

SOME LINGUISTIC VARIATIONS OF KAONDE: A  
DIALECTOLOGICAL STUDY

BY

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**DECLARATION**

I, Kelvin Mambwe, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work, and that it has not been submitted for a degree at this university or any other, and that it does not include any published work or material from another dissertation.

Signed.....

Date.....<sup>9<sup>th</sup></sup> July 2008

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## APPROVAL


This Dissertation of KELVIN MAMBWE is approved as fulfilling in part the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistic Science of the University of Zambia.

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigated some linguistic variations of three Kaonde dialects spoken in Northwestern and Central provinces of Zambia. The dialects included the standard Kaonde, Lubango-Kaonde and Mumbwa Kaonde. The exercise was carried out in order to establish the variation of the dialectal differences in terms of morphological, syntactic, phonological and lexical parameters.

The data were collected through the use of five informants, three from the Mumbwa dialect and two from the Lubango dialect. Each of the participants was given lists of words and sentences in English and was asked to provide the equivalents in a given dialect. Data from the standard dialect were provided through the researcher's intuition being a first language speaker of Kaonde and verified by two other speakers of Kaonde as first language. The data were then recorded on tape and later transcribed. The note book was used to record words and sentences captured by observation. Thereafter data analysis of all the data collected was conducted in line with the objectives of the study. The findings were analysed and interpreted according to the levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study

Among the major findings of the study was that the three Kaonde dialects studied manifested dialectal variations at the various levels of linguistic analysis and that the Mumbwa dialect displayed more variations in relation to the other dialects investigated. This was attributed to the long distance between the Mumbwa dialect and the other two. Divergence was said to have played a crucial role in exacerbating the linguistic differences among them. On the other hand, the standard and Lubango-Solwezi dialects were found to display minimal linguistic variations between them because of their geographical closeness and therefore convergence was found to have played a role in reducing the linguistic variations between the two dialects.

The study also concluded that there were more lexical differences exhibited among the dialects, followed by syntactic and phonological variations. Morphological variations were found to be few among the three dialects. This implied that the three dialects shared more similarities in terms of their morphological structure.

One of the major recommendations made was that a large scale study, beyond the scope of the current one on dialectology of the Kaonde language be carried out in order to include other dialects from far-flung areas including the Congo so that the conclusions to be made would be based on all forms of the Kaonde language.

## **DEDICATION**

To my wife, Modias and daughter, Tukiya and my parents, Mr and Mrs Mambwe

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACT.	Actual meaning
AG.	Agreement
CL.	Class
Fv.	Final vowel
GEN.	Genitive
INF.	Infinitive
LIT.	Literal meaning
O	Object
PL.	Plural
NEG.	Negation
NS	Noun stem
PREF.	Prefix
PRES.	Present tense
PST.	Past tense
S	Subject
SG.	Singular
V	Verb
VR	Verbal root
NS	Noun stem

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0. General

This Chapter introduces the study entitled *Some Linguistic Variations of Kaonde: A Dialectological study*. It briefly focuses on the language of study, that is, Kaonde in general, and the three dialects of the language in particular, that is, Solwezi-Lubango, Mumbwa and the Standard dialect. It also briefly discusses the concepts of dialect and dialectology. Thereafter, it presents the statement of the problem, the rationale, the objectives of the investigation and methodology. Under methodology, data collection and analysis techniques and the theoretical framework are presented too. This is followed by a conclusion of the Chapter. In this study the following letters will be used to represent the three dialects under study, A, B and C for the standard, Mumbwa and the Lubango-Kaonde dialects, respectively.

#### 1.1. Background

The Kaonde language, also called kiKaonde is spoken by an ethnic group called Kaonde believed to have emanated from the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire, around nineteenth century. This group is said to be an offshoot of the Luba people of Congo, thus sometimes referred to as Kaonde-Luba. From Congo, the Kaonde people are said to have settled in some parts of the Northwestern and Central parts of Zambia. In the Northwestern province, they occupied Solwezi, Kasempa and Mufumbwe districts, while in Central province settled in Mumbwa district. In Solwezi, the Kaonde language shares

its linguistic boundaries with two languages, that is, Lunda language to the west in Chief Musele's area and Lamba to the east under Chiefs Shibukunami, Chikola, Kalilele and Mulonga. In Mufumbwe, the Kaonde language shares its boundaries with Luvale, Lunda and Mbunda to the west of the district. In Kasempa district, however, the language does not seem to have any meaningful linguistic boundaries as the area is relatively isolated by game reserves, that is, West Lunga Game Reserve and part of Kafue National Park. However, the languages that one would cite to be in close proximity are Lamba to the west and Nkoya to the east. In the Central province, the language shares its linguistic boundaries with Ila in Mumbwa central and Lamba under Chief Mulonga through to Mushindamo area.

According to Guthrie's classification (1948), the Kaonde language falls under the Niger-Congo language phylum, under Bantu language family in Zone L40. The Bantu family of languages covers much of Southern Africa through to South Central Africa. All the member languages of this group are similar in structure with the most prominent feature being the '-ntu' or '-tu' for person, hence the coinage of the term 'Bantu' to mean people.

This study focuses on some linguistic differences of Kaonde dialects spoken in the North Western and some parts of Central province of Zambia. In the Northwestern province Kaonde is the predominantly spoken language of Kasempa and Solwezi districts. It is also spoken in Mufumbwe district. In Central province, the language is spoken in Mumbwa district in the areas of Chief Kaindu, Mumba and Mulendema. In all these areas the language manifests itself in the form of dialects. These dialects show differences among themselves at morphological, phonological, syntactic and lexical levels. It is these aspects of linguistics that the study focuses on.

The study was restricted to the Kaonde dialects spoken in Solwezi West (Lubango in Chief Mukumbi's area), Mumbwa (in Chief Mumba's area) and Kasempa (in this study being used as the Standard dialect). The Kaonde dialects spoken in Shaba province of Congo D.R. were not considered. This was so primarily due to the limited financial resources and secondarily due to the political situation which was currently obtaining there. Equally, the Mufumbwe dialect was not part of the study because of limited resources as mentioned above. The isogloss, though an important aspect of Traditional Dialectology, was not used in the study. This, however is not to say that the researcher underrated the method, but was merely a matter of choice.

## **1.2. Dialect and Dialectology**

### **1.2.1. Dialect**

The term dialect is derived from the Greek word *dialektos*. The definition of the term is quite problematic. As Nurse and Hinnebusch (1993:5) point out, "there is no one definition of language and dialect which is watertight, thus, linguists and non-linguists alike, have their own way of defining language and dialect". Some linguists would define language as national and dialect as local, but the use of such a definition would reduce some languages with several users to mere dialects, which may not be acceptable as this term in some respects happens to carry negative connotation. The term dialect has been used in linguistics generally to point to varieties of speech based on geographical locations. The term is used in contrast to the term language (Asher, 1999).

The *Wikipedia Free Encyclopedia* (2006) defines a dialect as a variety of a language characteristic of a particular group of the language's speakers. In common usage however, the term dialect is sometimes used to refer to a lesser known language, particularly one which is unwritten or not standardized. This usage of the term is not welcome to speakers of a given language when referred to in that manner because of the negative implication it may carry. On the other hand, the term dialect has also been used to refer to a subordinate variety of a language, for example the English language, which has many dialects (ibid).

The term dialect also has historical connotations. For instance, historical linguists speak of the Germanic dialects by which they imply the ancestors of language varieties currently known as the modern Germanic languages like English, Dutch and German (ibid).

Others would define language as standard written form, dialect as non-standard, sub-standard and unwritten form. This too, would not be agreed upon because there are languages which have not been reduced to the written form but yet they very much qualify to be languages. They have a grammar like any other written languages.

All speakers of a language can talk to each other and often times are able to comprehend one another. However no two people speak exactly the same way. Some of the variations are as a result of social factors such as age, size, speech rates, emotional , state of health or whether that language is a first language or not. Some other differences emanate from



an individual's choice of words, pronunciation of words, and grammatical rules while others are as a result of different geographical locations. The special features of an individual speaker are referred to as the speaker's idiolect. Therefore any language consists of several idiolects, a number equal to the number of speakers of that language Fromkin et al, (2003). In the same vein, different groups of people that speak a particular language speak it differently. For example, the Kaonde people in Kasempa, Mumbwa, Mufumbwe and Solwezi districts all indicate systematic differences in the manner in which they use their language which are however mutually intelligible. It can therefore be said that each group speaks a dialect of Kaonde.

Fromkin et al, (2003) define dialects as mutually intelligible forms of a language that have systematic ways of differences. In fact, a language is looked upon to be a collection of forms of dialects. These variations are referred to as dialectal differences or variations. However, it should be noted that the definition of language and dialect is one of controversy as earlier stated.

In this study, however, the definition for dialect proposed by Fromkin and others will be used. As mentioned earlier, they define a dialect as a mutually intelligible form of a language. Infact, as Kashoki (1978:22) quotes Ladefoged et al, (1971), "generally speaking the differences between languages and dialects are larger than differences between dialects." This in a way is to say that there is mutual intelligibility between dialects more than between languages. Dialect speakers of the same language are able to understand one another, whereas speakers of two or more different languages are not.

In this study, a standard dialect is seen as a variety of a language that has been chosen for use in the media, Bible translation, and teaching in school and used in writing of official documents. Thus, the Kaonde variety that qualifies to be termed standard in this regard is the Kasempa dialect because it is the one that has been chosen to be used in these domains. This dialect will be the focal point in relation to other varieties.

### **1.2.2. Dialectology**

According to Bright (1992:900), "dialectology is the branch of linguistics which deals with the nature and distribution of variation in language." Britain (2005) defines dialectology as the study of the way sounds, words and grammatical forms vary within a language. He further goes on to argue that the term is usually used to describe the study both of accents (varying sounds used within a language) and dialects (differing structures and words used).

In both definitions at hand, it is clear that dialectology focuses on the nature or form and distribution of different accents and dialects, although recently it has taken a new dimension of investigating social factors, such as age, gender and position in society (ibid).

#### **1.2.2.0. Historical Perspective on Dialectology**

##### **1.2.2.1. Traditional Dialectology**

An organised way of studying dialects started over a century ago. Initial work was aimed at drawing up linguistic atlases that provided information on the geographical distribution of various dialect forms. Britain, (2005) argues that such study was motivated by the

desire to oppose the conclusion in historical linguistics then that all sound changes were regular and had no limit. The argument put up by dialectologists nevertheless illustrated that the linguistic changes of dialect forms were in most cases irregular and did not affect all words equally. This was confirmed by the dialect landscapes of Europe which particularly showed variability within small areas and dialectologists were interested in plotting this enormous diversity. Dialectologists then were particularly interested in lexical differences, that is, the use of different words to refer to the same thing in various places (ibid).

In late 1960s, criticisms against early dialectology began to flow; firstly, a cross section of people criticised the way in which dialectological data were being collected. In most cases, lengthy questionnaires were designed with data collectors administering them to immobile, old, rural men to get information and usually with one-word answers to questions such as, 'you cook nshima with...?' and 'what do you do if you are thirsty...?'. The responses collected were then phonetically transcribed by the data collector. The argument was that dialectology must not be restricted to a small proportion of the population who were old, rural and male, but should as well include the young, urban and female in order to have a full representation of a language being investigated. Secondly, it was argued that one-word answers were too far-fetched from every day language in order to provide a factual account of how people use language. It was then proposed that dialectology should study lengthy and relaxed conversations which would efficiently provide examples of everyday language and also show the variability of individual speech (ibid).

### **1.2.2.2. Sociolinguistic Dialectology**

The major hiccup of Traditional Dialectology was inadequate technology. The advent of the tape recorder in the 1960s meant that speech of dialect users would now be put on tape for the first time and, therefore, records of language use for later analysis would be available, a thing which was impossible with Traditional Dialectology. The emergence of sociolinguistics, the mass production of recording equipment and the appreciation of linguistic factors to play a role in social problems in Western societies, made dialectologists overlook traditional approaches to dialectology and concentrate on urban areas [whole] other than a small section of it. These innovations made it possible for dialectologists to analyse continuous speech and how consistently speakers used dialect forms in their speech. It also meant that the carrying out of quantitative analysis in finding relative proportions of different variants used by persons and through aggregation by different groups in society would now be possible (ibid). However, a combination of the two approaches, traditional and sociolinguistics dialectology is still in use.

### **1.2.2.3. Linguistics and Dialectology**

In recent times linguistics has had a direct influence on dialectology in a way that has resulted in the development of linguistic theories meant to deal with some aspects of dialects. Among the notable theories that have been developed are, Generative and Structural Dialectology. “Generative dialectology involves the application of concepts and findings from generative grammar, more particularly from generative phonology to the description and comparison of different dialects,” (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:45). On the other hand, Structural Dialectology deals with inventory variations when handling

phonemic incidence and distribution. However, these theories are best applied to languages whose sound systems are very complex, for example, English and French. The two theories confirm how far linguistics has gone in dealing with dialectological data. There must not be a big problem applying any linguistic theories to dialectology because dialects are forms of language that have everything it takes for a language to be linguistically analysed. For example, a dialect will have a linguistic structure which can be described linguistically.

### **1.3. Statement of the problem**

The Kaonde language is spoken differently by different groups of people that are separated by geographical locations. These forms of Kaonde language have not been investigated to determine their levels of variations. When two or more languages interact, their linguistic structures are bound to exhibit some differences at various levels of linguistics and these variations have not been established yet in the three dialects of the Kaonde language under study.

### **1.4. Aim**

The aim of the study is to carry out a dialectological study from a linguistic standpoint on the following Kaonde dialects; Kaonde of Mumbwa, Solwezi-Lubango of chief Mukumbi of Solwezi and Kaonde of Kasempa (standard dialect).

### **1.5. Objectives**

The objectives of the study on the standard Kaonde, Mumbwa and Lubango-Solwezi dialects include the following:

- (a) To investigate their phonological variations.
- (b) To investigate their morphological differences.
- (c) To establish the lexical differences.
- (d) To investigate the syntactic variations.

### **1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The study is significant in a number of ways. First, the little linguistic work on Kaonde makes the study worth undertaking. This is the first study on Kaonde dialectology to be conducted and has certainly contributed to the general body of knowledge in the area of African linguistics.

Second, this study will also enlighten language teachers and writers about some variations of Kaonde dialects and how they may treat them. The study will also contribute to the field of Kaonde dialectology in the area of creating a linguistic Atlas for Kaonde which requires that a linguistic study of dialects and of this nature is carried out before plotting the findings on isoglosses. This study might be the starting point. There are other studies conducted on dialectology on other languages across the world in contexts that may be somewhat different from this one; therefore, this study has contributed a piece to another of such studies, thereby enriching the field of dialectology in that sense.

## **1.7. Methodology**

The study used a qualitative approach in the collection and analysis of data. Qualitative research is an approach which collects and uses non-numerical data. Since methodology is about research methods and techniques, data collection and data analysis were dealt with under the same heading, that is, data collection and data analysis respectively.

### **1.7.1. Data collection**

The exercise of data collection was conducted in Solwezi and Mumbwa districts. In Solwezi, data was collected from Kimiteto and Kandemba areas located five kilometers from Solwezi town. Two informants who spoke the Lubango dialect were identified for interviews. In Mumbwa, data was collected from the centre of the district in Chief Mumba's area. The exact area is located some three kilometers to the east of the BOMA. Four informants who spoke Kaonde-Ila were identified for the process of data collection through interviews.

