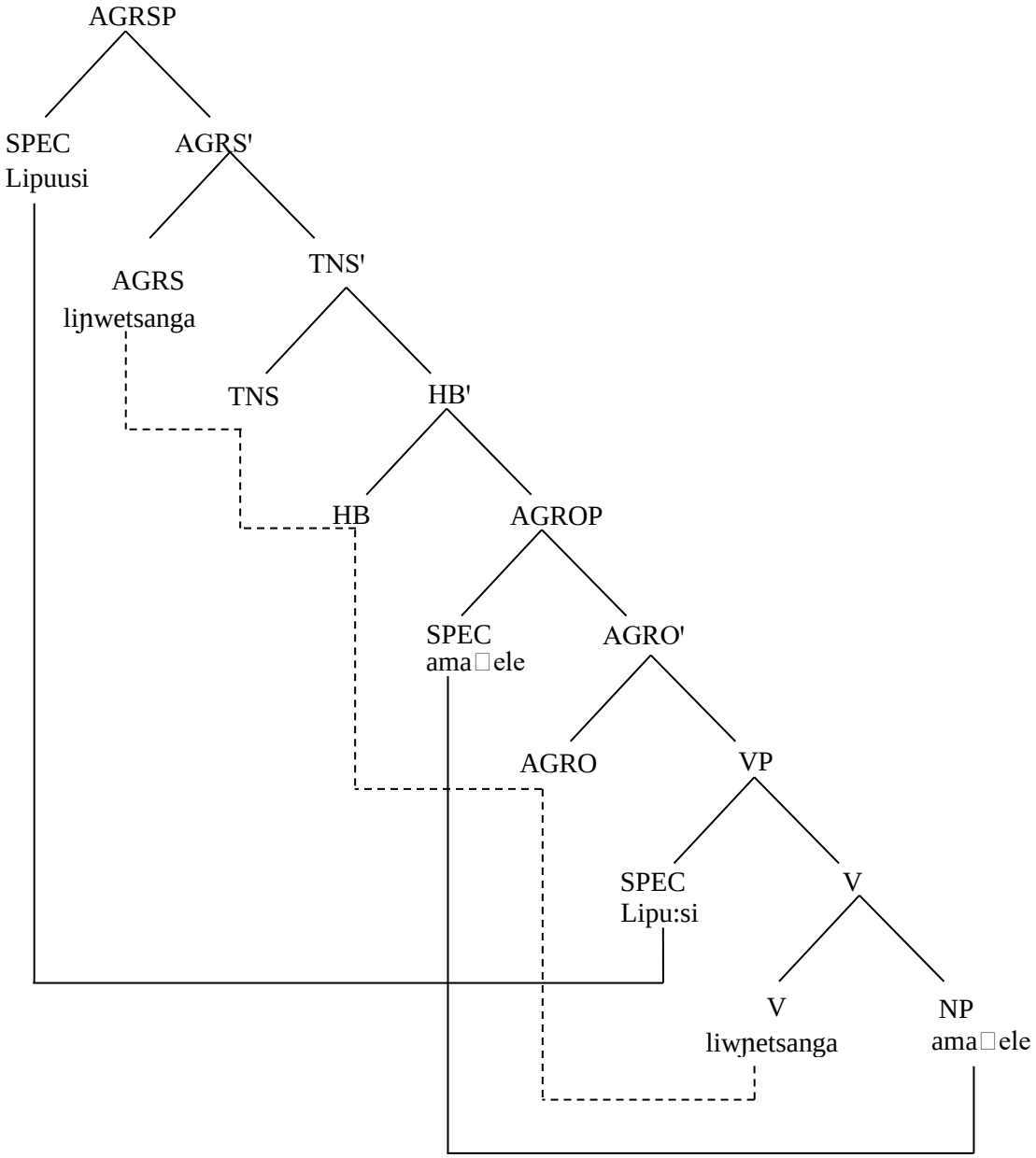

Figure 11: Habitual Present feature

As figure 13 shows, the verb *liɲwetsanga* ‘drinks’ moves from its original position to AGRO/AGRO' to check agreement object features, habitual aspect head position HB/HB' to check habitual aspect features, TNS/TNS' to check tense features and finally to AGRS/AGRS' to check agreement subject features. The subject *lipu:si* ‘cat’ raises from SPEC/VP position and moves to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case

features are checked. The object *ama□eele* ‘milk’ moves from NP Position to SPEC/AGROP to check accusative case.

5.2 Perfective Aspect Past

The perfective in Lutsotso is marked morphologically in the verbal form through the suffix -je/re. Feature checking allows for the creation of the perfective head PRF/PRF'. The specifier of the verb phrase (SPEC/VP) is licensed to take care of the subject (xɔtsa) that occupies this position. The specifier of AGRSP (SPEC/AGRSP) is licensed for nominative case checking. The specifier for agreement object phrase (SPEC/AGROP) created for accusative case checking. Other heads that are created include AGRO/AGRO', TNS/TNS' for checking past tense features, AGRS/AGRS for checking subject agreement features. This leads to the structure represented in Figure 12 which represents sentence 48.

48 xɔtsa ja-li-na-kusi-je likɔndi

uncle 3SG-PST-Agrs-sell-PRF sheep

‘Uncle had sold the sheep’

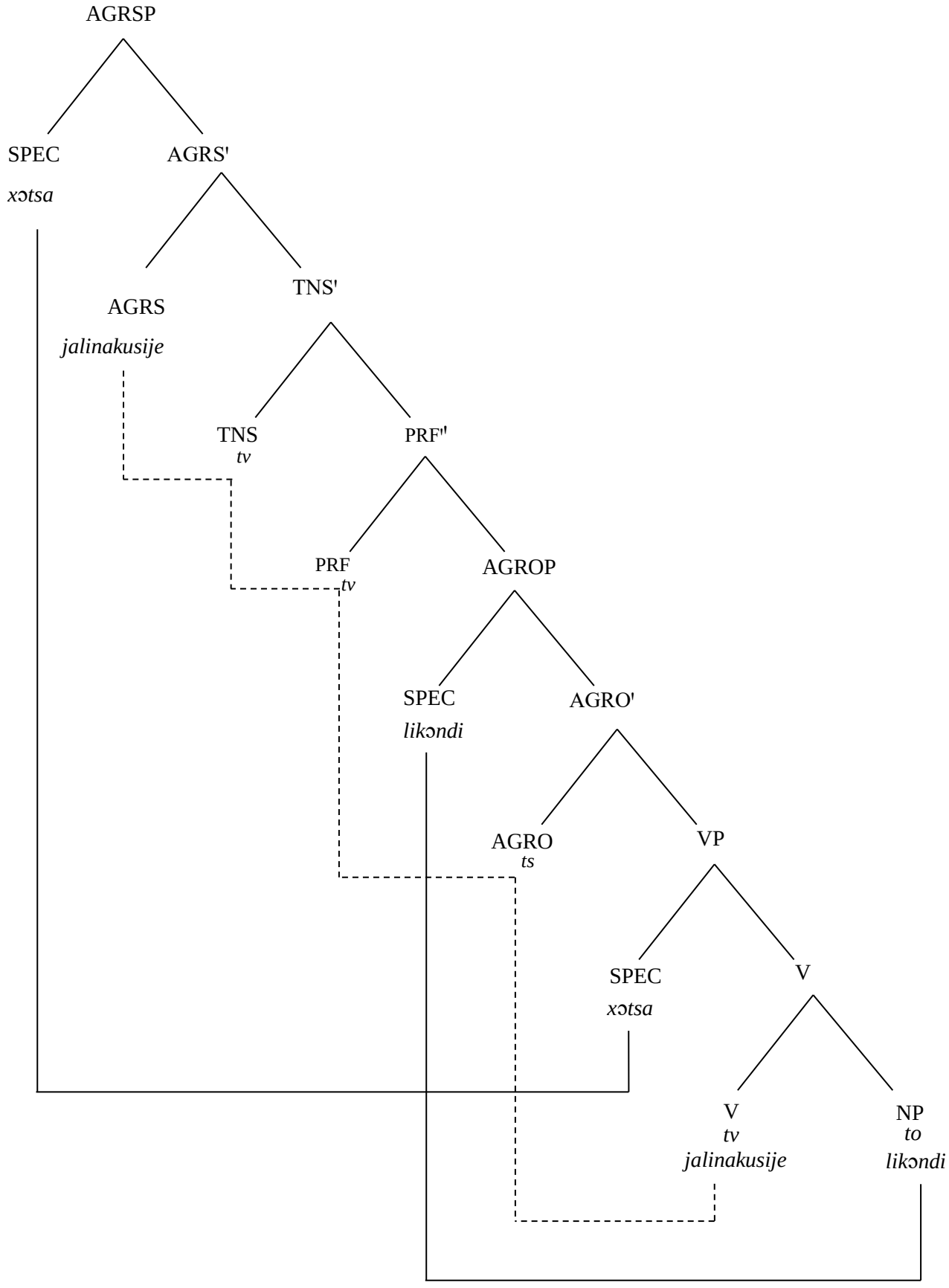

Figure 12: Perfective Aspect past feature

The object *likɔndi* ‘sheep’ moves from the NP position to the agreement object phrase specifier (SPEC/AGROP) for accusative case and number checking. The verb *jalinakusije* ‘had sold’ undergoes the following movements for feature checking. First, the verb moves from its initial position to AGRO/AGRO' to check object agreement features, PRF/PRF' to check perfective features, TNS/TNS' to check tense features and finally lands at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked. The subject *xɔtsa* moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP for nominative case checking

5.2.1 Perfective Aspect Future

Sentence 49 below illustrates the perfective aspect in the future tense. For the purpose of feature checking the following heads are created to check relevant features as Figure 13 shows. The perfective marker *-je* licenses the creation of the perfective head PRF/PRF', the specifier of the verb phrase (SPEC/VP), the specifier of AGRSP (SPEC/AGRSP) for nominative case checking, the specifier for agreement object phrase (SPEC/AGROP) for accusative case checking, AGRO/AGRO', TNS/TNS' for checking future tense features *(-la*) and AGRS/AGRS' for checking subject agreement features.