#### **1.7.1.1. Instruments**

##### **1.7.1.1.1. Word/sentence list**

Since all the informants were illiterate, the researcher used lists of prompts in standard Kaonde and Nyanja which were translated into their respective dialects. Nyanja was used in asking questions because the informants in Mumbwa were found to be fluent in the language and this was thought to be the best language to use than the standard Kaonde dialect in order to reduce certain biases that could have resulted if the standard dialect was used. The speakers of these dialects tend to shy away from speaking their dialects

and so they could do every thing possible to imitate the person speaking the standard dialect and this could have jeopardised the information collected.

The questions were self-formulated and were of two types namely, a list of individual words and a list of complete sentences. These constituted a guide in the process of data collection used during interviews with a selected number of informants. There were six informants in total as earlier mentioned, four spoke Mumbwa dialect and two spoke Lubango dialect. The data from standard Kaonde was retrospectively collected as there was no need to have informants because the researcher is a native speaker of the dialect, however, the data was verified with two first language speakers to ensure that the information was correct.

**1.7.1.1.2. Recorder and tape**

All the conducted interviews were tape recorded except for the standard dialect which did not require any recording at all because as already mentioned; the data from standard Kaonde was introspectively collected. This implies that the researcher being conversant with the dialect used himself as a source of information and thus recording was unnecessary.

**1.7.1.1.3. Notebook**

The researcher used a notebook to record all information observed, particular words and sentences, as he mingled with the speakers of Lubango and Mumbwa dialects. The information recorded in the notebook constituted what the researcher observed and hence



there was no need for consent from the speakers being observed. Infact, it was not known to them they were being observed.

**1.7.2. Data analysis**

**1.7.2.1. Procedure**

The first step in data analysis constituted sorting out of data according to dialects and type of data, that is, word and sentence lists separately. The second stage involved marking of tone on all the data collected in order to establish the various pronunciations of certain words and sentences shared by the dialects involved. This was done during the process of transcription. Orthographic transcription was infact intuitively done by the researcher with much care as there was no SoundFile system to help with phonetic transcription and later orthographic translation.

Thirdly, all the data were then categorized according to levels of linguistic analysis namely; Morphology, Syntax, Lexical and Phonology. At each level, linguistic comparisons were made by way of observing the general linguistic structure of words and sentences in all the dialects involved.

**1.7.2.2. Theoretical framework**

This research is informed by a combination of Traditional dialectology and general Linguistic approach. These two, as applied in the study, cannot be separated.

### **1.8. Limitations of the Study**

The major problem in data collection was finding equipment to ensure high quality recording of the interviewees. The allowance given by the University of Zambia through the Staff Development Unit did not allow for the purchase of digital recording equipment and the University of Zambia does not have a laboratory facility for that purpose. However, an ordinary recorder was organized, although this could not allow for transmitting the recordings on to the computer using software like CoolEdit, modern software for speech analysis. The recordings were done with the equipment available then

### **1.9. Structure of the Dissertation**

The study has been organised in five chapters. The First Chapter introduces the investigation. The Second Chapter presents the literature review; the Third Chapter discusses the basic linguistic structure of the Kaonde language before discussing the analysis and interpretation of the data in Chapter Four. Chapter Five draws conclusions based on the entire study and provides recommendations.

### **1.10. Conclusion**

The Chapter has introduced the title of the study and has briefly provided some background information of the language under study, that is, Kaonde and its dialects (Solwezi-Lubango, Mumbwa and the Standard). It has also highlighted some important definitions of the terms dialect and dialectology and provided some historical perspectives of the discipline of Dialectology. The rest of the Chapter has given the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, the aim and objectives and the

methodology used and has also pointed out the limitations of the study. The literature review has been presented separately in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. General**

This Chapter provides information on related studies conducted on other languages. It, nonetheless, begins by outlining some important works done in linguistics on the Kaonde language before proceeding to look at other related studies. The literature reviewed constitutes general information in linguistics on Kaonde language and other related studies on dialectology in other languages.

#### **2.1. Studies on Kaonde**

There are a few texts that have been written on Kaonde in the area of linguistics. The notable one is the first bilingual English-Kaonde Dictionary authored by Boroghall (1945). The dialect used in this dictionary is the Kasempa dialect which is taken to be the standard. However, inasmuch as most information was helpful in providing data for the standard dialect, the dictionary does not provide any relevant information on other Kaonde dialects.

The other work is an English-Kaonde vocabulary text by the late missionary, J.L. Wright (1985). The text is more or less a bilingual dictionary, although it is too brief. It translates a few words from English to Kaonde (standard dialect). Like Boroghall's work, it does not provide any relevant information pertaining to other Kaonde dialects; therefore, the text was only relevant to the standard dialect.

From the literature reviewed thus far, it is clear that there is very little of it on Kaonde dialects. There has not been any research carried out to deal specifically, with the topic of dialects of Kaonde.

**2.2. Dialectological Studies on other languages**

In view of scanty literature on Kaonde dialects, the literature review for the present study was heavily based on what has been researched on other languages in order to have a general understanding of the subject. Among these, include Lumasamba (Bantu language spoken in Uganda) and Swahili. Others included, some works on dialectology on the English language and Malay language spoken in Madagascar.

In his studies on Lumasaba dialects, a Bantu language spoken in Eastern Uganda by the Basigu people, Brown (1972) divides the linguistic community into two zones. He does this according to the linguistic homogeneity that exists between the dialects used in the area. In each zone (southern and northern), he focuses on the phonetic variations of each dialect. In the southern dialect, he distinguishes three main areas, that is, central which he calls Lusoba, the mountain area (Manjiya) and Lubutu. In Lusoba and Manjiya /k/ is realised as a palatal fricative before all front vowels and as a velar before all non-front vowels. In Lubutu /k/ is realised as a uvular fricative in all environments except when it occurs before /i/ in class 7 prefixes when it is realised as [s]. In Lubutu the other velar consonants, /g/ and /ŋ/, are realised as slightly fronted velars by some speakers or as palatals. In all southern accents, /z/ is realised as [tʃ] except in Manjiya and Lubutu, where if /z/ allows a nasal prefix, then it is realised as [z].

He further indicates the local variation within the northern dialect. The northern dialect, according to him, is much more homogeneous than the southern dialect. In some areas, there is a tendency of pronouncing [βilio] 'food' as [βidio], whereas in some areas pronounced as [βilyo]. In this Northern dialect, three accent areas are identified: Lufumbo, Luwalasi and Luhugu. In Lufumbo and Luhugu velar consonants /g, k, ŋ/ are fronted to palatals before front vowels and stops are realised as palatal affricates. In Luwalasi, the velar consonants are only slightly fronted in this environment and they are not affricated. Luwalasi /k/ as in /ki- naga/ is pronounced as [kinaga] 'a pipe', where the [k] has a very similar quality to the /k/ of an English /kp/ speaker pronouncing 'key'. In Luhugu, /z/ is realised always as /z/, and /j/ following a nasal prefix is realised as [z] when it occurs in noun stems but as [j] when it occurs in verb stems. The same rule applies to Lufumbo except in the speech of some people where Luhugu has [z], they have [dʒ].

In their report on a survey of language use in Tanzania, Polome and Hill (1980) present a few dialect variations of Swahili worth mentioning. For example, Mrima dialect spoken in Tanga, Bangamoyo and Dar es salam is presented as having the following characteristic linguistic features, /l/ for /r/, as in the following, *balua* for *barua* 'letter', /s/ for /sh/, as in *sauri* for *shauri* 'plan, council', occasional devoicing of /g/ as in *kiza*, for *giza* 'darkness', occasional palatisation of /k/ to [tʃ] before front vowels, /i/, /e/, for instance in *kucheti* for *kuketi* 'stay, sit' and a trend to realise [m] as [mu] and insertion of u after m before consonants. For instance, *mutu* for *mtu* 'person', *amuri* for *amri* 'order'.

They proceed to note that there are other features that include the insertion of l or r in various sequences of two vowels, for example, *njara* for *njaa* 'hunger'; use of *ya* instead of *la-* concords with the 5<sup>th</sup> class, as in the phrases; *soka ya kuri* 'axe for firewood', *jiko yake* 'his kitchen' and that, much of these features are shared by Mgao (another Swahili dialect) spoken in Kilwa where they apparently occur on a larger scale, especially in the sense of the following; confusion between l and r, for example, *asari* for *asali* 'honey', *kuludi* for *kurudi* 'return'; palatisation of k to ch before I, as in *chichwa* for *kichwa* 'head', mu for [m] and insertion of u between m and consonants, as in *muti* for *mti* 'tree', *kuamuka* for *kuamka* 'awake'; insertion of l or r in sequences of two vowels ( also in ia and ea where it does not occur in Mrima), for instance, *kugwira* for (kiMrima) *kugwia* 'seize', *kumera* for *kumea* 'grow'.

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Polome and Hill further note that these two dialects, Mrima and Mgao also exhibit certain grammatical and lexical differences. Typical Mrima words, for example, are '*kugwia*' (*kugwira*) for *kukamata* (seize), *kitumba* for *kanda* (fisherman's basket); *machafuko* for *fitina* (disorders); and that a typical archaism in an outlying territory is the *kuima* for '*kusimama*' (stand) preserved in Mgao. There are other Swahili varieties that have not been dealt with by these authors, for example Unguja, Hadimu and Tumbatu, to mention a few. These could have helped to shade more light on the linguistic variations of the Swahili dialects.

In her comparative study on Malay dialects, Mahdzan (2007) focuses on the standard Malay spoken in Malaysia (Bahasa Malay) and the standard Malay spoken in Indonesia

(Bahasa Indonesia) where she figures out three main phonological differences of these dialects of Malay. The variations include; vowel reduction of the sound /a/ to /e/ (schwa), the vowel reduction of /u/ to /o/ and the /r/ deletion. For example, in standard Malaysain Malay, the vowel reduction rule reduces /a/ to /e/ in word final position of the following words, *apa* 'what', *kenapa* 'why', *saya* 'I', *kita* 'we', *dua* 'two' and *ada* 'have' to give us *ape* 'what', *kenape* 'why', *saye* 'I', *kite* 'we', *due* 'two' and *ade* 'have' after vowel reduction. In Indonesian Malay, however, the /a/ sound is maintained in the word final position.

Fromkin (2003), illustrates how English regional dialects developed by their changes in the pronunciation of words with, an 'r'. In Southern England, for example, the British were already dropping their 'r's before consonants and at the end of words in the early eighteenth century, and that words such as *farm*, *farther* and *father* were pronounced as [fɑ:m], [fɑ:ðə ] and fɑ:ðə] respectively. This became a general rule later among the early settlers in New England and the Southern Atlantic Seaboard. She further notes that as social interaction between the New England colonies and London and southerners prevailed, the r dropping rule equally got reinforced. This explains why the dialect spoken in Boston, New York and Savannah has maintained the 'r-less' feature. However, some settlers came from Northern England where the r had been maintained and the trend moved westward, with the r.

Fromkin further goes on to point out the phonological differences among American English dialects, for instance, the pronunciations of the word *caught* /kɔt/ with the vowel /ɔ/ and *cot* /kat/ with /a/, whereas others pronounce them both as /kat/. Some people



pronounce *Mary*, *marry* and *merry* the same, while others pronounce them differently as /meri/, and /mæri/ and /mɛri/ and others pronounce the two of them the same way. In the Southern area of the country, '*creek*' is pronounced with a tense /i/ as in /krik/ and in the north midlands, pronounced with a lax /ɪ/ as in /kɹɪk/. There are other examples on phonological variations which can not be exhausted here.

Further, she points to some data collected in a survey conducted on the Internet that indicate phonological variations between British and American English. The data indicated that 48% of Americans pronounced the mid consonants in *luxury* as voiceless [lʌkʃəri] whereas 96% of the British pronounced them as voiced [lʌgʒəri]. 64% of Americans pronounced the first vowel in *data* as [e] and 35% as [æ] as opposed to 92% of the British pronouncing it as [e] and only 2% with [æ]. Fromkin notes that in the prestigious British dialect, [h] is pronounced at word initially of both *head* and *herb*, whereas in American English dialects, it is pronounced in the second word. In a few English dialects, the [h] is usually dropped from most words where it is pronounced in American, for instance, *house* and *hero* pronounced as [aws], and [iro], respectively.

In the same book, Fromkin points out that geographical dialects of English would also vary according to the vocabulary speakers use for a particular item. In English dialects, a language user in England would talk of 'taking a lift to the 12<sup>th</sup> floor of the building', whereas another user in the USA would say 'taking an elevator to the 12<sup>th</sup> floor'. A driver in England would buy 10 litres of *petrol* not *gas*. A *freeway* in Los Angeles is a *thruway*

in New York, a *parkway* in New Jersey, a *motorway* in England and an *expressway* or *turnpike* in some dialect places.

Dialects also differ syntactically. One can tell what dialect it is by observing its syntactic organisation of words in any perceived dialects. She notes that the pronoun *it*, in British English, in the sentence 'I could have done it', can be erased. The British would say 'I have done' which is opposed to the syntactic rules in the American English Grammar. Nevertheless, American English allows the deletion of 'done it' and say 'I could have', which is equally opposed to the British syntactic rules.

Although Paul Kerswill (2000) in his article on dialect levelling and received pronunciation concentrates on dialect levelling, he also throws light on some important features that characterise dialectal differences. He focuses on British English. He begins by giving an outline of the dialects spoken in Britain by stating that the British English dialects can be categorised into traditional rural dialects and modern dialects. Traditional rural dialects are said to have been spoken by the masses of the population, but by the advent of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are spoken by less than 50%. He notes that the dialectal variations between these dialects are wider compared to the Standard English in terms of pronunciation and in their grammar. Kerswill further states that what has transpired is that over a generation or so, families have left these dialects in favour of a type of English that is closely urban. These urban ways of using English have been labelled modern dialects or mainstream dialects by Peter Trudgill (1988) and that what characterises them is that they are comparably like Standard English in phonology, grammar and

vocabulary. The first stage subsequently reflects fewer variations between the manner of speaking in various parts of the nation and this illustrates dialect levelling. On the other hand, he states that the second stage affects these urbanised varieties of English themselves. He further notes that these are distinctive ways of speaking in every town and city and that at times such variations are quite wide and may pose problems even for ordinary Britons when they travel round. These dialects are even further subjected to levelling in a way that makes it difficult to tell where one comes from (in the East-South England around London).

Having drawn this picture, Kerswill focuses on some differences among these dialects. He begins with what he calls traditional dialects and states that several factors that constituted traditional dialects' distinctiveness have been lost. He provides a few that are still in existence although they are now replaced by Standard English forms, he claims. He looks at grammar first and notes the following:

Noun plurals; shoon 'shoes', een 'eyes', kine 'cows'; pronouns: in the North and Midlands: tha 'you', (singular), hissen 'himself', I washed me 'I washed myself'; in the South-West: her 'she', I do go shopping on Saturdays 'I go shopping on Saturdays'; verbs: gang 'go' (Scotland), fa 'fall' (Scotland), forms for 'I am' I is (North West), I are (North East).  
Vocabulary: Scotland; luin 'boy', quine 'girl', greet 'cry', Yorkshire: beck 'stream', bairn 'child'. Kerswill (2000:2).

On phonology, he gives a few examples as follows; Scotland: *nicht* 'right', *dochter* 'daughter', *hame* 'home'; North: *spian* 'spoon', *bian* 'bone', *reet* 'right'; North west: *fower* for 'four', *sivven* for 'seven' and South west Midlands: *fut* 'foot', *umman* 'woman'. These phonological examples, however, should have better been provided with their actual phonetic equivalents in order to precisely determine their proper pronunciations and ease comparisons on the basis of sound patterns.

With what Kerswill terms modern dialects, he focuses on features which have survived dialect levelling, that is, those features that have been carried on from traditional dialects and categorises them as unlevelled dialects.

On grammar, he gives the following; present tense -s in all whole verb paradigm, for example; *I likes, you likes, she likes, we likes, they likes*, in South and South west of England. Multiple negation as in; *we don't want none*. The use of 'aint' for negative auxiliaries; *'isn't', 'hasn't', 'haven't'*; the use of past tenses for irregular verbs; *'I done', 'I write', 'I come', 'I see'*. He also notes that 'them' may be used as a demonstrative adjective as in; *'look at them big spiders'* and that there is an absence of plural marking on measures of distance and quantity: *'two pound', 'ten mile'* and absence of adverb marking: *'he came really quickly.'*

He further makes an observation on phonology and notes that the vowel of 'foot' appears in 'cup' in the Midlands and the North of England and the vowel of 'trap' in words like *bath, dance, last, laugh* in the North and Wales, vowel of *palm, father* in the south. Monophthongs in words like *goat* and *face* in the North and Scotland; diphthongs in the South. Post-vocalic r pronounced in words like *car, nurse, father, north* in the South west and Scotland. It is absent in the Southeast and North.

Trudgill and Chambers (1988) point out that varieties may differ phonologically in many ways. They may vary, firstly in terms of phoneme inventory, that is how many and which

phonemes they have. For instance, varieties spoken in the north of England, unlike a number of other varieties of English, do not possess the vowel /ʌ/ and that in such accents words such as *up* and *but* have /ʊ/, and *blood* and *hood*, *dull* and *full* rhyme.

They further go on to state that, varieties may vary in terms of phoneme distribution as well and that they may possess the same inventories but vary in the phonological environments in which certain phonemes may occur and that a good example in English of this type is one that pertains to the consonant /r/. The fact is that all English varieties have /r/ before a pause, as in *far*, or before a consonant as in *farm* or *far* behind. They state that all English varieties allow /r/ before a vowel as in *rat*, *carry* and with an exception of the majority of South African and black and Southern American varieties as in *far away*. Scottish, Irish, and the majority of American and almost all Canadian accents have postvocalic /r/ and are thus referred to as rhotic, whereas Australian, South African, most Welsh, majority of New Zealand and most English accents do not and therefore are called nonrhotic.

Varieties may also differ in terms of phoneme incidence. They may share the same inventory but vary in the incidence of particular phonemes in the sets of words. For example, northern and southern English accents, it is observed, that they agree in possessing the vowel /æ/ (as in *sam*, *cat*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *psalm*, *cart*) in their inventories.

Nevertheless, they do not agree in the incidence of these vowels. In the following set of words that include; *path*, *grass*, *laugh*, *dance*, *grant* and *sample*, in which northern accents have /æ/, southern accents have /ɑ:/

	Pat	path	palm
North	/æ/	/æ/	/a:/'
South	/æ/	/a:/'	/a:/'

This illustrates the fact that two dialects may have identical phoneme inventories but vary greatly because of the incidence of phonemes in lexical units (Trudgill and Chambers, 1988).

According to Asher (1992), some linguists make a further distinction between accent and dialect. An accent comprises a way of pronouncing a variety. He goes on to state that a dialect on one hand varies from other dialects of the same language simultaneously on at least three levels of organisation, pronunciation, grammar or syntax and vocabulary. The following are examples of differences that he gives;

**American**

**British**

Pronunciation: ate/ait/

/et/ (RP)

(rhymes with mate)

(rhymes with met)

Grammar/syntax: *Jane had gotten used to it*      *Jane had got used to it* (pp of get)

Vocabulary: *Sam took the elevator rather the stairs; Sam took the lift rather than the stairs.*

**2.3. Conclusion**

Although the available literature on Kaonde linguistics could not sufficiently provide information on Kaonde dialects, other literature reviewed were found helpful albeit in a

small way, in giving a general understanding of what the study sought to investigate. The following chapter discusses the basic structure of the Kaonde language.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **DISCUSSION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KAONDE LANGUAGE**

#### **3.0. General**

This chapter discusses the basic linguistic structure of the Kaonde language focusing on the morphological, syntactic and phonological levels. Therefore the discussion should not be taken to provide a comprehensive linguistic account of the Kaonde language. The chapter is divided into four main sections namely, morphology, syntax and phonology and the conclusion of the chapter follows.

#### **3.1. The Morphology of Kaonde**

This section discusses some morphological aspects of the Kaonde language vis-a-vis the standard dialect. Morphology is defined as a field of linguistics that studies the internal structure of words. This section focuses on some of the core areas of Bantu morphology, (that is, the noun and the verb) and briefly discusses their system within the language. This is followed by a discussion of the structure of the possessives and demonstratives. All examples are derived from the findings of the research.

##### **3.1.1. The noun**

The noun occupies a central place in the morphology of this language just like other Bantu languages. It is from the noun that one of the major and most distinguishing characteristics of Kaonde (Bantu) language is derived. In Table 1 below, 18 nominal



class prefixes for Kaonde language have been established. The composite meaning of the noun is given in 3.1.1.1. This is followed by the structure of the noun.

### 3.1.1.1. The composite meaning of the noun

In noun formation, stems and prefixes may be said to bear primary and secondary meanings. The root has the basic meaning shared by all the nouns derived from it, while the prefix specifies and particularizes the meaning. The prefix may also carry semantic features common to that class or of a subset within that class. Stems or roots, in other words, may be said to express general meanings which are specified and particularized by the use of specific noun prefixes (Mubukutwano, 1988) as shown in example 1;

1.	Stem	general meaning	prefix + stem	particular meaning
	ntu-	‘being’	mu-ntu (cl.1)	‘person, human being’
			ba-ntu (cl.2)	‘people’
			ki-ntu (cl.5)	‘thing’

### 3.1.1.2. The structure of the noun

This part outlines the general structure of the noun in Kaonde language. Like many Bantu languages, the structure of the noun in Kaonde language exhibits a bi-morphemic structure; for instance, in example (1) above one word (noun) has three word forms (nouns), *muntu*, *bantu*, and *kintu*. These word forms have a bi-morphemic structure which is formulated as follows:

NOUN= PREFIX + STEM.

As shown above, mu-, ba- and ki- are prefixes and -ntu is a stem. The prefix encodes information relating to number and gender, where the gender system in this language is that of natural gender. The prefix mu- and ki- gives information about singularity and ba- gives information about plurality. The stem, on the other hand, is the core element which typifies the type of word and from which a series of words is derived by the addition of one or more affixes. In Bantu morphology a stem to which a noun prefix is attached is called a nominal stem or radical. Thus the stem -ntu is a nominal stem.

In many Bantu languages, "although most of the nouns are bi-morphemic there are a number of cases where a further prefix, which may mark either diminutive or augmentation, is added to an already prefixed noun." (Mchombo, in Spencer, 2001: 518). This is true with Kaonde language as in example (2) below.

2.	Ka-mu-ntu 'a small person'	tu-ba-ntu 'small persons'
	Pref.1cl 12-pref.2cl 2-NS	pref.1.cl13-pref.2.cl2-NS,

This illustrates the fact that the structure of the noun can also be tri-morphemic when a further prefix is attached to a noun that already has one.

3.1.1.3. Noun classes

This part outlines the classification of nouns in the Kaonde language (standard). Like other Bantu languages, nouns in the Kaonde language are classified according to classes. A noun class is defined as a grammatical system that some languages use to overtly categorize nouns ([www.ziath.virginia.edu/swahili/swahili.2007](http://www.ziath.virginia.edu/swahili/swahili.2007), 29/08.)

The following table presents noun classes of the Kaonde language;

TABLE 1. Nominal class prefixes of the standard Kaonde dialect

CLASS NUMBER	NOUN PREFIX	EXAMPLE
1	Mu	muntu 'person'
1a	Ø	kolwe 'monkey'
2	Ba	batata 'fathers'
2a	Baa	baatata 'father' (honorific)
3	Mu	muchu 'medicine'
4	Mi	michi 'medicines'
5	Ji	jiluba 'flower'
6	Ma	maluba 'flowers'
7	Ki	Kichi 'tree'
7a	Ki	Kimuntu 'ugly/or big person' (perjorative)
8	Bi	Bichi 'trees'
8a	Bi	Bibantu 'ugly/big persons'
9	N-	Nsanyi 'plate'
9a	Ø	Nzolo 'chicken'

Class number	Noun prefix	Example
10	N	Nkunwa 'seeds'
11	Lu	Lukunwa 'seed'
12	Ka	Kapwa 'owl'
13	Tu	Tupwa 'owls'
14	Bu	Butala 'grainery'
15	Ku	Kulu 'leg'
16	Pa	Pamuzhi 'at the village'
17	Ku	Kunzubo 'to the house'
18	Mu	Munzubo 'inside the house'

Table 1 above shows that the Kaonde language has 18 noun classes. This implies that all nouns in Kaonde fall under any one of the classes above. All the classes are in pairs. The singular forms of the first group constitute a class and its plural counterparts. For example, class 1 (singular) and class 2 (plural). These nouns tend to be dominated by human beings, although not all are human beings in this class. Infact it also includes some non-human entities, for instance;

3. *Ba-mwinsho* 'uncles' in dialect A, (humanbeings) and *ba-kabwa* 'dogs' and *ba-nzolo* 'chickens' (inanimate) in all the dialects, where the prefix *ba-* marks the plural.

Class3/4 is for trees and medicines as in the words; *much*i and *bich*i.

Class 5/6 is for things like maize, teeth, and so on as in the words; *jitaba* 'a grain of maize' *mataba* 'grains of maize', *jiino* 'tooth', *meeno* 'teeth' in all the three dialects.

Classes 7/8 include the majority of small things such as property, for example, *kintu* ‘thing’ and *bintu* ‘things’. It also includes other small living things such as *kilongolo* ‘an insect’, *bilongolo* ‘insects’. Classes 9/10 include things whose prefix is syllabic or whose prefix is zero. For example *kabwa* ‘dog’ in all the three dialects. The prefix for this noun is zero for singular and *bakabwa* ‘dogs’ where the prefix *ba-* is the plural marker. It also includes words like *ntamba* ‘sweet potato’ in dialect A where *n-* is the neutral prefix. It can either be plural or singular. However one would have the singular for this noun in class 14 as in *lutamba* ‘sweet potato’. Infact class 11 is for augmentation while class 12/13 is for diminutiation, which can either be singular or plural. Classes 15/16/17/18 are all locative classes.

Table 1 reveals that the noun class cannot be determined solely from the form of the noun. The prefixes for classes 1 and 3 (*mu-* in both cases) are homonymous, this is also true for 9 and 10; and 15 and 17.

### 3.1.2. The structure of the verb

The nucleus of the verbal morphology in Kaonde is the verb, root henceforth (VR), which supports a number of prefixes and suffixes which have different functions. As earlier mentioned, the verb can take different forms depending on its position in the sentence.

"When it appears in the sentence, the VR must be prefixed with the subject or person marker and tense/aspect." (Mchombo in Spencer, 2001: 500). For example;

4. u-beena ku-pyang-a 's/he is sweeping' in dialects . (kupyanga; active verb)

Cl.1-PRES INF.-VR- fv

. Note; the passive verb of kupyanga ‘to sweep’ is kupyangwa ‘to be swept.’

The VR in this case is *-pyang-* to which is attached the final vowel or ending *-a* to create the active verb *kupyaanga*. The subject marker *u-* reflects the characteristic of class number of noun 'person' (which belongs to noun class 1) and the tense marker *-beena* marks present tense and the infinitive *ku-* are attached to the verb according to the grammatical rules of the language.

In standard Kaonde as revealed in the findings, the person markers are; *u-* (1<sup>st</sup> SG), *m-* (2<sup>nd</sup> SG) *tu-* (2<sup>nd</sup> PL), *ba-* (1<sup>st</sup> PL) and the tense-aspect markers are *-beena* (present), *-nga* (present progressive). Some tense /aspect markers are realised simply by tone as the case is with the immediate future.

### 3.1.3. The structure of Possessive pronouns

Like in other Bantu languages, possessives pronouns in Kaonde comprises a connective pronoun and a stem. A connective pronoun consists of a pronominal prefix and a genitive marker. The genitive marker is similar to what could be analysed as a stem for the connective pronoun. In here nevertheless, the genitive does not serve as a stem as it now comes before the possessive stem (Miti, 2001).

Table 2 presents the general morphological structure of the possessive pronoun in Kaonde.

PREFIX+GENITIVE + STEM

**Table 2. The structure of some possessive pronoun in Kaonde**

<b>PREFIX AND CLASS</b>	<b>GENITIVE MARKER</b>	<b>STEM</b>	<b>POSSESSIVE PRONOUN AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESS</b>
ki- (Cl 7)	a-	-mi 'my/mine'	Ki-a-mi > kyami 'it is mine' (1 <sup>st</sup> SG) [glide formation]
ki- (Cl 7)	a-	-nji 'his/hers'	Ki-a-nji > kyanji 'it is his/hers 3 <sup>rd</sup> SG)' [glide formation]
ki- (Cl 7)	a-	-bo 'theirs'	Ki-a-bo > kyabo 'it is theirs' (3 <sup>rd</sup> PL) [glide formation]
ki- (Cl 7)	e-	-tu 'ours'	Ki-e-tu > 'it is ours'kyetu (1 <sup>st</sup> PL) [glide formation]
bi- (Cl 8)	a-	-mi 'my/mine'	Bi-a-mi > byami 'it is mine' (1 <sup>st</sup> SG) [glide formation]
bi- (Cl 8)	a-	-nji 'his/hers'	Bi-a-nji > byanji 'it is his/hers' (3 <sup>rd</sup> SG) [glide formation]
bi- (Cl 8)	a-	-bo 'theirs'	Bi-a-bo > byabo 'it is theirs' (3 <sup>rd</sup> PL) [glide formation]
bi- (Cl 8)	e-	-tu 'ours'	Bi-e-tu > byetu 'it is ours' (1 <sup>st</sup> PL) [glide formation]
u- (Cl 1)	a-	-mi 'my/mine'	u-a-mi > wami 's/he is mine' tɔ 'ours' [glide formation]
u- (Cl 1)	a-	-nji 'his/hers'	u-a-nji > wanji 's/he is hers/his' (3 <sup>rd</sup> SG)
u- (Cl 1)	e-	-tu 'ours'	u-e-tu > wetu 's/he is ours' (1 <sup>st</sup> PL) [glide formation]
u- (Cl 1)	a-	-bo	u-a-bo > wabo 's/he is thiers' (3 <sup>rd</sup> PL) [glide formation]

Table 2 above illustrates that although the possessive pronoun consists of a pronominal prefix, a genitive marker and a possessive stem, the possessive stem varies according to person, number and nominal class.

**3.1.4. Deictic pronouns or Demonstratives**

According to Miti (2001), deictic pronouns are used to locate individuals or things in relation to their distance from the speaker or the addressee or both. Like in other Bantu languages, this assertion is true with the Kaonde language.

5a. Kintu akye ‘thing this’ ‘this thing’ (near speaker and addressee)

- b. Kintu akyo ‘thing that’ ‘that thing’ (near addressee; far from the speaker)
- c. Kintu kino ‘thing this’ ‘this thing’ (near speaker; far from addressee)
- d. Kintu akya ‘thing that’ that thing’ (far from both speaker and addressee)

From the foregoing, it can be stated that the deictic pronoun is morphologically of two types in the Kaonde language. The first is illustrated in (6a, b and d) which comprise a pre-prefix, pronominal prefix and a stem. The second one is shown in (6c). This consists of a pronominal prefix and stem. A morphological analysis of the above deictic pronouns/demonstratives is presented in the Table 3 below.

**Table 3: A morphological analysis of some Kaonde deictic pronouns**

Pre-prefix and class	Pronominal prefix	Stem
a- (Cl 7)	-ki- (Cl 7)	e
a- (Cl 7)	-ki- (Cl 7)	o
No pre-prefix	ki- (Cl 7)	no
-a (Cl 7)	ki- (Cl 7)	a

There are some more deictic pronouns of Kaonde which can not be discussed here due to the scope of the study.