49 a□a-ana □a-la-□a-□a-kasi-je e□ifum□i

PL-children 3PL-FUT-AuxV-SM-make-PRF chairs

‘Children would have made chairs’

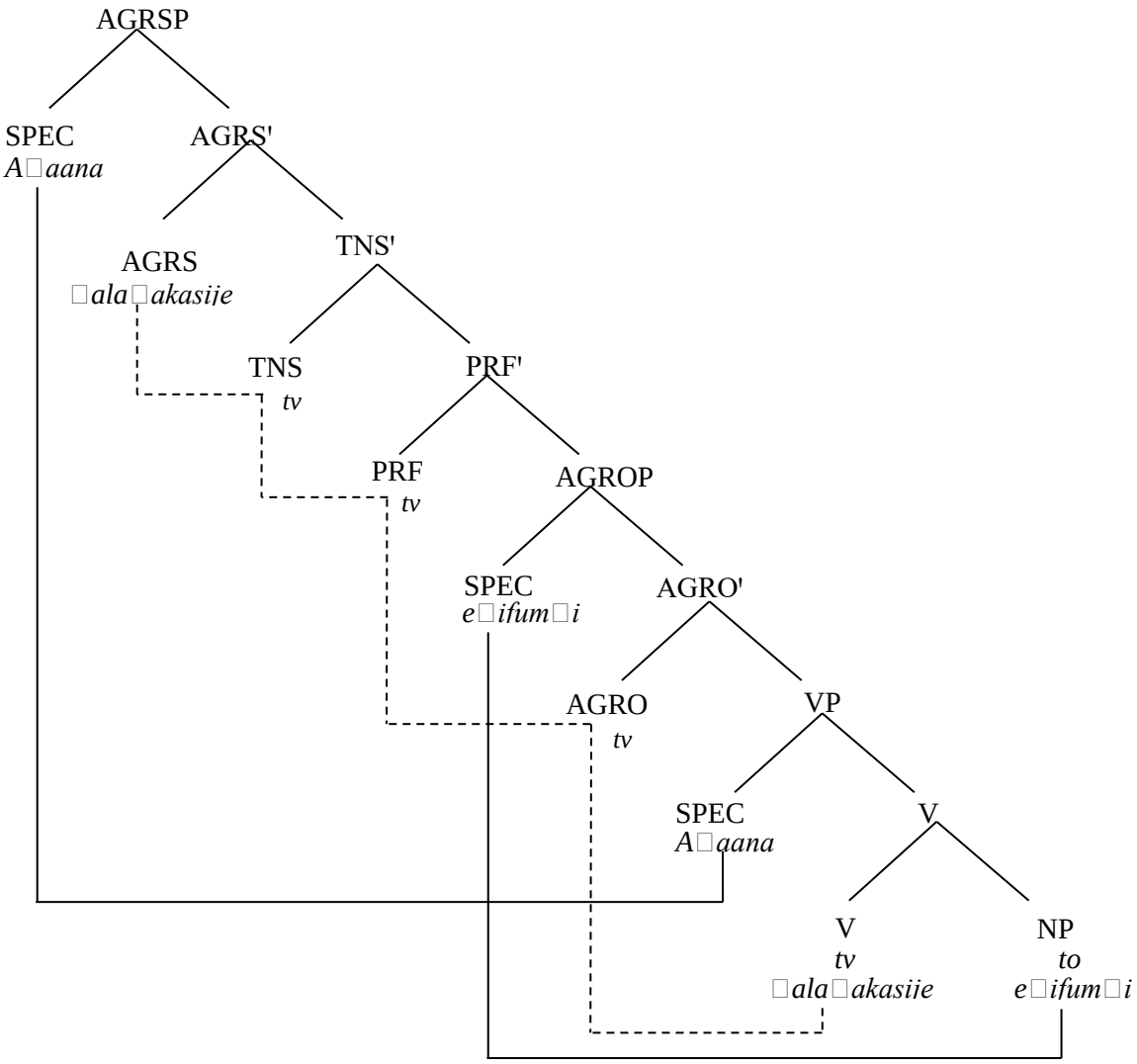

Figure 13: The perfective Aspect Future

The object *e□ifum□i* 'chairs' moves from the NP position to the agreement object phrase specifier (SPEC/AGROP) for accusative case and number checking. The verb *□ala□a□akasije* 'will have made' undergoes the following movements for feature checking. First, the verb moves from its initial position to AGRO/AGRO' to check object agreement features, PRF/PRF' to check perfective features, TNS/TNS' to check tense features and finally lands at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked. The subject *a□aana* 'children' moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked.

5.2.2 Iterative Aspect Present

In the Minimalist Program, example (50) has a morphological realization of aspect by the suffixation of the morpheme [*–nga*] thereby necessitating the creation of aspect (ASP) head for feature checking. The reduplicated stem (*tʃinga-tʃinga*) will lead to the creation of IT/IT head to check for the Iterative features. The present tense realized non-overtly by the zero morpheme [Ø] which necessitates movement to the TNS head for feature checking. A TNS head to which the verb will be moved to feature check for appropriate tense in the structure building process is created.

The structure building process for the iterative (frequentive) leads to the construction of the following heads. IT/IT head to check for the Iterative features, AGRO/AGRO to check for agreement object features, TNS/TNS to check tense features, IPFV/IPFV to check the imperfective aspect features, AGRS/AGRS to check subject agreement features, SPEC/AGRSP to check nominative case features and SPEC/AGROP to check accusative case and SPEC/VP. Figure 14 is a representation of sentence 50.

50 ɔmuxana a-Ø-tʃinga-tʃinga-nga ɔmwana

Girl 3SG-PRS-carry-carry-IPFV baby

'Girl is carrying the baby repeatedly'

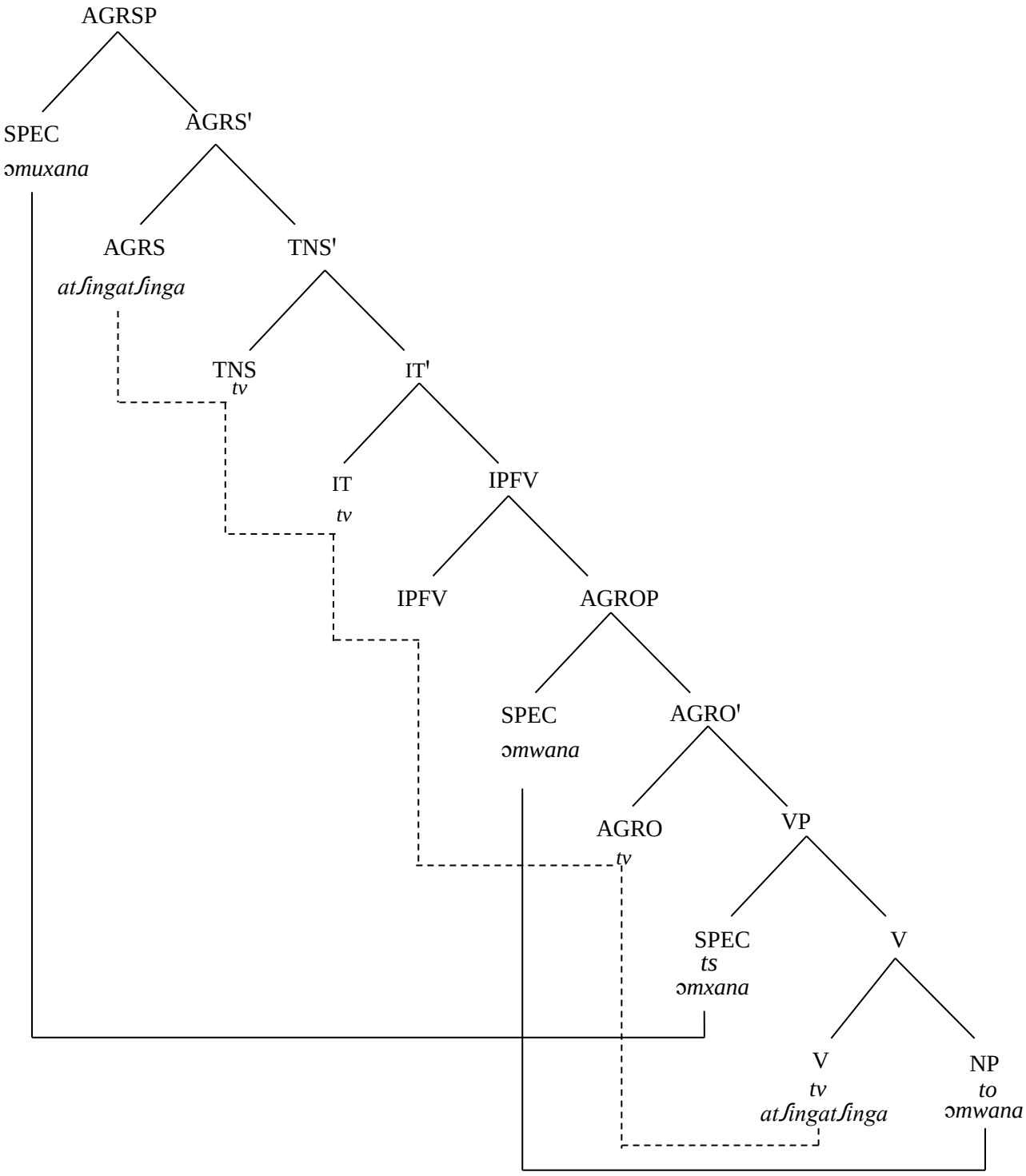

Figure 14: The Iterative aspect present feature structure

As Figure 14 shows, the feature checking process involves the movement of the verb *tʃingatʃinga* 'carries carries' from its initial position to AGRO/AGRO' to check agreement object features, IPFV/IPFV' for imperfective aspect checking, IT/IT' for iterative feature checking, TNS/TNS' for tense checking, and then settles at

AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked**.** The object *ɔmwana* 'baby' moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and number checking, the subject *ɔmuxana* moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked.