### 3.2. Syntax of Kaonde

Like the preceding level, this section does not pretend to provide a complete discussion of syntax in Kaonde. It nevertheless discusses briefly the general syntax of Kaonde with regard to basic word order. To start with, syntax is about how words and morphemes



combine to form grammatical sentences. It is concerned with how they combine into larger units to form phrases and clauses and how these relate to each other.

In all languages, the ‘heart’ of syntax relates to linear order. Every language has one way of ordering words. Every simple sentence has a basic word order, the way which serves as the most common way to form a sentence and conveys the idea it carries (Heine and Nurse, 2000).

Again like other Bantu languages, Kaonde language has the following basic word order used to form simple declarative sentences: subject (S), verb (V) and object (O). This implies that in simple declarative sentences, the subject (S) will begin the sentence and this will be followed by the verb (V), which will precede the object (O). This is illustrated below.

6a. John waja kajo ‘John eaten food’ John has eaten the food’

b. Waaya kunzubo ‘S/he gone to home’ ‘s/he has gone home’

In interrogative sentences, the order remains the same although the sentence is marked by question tags either in the initial position or final position (or both) of the sentence as shown below.

7a. James wafuma mubujimi nyi? ‘James has come out of the field?’ Has James come out of the field?’

b. Nanchi John wajimine bujimi nyi? ‘Did John has cultivated the field?’ ‘Did John cultivate the field?’

Note: the particles *nanchi* and *-nyi* as used above in (8a and b) indicate interrogative sentences.

Imperative sentences equally have the same morphological structure as below.

- 8a. Wafwainwa kujima bujimi ‘you should cultivate the field’
- b. Kechi ushinkuleko kinzhilo ne ‘don’t you open door not’ ‘you should not open the door’

Exclamatory sentences may take a similar word order in some sentences as shown below.

- 9a. Mvula yanokela munzubo! ‘Rain poured in house!’ ‘the rain has leaked into the house!’
- b. Mukola wapomokela kumusanza! ‘River has broken to plains!’ ‘The river has over-flown to the plains!’

The above sentences in (7) to (10) confirm that the basic word order in Kaonde is SVO, however, due to topicalisation other patterns of word order such as VOS, OSV, SOV and OVS are permissible in this language as in the sentences below.

- 10a. Wajima bujimi John ‘cultivated field John’ ‘John has cultivated the field’ (VOS).
- b. Bujimi John wajima ‘field John cultivated’ ‘John has cultivated the field’ (OSV).
- c. James munzubo wapyanga ‘James in house swept’ ‘James has swept the house’ (SOV).
- d. Nshima wateka Mary ‘nshima cooked Mary’ ‘Mary has cooked nshima’ (OVS).

It should be pointed out here that negation in the Kaonde language is doubly marked hence, the word order of negative sentences would include negative particles at both the initial and final positions of the sentences as a basic rule as below.

11a. Kechi utwele munzubo ne ‘don’t you go in house no’ ‘you should not enter the house’.

b. Kechi uje kajo ne ‘don’t you eat food no’ ‘you should not eat food.’

The basic word order of simple negative sentences in this language can therefore be formalized below.

NEG SVO NEG

The above section on syntax has discussed briefly the basic word order of the Kaonde language.

**3.4.The phonology of Kaonde**

Phonology is the study of sound systems of individual languages and the nature of such systems generally (Matthew, 2005). It, therefore, follows that any spoken human language has a sound system that can be phonologically investigated in order to understand the nature of its sound system and how these sounds behave when they combine with others in forming meaningful units. Investigating the phonological theory of a language entails looking at aspects of the phonology of the language, either diachronically (changes that have taken place over a period of time, that is, historical changes), or synchronically, (studying aspects of phonology at a given time or at present).

Like the preceding sections of the Chapter, this section does not present a full account of Kaonde phonology. However, what is presented here is a brief outline of Kaonde phonology, from a synchronic point of view.

Kaonde phonological system includes segmental and suprasegmental elements. A segment is a unit of sound that can be combined with others to form a sequence. For this reason, phonemes in general are segments. A phoneme by definition is the smallest abstract distinct unit in a given language. Under segmental phonology, inventories of sounds (phones) and phonemes are identified. In the following segments, inventories of Kaonde sounds are presented.

### **3.4.1. Segmental phonology**

#### **3.4.1.1. An inventory of Kaonde sounds**

Making an inventory of a language involves the process of identifying and establishing a list of all possible speech sounds in that language. In phonology, a speech sound is referred to as a phone, which is identified as a realisation of a single phoneme. In this language, an inventory of sounds can be divided into two main sound classes, that is, vowels (including semi vowels) and consonants.

#### **3.4.1.2. An Inventory of Kaonde Phonemes**

As mentioned above, a phoneme is the smallest distinct sound unit of a language. There are varying definitions of a phoneme but, in general, two words are said to be composed of different phonemes only if they phonetically contrast in ways that are found to make a

difference in meaning (Matthew, 2005). For example, /a/ and /i/ are said to constitute two different phonemes in Kaonde because they can distinguish meaning in two words as in *kutwa* 'to pound' and *kutwi* 'ear'. Table 4 and Table 5 below present inventories of phonetic sounds and phonemes in Kaonde.

**Table 4 : Kaonde Phonetic Chart for consonants**

	Bilabial -       +	Labiodent -       +	Alveolar -       +	Postalaveo -       +	Palatal -       +	Velar -       +
Nasal	m		n			ŋ
Stop	p b		t       d			k       g
Frictive	β	f       v	s       z			
Affricate				tʃ    dʒ		
Flap/Roll			r			
Approximant					j	w

**Table 5: Kaonde Phonemic Chart for consonants**

	Bilabial -       +	Labiodent -       +	Alveolar -       +	Postalaveo -       +	Palatal -       +	Velar -       +
Nasal	m		n			ŋ
Stop	p		t			k       g
Fricative	β	f       v	s       z			
Affricate				tʃ    dʒ		
Flap/Roll			r			
Approximants					j	w

### 3.4.1.3. Kaonde Vocalic system

There are five distinct positions for vowels phonemically. These can be represented in a chart as follows:

**Table 6: Kaonde vocalic system**

	FRONT	BACK
HIGH	i	u
MID	e	o
LOW		a

To prove the distinctiveness claimed above, a permutation test or minimal pair test is carried out below on some of the words collected in the study. A permutation test or minimal pair test is a type of test in which two or more words that differ only in one sound segment are given:

- 12a. Kabwa 'dog'  
Kabwe 'a small stone'
- b. Kizhila 'prohibit'  
Kizhiba 'pool of water'
- c. Tata 'father'  
Tala 'see'
- d. Mama 'mother'  
Lama 'keep'
- e. Puya 'blow'  
Muya 'breath'
- f. Kichi 'tree'

- Bichi 'trees'
- g. Mendeka 'seal'
- Tendeka 'start'
- h. Saala 'choose'
- Kaala 'pick a lump'
- i. Vweta 'cover'
- Fweta 'offer'
- j. Nyema 'run'
- Nyama 'meat'
- k. Muzhi 'village'
- Mizhi 'villages'
- l. Jeebele 'a grain of millet'      Meebele 'grains of millet'
- m. Kapasa 'axe'
- Tupasa 'axes'
- n. Muntu 'person'
- Bantu 'persons'

4

From the examples of minimal pairs presented above, it is clear that the phonemes given are Kaonde phonemes. For example, in 12 (a) above, /a/ and /e/ in *kabwa* and *kabwe* are phonemes that distinguish the meaning of the two words. /l/ and /b/ in (b), *kizhila* and *kizhiba* are equally phonemes providing a contrast in meaning of the two words. The trend is the same in all the examples provided above.

### 3.4.2. Phonological Rules

These are rules that account for the phonological changes of sounds when they occur in certain phonetic environments. These rules come as a result of the combinations of phonemes or sounds into meaningful sequences/units. Phonological rules are of two types, allophonic and morphophonological rules.

#### 3.4.2.1. Allophonic Rules

These are rules that account for the distribution of sounds in their respective environments, for example, the phoneme /b/ is realized as [b] if it occurs after a nasal sound /m/ and realized as [β] elsewhere.

#### 3.4.2.2. Morphophonological Rules

These are the rules which explain the morphophonological processes that occur as a result of the interface of morphological and phonological effects at some level. There are two types of morphophonological rules, namely, glide formation and coalescence.

##### 3.4.2.2.1. Gliding/Glide formation/Semi-vocalisation

Gliding is a morphophonological process by which glides or semi-vowels are formed. This process is also called Semi-vocalisation.

13a. /mu-ana/ becomes *mwana* which is pronounced as [mwa:na]. The /u/ and /a/ give rise to a glide /w/, thus [mwa:na] 'child'. In the word *mwiba* 'thorn', /u/ and /i/ gives the same glide /w/. The same happens if the phoneme /e/ is preceded by the vowel /u/.and formular can be formulated as;



$$/u/ \rightarrow /w/ / /a/, /i/, /e/ -$$

b. /muvi-ala/ ‘cousin’ and /ni-enga/ ‘sister’ becomes [muvyala] and [nye:nga], respectively. In these two words, /a/ and /e/ when they precede /i/ produce a glide /y/ and thus, a similar formula as above, can be formalized as follows;

$$/i/ \rightarrow /y/ / /a/, /e/ -$$

#### 3.4.2.2.2. Coalescence/Fusion

This is a morphophonological process by which units that are separate at one level of representation are realized by a form in which there is no corresponding boundary<sup>4</sup> (Matthews, 2005). In Kaonde some vowels are fused into a single long vowel. The following words illustrate this fact;

14a. Meena ‘holes’ > /ma-ina/ > [me:na]

b. Meeso ‘eyes’ > /ma-iso/ > [me:so]

#### 3.4.3. Syllable Structure of Kaonde

"A syllable is a phonological unit composed of one or more phonemes" Fromkin et al (2003:317). A syllable contains a nucleus, usually a vowel, which is a mandatory constituent. Nonetheless, in this language, for example, a syllabic nasal can qualify to be a nucleus. The nucleus can be preceded by one or more phonemes called onset and

followed by one or more segments called the coda (ibid). The nucleus and coda constitute the subsyllabic unit called a rime. Kaonde, like most Bantu languages, has no coda. The structure is basically, Consonant-Vowel (CV).

Syllables can be divided into two types: open and closed syllables. Open syllables are those that end in a nucleus or vowel. Closed syllables on the other hand, are those that end in a coda or consonant.

In the language under discussion, syllables are open. They end in a nucleus. As mentioned earlier, there are cases where a nucleus can be a syllabic nasal. The words *bateka* 'they have cooked', *mbenakuja* 'I am eating', can be divided into three and five syllables, respectively as follows;

15a   ba/te/ka = three syllables

b.   m/be/na/ku/ja= five syllables. (m- in this word is a syllabic nasal in all the dialects and is also a nuclei).

**3.4.2. Suprasegmental Phonology**

What is presented here is a brief account of suprasegmental phonology. Kaonde language has two suprasemental features, these are, tone and length.

**3.4.2.1. Tone**

Tone is one of the major characteristics of most Bantu languages including Kaonde. Kaonde has two level tones, high (H) and low (L). Contour tones are attested only as a

combination of the two tones particularly on long syllables. Thus falling tone (F) (a combination of high and low tones) and rising tone (a combination of low and high tones), an acute accent over a vowel represents high tones and low tones are unmarked. In nouns, high and low tones can contrast lexically as in the examples below,

16a. Maána 'wisdom'

Maana 'toes'

b. Bukoónde 'fishing net'

Bukoonde 'backyard'

**3.4.2.2. Length**

Length is another prosodic feature of the Kaonde language. Like tone, length equally plays a lexical role in contrasting meaning in this language as in the example below.

17a. Malwa 'taboo'

Maalwa 'beer'

b. Kubula 'to lack'

Kubuula 'to tell'

**3.5. Conclusion**

This chapter has discussed the basic linguistic structure of the Kaonde language by focusing on some major levels of linguistic analysis, that is, morphology, syntax and phonology. Under morphology, the basic structure of the nouns, verbs, possessives and deictic pronouns/demonstratives have been pointed out. For nouns, one section has been

dedicated to the classification of nouns in the Kaonde language because of its significance in the study of Bantu morphology. The next chapter focuses on the discussion and interpretation of the findings of the study.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.0. General**

In the preceding chapter, a brief linguistic account of the Kaonde language has been provided. It is on this background that the current Chapter is based. The Chapter analyses and interprets the findings of the study by focusing on each level of linguistic analysis brought out in Chapter Three, that is, morphological, syntactic and phonological levels. The lexical level follows thereafter. The chapter incorporates all the dialects under study, that is, the standard dialect (A), Mumbwa dialect (B) and the Solwezi-lubango dialect (C) by concentrating on some linguistic differences and similarities that obtain in the three Kaonde dialects. It will be observed that only a few aspects of parts of speech have been looked at. This was by choice as the study could not have considered all the parts of speech because of time limit.

#### **4.1. Morphological level**

This section presents certain morphological characteristics that are prevalent in the dialects under consideration and those that are unique to specific dialects. Some salient linguistic features on the various morphological structures that the nouns, verbs, possessives and demonstratives take in these dialects are pointed out.

##### **4.1.1. Nouns**

Having outlined the general structure of the noun of the Kaonde language in chapter three, it can be stated that all the three dialects under study share the same structure, that

is, all nouns obligatorily take a noun prefix. For example, *mu-chi* 'medicine' in dialect A and B and *mu-ti* 'medicine' in dialect C. The reasons for this are obvious because almost all Bantu languages share a fairly similar structure. Therefore, there must be more similarities among dialects of one language than there possibly could be between two or more languages of the same family in terms of morphology. However, among the dialects under consideration, there are some nominal stems whose morphology is slightly different from the others. For example, in the words *mu-kyengya* 'name of wild tree', *mu-nyge* 'bush' and *mu-chi* 'medicine' in dialect A and C and *mu-chenja*, *mu-nje* and *mu-ti* in dialect B as in the following examples:

18.

Dialect A, C:

mu-kyengya

mi-kyengya

SG.pref.cl.3-NS

PL.pref.cl.4.-NS

Dialect B:

mu-chenja

mi-chenja

SG.pref.cl.3-NS

PL.pref.cl.4-NS
19.

Dialect A, C:

Ø-mungye

Pref..cl.10-NS

Dialect B:

Ø-munje

Pref.cl.10-NS
20.

Dialect A,C:

mu-chi

mi-chi

SG.pref.cl.3.-NS

PL.pref.cl.4.-NS

Dialect B:

mu-ti

mi-ti

SG.pref.cl.3.-NS

PL.pref.cl.4.-NS

It is clear from the examples (3, 4 and 5) that there are some differences in nominal stems (NS) between dialects A and B on one hand and dialects B and C on the other hand. There are, however, no differences in the stems of dialects A and C. In terms of the structure of the stems, the differences are morphological although these can be said to be phonological in nature. Within the root of the noun certain phonological processes have occurred where the sound [k] is transformed to the sound [tʃ] in the words given above. The same sound [tʃ] is realised as [t] in dialect B. The phoneme [gy] changes to a single sound [dʒ] in dialect B. The fact that the processes by which these sounds undergo changes are phonological, they will be best discussed in the section on phonology.

The differences illustrated above, especially on dialect B in relation to the other two, can be attributed to the influence from another neighbouring language, Ila.

#### **4.1.1.1. Noun classification in the three dialects**

About ninety nine percent of all nouns collected go with the nominal class prefixes found in all the Kaonde dialects under investigation and that each dialect has the same number of noun classes, 18.

The brief account of noun classification of the Kaonde language presented in Chapter Three indicates that all the three dialects have something in common with regard to the noun prefixes each one uses. However, there are a few differences that some noun prefixes exhibit. In the findings of the study, the noun class prefix number 7 in dialect B is rendered as chi- as opposed to dialects A and C's ki- which apparently are consistent with the "standard Kaonde" as in the examples presented in Table 7.

**Table 7: The morphology of class 7 in the three dialects and examples**

Dialect A (class 7 prefix)	Dialect B (class 7 prefix)	Dialect C (class 7 prefix)
Ki-(cl 7) kiswa 'bush'	Chi-(cl 7) chiswa 'bush'	Ki-(cl 7) kiswa 'bush'
Ki-zhilo 'door'	Chi-nzhilo 'door'	Ki-nzhilo 'door'
Ki-pona 'chair'	Chi-pona 'chair'	Ki-pona 'chair'
Ki-piko 'left-hand'	Chi-piko 'left-hand'	Ki-piko 'left-hand'
Ki-lujo 'right hand'	Chi-lujo 'right-hand'	Ki-lujo 'right hand'

One of the explanations that can be deduced from Table 7 has to do with an interface between two languages with slightly different structures. One language happens to influence the structure of another language. This kind of influence is best discussed in sociolinguistics under theories of language contact. It is not easy to explain this social factor in pure descriptive linguistics. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged that language contact does not only affect language in terms that can only be explained within the sociolinguistic framework but can equally be explained in linguistic terms because the changes sometimes affect the internal structure of languages. This is supported by Barnes (1997:182) who states that "language variation may also be viewed from the perspective of language contact. Contact with other languages may not only have considerable influence on internal variation with a language but may also give rise to contact varieties such as pidgins." One of the reasons why the Mumbwa variety has a slight difference in the morphological shape of its prefix is that it interacts closely with the Ila language spoken by most of the people in the area where the data was collected. This language also



happens to have the prefix *chi-* whose class is the same as the Kaonde dialects and whose semantic value is equally the same. Since all noun classes are paired in Kaonde, it should be mentioned here that the other pair for plural remains unchanged.

The findings also revealed that there is a slight confusion on the use of the prefixes *ji-* and *ki-* in dialect B, whereas in dialects A and C the use of these prefixes is consistent. For dialect B, the prefix *ji-* is added to some stems that take on the prefix *ki-* in dialects A and C and vice versa as shown in Table 8.

**Table 8: Class 5 and 7 prefixes in the three dialects**

Dialect A	Dialect B	Dialect C
Ki- as in kibata 'duck' (cl 7)	Ji- as in jibata 'duck' (cl 5)	Ki- as in kibata 'duck' (cl 7)
Ki- as in kisoמו 'poll' (cl 7)	Jisomo 'poll' (cl 5)	Kisomo 'poll' (cl 7)

Although there seems not to be a satisfactory explanation for the variations exemplified in Table 8, there presence confirms that there are some variations at almost all levels of linguistic analysis. The plural for class 5 in dialect B is also different from dialects A and C. The plural of dialect B *-ji* prefix takes the prefix *ma-* of class 6 where as the plural of *ki-* in dialects A and C takes the prefix in class 8.

It has been found out that, with regard to noun stems or roots of the nouns collected in the dialects above, all the roots of the nouns are morphologically the same except in cases where the lexicon is different but with the same semantic value. The remarkable difference noticed with regard to morphological structure of some nominal roots is that there are some words whose roots have a slight difference in shape as some of their parts

have either been deleted or some element inserted within the roots. For instance, the words in Table 9 below are very much similar but only differ in their roots.

**Table 9: The morphological structure of some nominal roots**

Dialect A	Dialect B	Dialect C
mwipwa= mu-ipwa 'niece/nephew' (cl 1)	mwiwa= mu-iwa 'niece/nephew' (cl 1)	mwipwa= mu-ipwa 'niece/nephew' (cl 1)
tata= Ø-tata 'father' (cl 2a)	ta= Ø-ta 'father' (cl 2a)	tata= Ø-tata 'father' (cl 2a)
mama= Ø-mama'mother' (cl 2a)	ma= Ø-ma 'mother (cl 2a)	mama= Ø-mama 'mother' (cl 2a)
mbayi= Ø-mbayi 'friend' (cl 2a)	mbayami= Ø-mbayami (cl 2a)	(lolo) 'friend'
malwa= Ø-malwa 'beer' (cl 9a)	bwalwa= Ø-bwalwa 'beer' (cl 14)	malwa= Ø-malwa 'beer' (cl 9a)
nkito= Ø-nkito 'work' (cl 9a)	nchito= Ø-nchito 'work' (cl 9a)	nkito= Ø-nkito 'work' (cl9a)
mwenyi= mu-enyi 'vistor' (cl 1)	mwenzu= mu-enzu 'visitor' (cl 1)	mwenyi= mu-enyi 'vistor' (cl 1)
mungye= Ø-mungye 'bush' (cl 9a)	munje= Ø-munje 'bush' (cl 9a)	mungye= Ø-mungye 'bush' (cl 9a)

In the root of the word *malwa* 'beer' in dialect A and C, there is a difference with the root of the same word in dialect B *bwalwa* 'beer', the difference is in the initial syllables. There is a difference too in the root of the word 'work'.In dialects A and C it is *nkito*

while in dialect B the sound /k/ changes to the sound /tʃ/ thus *nchito* 'work'. Similarly the root of the word *mwenyi* or *benyi* 'visitor/s' in dialects A and C are the same but different in dialect B *mwenzu* 'visitor' or *benzu* 'visitors' for plural. The difference for these is in their final syllables of the root in the three dialects. In dialect B the root for the word *munje* 'bush' is morphologically different from the root of the same word in dialects A and C, *mungye* 'bush'.

In dialects A and C the root for the word *muchima* is consistent and morphologically the same but quite different from dialect B which apparently confuses the root of the same word for either *muchima* or *mutima*.

#### 4.1.2. Verb forms

The morphological structure of the verb of Kaonde language is determined largely by the tense that it may take. This is also true when it comes to dialectal differences. The structure of the prefixes and pre-prefixes that some verbs take in the three dialects show some differences.

The findings revealed that there are some differences in the morphology of these, tense/aspect markers and person markers. For example, in the sentence *mbeena kujima* 'I'm cultivating' in dialect A and C, and *njiina kujima* 'I'm cultivating' in dialect B. The general structure of this is subject-tense-verb. This is obeyed in all the three dialects. In dialect A and C, the subject in the sentence provided above is m- 'I' and the tense marker

is -beena 'present', whereas in dialect B the subject is n- 'I' and the tense marker is '-jiina' 'present'.

It is clear that there are differences in both the subject marker and the tense marker. Nevertheless, the subject marker [n] is an allomorph of /m/ which has been realised in this manner because of the phonetic environment in which it has occurred, that is, immediately preceding /dʒ/. There is nasal harmony.

Thus a rule can be formulated as follows:

21. /m/ becomes [n] when it precedes [dʒ], formalized as:

$$/m/ \rightarrow [n] / [dʒ] \text{ —}$$

The structure of the tense marker in dialect B is *-jiina* as opposed to *-beena* in dialects A and B. These have the same meaning. There is a change in the use of the present tense among all the three dialects when the subject marker is plural as in the sentence.

22a. *ba-beena kujiima* 'they are cultivating' (dialect A).

In dialect B and C, the same would read as.

b. *ba-na kujiima* 'they are cultivating'

where the subject marker is *ba-* as in dialect A and the tense marker is *-na* as opposed to *-beena*. Perhaps this variation in the morphology of these tenses can be best explained dychronically (in dynchronic linguistics) that would factor in the history of the language.

As discovered in the findings of the research, the future tense markers of the Kaonde dialects also differ morphologically. In dialects A and C, for example, the immediate future tense is marked by *-sa-* whereas the same in dialect B appears as *-sha-*. The marker of the future tense after today in all the dialects is *-ka-*. This is followed by *-sa-* in dialects A and C or *-sha-* in dialect B as can be illustrated in Table 10.

**Table 10: Some personal pronouns (subjects) and tense markers**

	Dialect A	Dialect B	Dialect C
subject	m- (1 <sup>st</sup> SG) tu- (1 <sup>st</sup> PL)	n-(1 <sup>st</sup> SG) tu- (1 <sup>st</sup> PL)	m-(1 <sup>st</sup> SG) tu-(1 <sup>st</sup> PL)
Tense (present progressive)	-beena	-jiina	-beena
subject	tu- (1 <sup>st</sup> PL)	tu- (1 <sup>st</sup> PL)	tu- (1 <sup>st</sup> PL)
Tense (present progressive)	-beena	-na	-beena
subject	u- (3 <sup>rd</sup> SG) ba- (3 <sup>rd</sup> PL)	u- (3 <sup>rd</sup> SG) ba- (3 <sup>rd</sup> PL)	u- (3 <sup>rd</sup> SG) ba- (3 <sup>rd</sup> PL)
Future tense (today and after today)	-sa- (future of today) -ka- (future after today)	-sha-(future of today) -ka- (future after today)	-sa-(future of today) -ka- (future after today)

In most instances, the verbal roots of most words in the three dialects are the same unless their lexicons are different but have the same semantic value, for example *mweemba* 'blanket', dialect A, *buulo* 'blanket', dialect B and *kibuuto* 'blanket' in dialect C.

Note also the progressive tense for dialect B *-sha-nga-* as a discontinuous morpheme is almost the same in all the other two dialects.

Dialects A and C take *m-beena-* 'I am', *m-* for subject 'I' and *-beena-* tense marker for the present progressive tense. *Mbeena-* 'I am' is for first person singular as in *mbeena kujima* 'I am cultivating'. Dialect B uses *njiina* 'I am' for the same tense, *n-* for the subject and *-jiina* a tense marker indicating present progressive tense, thus [*njiina kujima* 'I am cultivating']'.

The root of the verb in all the dialects is the same. The situation is equally the same when it comes to the first person plural (present) as in *tu-beena-* 'we are' in dialect A and C and B *tu-na* 'we are'. *Tu-* as a subject in all the three dialects is the same; what is different, however, is the tense marker. In dialect A and C, *-beena-* 'are' is used and *-na-* 'are' in dialect B.

For third person singular, dialects A and C, *u-beena* 's/he is' as in *ubeena kujima* 's/he is cultivating', dialect B uses *ujina* 's/he is' as in *ujina kujima* 's/he is cultivating'. Notice the difference in the tense marker for present progressive, *-beena-* for A and C and *-jina-* for B. the subject is the same *-u* 's/he'.

For the third person plural, dialect A takes *ba-beena* 'they are' as in *babeena kupyanga* 'they are sweeping' *ba-* 'they' for subject (marking plural) *-beena-* for tense whereas dialects B and C use *baana* 'they are' as in *baana kupyanga* 'they are sweeping'

There are also differences in terms of the future tense markers among the dialects. In dialects A and C, for example *-sa-*, is used for today's future. While dialect B inserts *-h-* between *s* and *a* to have *-sha*. However, the tense marker for the future after today is the

same *-ka-*. This is either followed by *-sa-* or *-sha-* for both dialects A and C or dialect B. See Table 10 above.

4.1.3. Possessives

With regard to the morphological structure of possessives, all the dialects, A, B and C share the same structure as below.

PREFIX + GENITIVE + STEM

However, there is a slight variation in prefixes between dialects A and B. This variation is shown in the Table 11.

Table 11: The structure of some possessives in the three dialects

Dialect A	Dialect B	Dialect C
ki-a-mi 'it is mine'	ch-a-mi 'it is mine'	ki-a-mi 'it is mine'
ki-a-nji 'it is his/hers'	ch-a-nji 'it is his/hers'	ki-a-nji 'it is his/hers'
ki-a-bo 'it is theirs'	ch-a-bo 'it is theirs'	ki-a-bo 'it is theirs'
ki-e-tu 'it is ours'	ch-e-tu 'it is ours'	ki-e-tu 'it is ours'

Table 11 reveals that the possessives in all the three dialects only differ in their use of class 7 prefix, *ki-*. This prefix is rendered as *chi-* in dialect B. Thus one would have all the possessives that begin with the prefix *ki-* in dialects A and C realised as *chi-* in dialect B. However, the rest of the possessives share not only the same prefixes from others, but the possessive stems as well as can be seen above.

4.1.4. Some deitic pronouns/demonstratives of dialects A, B and C

The morphological structure of deictic pronouns/demonstratives of all the dialects is the same and of two types. The first one is of the following structure;

PREPREFIX + PRONOMINAL PREFIX + STEM

The second type is of the following structure;

PRONOMINAL PREFIX + STEM

The above morphological structure of demonstratives fits in with the following examples presented in Table 12.

Table 12: Some demonstratives in the three dialects.

Diatance from the speaker	Dialect A and B	Dialect C (demonst.)
Near me and far from you (this)	a-ki-e > akye ‘this’ (glide formation)	a-chi-e > ache ‘this’ (fusion)
Near you and far from me (that)	a-ki-o > akyo ‘that’ (glide formation)	a-chi-o > acho ‘that’ (fusion)
Far from us (that)	a-ki-a > akya ‘that’ (glide formation)	a-chi-a > acho ‘that’ (fusion)
Near the speaker	ki-no > kino ‘this’	chi-no > chino ‘this’

For demonstratives that take on plural forms the structure is the same in all the dialects.



#### 4.2.0. Syntactic level

The findings of the research indicate that the basic word order of Subject Verb Object (SVO) or Subject Verb complement (SVC) in simple sentences is the same in all the three dialects, A, B and C as illustrated below.

##### Declarative sentences

23a. Ubeena kuja jango ‘s/he is eat mango’ ‘s/he is eating a mango’ (SVO) (Dialect A and C)

b. Una kuja jango ‘s/he is eat mango’ ‘s/he is eating a mango’ (SVO) (Dialect B)

c. Waaikaala paanshi ‘s/he sat down’ ‘s/he has sat down’ (SVC) (dialect C)

##### Interrogative sentences

24a. Kabwa waja nyama nyi? ‘Dog eaten meat?’ ‘Has the dog eaten the meat?’ (SVO) (dialect A).

b. Bankambo bajima bujimi nyi? ‘grandmother cultivate field?’ has grandmother cultivated the field?’ (SVO) (Dialect B)

c. Baanyiike bana kutaanga kitaabo nyi? ‘Children are reading book?’ ‘Are the children reading the book’ (SVO) (Dialect C).

d. wakanjila kwiulu nyi? ‘s/he climbed the top?’ ‘Has s/he climbed the top?’ (SVC) (in all dialects)

##### Imperative sentences

25a. Uteeke kajo. ‘You cook food’ ‘you must cook the food’ (SVO) (dialect A and C)

- b. Ujiime bujimi bwami ‘you cultivate field mine’ ‘cultivate my field’ (SVO) (Dialect B).
- c. Robert usanse mwiulu ‘Robert should spray theair’ ‘Robert you should freshen the air’ (SVC in all dialects).

### Exclamatory sentences

- 26a. Wapuma mbuzhi ‘s/he beat goat!’ ‘S/he has beaten the goat!’ (SVO) (Dialect A and C)
- b. John kanda kukwela kukichi ne! ‘John don’t climb tree!’ ‘John, don’t climb the tree!’ (SVO) (Dialect B).
- c. Waponena mu meema! ‘S/he has fallen into the water!’ ‘S/he has drowned.’ (SVC in all the dialects).

It should be mentioned here that other word order patterns such as VOS, OSV and SOV are permissible in all the three dialects due to topicalisation.

With regard to word order of sentences among the three dialects, the most outstanding feature has to do with negative sentences. The following passages discuss word order in the three dialects in relation to negative sentence construction.