5.2.3 Iterative Aspect Past

The verb moves from its original position to AGRO/AGRO', IT/IT' to check aspect features since the verb root and the final vowel have been reduplicated *(-tʃinga-tʃinga)*, TNS/TNS' to check past tense features which is licensed by the presence of the fused tense and person marker (*-ja*), and finally lands at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked. The object moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and the subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked. Figure 15 is a representation of sentence 51.

51 ɔmuxana ja-tʃinga-tʃinga ɔmwana ɔmwaka kwali
Girl 3SG-carry-carry baby last year
'Girl carried the baby repeatedly last year'

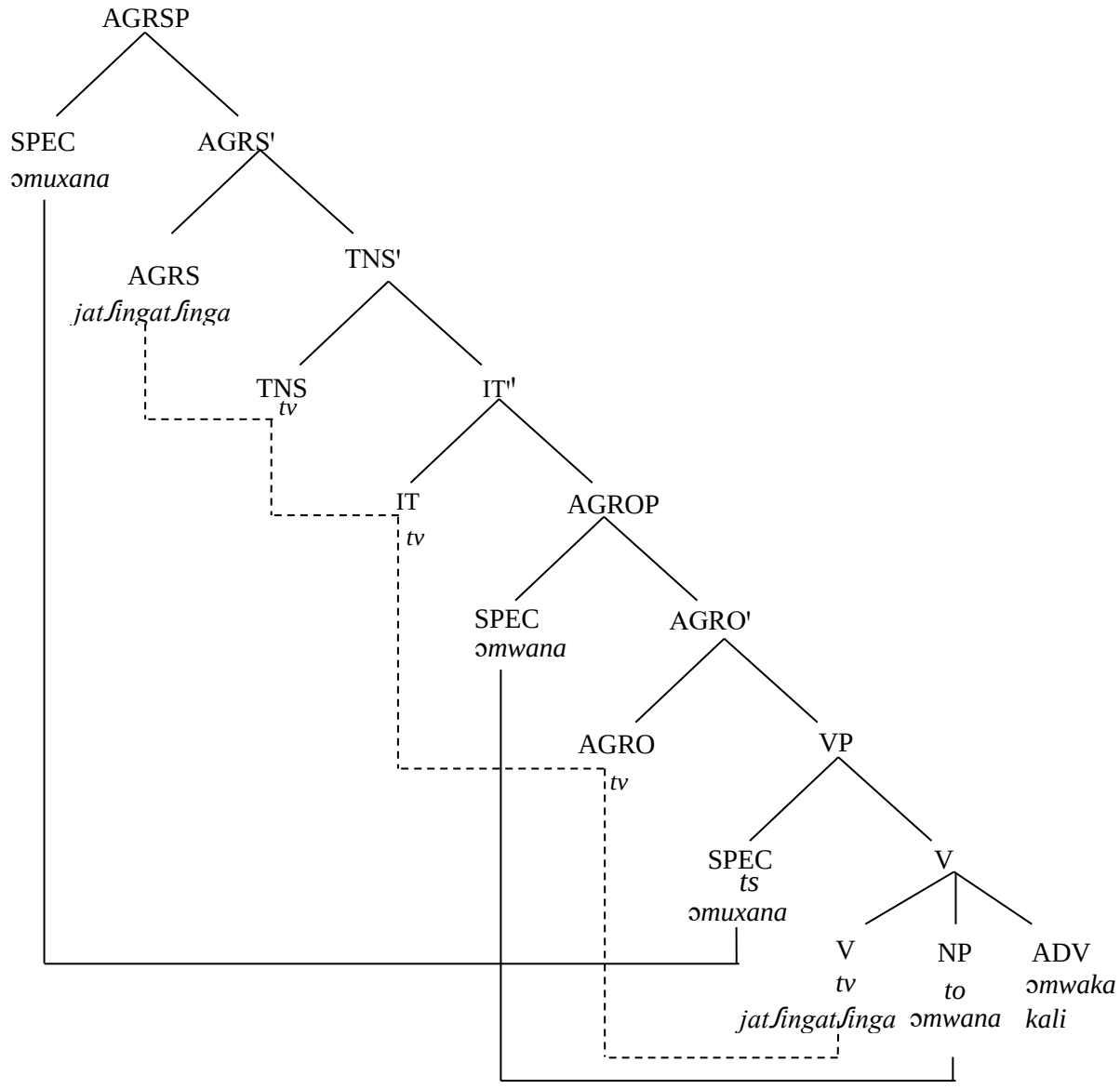

Figure 15: The Iterative aspect past feature

Figure 15 indicates that there is movement of the verb *tʃingatʃinga* 'carry carry' from its original position to AGRO/AGRO', IT/IT' to check aspect features, TNS/TNS' to check tense features and finally lands at AGRS/AGRS where subject agreement features are checked. The object *ɔmwana* 'baby' moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and number checking, the subject *ɔmuxana* moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked. The adverbial *ɔmwaka kwali* 'last year' does not move because it has no features to be checked.

5.2.4 Iterative Aspect Future

The verb moves from its original position to AGRO/AGRO', IT/IT' to check aspect features because the verb root and the final vowel have been reduplicated (*-rema-rema*), the realization of immediate future tense *(-la)* leads to creation of TNS/TNS' head to check tense features and settles at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked. The object moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and number checking, the subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked. The iterative aspect future structure building process can be illustrated in Figure 16 below which represents sentence 52.

52 a□a-sjani □a-la-rema-rema emi-sa:la iŋanga jinɔ

3PL-boy-SM-IM.FUT-cut-cut SM-trees today

‘Boys will cut trees repeatedly today’(immediate)

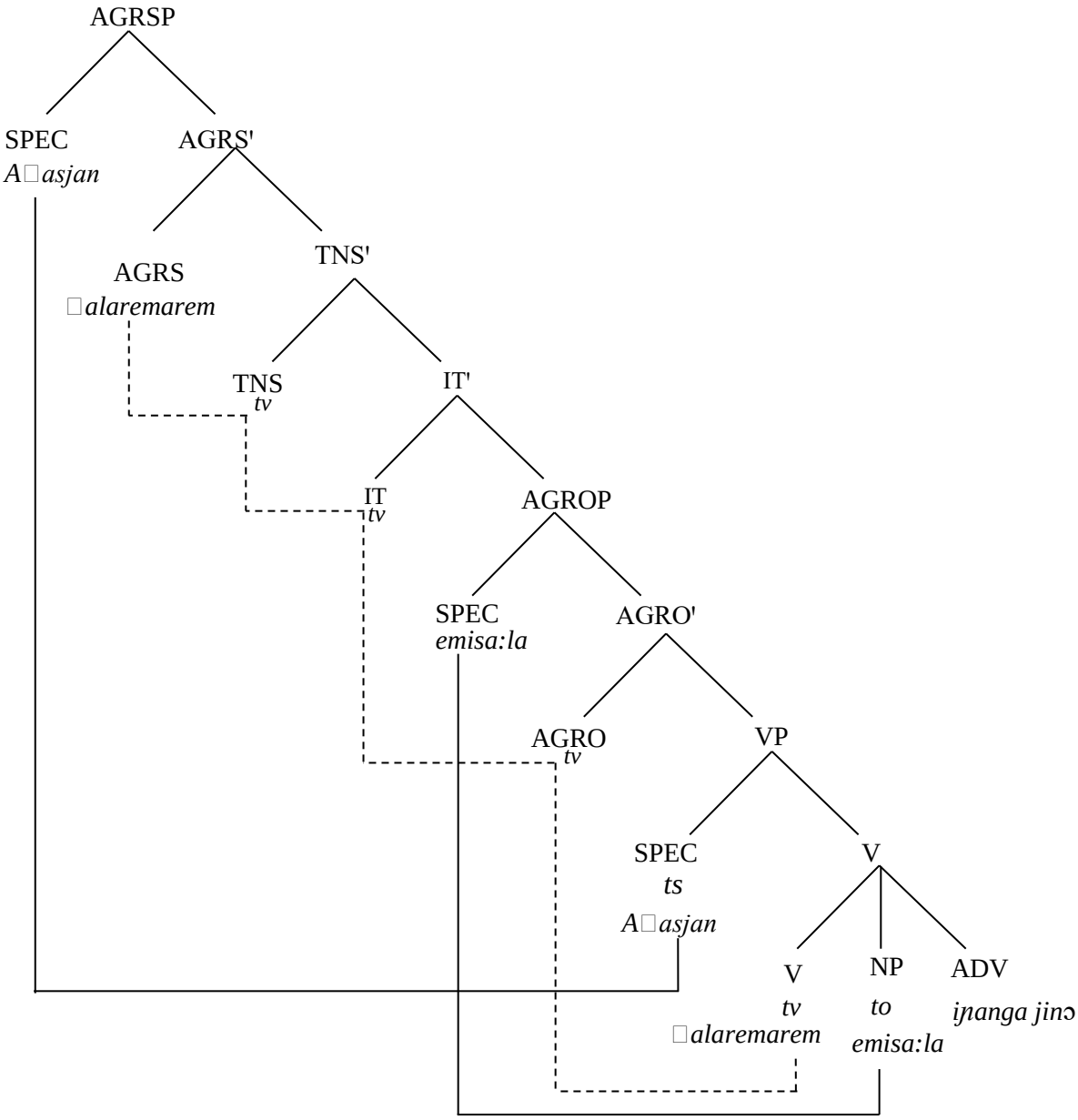

Figure 16: Iterative Aspect in the Future feature

Figure 16 indicates that there is movement of the verb *remarema* 'cut cut' from its original position to AGRO/AGRO, to IT/IT to check aspect features, to TNS/TNS to check tense features and finally lands at AGRS/AGRS where subject agreement features are checked. The object *emisa:la* 'trees' moves from the NP position in the VP to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and number checking, the subject *a□asjani* 'boys' moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked.