#### **4.2.1. Negation in dialects A and C**

From the observation made in Chapter Three, it is clear that negation in dialect A is doubly marked. This is the same in dialect C. The two negative particles, *kechi-* and *ne-*

occur at both sentence initial position and sentence final position, respectively. These two particles are infact a discontinuous morpheme. The first part of the negative particle always occupies the initial negative position, whereas the second part occupies the final negative position. The two do not share the same position within a sentence, they are mutually exclusive, yet they play the same role, as in the following examples.

27.

Kechi- wa- yuki -le kunzubo ne

NEG 3SG(S)-VB-pst- O- NEG

Lit. ‘not s/he know house did not’

Act. ‘s/he did not know the house’

28.

Kechi- ba-pyang-a munzubo- ne

NEG 3PL(S)-VB-fv-O-NEG

Lit. ‘Not they sweep (pst) house not’

Act. ‘They have not swept the house’

In examples (27) and (28) above, it is clear that in these two dialects, negation is doubly marked and the basic word order can therefore be formulated as follows:

NEG S V O NEG

Nonetheless, the more complex the negative sentence is, the more complex the word order becomes and the same is the case with affirmative sentences. In the following example the word order is bound to change because of the complexity of the sentence.

29. Batata kechi baishile kunzubo ne mambo bajinga nankito
- 3SG(S) NEG VB O NEG CONJ .AUX.. IO
- Lit. ‘Father not come home not because he had work’
- Act. ‘My father did not come home because he had work.’

The change in word order is: S NEG V DO NEG AUX IO from NEG S V O NEG.

#### 4.2.2. Negation in dialect B

In dialect B, however, negation is marked by a single particle which takes sentence initial position. The word order in simple negative sentences in this dialect is as follows;

NEG S V O as in the following sentences below,

NOTE: the sentences are the same in construction and semantics as in example (27 and 28) involving dialects A and C. This is deliberate because of the comparative nature of the study.

30. nshi-wayukile kunzubo
- NEG 3SG(S) VB (pst) O
- Lit. ‘Not s/he know (past) house’
- Act. ‘S/he did not know the house’

31. nshi-ba-pyanga muzubo
- NEG 3PL(S) (pst) V O

Lit. 'Did not sweep in house'

Act. 'They have not swept the house'

The word order in this dialect will equally be complex if the sentence is complex, like in dialects A and C as shown in the examples above.

In conclusion, it can be said that word order in simple negative sentences is different among the three dialects. On one hand, dialects A and C have the same word order, that is, NEG SVO NEG and on the other hand dialect B has its own structure different from dialects A and C, NEG SVO.

From the foregoing it is clear that in dialects A and C negative constructions are marked by a discontinuous morpheme *kechi-*, *-ne/-ine*. The particle *kechi-* would either appear sentence/phrase initially or sentence or phrase medially. The particle *-ne/-ine* too may sometimes appears sentence/phrase medially depending on the construction, but in most cases would appear sentence/phrase final position. These two negative particles always go together; *kechi-* comes first before *-ne/-ine*.

In dialect B the negative constructions are marked by the particle *nshi-* which comes immediately before the verb it is negating. There are no discontinuous morphemes used in this dialect to negate a construction. In dialect B the particle *kanga* is also used to negate a sentence. This, however is not frequently used as the *nshi-* but occupies the same sentence position.

**Table 13: Negative particles in the three dialects**

Position of negation	Dialect A (neg. particle)	Dialect B (neg. particle)	Dialect C (neg. particle)
Sentence initially or medially	kechi-	nshi- or (kanga) (rarely used)	kechi-
Sentence finally	-ne	no particle	-ine

**4.2. Phonological level**

The preceding section has presented some linguistic differences at the morphological and syntactic levels. This section presents some phonological variations in the three Kaonde dialects under investigation. As was mentioned in Chapter Three, the phonological system of Kaonde language includes segmental and suprasegmental elements. From the investigation, it will be noted that the three dialects under study have the same inventory of phonemes. It will also be observed that there are more similarities in the area of segmental phonology than there are in suprasegmental phonology.

The following list constitutes all the existing speech sounds in all the three dialects of Kaonde: [a],[e], [i], [o], [u], [p], [t], [b], [l], [z], [n], [m], [j], [dʒ], [k], [s] [ʃ] [β], [w] [tʃ], [y].

4.2.1. Phonological rules in the three dialects

All the dialects of Kaonde undergo phonological changes which can be explained by phonological rules. In almost all the phonological rules, there are similarities among all the three dialects.

4.2.1.1. Allophonic rules

Below are some examples in all the three dialects that indicate sound distribution as they occur in various linguistic environments.

32a. In all the Kaonde dialects, the phoneme /b/ has two allophones, that is, fricative [β] realised as such elsewhere and as a stop [b], proviso that it occurs after a nasal [m] as in the following:

Dialects A, B and C; /lubavu/ ‘rib’ [luβavu], /kuβoko/ ‘hand’ [kuβoko] and buki ‘honey’ [βu:ki]. In the words given in 16 (b) above, the [β] is a fricative and exists in all the dialects in all linguistic environments except after /m/. The same applies to the stop [b] as in the following words; *bamba* ‘belt’ [βa:mba], *mbelele* ‘sheep’ [mbelele] and *mbuto* ‘seeds’ [mbuto]; and *mbuzhi* ‘goat’ [mbuzhi], *mwemba* ‘blanket’ [mwemba] in dialects A and C.

A rule for all the three dialects can thus be formulated as;

$$/β/ \rightarrow [b] /m/—$$

b. The phoneme /l/ has two allophones in all the three dialects. Firstly, it is realized as [d] if preceded by a nasal and [l] elsewhere as in the word: *kandolo* ‘sweet potato’ [ka: nlolo] in dialect B and *bulanda* /βulanla/ ‘compassion’ [βula:nda] in all the three dialects or in

the word *kujima* ‘to cultivate’ /kulima/ [kudʒima] and *kuja* /kulya/ [kudʒa] ‘to eat’ in all the three dialects. In this case /l/ becomes [dʒ] when it is followed by [i] or [y].

c. The nasal /n/ becomes [ŋ] if it is followed by /i/ or /j/ as in *nyama* ‘meat’ /nyama/ [ŋyama].

d. In dialect B the phoneme /k/ has two allophones, [k] occurs elsewhere but is realized as [tʃ] when preceded by /i/ as in the following words; *kipatela* ‘hospital’ /kipatela/ [tʃipatela], *chisepo* ‘fruit’ /kisepo/ [tʃisepo] and *kyetu* ‘ours’ /ki-etu/ [tʃetu], *kyami* ‘its mine’ /ki-ami/ [cami]. This should not be confused with the allophone [tʃ] for the phoneme /t/ which appears in all the three dialects as in the following words; *muchi* ‘medicine’ /muti/ [mutʃi] and *kichi* ‘tree’ /kiti/ [kitʃi]. This allophone appears in the penultimate syllable in all three dialects.

#### 4.2.1.2. Morphophonological rules

Glide formation and coalescence are the major morphophonological rules shared by all the three dialects under investigation as in the examples below.

33a. /mu-amba/ becomes [mwa:mba] > mwamba ‘pole’ which is pronounced as [mwá:mba]. The /u/ and /a/ give rise to a glide /w/, thus [mwá:mba] (in all the dialects). In the word *mwiwa* ‘nephew/niece’ (in dialect B) or *mwipwa* (in dialects A and C) the same process occurs. In the word *mwiba* ‘thorn’, /u/ and /i/ gives the same glide /w/. The same happens if the phoneme /e/ is preceded by the vowel /u/.and therefore, the formular formalized in Chapter Three applies to all the three dialects.



/u/ → /w/ / /a/, /i/, /e/—

b. /muvi-ala/ ‘cousin’ and /ni-eng-a/ ‘sister’ becomes [muvyala] and [nye:nga], respectively. In these two words, /a/ and /e/ when they precede /i/ produce a glide /y/ and thus, a similar formula as above, is formalized as follows;

/i/ → /y/ / /a/, /e/—

#### 4.2.1.3. Coalescence/fusion in the three dialects

The findings revealed that all the three dialects under investigation displayed the phonological process of coalescence. This is supported in the following words from <sup>4</sup>all the three dialects.

34a. /ma-ino/ [me:no] ‘teeth’ (dialects A, B and C)

b. /ma-ima/ [me:ma] ‘water’, (i and e becomes a long vowel ee, represented here by [e:]) (dialects A, B and C).

#### 4.2.1.4. Syllable structure in the three dialects

All the three dialects share a similar syllable structure. This implies that all the dialects under study have an open syllable structure. For examples, refer to examples 34a and b above.

4.2.2. Suprasegmental phonology

4.2.2.1. Tone

Under suprasegmental phonology, all the three dialects have the same number of tones, that is, two level tones, high (H) and low (L) and contour tones come about only as a combination of the two tones on long syllables. Hence, falling tone (F) and rising tone (R). These tones lexically contrast as in the examples of minimal pairs given below from all the three dialects.

35a. *Mukaanda* 'circumcision camp' (A, B and C)

*Mukaánda* 'bow'

b. *kubula* 'to lack' (A, B and C)

*Kúbula* 'to tell'

c. *kujila* 'to cry' (A, B and C)

*Kújila* 'to enjoy a meal/s'

In the examples presented above, inasmuch as all dialects would distinguish lexical meaning of nouns, in dialect C, the pronunciation of long penultimate vowels tends to be relatively longer than the other two dialects.

In all the three dialects, tone can also contrast grammatically, thus tone in this language plays both grammatical and lexical roles. The following examples illustrate how tone contrast grammatically:

- 36a. *úbééna kújiima* 's/he is cultivating' (dialect A)
- b. *Ubéénâ kújiima* 'one who is cultivating' (dialect A)
- c. *Újíina kújiima* 's/he is cultivating' (dialect B and C)
- Újíina kújiima* 'the one who is cultivating' (dialect B and C)

In the examples listed above, dialect C though similar to dialect B, has a relatively longer vowel than dialect B. Hence a rule can be formulated as follows;

$$[+LONG] \text{ (in A and B)} \rightarrow [++LONG] \text{ (in C) (in some contexts)}$$

This is quite the opposite with dialects A and B.

The examples given above illustrate the fact that tone in this language is grammatically distinctive. The examples that follow illustrate how tone can contrast tense.

- 37a. *Wáile* 's/he went' (past of yesterday) (A, B and C)
- Wáilé* 's/he went' (remote past)
- b. *Báfwiíle* 'they died yesterday or few days after' (past of yesterday) (A, B and C)
- Báfwiílé* 'they died a long time ago' (remote past)
- c. *Baájá* 'they eat' (habitual tense) (dialects A and B)
- Baája* 'they have eaten' (past perfect tense) (dialects A and B)
- d. *Baaja* 'they eat' (habitual tense) (dialect C)

*Baája* 'they have eaten' (past perfect tense) (dialect A, B and C)

e. *Baajiima* 'they cultivate' (habitual tense) (A, B and C)

*Baájiima* 'they have cultivated' (past perfect tense) (C)

f. *Baléémba* 'they write' (habitual tense) (B and C)

*Baleémba* 'they have written' (past perfect tense) (A)

g. *Bapyáánga* 'they sweep' (habitual tense) (A and C)

*Bapyaánga* 'they have swept' (past perfect tense) (B)

h. *Baatwá* 'they cultivate' (habitual tense) (A and C)

*Baátwa* 'they have cultivated' (past perfect tense) (B)

Examples (a) and (b) are the same in all the three dialects. Example (c) only applies to dialect A and B as contrasted with dialect C in example (d), although the last part of the example is the same in all the three dialects. There are similarities in examples (e), (f), (g) and (h) above in all the three dialects. On the other hand, there is a slight difference between dialect C, on one hand and dialects A and B on the other.

Tone in this language as illustrated, plays both lexical and grammatical roles in distinguishing meaning. This section concentrates on showing the pronunciation differences of some sentences in the three dialects involved in the manner they apply tone to the same sentences. This implies that the sentences should be structurally and grammatically the same in order to be able to figure out the differences in pronunciation. The pronunciations are shown by the use of tone markers, primarily the acute accent for the high tones while low tones are unmarked. The sentences are given in such a way that

each sentence in a particular dialect corresponds to the other, thus sentence (a) in dialect A corresponds with sentence (a) in dialect B, the same pattern is maintained in all the examples given.

**Dialect A**

- (a). *Mbééna kujiima* [mbé:nakudzɪ:ma] 'I am cultivating.'
- (b). *Ujiimá bujiimi* [udzi:máβudzɪ:mi] 's/he cultivates the field.'
- (c). *Tubééna kújiima bujiimi* [tuβé:nakúdzɪmaβudzɪ:mi] 'we are cultivating the field.'
- (d). *Najikupyáánga munzúbo* [nadʒikupjá:ngamu:nzúβo] 'I swept the house.'
- (e). *Twaámupyáángijile munzúbo* [twá:mupyaángidʒilé:mu:nzúβo] 'we swept the house for him.'
- (f). *Wamubújilé amba usákwítyá* [wamuβújilé:ambausákwí:já] 's/he told him or her that s/he will come.'

**Dialect B**

- (a). *Njíná kujiima* [ndʒí:nákudzí:ma] 'I am cultivating'
- (b). *Ujiíma bujiimi* [udʒímaβudzɪ:mi] 's/he cultivates the field.'
- (c). *Tunákújiima bujiimi* [tunákúdzímaβuji:mi] 'we are cultivating the field.'
- (d). *Nakúpyáánga múnzubó* [nakúpjá:nga mú:nzuβó] 'I swept the house.'
- (e). *Twáámupyáángijilé múnzubó* [twá:mupyá:ngidʒilé:mú:nzuβó] 'we swept the house for him.'

(f). *Wamubújilé amba usákwíyá* [wamuβújilé:ambausákwi:já] 's/he told him or her that s/he will come.'

**Dialect C**

(a). *Mbééna kujiimá* [mbé:nakudʒi:má] 'I am cultivating.'

(b). *Ujiimá bujiimí* [udzĩmáβudʒi:mí] 's/he cultivates the field.'

(c). *Tubééna kujiimá bujiimí* [tuβé:nakudʒi:maβudʒi:mí] 'we are cultivating the field.'

(d). *Nájikupyáángá munzuubo* [nádʒikupjá:ngámu:nzu:βo] 'I swept the house.'

(e). *Twáámupyáángjilé munzuubo* [twá:mupyá:ngidʒilé:mu:nzuβo] 'we swept the house for him.'

(f). *Wamúbújiilé amba usákwíyá* [wamúβúdʒi:lé:ambausákwi::já] 's/he told him or her that s/he will come.'

From the examples given above it should be mentioned that a colon (:) stands for a long vowel. Nevertheless, the phonetic transcription of length in dialect C is represented by a double colon thus (::), this is so because all long vowels in this dialect are relatively longer than the others in dialects A and B.

**4.2.2.2. Length**

In all the three dialects under investigation length is contrastive especially in nouns and infinitive verbs as in the following examples.

38c. *Kwabula* 'without anything'

*Kwabuula* 'to remove from the soak'

d. *Kutama* 'to shout'

*Kutaama* 'to be bad'

e. *Kupwila* 'to gather'

*Kupwiila* 'to drink some thick substance'

f. *Kuulu* 'leg' (noun)

*Kulu* 'an onomatopoeic word which refers to a sound created when a hole is suddenly made'

g. *Kulula* 'to be bitter'

*Kuluula* 'to pull something on the ground'

h. *Kulaala* 'to sleep'

*Kulala* 'to break'

These words are minimal pairs in which length has played a crucial lexical role in contrasting the meanings. These pairs of words are all the same in all the three dialects except in cases where long vowels that are associated with length in dialect C are normally longer than the other dialects. Therefore, in dialect C, long vowels in the above minimal pairs will be pronounced as being relatively longer than the other dialects.

#### **4.2.3. General comments on some phonological features of dialects A, B and C**

In the three dialects investigated, dialect C exhibited more prominence in the use of long vowels than any other dialect. Approximately, eighty percent of all the words in this dialect have long vowels at both the penultimate and final syllables of the words. This, nevertheless, does not imply that there are no long vowels used in the other dialects,

neither does it imply that there are no short vowels used in this dialect, but the extent to which they are used is what varies.

In dialect B there is palatization of [k] to [tʃ] in word initial position in most words that begin with the sound [k] when preceded by [i] and [y]. Here too a phonological rule can be formalized as follows;

$$[k] \rightarrow [tʃ] \text{ /—/i/ or /y/}$$

Dialect B variety adds the vowel [i] in the initial word positions to most, if not all, nouns which would ideally stand as verbless sentences. For example, *impwa* 'it is an egg plant', or *ikabwa* 'it is a dog' as opposed to *mpwa* 'it is an egg plant', and *kabwa* 'it is a dog' in dialects A and C. Therefore in these two dialects such linguistic phenomenon of adding the sound [i] does not exist.

A rare linguistic difference has also been noted among the three dialects. In dialect A, the word for pig is rendered as *ngulu* and in dialect C the same is rendered as *nguli*, note the replacement of the vowel *u* with the vowel *i*. This is not a rule in most words that end in /u/ in the standard dialect.

The combination of the phonemes [gy] in dialects A and C as in the words *mungye* 'bush' and *mukyengya* 'a kind of wild fruit' is transformed to a single phoneme [dʒ] in dialect B thus *munje* for bush and *muchenja* for a kind of wild fruit. There is also a simillar change of [ky] to [tʃ] which could be explained by the rule as below.

$$[k] \rightarrow [tʃ] \text{ /—/i/ or /y/}$$



It was also found out that there is confusion between the use of [t] and [tʃ] in the same word position. Some speakers for example, were heard exchanging [t] for [tʃ] or vice versa in dialect (B), as in the words, *much*i or *mut*i or *much*ima or *mut*ima whereas in dialects A and C [tʃ] is consistently used as in the same words *much*ima and *much*i.

It was revealed that in dialects A and C, the sound [tʃ] occurs elsewhere other than word initial position whereas in dialect B this sound occurs any where including word initial position. It has no restriction.

#### **4.3. Lexical level**

This section outlines the prevalent differences and similarities in the vocabularies of the three dialects. Only about a hundred words have been used and though few, these were found to be adequate to provide evidence to the fact that Kaonde dialects vary in their vocabulary.

From the data collected, it is clear that there are more differences in vocabulary between dialect A and dialects B than there are differences between dialects A and C. If anything dialect A and C are very close in terms of vocabulary.

Where dialects B and C assign different words for the same referent, an asterisk (\*) has been used. The standard for the comparison is dialect A. A question mark (?) has also been used to indicate that there was no response for that particular referent in that dialect.

The words are structured according to semantic fields in such a way that the variations are easily noticeable. The following are the semantic fields under which the words have been categorized: Kingship-related terms, Agriculture related-terms, Household-related terms, Human body parts related terms and the rest fall under Miscellaneous.

4.3.1. Structured semantic fields

Table 14: Some Kingship-related terms

ENGLISH GLOSS	DIALECT A	DIALECT B	DIALECT C
Family (n)	kisemi	lupwa*	kisemi
Father (n)	tata	ta*	taata
Mother (n)	mama	Ma*	Maama
Uncle (n)	mwinsho	aisha	mwiinsho
Cousin (n)	muvyala	muvyala	muvyaaala
Brother (n)	mulongo	yaya*	yaaya
Sister (n)	nyenga	nyenga	nyeenga
Grandparent (n)	nkambo	nkambo	nkaambo
Nephew/niece (n)	mwipwa	mwiwa*	mwiiipwa
In-law (n)	muko	muko	muuko
Father-in-law	bako	bako	baako
Mother-in-law	bako	bako	Baako
Brother/sister-in-law (n)	bukwe	bukwe	mukwe
Child (n)	mwana	mwana	mwaana
Elder brother/sister (n)	kolo	kolo	Kolo
Friend (n)	mbayi	mbaya*	mbayi

**Table 15: Some Agricultural-related terms**

ENGLISH GLOSS	DIALECT A	DIALECT B	DIALECT C
Farm (n)	bujimi	bujimi	bujimi
Seed (n)	nkunwa	mbuto*	mbuto*
Hoe (n)	lukasu	lukasu	lukasu
Axe (n)	kapasa	katemo*	kapasa
Millet (n)	luku	lupoko*	luuku
Sorghum (n)	meebele	maila*	meebele
Beans (n)	nkunde	nyangu*	nkuunde
Maize (n)	mataba	mapopwe*	mataba
Sweet potato (n)	ntamba	Kandolo*	ntaamba
Chicken (n)	nzolo	nzolo	nzoolo
Duck (n)	kibata	jibata*	kibbata
Pumpkins (n)	myungu	bipushi*	myungu
Eggplant (n)	mpwa	mpwa	mpwa
Goat (n)	mbuzhi	mpongo*	mbuzhi
Sheep (n)	mukoko	mbelele*	mukoko
Chicken-house (n)	kikumbi	chikulimba*	kikulimba
Sickle (n)	kikwakwa	chikekeshi*	?
Fruit (n)	kipangwa	chisepo*	kipangwa
Shepherd (n)	kafunga	keembela*	Kafuunga
Feather (n)	jiyona	jipepe*	jisala*
Kraal (n)	kipaka	chimpaji*	kipaka
Cow (n)	N'gombe	N'gombe	N'gombe
Pig (n)	ngulu	nkumba*	nguli*

**Table 16: Some Household-related terms**

ENGLISH GLOSS	DIALECT A	DIALECT B	DIALECT C
Plate (n)	nsanyi	mbale*	nsanyi
Pot (n)	mpuki/mpoto	mpoto	Mpoto
Cooking stick (n)	mwinko	mwinko	mwiinko
Gourd (n)	Kilewo/kibaya	chibaya	kibaya
Beer (n)	malwa	bwalwa*	Malwa
Firewood (n)	nkunyi	nkunyi	Nkuunyi
Medicine (n)	muchu	muti	Muuchi
Honey (n)	buki	buchi	Buuki
Bed (n)	mwanja	bulu*	Mwanja
Belt (n)	mushipi	bamba*	mukwandalo
Blanket (n)	mweemba	ngubu*	kibuuto*
Cloth(n)	kivwalo	chivwalo	Kivwalo
Relish (n)	manyi	munani*	maanyi
Milk (n)	mukaka	mukupa*	mukaka
Water (n)	meema	meema	mansele*
Money (n)	mali	mali	mali
Polls (n)	bisomo	masomo*	bisomo

**Table 17: Some Human body parts related terms**

ENGLISH GLOSS	DIALECT A	DIALECT B	DIALECT C
Head (n)	mutwe	mutwe	Mutwe
Eyes (n)	meeso	meeso	Meeso
Ears (n)	matwi	matwi	matwi
Hair (n)	nsuki	nsuki	Nsuki
Nose (n)	mona	mona	mona
Neck (n)	mukoshi	nshingo*	mukoshi
Lips (n)	mivumbo	milomo*	mivumbo
Teeth (n)	meeno	meeno	meeno
Tongue (n)	lujimi	mulaka*	lujimi
Chest (n)	kyaji	kyamba	kakuji
Ribs (n)	mbavu	mbavu	mbavu
Heart (n)	muchima	mutima*	muchima
Hands (n)	maboko	maboko	maboko
Stomach (n)	munda	munda	munda
Toes (n)	tunyansa	tukumo*	tupokoso*
Blisters (n)	mabobela	matutwa*	mabobela
Blood (n)	mashi	mashi	maashi

**Table 18: Miscellaneous terms**

ENGLISH GLOSS	DIALECT A	DIALECT B	DIALECT C
Patient (n)	mulwazhi	wabela	mulwazhi
Bait (n)	njiisha	?	kituumpu
Hole (n)	kimbo	mukochi	kiimbo
Fishing net (n)	bukoonde	kabelekte*	bukoonde
Storm (n)	kipupu	luvula*	mwela*
Wing (n)	kyapi	kapachiko*	kyaapi
Star (n)	kabangabanga	katongwezhi*	kabangabanga
Path (n)	kalolo/jishinda	jishinda	jishinda
Visitor (n)	mwenyi	mwenzu	mwenyi
jump (v)	kukiiluka	kuchiluka	kuukiiluka
Bark (v)	kuboza	kuboza	kubooza
To be annoyed (inf v)	kuzhingila	kuzhingila	kuzuwa*
A fight (n)	kanwa	bwaanzhi*	kanwa
Court (n)	kije	nkuta*	kiije
Case (n)	maambo	mulandu*	maambo
To eat (v)	kuja	kuja	kuuja
Ton cook (v)	kuteeka	kuteeka	kuteeka
leader	ntangi	musololi*	ntaangi
Teacher	mufunjishi	mwiyi*	mufuunjishi

Tables 14 to 18 above reveal that there are far much more lexical differences among the three dialects than there are differences at other levels, that is, morphological, syntactic and phonological levels. As mentioned in Chapter Three, there are more differences between dialects B and A than there are between dialects A and C. Dialect C is closer to dialect A.

*There are some factors to which this can be attributed. The first one has to do with the geographical locations of the dialects under consideration. Geography is one of the major factors that influence dialectal differences. The more distant two dialects are from each other the more differences are to be exhibited. This fact is supported by Trudgill and Chambers (1998:5), when they argue that "if we travel from village to village, in a particular direction, we notice linguistic differences which distinguish one village from another. Sometimes the differences will be cumulative. The further we get from our starting point the larger the differences will become."*

The other factor has to do with language interaction. As already pointed out in the preceding sections, if two or more languages or dialects interact they are bound to influence each other not only socially and culturally but also linguistically. This linguistic influence will have a direct effect on areas under discussion, that is, morphology, phonology, grammar/syntax and vocabulary. There is convergence as two languages in contact become more similar in structure. This explains why there are more similarities in structure between dialects A and C than there are between dialects A and B.

The more differences exhibited by dialect B in relation to other dialects can be described by the concept of divergence. This concept states that as two languages move apart from each other there is an increased differentiation between them. Dialect B is further from dialects A and C, geographically. This dialect interacts much more with the Ila language of the Ila people of Mumbwa in ways that influence its vocabulary. This can be confirmed by the existence of a number of loanwords from the Ila language in dialect B, for example *mozo*, 'heart';, *mwiwa* 'nephew', *aisha* 'uncle', *musololi* 'leader', *mwiyi* 'teacher', *mapopwe* 'maize', *mwenzu* 'visitor', *nyangu* 'beans', *mbuto* 'seed', *mukupa* 'milk' and so on. All these are loanwords from Ila language.

Dialect C, though, has not shown many differences with dialect A. The reasons might be obvious. Firstly, dialect C is in very close proximity with dialect A, hence the mutual influence between them. However, the data collected may not have brought out as much information with regard to dialectal variations between A and C as was expected. This is because the informants that were found had already interacted with the standard dialect and that could have compromised the data given, especially that most of the speakers of this dialect appear to treat their dialect as an inferior form. The researcher had problems locating the speakers of dialect C who had not had any (slight) interaction with the standard dialect in order to reduce on biases. It was, however, not easy to locate them so the researcher relied on people who spoke both dialect A and C but were native speakers of dialect C.



## **4.5. Conclusion**

The chapter has analysed and discussed the data collected in the study by incorporating the three dialects under investigation. It has done so by focusing on some salient linguistic aspects by applying some levels of linguistic analysis vis-a-vis morphology, syntax, phonology and lexicology. From these angles, the discussion has revealed that there are more lexical variations among the three dialects. This is followed by the phonological, syntactic and morphological levels in that order. The chapter has also revealed that dialect B has more differences compared to dialects A and C. These two dialects are closer geographically which explains why they are more similar to each other in structure than they are to dialect. This confirms the concept of convergence as opposed to divergence. The next chapter concludes the entire study.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.0. General

Having considered the entire study, this Chapter concludes both the findings and the discussion. It does this by considering the four levels of linguistic analysis employed in the study. These are morphology, syntax, lexis and phonology. This is followed by some recommendations.

#### 5.1. Morphological level

The morphological structure of a number of nouns and some constructions was found to be generally the same in all the three dialects, although a few variations with respect to the shapes of some class prefixes, especially for class 6 in dialect B were found. The morphological shape of class six prefix in dialects A and C was found to be the same (ki-), whereas that of dialect B (chi) was found to be different. A few nominal roots were also found to vary between the dialects. These include: *mwipwa* ‘uncle’, *tata* ‘father’ in dialects A and C and *mwiwa* ‘uncle’, *ta* ‘father’ in dialect B, respectively. The reasons for these variations were attributed to language influence, that is, Ila influencing Kaonde-Mumbwa. Although few, these variations, confirmed that Kaonde dialects vary at this level of linguistics, that is, morphology.

#### 5.2. Syntactic level

At this level of analysis, all the three dialects share the same basic word order in affirmative sentences, that is, Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) or Subject-Verb-Complement

(SVC). The differences, however, arise with regard to negative constructions. Dialects A and C share a similar structure, where negative sentences are doubly marked by the two particles that constitute a discontinuous morpheme. The structure was found to be NEG SVO NEG in simple negative sentences and that the structure becomes complex when the sentence is complex. This is equally the same with affirmative sentences.

Dialect B, on the contrary, has a different structure of negative sentences. Negative sentences are marked by a single negative particle which comes in the sentence initial position. Thus, the structure for negative constructions in this dialect was found to be NEG SVO in simple negative sentences. The structure too becomes complex if the sentence is complex like in the other two dialects. This too, confirms that there are some syntactic variations between Kaonde dialects.

### **5.3. Lexical level**

It was found that there were more lexical differences among the three dialects than there are morphological, phonological and syntactic differences. The Mumbwa variety indicated more differences compared to the other two varieties. The reasons for this were that the B variety is geographically farther from the other two dialects and that it closely interacts with a different language.

### **5.4. Phonological level**

Phonologically, there were a few differences noticed among the dialects. All the three dialects shared the same number of phonemes. They also share similar phonological

rules, such as glide formation and coalescence in almost the same linguistic environments.

In relation to tone assignment on the same words and sentences in the three dialects, it was found that the three dialects, by and large, varied in pronunciation. There were pronunciational variations among the three dialects. In fact, these pronunciational differences (accents) helped with the identification of the dialects. In all the dialects, it was found that tone and length played the same grammatical and lexical roles of contrasting tense and meaning. In all the three dialects there was found to exist long vowels that played a similar role. Nevertheless, dialect C was found to exhibit longer vowels which did not play any lexical role but could only appear in penultimate syllables.

With regard to sound changes, among the most prominent feature changes was the replacement of the sound [t] by the sound [tʃ] in dialect B where the sound [k] precedes [i] or [e].

## **5.5. Conclusion**

The study has provided evidence that the three Kaonde dialects have some linguistic variations at the four levels of linguistic analysis employed in the study, that is, morphological, syntactic, lexical and phonological levels. Therefore, the study met its aim and objectives under investigation.

## **5.6. Recommendations**

Having carried out the investigation successfully, the following are the recommendations: Since Kaonde language has many dialects and that only three of these were considered, it is recommended that a larger study that would include all the Kaonde dialects, including those in the Congo, be carried out in order to come up with a more meaningful dialectological study of the Kaonde language. Infact, this language has received very little attention, in terms of research in the area of linguistics. It would be very helpful to language teachers to conduct research in the area of linguistics and particularly dialectology in and on this language in order to enrich the teaching material base.