The adverbial *iŋanga jino* ‘today’ does not move because it has no features to be checked.

5.2.5 Iterative and Imperfective

In line with the principle of full interpretation, the feature structuring creates heads and specifiers appropriate for different feature checking. In the feature building process for the iterative and imperfective, a head for iterative is created, IT/IT', to check for Iterative features *(-lɔla-lɔla)* and Imperfective IPFV/IPFV' is created to check for Imperfective features (*-nga*). There is an overt subject and therefore the specifier of the VP for the subject is licensed. The specifier for AGRSP is necessary for nominative case checking. Since there is an overt object, the specifier for AGROP is licensed for accusative case checking. The resulting structure from the feature building process of sentence 53 is shown below in Figure 17.

53 a□a-ana □a-lɔla-lɔla-nga e□iʃieɔ

PL-children 3PL-see-see-IPFV ghosts

‘They were seeing ghosts repeatedly’ (remote past)

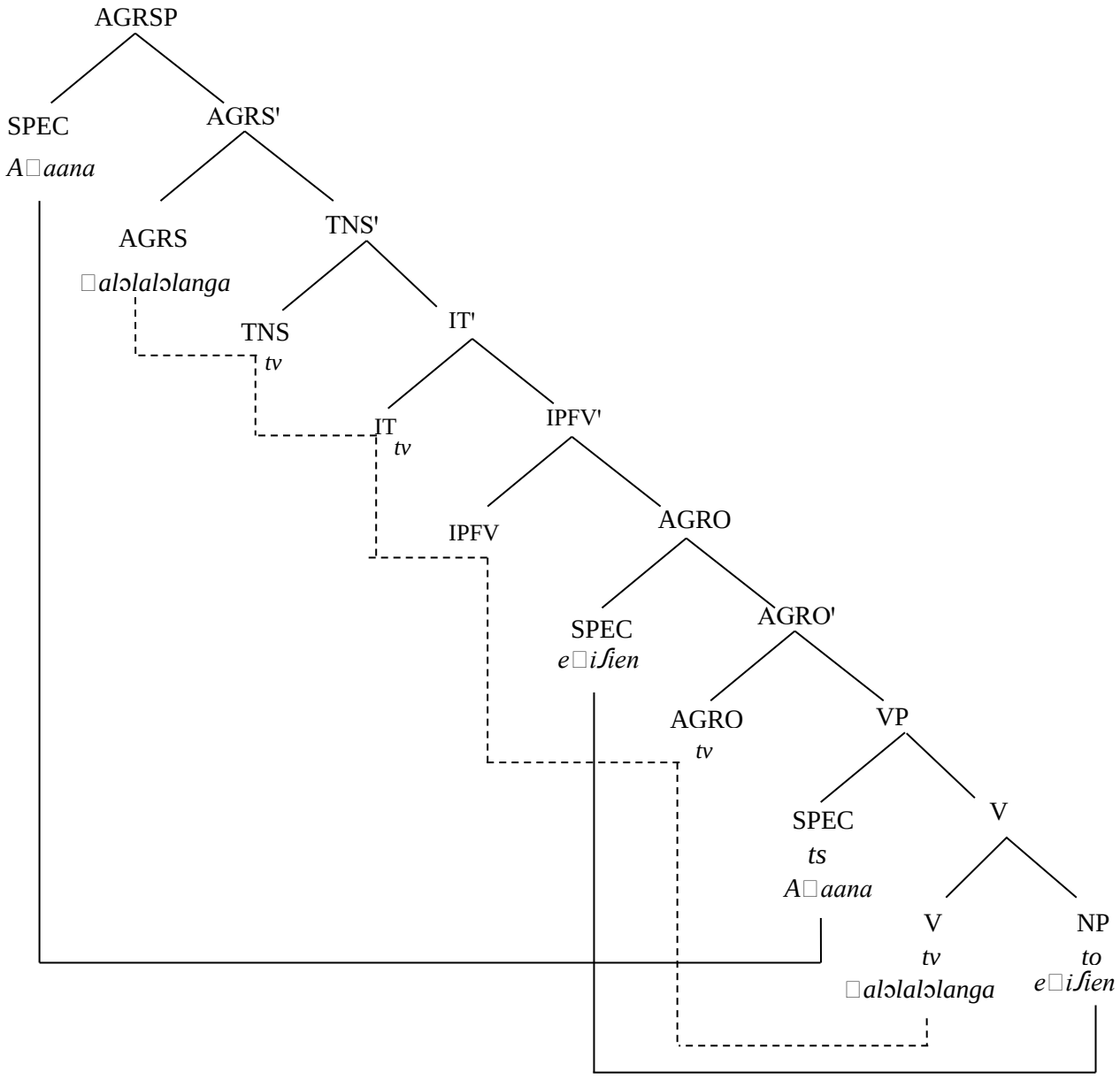

Figure 17: Iterative and imperfective feature structure in the past

As Figure 17 illustrates, the feature checking process involves the movement of the verb *□alɔlalɔlanga* 'were seeing' from its initial position to AGRO/AGRO' to check agreement object features, IT/IT' for iterative and IPFV/IPFV' for imperfective feature checking, TNS/TNS' for tense checking lastly moves at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked**.** The object *e□iʃienɔ* 'ghosts' moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case, the subject *a□aana* 'children' moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked.

5.2.6 Iterative and Perfective Past

The verb moves from its initial position to AGRO/AGRO' to check agreement object features, to PRF/PRF' for perfective feature checking because of the presence perfective marker *(-re)*, then to IT/IT' for iterative feature (*-reme-reme*) checking and to TNS/TNS' for tense checking since there is realization of past tense. Lastly, the verb settles at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked**.** The object moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and number checking, the subject moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked. The iterative and perfective past structure building process can be illustrated in Figure 18 below which represents sentence 54.

54 a□a-sjani □a-reme-reme-re emisa:la

PL-boy 3PL-cut-cut-PRF trees

'The boys have cut trees repeatedly' (immediate past)

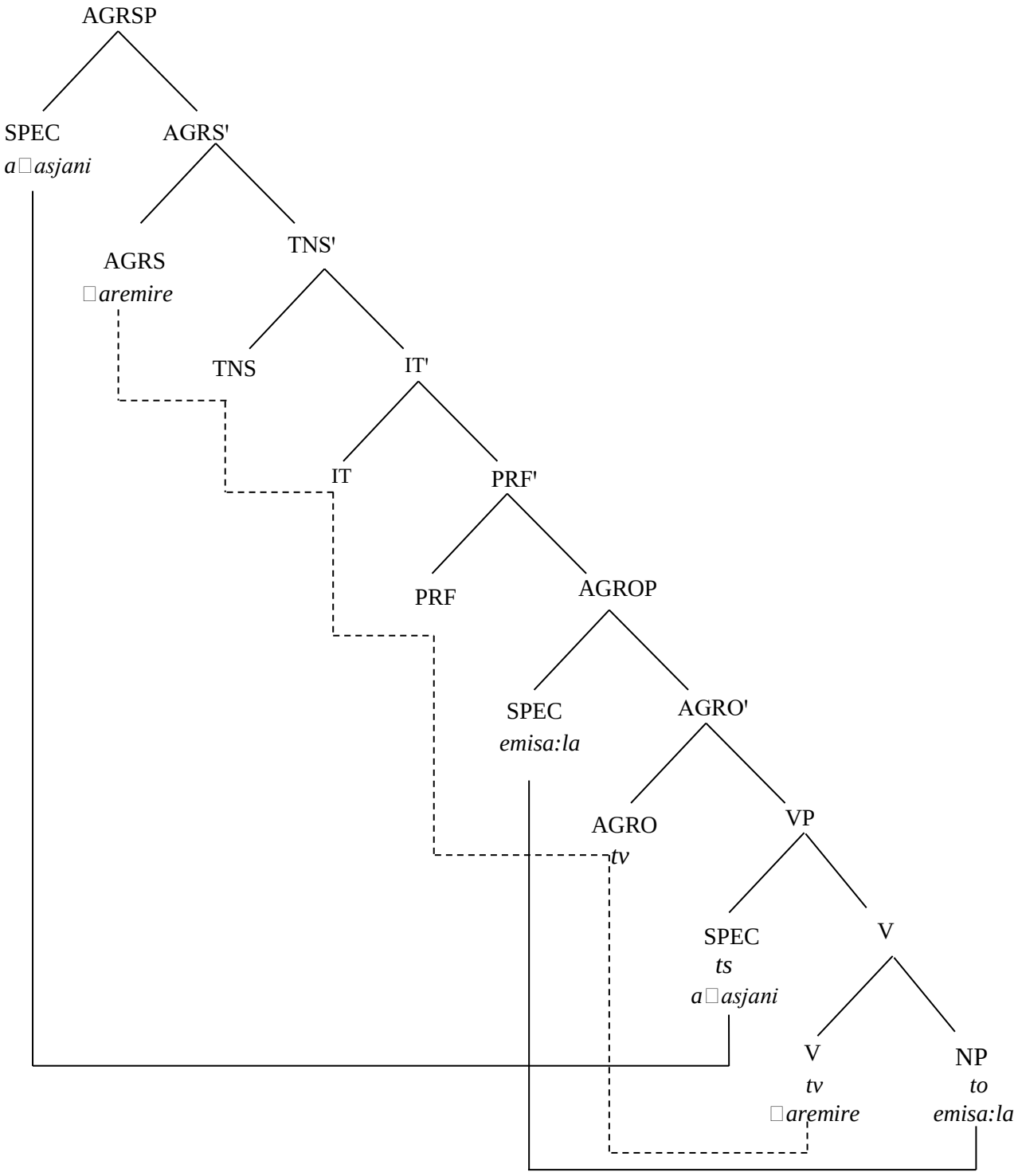

Figure 18: Iterative and perfective feature structure in the past

Figure 18 indicates, the feature checking process which involves the movement of the verb □*aremaremere* 'cut' from its initial position to AGRO/AGRO' to check agreement object features, IT/IT' for iterative and PRF/PRF' perfective feature checking, TNS/TNS' for tense checking lastly lands at AGRS/AGRS' where subject

agreement features are checked**.** The object *emisa:la* ‘trees’ moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for accusative case and number checking, the subject *a□asiani* ‘boys’ moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked.

5.2.7 Iterative and Habitual Past

The structure building process for the iterative and Habitual leads to the construction of the following heads. IT/IT' head to check for the Iterative features (*-hɔma-hɔm-a*), HB/HB' to check the habitual features (*-nga*), TNS/TNS' to check immediate past tense features (*-xa*), AGRS/AGRS' to check subject agreement features, SPEC/AGRSP to check nominative case features, and SPEC/VP to take care of subject position. Since there is an overt object, the specifier for AGROP is licensed for accusative case checking therefore AGRO/AGRO' and SPEC/AGROP heads are created. Fig 19 is a representation of sentence 55.

55 a□a-xana □a-xa-hɔma-hɔma-nga i-nzu

PL-girl/NOM SM-IMPST-smear-smear-HB SG-house/ACC

‘Girls used to smear the house frequently’ (immediate past)

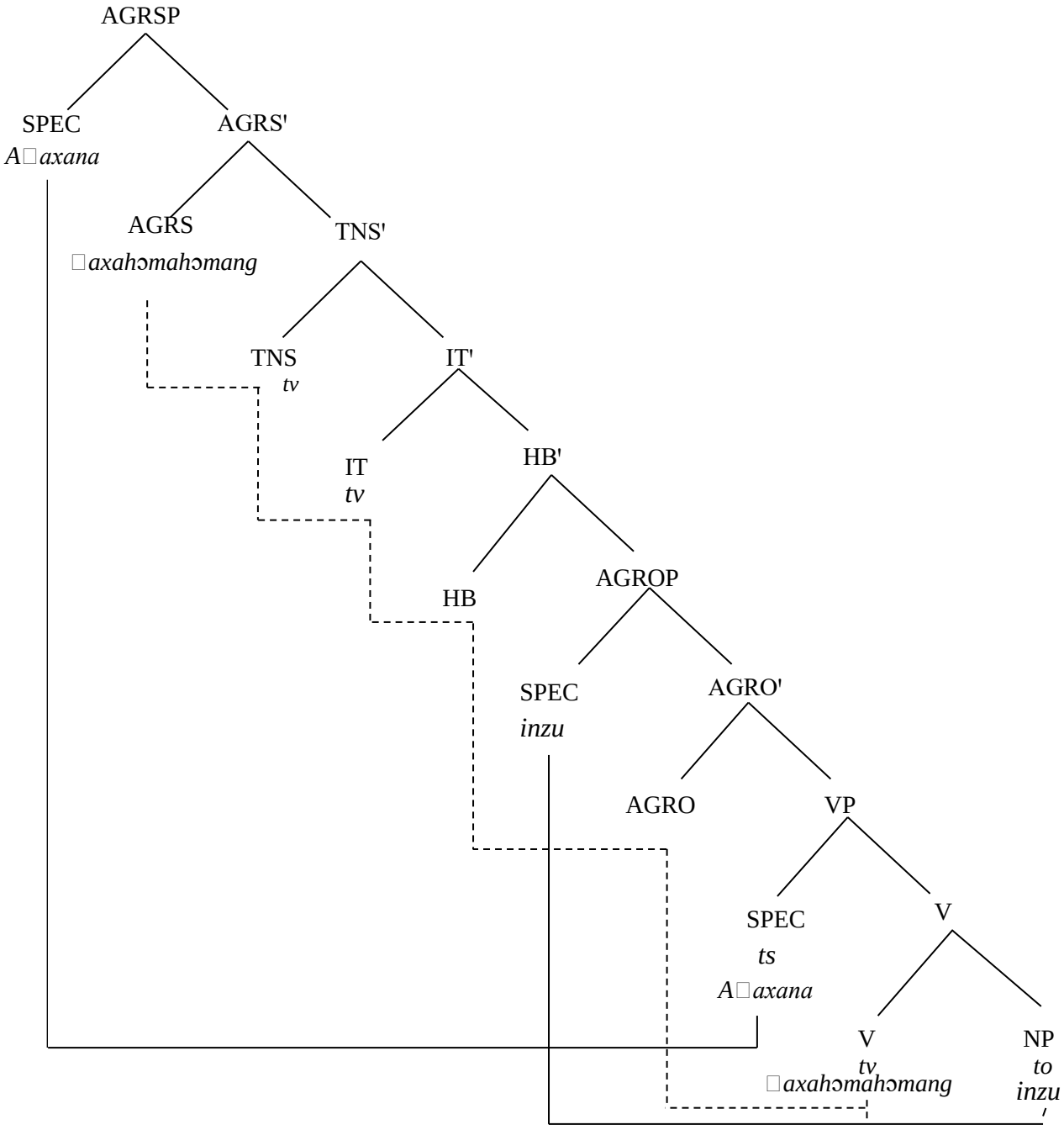

Figure 19: Iterative and Habitual feature structure in the past

Figure 19 shows that there is movement of the verb *baxahomahomanga* 'smear smear' from its original position to HB/HB' to check habitual aspect features, to IT/IT' to check iterative features and then to TNS/TNS' to check tense features. Finally, the verb settles at AGRS/AGRS' where subject agreement features are checked. The object *inzu* 'house' moves from the NP position to SPEC/AGROP for

accusative case, the subject *a□axana* ‘girls’ moves from SPEC/VP to SPEC/AGRSP where nominative case is checked

5.3 Chapter Summary

Tense and aspect categories are licensed by Lutsotso, and morphological realizations of tense and aspect marking morphemes entail the creation of relevant heads. The investigation of Tense and aspect within the Minimalist Program is justified by the morpho-syntax aspect of the language. The verb is moved to the heads, which are designed to check interpretable tense and aspectual elements for proper grammatical sentence generation. Tense and aspectual features aren't the only ones that necessitate verb movement for feature checking. The next chapter discusses summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Summary of Findings

The main purpose of this study was to analyse morphosyntactic realizations of tense and aspect in the Lutsotso verb. In objective 1 the study examined the morphological constituents of the Lutsotso verb. The grammar of Lutsotso is agglutinative, which is typical in Bantu languages. As morphemes are added to the root, the verb takes on new inflection. The morphemes of lutsotso verbs have a particular grammatical meaning. It's easy to see how different morphological forms convey different aspects of the same idea. Ungrammatical verbal forms are the result of improper usage of specific affixes or morphemes, which may be inflectional or derivational. No matter what verb structure you use in Lutsotso, the tense and aspect morphemes occur in the same order. The minimum components of the verbal form of a Lutsotso consist of a root and a final vowel suffix.

In objective II, the study discusses tense and aspectual categories in Lutsotso. Tense in Lutsotso is marked morphologically. Lutsotso marks the present tense with a zero morpheme. The past tense in Lutsotso is marked by *ja-* which is also the subject agreement marker. The adverbials for time help to specify the exact time. The past tense in Lutsotso occurs in immediate, near, intermediate and far (remote) past tense. Immediate past is formed from the subject agreement marker plus *xa-* which is prefixed to the verb stem. Near past is marked on the verb by the suffix *-il-* which is placed between the verb root and the final vowel. Intermediate past is shown by use

the person marker *ja-* and the suffix *-il-* which is placed between the verb root and the final vowel. Far past tense is marked by the person markers.

Future tense in Lutsotso occurs in immediate, near, intermediate and far (remote) future tense. Immediate future is marked by the suffix *-la-* attached to the verb stem. In the near future, instead of the final *-a-* the verb ending is *-e-* and the suffix *-na* is put before the subject agreement marker. The intermediate future tense marker is *-axa-* with final vowel of the verb changed from *'a'* to *'e'.* The remote/far/distant future is marked on the verb by the suffix *-li-*. which is placed between the subject marker and the root of the verb. Alongside morphological tense marking, lexical tense marking explains the use of temporal adverbials like *mukam□a* 'tomorrow', to express tense alongside a time axis. The past and future adverbials of time play a major role in expressing past and future tenses by identifying the exact time when an event happens. Aspect in Lutsotso includes: Imperfective (Progressive), Perfective, Habitual and the iterative. Just like tense aspect is marked morphologically. The perfective marker in Lutsotso is *-re* or *-je*. The perfective and imperfective occur in the past, present and the future. The Imperfective aspect in Lutsotso is marked by suffixes *-nga-*, and *-nɲia* as bound morphemes. The habitual in Lutsotso exist in three forms. There is the habitual past, the habitual present and the habitual future. The habitual marker in Lutsotso is *-nga/nge*. The iterative aspect (frequentive) is formed by reduplication of the verb root. There is also co-occurrence of iterative and habitual aspects, the iterative and the imperfective and the iterative together with the perfective aspect.

In objective III the morphosyntactic features of tense and aspect in Lutsotso are discussed within the Minimalist Program. Lutsotso licences tense and aspect categories and their morphological realizations on the verb phrase necessitate the

creation of relevant heads Verb movement is allowed while using this language's tense and aspect systems. Tense and aspect heads are formed to check the relevant features. This leads to the justification process from the lexicon to spell out. The Minimalist Program provides adequate relations between morphology, syntactic categories and discourse functions. The Principle of Full Interpretation licenses heads where they are necessary. This is necessary for checking of the features of tense and aspect. The representation of the sentence structure fulfils the Principle of Full Interpretation as the elements contribute to their interpretation at relevant interface levels which is important in giving grammatical derivations. The tense and aspectual features for correct grammatical sentence derivations are well checked in the structure building process. The morpho-syntactic tense and aspect in Lutsotso justifies the analysis of tense and aspect within the Minimalist Program.

6.1 Conclusion

The study aimed to analyse tense and aspect in Lutsotso within the feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program. From the analysis, the following conclusions are made: Firstly, tense in Lutsotso is a grammatical category marked morphologically by various inflectional forms. Also, there is a combination of morphemes in the description of tense and aspect in Lutsotso.

Secondly, the Checking theory of the Minimalist Program can adequately describe tense and aspect morphological forms in Lutsotso.

Thirdly, Lutsotso is an SVO structure language and the analysis of its basic sentence structure can adequately be described using the Minimalist Program. The feature checking theory of the Minimalist Program is suitable in the analysis of tense and aspect in Lutsotso.

The study has established also that tense and aspect categories interact largely by co-occurring in the same verb phrase. Indeed, it is difficult to study one category without referring to the other.

6.2 Recommendations

Children who speak Lutsotso are taught in the early stages of learning using Lutsotso as their primary language of instruction (Murasi 2000). As a result, research shows that mastering the verb's tense and aspect is critical. For the purpose of teaching Lutsotso in primary schools where there are Lutsotso speakers, this research suggests that syllabus makers follow its results.

The pragmatic element of sentence interpretation was left out of this study, which focused on the interface between syntax and morphology in the form of a verb phrase. A lot of progress has been achieved in the categorization of languages according to the phonology-syntax-morphology components. My recommendation is that further research should be done on the pragmatic verb phrase constituent of lutsotso to see how derived sentences should be understood.

The research discovered that the perfective aspect markers in Lutsotso -re and -je are morphologically determined by the form of the main verb, but it is not obvious under what circumstances this occurs. Consequently, further study is needed to identify the particular morphological features that influence the decision between the variations.

Further research on mood, tone, denial, and quantity would be beneficial since they are not discussed in the study. These are critical to a language's grammar because they define the proper syntactic context in which a word should appear.

In addition, the present study used the Minimalist Program's feature checking theory. According to the findings, further study should be done on verb inflection in different Oluluhyia dialects using alternative theories.

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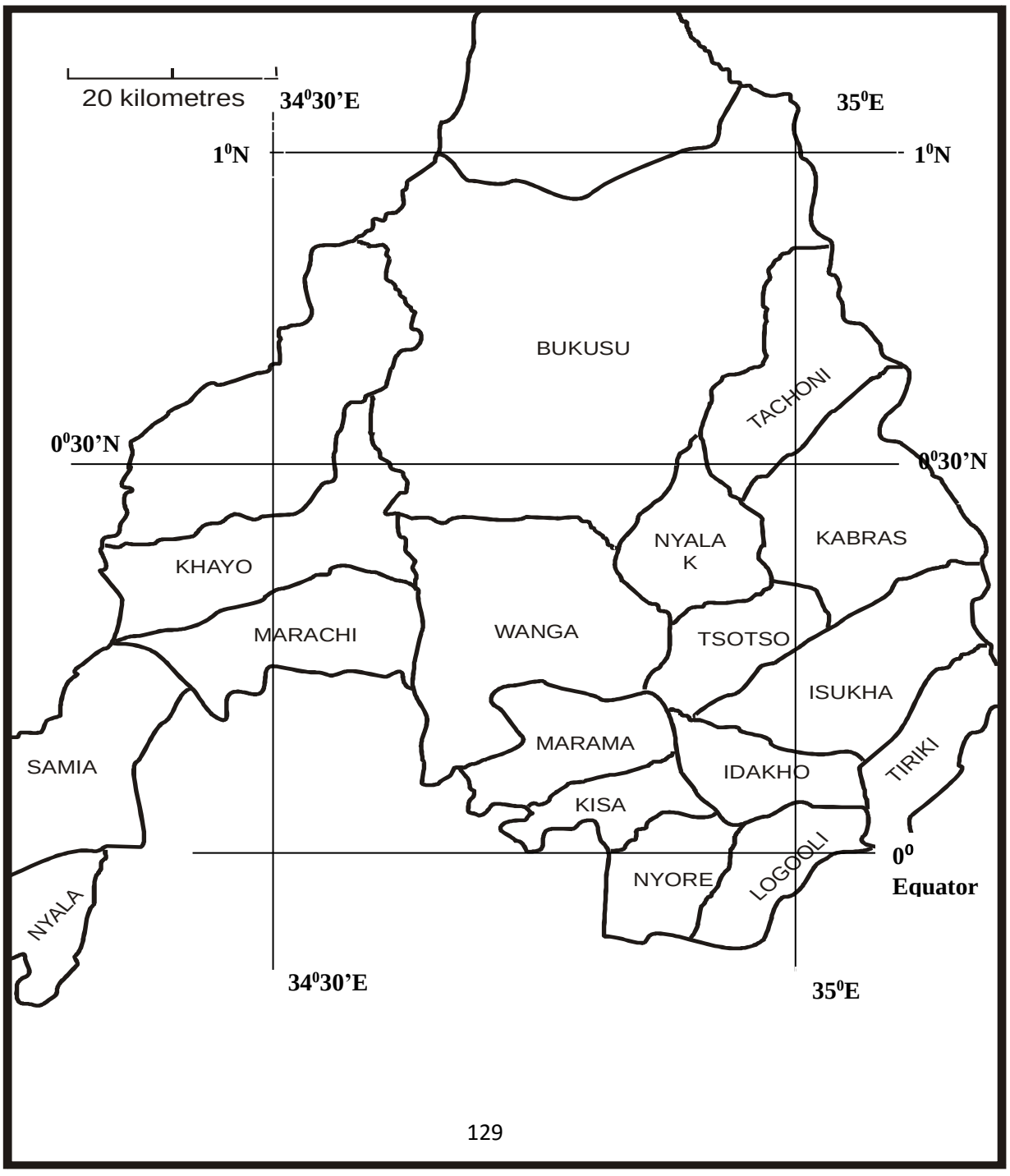
Appendix A: Lutsotso Orthography

Grapheme	**IPA symbol**	**Word**	**Gloss**
A	/a/	***A****no*	here
E	/e/	*Eno*	this way
I	/i/	*Inda*	louse
O	/o/	*Oyo*	that one
U	/u/	*l**u**sala*	a stick
Ch	/ʧ/or/c/	***Ch****ama*	like
F	/f/	***F****uuba*	throw
H	/h/	***H****a*	give
K	/k/	***K****aba*	distribute
Kh	/x/	*Le**kh**a*	leave
L	/l/	***L****ia*	eat
ɩ	/ɭ/	*mu**ɩ**embe*	peace
M	/m/	***M****ila*	swallow
N	/n/	***N****ina*	climb
Ng	/ng/	*I**ng**o*	home
Nj	/nʒ/	*tsi**nj**uku*	groundnuts
ng’	/ŋ/	*i**ng’**oli*	pea
Ny	/ɲ/	***ny****wa*	drink
P	/p/	***p****abala*	struggle
R	/r/	***r****ula*	depart
S	/s/	***s****aya*	pray
Sia	/sya/	*omusiani*	boy

Sh	/ʃ/	***sh****i*	what
T	/t/	***t****enda*	serve
Ts	/ts/	***ts****ma*	betray
V	/β/	***b****ula*	lack
W	/w/	*ta****w****e*	no
Y	/j/	***y****aanza*	Please
Nz	/nz/	*I****nz****ala*	hunger

Appendix B: Map of Oluluhya dialects



Source: Osore 2009

Appendix C: Informal Interviews schedule

This study targets competent speakers of Lutsotso language who have lived among Lutsotso speakers most of their time and have been using the language most of the time.

Instructions

A. Put a tick (√) where you think is most appropriate

a. Your age:

i. Below 30 years Yes ☐ No ☐

ii. Above 30 years Yes ☐ No ☐

b. Native speaker of Lutsotso Yes ☐ No ☐

c. Length of stay among Batsotso people

i. 10 years Yes ☐ No ☐

ii. Below 10 years Yes ☐ No ☐

iii. Above 20 years Yes ☐ No ☐

d. How frequent do you use the Lutsotso language?

i. Rarely Yes ☐ No ☐

ii. Daily Yes ☐ No ☐

B. PAST TENSE

Immediate Past

Researcher: Please answer the following questions

1. *Mama yakhakhola shina bulano?* (What has mother done just now?)

2. *Wakhakhola shina?* (What have you just done.)
3. *Papa yakhalia shila bulano?* (What has father eaten now?)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. …….

Near past

Researcher:

1. *Omwana akholile shina?* (What has the child done?)
2. *Omukambi akholile shina?* (What has the pastor done?)
3. *Bola khu ebindu birano bia wakholile mukoloba*. (State five things that you did yesterday)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……

Remote past

1. *Walola shina omwaka kali?* (What did you see last year?)
2. *Bola khu ebindu birano bia wakhola.* (State five things that you did last year.)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. …….

Future

Immediate Future

Researcher:

1. *Mama alakhola shina hamukolova?* (What will mother do in the evening)
2. *Bola ebindu birano bia olakhola hamukolaba*. (State five things that you will do in the evening)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. …….

Near Future

Researcher:

1. *Omusiani nakhole shina mumabwibwi?* (What will the boy do in the morning?)
2. *Nolie shina?* (What will you eat?)
3. *Nokone hena eshilo?* (Where will you sleep at night?)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. …….

Intermediate Future

Researcher:

1. *Wakhalie shina ingo?* (What will eat at night?)
2. *Wakhakone hena eshilo yisho?* (Where will you sleep that night?)
3. *Wakhakhole shina ingo?* (What will you do at home?)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. …….

Remote Future

Researcher:

1. *Olikhola shina nomalile amarebo?* (What will you do when you finish your exams?)

2. *Bola bindu birano bia olikhola nonyola ekazi.* (State five things you will do when you get a job)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……

Appendix D: Elicitation tools

Aspect

Perfective past

Researcher: *Bola ebindu birano bia walinokholire noshili okhutsia mukanisa.*

(State five activities/things you had done before you went to church)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Perfective Future

Researcher: *Bola ebindu birano bia olaba nokholire amukoloba.*

(State five things that you will have done in the evening)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Perfective Present

Researcher: *Bola ebindu birano biokholere inyanga yino.*

(State five things that you have done today.)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Imperfective Aspect -Present

Researcher: *Bola shokholanga bulano*

State what you are doing now.

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Imperfective Aspect-Past

Researcher: *Bola ebindu birano bia wakholanga omwaka kali.*

State five things that you doing last year.

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Imperfective- Future

Researcher: *Bola ebindu birano bia abaana balikholanga*

State five things that children will be doing.

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Habitual Past

Researcher: *Bola ebindu birano bia abaana bakhakholanga buli nyanga (lwosi)*

State any five activities that children used to do regularly.

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Habitual in the future

Researcher: *Bola ebindu bia abaana nabakholenje buli lwosi.*

State any activities that the children will be doing regularly.

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Iterative Aspect

Researcher: *Bola ebindu bia nokholakholenje buli shise.*

State any five activities that you do over and over again. (Repeatedly)

Respondent:

1. ……
2. ……
3. ……
4. ……
5. ……

Appendix E: Excerpts of Lutsotso texts

khandi beekalaho. Buli lwosi olwa Lushinga yakalukhanga narula mukhwaya, yeembanga ario, naye Lung'oli yesi akalusiamwo ario, kho olunyuma yeekumbu abandu bandi bali nibashili khushialo, shilialolanga obulayi tawe; liachaka okhupara shinga olwa liakhakhola kho liabalia bombi. Olwa Lushinga yachelesinjia tsing'ombe Kotia lieetsanga lirechelesia shinga olwa yeembanga; kho Lushinga natsiile mukhwaya Kotia lieetsanga liimbe mbu mana Lung'oli alikulile liinjile. Lung'oli yarechelesinjia, mana ahulila omwoyo nikurali okwaLushinga tawe, yamalanga aboole mbu 'Poo! oli okunani?' Shiyalikulilanga omuliango tawe. Kotia lieenyokhanga nilitunya, nililuma ebiasia mbu, 'Ekhola endie kho niindia omukhaana omulayi uno?' Liatsiitsanga nilisunile, oburima nibwenya okhuliira.

Niliulile ingo liatsiitsanga obufumu mbu limanye tsinjila etsia liakhakhola kho lialia Lung'oli. Mubufumu liaboolelungwa mbu niili khunjila nilitsia mumbinga ewa Lung'oli ali, lirakhupanga amashemo tawe, kata nilibira lialola omuyeka nikuresia obunyasi lirashina tawe; mbu niinyoola ebikukule shinga amakongolo khunjila kata amashere, lirakaliakhwo tawe. Nalio Kotia lieyamanga niliitsuba mbu, 'Shinendiekhwo khubikukule, kata amashere, kata amakongolo, tawe; khandi mbu shinekhupekhwo amashemo kata shineshine amabeka nindola obulimo nibushina tawe.' Ne olwa lialinji khunjila nilitsia ewa Lung'oli ali, liakholanga kosi aka liakaanibwa; nilialolanga ibembe niyishina, nalio liosi lishina amabeka; liupa amashemo, kata amashere nende amakongolo niliabinyoolanga khunjila ne libilia. Olwa lioolanga hambinga ewa Lung'oli ali, lialinji nilibiiyiye omwoyo, kho olwa lieembanga liakaanibungwa mbu nelinani; mana liinyokha lirio.

Kotia liakholanga lirio buli lwosi niliranyala okhulia Lung'oli tawe. Yali inyanga ndala olwa liahulila amalako komufumu, mana niliuma ikholo mbu kata olwa lialola ebikukule khunjila liabira bubira, amashemo kosi lialoba okhukoopa, kata olwa obulimo bwashina shiliashina tawe. Kho olwa lioola hambinga lieemba nende omwoyo omulayi, mana Lung'oli napara mbu fwana niLushinga mbootsonyene. Yesi yamala niyeemba nende omwoyo omulayi shinga olwa yakalusinjia Lushinga, mana niyeekula lichina liomumuliango. Shialuba Kotia lieenjila matetekhana, nilimukwakhwo nilimwira lwangu, nilimukhwesa nilimuyila enango walio okhumulia.

Olwa Lushinga yachelesia tsing'ombe yeemba shinga olwa yeembanga buli lwsi, ne shiyahuliakhwo Lung'oli nakalusiamwo tawe. Olwa yatsia hechina elieekalanga imbinga, yanyoola nilikalusiiboweho, ne amalasile nikaliibashile; yalola nende omukhweso kwa Kotia liakhweselakhwo Lung'oli. Lushinga yamala nalaka tsing'ombe mbu, 'Abeene mwinjile, mana mwibohe, khandi mwishele.' Yasolosia biosi ebilumilanga obusiba, nibio tsinzokha, tsimbiibi, eyanyanza, inzushi, amahalamba, nende ebindi ebinji, nachaka oluchendo okhulonda omukhweso kwaLung'oli. Boola hango waKotia eshialo nibushiele musenya; yanyoola Kotia mwene nende abakholibe nabakhasi bosi nibatsilé mumukunda okhuchesa obule.

Hango banyoola omwana omuleli; Lushinga yanusaba eshifumbi shiaKotia mbu yeekhalekhwo. Omwana oyo yamukaania, mbu 'Oli nende amatakho shiina, akeekhala khushifumbi shiaKotia?' Lushinga yalaka liahalamba okhulasa omwana oyo eshirwi, nende inzushi okhumululuma. Omwana tsana yamala yalila obutinyu, mana naleera eshifumbi shiaKotia; khandi nalakwa okhulanga Kotia ewa atsilé, mbu

Ishialwangu.

achelele. Omwana oyo yachaka okhwoya[1], nalanga samwana, mbu:

'Kotia oi oi oi o-o-o-oi!
Owa waliile mwana wanyina yoolile;
Ndamuha eshifumbi, yaloba; ndamuha eshindi, yaloba;
Nangwa eshiaKotia shitsukhanga obuyayi nipwa.
Nasi ndakaana mbu Oli namatakho shiina
Akeekhala khushifumbi shiaKotia Omwani,
Shitsukhanga obuyayi nipwa.'

Omwana oyo yakhuuma samwana, niyooya obutinyu; ne abali mundalo shibahulilanga tawe. Mushise eshio shiosi hango waKotia hali ebindu biosi ebiobuyinda, shinga emiruko, tsing'ombe, amakondi, tsimbusi, tsingokho, nibifwa. Nabio ebiobuyinda biomunzu, shinga emisanga, ebimili, obuteyo, obunyolo, biali nibiyaaywa nende abasikari ba-Lushinga. Kho omwana oyo yameeta okhwayule, nakhupa tsimbungu khulwa oburii obwa yali ninabwo okhulola ebindu biabwe nibiyaaywa ne ebiemiruko nibifwa. Lialiho khungo waKotia linyonyi elilangwa mbu imbiribinzo, noho ikhunzwe, ; alolela omwana oyo eshisa, niyichaka okhulanga Kotia niyiimba olwimbo luno:

'Kotia wee ebimili biatsia biosi, koo kondinya.
Kotia wee emisanga chiatsia chiosi, koo, kondinya.
Kotia wee obunyolo bwatsia bwosi, koo kondinya.
Kotia wee emiruko chiafwa chiosi, koo kondinya.'

Naye Kotia olwa yahulila olwimbo olwo yakalusiamwo yesi, niyeemba nashina, mbu:

[1]Okhulila eshise chirambi notselela.

'Ha ndachendela akhayoni kheemba obulayi, koo kondinya.
Yimbakhwo khandi akhayoni kheemba obulayi, koo kondinya.'

Kotia yaruma abakhasibe shiamulala mulala okhutsia okhulola eshiikholeéshe hango, eshia imbiribinzo yimbanga. Ne olwa buli mukhasi yoolanga hango, nashili okhuruuma eshilibwa, ne ebilumilanga obusiba bimwira, buli oweetsa yesi okhurula khubakhasi okhuula khubakholi bosi beerungwa nibalambisibwa mulukhafwa. Olwa abakholi bosi bahweela hango ne imbiribinzo niyishiimbanga, Kotia yachaka okhwiyirania, naboola mbu, 'Emikhasi echia endumile mungo chitsiile butswa okhwikhalila indenjekho yamalwa, ne shichimanyakhwo aka linyonyi liimbanga, chieetsa chiamanyia tawe. Kata abasumba banje bosi shibaparakhwo eshia embarumiile tawe; nimbanyoola hango nembalie bosi pe, ninzuumzuuna obutolongo bwabwe; bapara mbu bashila Lung'oli owa ndaliile.' Amakhuwa akaheelelesia yako Kotia liakaboola olwa liali niliulanga hango, okhuba Lieeyiraninjia lirio nilisesema mbu litsie lilie abakholi balio. Ne okhuba Lushinga yahulila kosi aka Kotia liaboola olwa liali niliinjilanga mushilibwa yalireeba mbu, 'Toto, Kotia, niwe owaliile Lung'oli ta?' Kotia lieesundukha; shialuba, nilishili okhukalusiamwo tawe, ebilumilanga obusiba biosi bialikwakhwo nibililuma. Olwa liali nilishili okhukwisia omwoyo tawe, lioopa olukhu niliboola mbu, 'Oranzira tawe; khalaka akhatere[1] khanje khabusiubusiu khano; olanyoolamwo omukhaana weenywe owa ndaliile.' Olwa Lushinga yakhalaka akhatere khaKotia, toto, abandu bafumundukha elwanyi shinga tsiswa tsiamaabuli. Abeebuli baLushinga bosi, abandu betsimbia tsinyinji aba Kotia liali niliali, halala nende Lung'oli; bosi barula, shinga

[1]olwala.

Lusinga yakhalaka akhatere kha kotia
Lusinga Cut a finger for Kotia

Lusinga Cut Kotia's finger.

1. AKOKHWIBULA OMWANA

Khale yaliho omundu owalangwa mbu Maheelo; naye yali niyateeshia omukhaana mbu Simbi, owali mulala owaparwa okhuba omulayi mwikondo nende mubiima, okhushila abakhaana bandi bosi abomundaalo tsiabwe. Maheelo nende Simbi bombi bateeshiania okhulondana nende emilukha chiAbaluyia echiobuteeshiani. Bamenyanga mubuheelani obunji halala nende obukhoonyani bwemilimo chiabwe mungo nende echiomunzu mwosi.

Kata Maheelo niyali nashili omusooliili ario, yali niyamanya emilimo chiobubaatsi. Mububaatsi, yakasinjia tsihari, ebinu, obwaro, tsinzelo, ebifumbi biamakulu kane, nende ebihootsa. Bino biosi yabikasinjia khumisaala echiali eminji mushialo shiabwe, nichio emipeeli, emikomari, emirumba, nende echindi emilayi shinga tsisiola. Khulwa obukholi obulayi bwa-Maheelo khubibaatse abandu abanji beetsanga okhumwenda okhutsia okhubabaatsila ebia beenya. Mumilimo chiobubaatsi yeekhoonyelanga ihaywa[1], nende ikoyo[2].

Simbi naye yali niyamanya emilimo echiobulonji bwetsinyungu. Mubulonji yalonganga tsinzikha[3], nende tsineemo, tsikhafuka, tsisiongo, nende ebikaye.

Mwali mundaalo tsieinzala shinga mumwesi kwakharaano, olwa abandu bosi bali nibatsiile okhurunda nende okhukalukhasia tsinyungu nende ebimwelo mbu banyoole ebiliibwa, olwa okhwibula khwanyoola Simbi. Yeebula omwana omusiani. Yamala nakhalilila omwana obulayi niyeekhoonyela olusi khulwa okhuteta olulela okhurula khungobi[4].

Mundaalo tsiabo Maheelo nende Simbi shibali

[1]imbatsi. [2]olube. [3]tsisikha. [4]likubo.

nende tsingubo tawe, kata shibakonanga khubitali shinga mundaalo muno tawe. Tsingubo tsiabwe tsialinji amaseelo ketsimbusi nende akebimoosi; niko aka abasaatsa beebohanga; nabo abakhasi bachendelanga amaboya. Obulili noho obukono bwabwe kalinji amaseelo ketsing'ombe aka bakonangakhwo khulu-hande lulala, ne beefunikha olwelubeka. Haundi liseelo lisumanga po; khulweshio omulwale anyala okhuchoonya po tsikhukunyu tsitsie. Khulweshio bamala baremela. Simbi amaru kamaramwa[1] nende amalala, niko amaru akamala okhuuma; bamala bakaseene obulayi nikaba amatorotoro; niko aka Simbi yamala akonenjekhwo nende omwanawe. Yamala aboolwe mbu ali khuLULALA, okhurulana khumalala aka yakonangakhwo. Yakona khululala tsindaalo tsine okhuba yali niyeebula omwana omusiani, kho narusia; ne alaba niyali niyeebula omwana omukhaana yakhakonilekhwo tsindaalo tsitaru tsionyene kho narusia.

Olwa yali khululala, shiyali namaani akanyala okhwitendela[2] omwene khulwa okhukasia ebiliibwa tawe. Kho yamala abeho omukhasi weetsa okhumutenda, nikhwo okhumwalishilila. Outenda omundu owibuule yalangungwa mbu OMWALISHILILI. Omwalishilili niye owateekhanga ebiliibwa ebia omwibo alia, halala nende okhumuleerela amatsi aka yeesinga. Omundu welwanyi yesi yesi shiyafuchiililwa okhutoola omulilo noho okhutaha amatsi munzu yomwibo tawe, kata shiyafuchiililwa okhulia khushiliibwa shiomwibo tawe. Omwalishilili yesi yeenywa mbu abe omwisiikwa; shiyafuchiililwa mbu aboolane nende abandu abasaatsa tawe. Kano kosi kalinji kario okhubeela mbu nibatoola omulilo kata amatsi noho kata omwalishilili naraba omwisiikwa ta, ne omwana aba nende ebisooshe khutsikhukunyu.

[1]amakomia; amatore. [2]okhwikasilia.

Akokhuyoya olulala

Olwa omwana nende nyina bakona khululala tsindaalo tsine okhurula inyanga eya yeebulilwa, bamala bamurusia elwanyi mbu alolekhwo eshialo hatuutu butswa, mana khandi nibamukalusia munzu. Inyanga yeneyo nolwa omwana nende nyina babechelwa.

Olwa bwoola mungoloobe shinga isaa ndala, nende inusu, amalala kosi aka bakonangakhwo halala nende olusi olwa bakhalilila omwana nende likoshe elia bateeshelanga, biosi biakhung'asibwa nibiyoywa; okhuba biali nibibunjikhungwa butswa munzu okhurula olwa omwana yeebulilwa. Amakokha ako kosi kayoywa, mana nibatsia okhukatsukha mwiswa hatinyu, aha omundu aralola tawe. Ne alaba omwana omukhaana, ako kosi kakheekholeeshe olunyuma lwetsindaalo tsitaru okhurula inyanga olwa yeebulilwa.

Ne Simbi olwa yanyoola amaani kokhwitenda omwene, yamala naseebula omwalishililiwe, namumanusia obusie nende inyama omuranda.

Naye Maheelo, shinga basaatsa bandi bosi, shiyafuchiilila okhulia ebiliibwa munzu yomwibo tawe. Omundu omusaatsa yaliitsanga munzu yomwibo oluyuma lwemiesi chibili noho chitaru. Omundu womukhasi mulala, noho owa nyina yafwa, kata ouhuma balamunyene, haundi yaliitsanga munzu yomukhasi owibuule. Maheelo naye yaliitsanga ewanyina okhuula olwa omwana yamala emiesi chitaru, naba omukali, kho nakalukha munzu yaSimbi.

Okhukulikha Eliira

Abaluyia bosi shibakulikhananga nibashili abalamu shinga tsimbia tsindi tawe. Fwana omulamu owakulikhwa yalinji oweifuma ikhongo, noho oupeyile

okhulia — 3 to eat
yalitsanga — was eating
bakona — they slept

Appendix F: Consent Letter

Letter of Request

Hellen Odera

Masinde Muliro University of

Science and Technology

P.O. Box 190-50100

KAKAMEGA

Mobile Number 0776170700

Email hellenselah@yahoo.com

August, 2020

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: MASTERS RESEARCH THESIS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

The Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology (MMUST) have sent me to collect data in the field and compile a final proposal for the award of master's degree in Applied Linguistics. This study is an investigation of the *Lutsotso* verb inflection in Lurambi Sub-County. The aim of this letter is to request you to take part in ensuring that the research succeeds. Any information given will be handled with the utmost confidentiality it deserves and will not be used for any other reason. Information presented should be bias-free and accurate, since it will only be used for academic purposes.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Hellen Odera.

Appendix G: Letter of Approval

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (MMUST)

P.O Box 190
Kakamega - 50100
Kenya

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Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509099

17th August, 2020

Hellen Selah Odera
LAL/G/01-56256/2017
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

Dear Ms. Odera,

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies has considered and approved your Master's proposal entitled: '*A Morho-syntactic Analysis of Tense and Aspect in Lutsotso*" and appointed the following as supervisors:

1. Dr. David Barasa - LLE Department – MMUST
2. Dr. Atichi Alati - LLE Department - MMUST

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director of Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Arts Graduate Studies Committee and Chairman, Department of Languages and Literature Education. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of two years from the date of registration to complete your Master's thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.

We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr. Consolata Ngala
DEPUTY DIRECTOR, DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

Appendix H: Research License

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **192384**

Date of Issue: **03/September/2020**

RESEARCH LICENSE

This is to Certify that Miss.. Hellen Selah Odera of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research in Kakamega on the topic: A MORHO-SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF TENSE AND ASPECT IN LUTSOTSO for the period ending : 03/September/2021.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/20/6449**

192384

Applicant Identification Number

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code

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