One of the approaches in traditional dialectology requires that a dialectological study of this nature is conducted before plotting the lexical variations onto isoglosses. There is therefore need to carry out a larger scale study that could facilitate the creation of a linguistic atlas of the Kaonde language.

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## APPENDIX

### DATA

(All words and sentences are followed by English glosses immediately after each entry of dialect A. These represent the semantic value of the rest of the dialects)

#### 1.1. List of words

Dialect A	English Gloss	Dialect B	Dialect C
1. Mutwé	‘head’	mutwé	mutwé
2. Meeso	‘eyes’	meeso	meeso
3. Matwi	‘ears’	matwi	maatwi
4. Nsúki	‘hair’	nsúki	nsúúki
5. Mooná	‘nose’	mooná	mooná
6. Mukoshi	‘neck’	mukoshi/nshíingo	mukoshi
7. Mivúumbo	‘lips’	milomo	mivúumbo
8. Mééno	‘teeth’	mééno	mééno
9. Lujimi	‘tongue’	mulaka/lujíimi	lujiimi
10. Kyáji	‘chest’	chaji/kyáámba	kakuji
11. Lubavu/m	‘rib/s’	lubavu/m	lubavu
12. Muchima	‘heart’	mutima, muchima or mozo	muchima
13. Kuboko/ma	‘hand/s’	kuboko/ma	kubboko
14. Munda	‘stomach’	munda	muunda
15. Kulu,maulu	‘leg/s’	kulu/maulu	kulu
16. Kanyansa/tu	‘toe/s’	kakumo/tu	tupokooso
17. Bujimi	‘field’	bujimi	bujiimi



18. Nkunwa	‘seed’	imbuto	nkuunwa
19. Lukasu/ma	‘hoe/s’	lukasu/n	lukaasu
20. Kapasa/tu	‘axe/s’	ikatemo/tu	kapaasa
21. Luku	‘finger millet’	lupoko	luuku
22. Mebele	‘sorghum’	maila	mebeele
23. Nkunde	‘beans’	inyangu/nkunde	nkuunde
24. Kiswa/mungye	‘bush’	chiswa/munje	muungye
25. Kikwakwa	‘sickle’	chikekeshi	kikwaakwa
26. Ntamba	‘sweet potato’	kandolo	ntaamba
27. Lupwa/m	‘egg plants’	lupwa/im	lupwa/mpwa
28. Nzolo/ba	‘chicken/s’	nzolo/ba	nzoolo/ba
29. Kibata/bi	‘duck/s’	jibata/ma	kibaata
30. Kikumbi	‘chicken house’	chikulimba	kikuumbi
31. Muchi	‘medicine’	muchu	muuchi
32. Kaon’nyi	‘bird’	kan’gunyi	kaon'yi
33. Mwenyi/benyi	‘visitor/s’	mwenzu/benzu	mweeny
34. Mufunjishi/ba	‘teacher/s’	muyi/bayi/	musambizhi
‘leader/s’	musololi/ba	ntaangi	mufunjish35. Ntangi/ba
36. Buki	‘honey’	buki	buuki
37. Mbuzhi	‘goat’	mpongo	mbuuzhi
38. N’gombe	‘cattle’	n’gombe	n'gombe
39. Mukoko/mi	‘sheep’	mbelele	mukooko
40. Mfumu/ba	‘chief/s’	mfumu /ba	mfuumu

41. Kyalo	‘country’	chalo	kyaalo
42. Nsemi/ba	‘parent/s’	nsemi/ba	nseemi/ba
43. Tata/ba	‘father/s	ta/ba	taata/ba
44. Mama/ba	‘mother/s’	ma/ba	maaima/ba
45. Mwinsho/ba	‘uncle/s’	aisha	mwinsho
46. Mwipwa/ba	‘nephew/s/niece/s’	mwiwa/ba	mwiipwa
47. Malwa	‘beer’	bwalwa	maalwa
48. Kibaya/bi	‘gourd/s’	chibaya	kibaaya
49. Kipaka	‘kraal’	kimpaji	kipaaka
50. Jibobela/ma	‘blister/s’	jitutwa/ma	jiboobela/ma
51. Mushipi/mi	‘belt/s’	bamba	mukwandalo
52. Kinzhilo	‘door’	chinzhilo	kinzhilo
53. Nsanyi/ma	‘plate’	mbale	nsaanyi/ma
54. Nkunyi	‘firewood’	nkunyi	nkuunyi
55. Mwinko	‘cooking stick’	mwinko	mwiinko
56. Mwanya	‘bed’	bulo	mwaanya
57. Mwemba	‘blanket’	ngubo	kibuuto
58. Kivwalo	‘cloth’	chivwalo	kivwaalo/bi
59. Kipona	‘chair’	chipona	kipoona
60. Maanyi	‘relish’	munani	maanyi
61. Mukaka	‘milk’	mukupa	mukaaka
62. Kipateela	‘hospital’	chipateela	kipateela
63. Nkito	‘work’	nchito	nkiito

64. Bulanda	‘compassion’	bulanda	bulaanda
65. Kafunga	‘shepherd’	‘keembela’	kafuunga
66. Mambo	‘case’	mulandu/mi	maambo
67. Kije	‘court’	nkuta	kije
68. Meema	‘water’	meema	maansele
69. Mali	‘money’	mali	mali
70. Lubanza	‘yard’	lubanza	lubaanza
71. Mbayi	‘a friend’	mbayami	‘my friend of mine’ loolo
72. Mukola/mi/ka/tu	‘river/s’	mukola/mi/ka/tu	mukola
73. Kanwa/lubuli	‘a fight’	bwanzhi	kaanwa
74. Kuzhingila	‘to get annoyed’	kuzhingila	kuzuwa
75. Kisomo/bi	‘poll/s’	jisomo/ma	kisomo
76. Kipangwa/bi	‘fruit/s’	chisepo/bi	kipangwa
77. Jibwe/ma	‘stone/s’	ijibwe/ma	jibwe
78. Mukila/mi	‘tail/s’	muchila/mi	mukiila
79. Jizhina/ma	‘name/s’	jizhina/ma	jizhiina
80. Jishinda/ma	‘road/s’	jiishinda	jishiinda
81. Bwishi	‘smoke’	ibwishi’	bwiishi
82. Kabangabanga/tu	‘star/s’	katongwezhi/tu	kabaangabaanga
83. Kyapi/ma	‘wing/s’	kapapachiko/ma	kyaapi
84. Jiyona/ma	‘feather/s’	jipepe/ma	jisaala./masaala
85. Luvula	‘storm’	luvula	?
86. Mashi	‘blood’	mashi	maashi

87. Bukonde	'fishing net'	kabelekete	bukoonde
88. Kimbo/bi	'hole'	mukochi/mi	kiimbo
89. Kipiko	'left'	chipiko	kipiko
90. Kilujo	'right'	kulujo	kilujo
91. Njisha	'bait'	?	kituumpu
92. Nkumba	'pig'	nkumba	nguli
93. Mulwazhi	'patient'	wabeela	mulwaazhi
94. Mukyengya	'a type of wild tree'	muchenja	mukyangya

**1.2. List of phrases/sentences of Dialect A and their English Glosses (*note the similarity in all the English glosses in the other two dialects*)**

1. Tubena kuzha 'we are dancing'
2. Kechi umvwa ne 'he/she is disobedient'
3. Tubena kuseeka 'we are laughing'
4. Twasekele 'we laughed'
5. Leelo keechi nalota bulongo ne 'toady I have not dreamt well' 'I have not dreamt well today'
6. Bamupuma mambo kechi umvwa ne ' he/she has been beaten because he/she is disobedient'
7. Tubena kujima 'we are cultivating'
8. Bajikutobokanga 'they were quarrelling'
9. Twajikukumana 'we met'
10. Bajikulombela ba Kifinga 'the one who prayed awes Mr. Kifinga'

11. Mwanyike uji nobe yewa ye twajikwiya nanji 'the child is like the one we came with'
12. Ikila usakupona 'drop you will fall down'
13. Naji kutemwa biingi 'I was very happy'
14. Waji kuya 'he went'
15. Nzolo watetula 'the chicken has hatched'
16. Mvula ibena kunoka 'the rain is raining' 'it is raining'
17. Akye kyami 'this is mine'
18. Akya kyami 'that is mine'
19. Akya kyetu 'that is ours'
20. Akya kyabo 'that is theirs'
21. Akya kisapi kyawama 'that cloth is fine'
22. Natumine John kumushima 'I sent John to the well'
23. Bamfumu babelala 'the chief is sicken'
24. Twayai tukambe mambo 'lets go to talk about the case'
25. Uno mwaka twajima biingi 'this year we have cultivated a lot'
26. Ubeena kwamba bulongo 'he is speaking well'
27. Wasebeenzele nangovu 'he worked very hard'
28. Wapoyele mushima 'he dug the well'
29. Walala pa mwanya 'he is sleeping on the bed'
30. Bankambo batemene nkunyi 'my grandfather/mother cut the wood'
31. Bamama batekele bulongo 'mum cooked well'
32. Naile kumajimai 'I went to the field'
33. Najijile 'I cried'

34. Upe bamwinsho wobe 'give your uncle'
35. Upe bamwinsho wanji 'give his uncle'
36. Njima bujimi 'I cultivate the field'
37. Ujima bujimi 's/he cultivates the field'
38. Tujima bujimi 'we cultivate the field'
39. Bajima bujimi 'they cultivate the field'
40. Mbena kujima bujimi 'I am cultivating the field'
41. Ubena kujima bujimi 's/he is cultivating the field'
42. Tubena kujima bujimi 'we are cultivating the field'
43. Babena kujima bujimi 'they are cultivating the field'
44. Mbena kupyanga 'I am sweeping'
45. Ubena kupyanga 's/he is sweeping'
46. Tubena kupyanga 'we are sweeping'
47. Babena kupyanga 'they are sweeping'
48. Njimaanga bujimi 'I will be cultivating the field'
49. Ujimaanga bujimi 's/he will be cultivating the field'
50. Bajimaanga bujimi 'they will be cultivating the field'
51. Tujimaanga bujimi'
52. Nsakujiama bujimi 'I will cultivate the field'
53. Usakujiama bujimi 's/he will cultivate the field'
54. Basakujiama bujimi 'they will cultivate the field'
55. Nkajima bujimi 'I will cultivate the field'
56. Nkajima bujimi 's/he will cultivate the field'

57. Bakajima bujimi 'they will cultivate the field'
58. Tukajima bujimi 'we will cultivate the field'
59. Najima bujimi 'I have cultivated the field'
60. Wajima bujimi 's/he has cultivated the field'
61. Bajima bujimi 'they have cultivated the field'
62. Twajima bujimi 'we have cultivated the field'
63. Najimine bujimi 'I cultivated the field'
64. Wajimine bujimi 's/he cultivated the field'
65. Bajimine bujimi 'they cultivated the field'
66. Twajiimine bujimi
67. Nakupyanga munzubo 'I swept the house'
68. Wakupyanga munzubo 's/he swept the house'
69. Bakupyanga munzubo 'they swept the house'
70. Twakupyanga munzubo 'we swept the house'
71. Napyangile munzubo 'I swept the house'
72. Wapyangile munzubo 'he swept the house'
73. Napyangile munzubo 'they swept the house'
74. Twapyangile munzubo 'we swept the house'
75. Namupyangijile munzubo 'I swept the house for him/her'
76. Napyangile munzubo 'I swept the house'
77. Wapyangile munzubo 's/he swept the house'
78. Bapyangile munzubo 'they swept the house'
79. Twapyangile munzubo'

80. Nakwimibula namba awe muntu wakishinka 'I told you that this person is honest'
81. Nemibujile namba awe muntu wakishinka 'I told that this person is honest'
82. Nemubujile namba awe muntu wakishinka 'I told you that this person is of truth'
83. Wakubujile amba ka? 'what did s/he tell you'
84. Wamubujile amba mulwazhi 's/he told him that he/she was a patient'
85. Kika kyowabujile kumbula amba mulwazhi? 'why did you not tell me that he was a patient?'
86. Kechi nayukile amba mulwazhi ne. 'I did not know that he was a patient'
87. Yaanga ukamubule akeye kesha 'go and tell him/her to come tomorrow'
88. Yaanga umubule eye leelo 'go and tell him/her to come today'
89. Namubula kala amba eye leelo 'I have already told that he should come today'
90. Kechi namubujile ne mambo najinga nankito 'I did not tell him/her because I had work'
91. Kyawama pano yaanga ukamubule katataka 'that is fine, now go and tell him/her'
92. Kechi nkeba amba eye ne 'I do not want him/her to come'
93. Kechitukeba amba eye ne 'we do not want him/her to come'
94. Kechibakeba amba eye ne 'they do not want him/her to come'
95. Kechi wajinga nakajo kavula ne 's/he did not have enough food'
96. Kechitwajinga nakajo kavula ne 'I did not have enough food'
97. Kechikyawama kwiba ne 'it is not good to steal'
98. Kwiya kunzubo ne 'don't come home'
99. Kechi naishile ne mambo najinga mulwazhi 'I did not come because I was sick'



100. Buliji yaponamambo kechi yapangiwe bulongo ne 'the bridge has collapsed because it was poorly built'

### **1.3. List of phrases/sentences of Dialect B and their English Glosses**

1. Tuna kuzha 'we are dancing'
2. Shiumvwa literal - 'he/she does not hear' 'he/she is disobedient'
3. Tuna kuseka 'we are laughing'
4. Twasekele 'we laughed'
5. Leelo shinalota bulongo literal – 'today not dreamt well' 'today I did not dream well'
6. Bamupuma shiumvwa literal - 'he has been beaten not obedient' 'he has been beaten because he is disobedient.'
7. Tubena kujima 'we are cultivating'
8. Bajikutobokanga 'they were quarreling.'
9. Bwaji kukumana 'we met.'
10. Baji kupeempela ba Kifinga 'the one who prayed was Kifinga.'
11. Mwanyike uji neni yewa twajikwiya nanji 'the lad is like the one we came with.'
12. Seeluka usakupona 'come down, you will fall.'
13. Najikutemwa saana. 'I was very happy.'
14. Wajikuya 'he went.'
15. Nzolo watotola 'the chicken has hatched.'
16. Mvula ina kunoka 'the rain is pouring.'
17. Ache chami 'this is mine.'
18. Acha chami 'that is mine.'

19. Acha chetu 'that is ours.'
20. Acha chabo 'that is theirs.'
21. Ahe chisapi chawama 'this cloth is good.'
22. Natumine John ku mukochi 'I sent John to the well.'
23. Bamfumu balwazhi 'the chief is a patient.'
24. Twaayai tukabeteke mulandu 'lets go and talk about the case.'
25. Uno mwaka twajima maningi 'this year we have cultivated a lot.'
26. Ubeena kwamba bulongo 'he/she is speaking well.'
27. Wasebenzele changovu. 'he/she worked hard.'
28. Wapoyele mukochi 'he dug the well.'
29. Walala pabulo 'he has slept on the bed.'
30. Bankambo batemene nkunyi 'my grandee cut the wood.'
31. Bama baipikile bulongo 'my mother cooked well.'
32. Naile kumajimi 'I went to the field.'
33. Najijile 'I cried.'
34. Upe bamwisho obe 'give your uncle.'
35. Upe bamwisho banji 'give his/her uncle.'
36. Njiima bujimi 'I cultivate the field'
37. Ujiima bujimi 's/he cultivates the field'
38. Bajiima bujimi 'they cultivate the field'
39. Tujiima bujimi 'we cultivate the field'
40. Njiina kujima bujimi 'I am cultivating the field'
41. Ujiina kujima bujimi 's/he is cultivating the field'

42. Banakujima bujimi 'they are cultivating the field'
43. Tunakujima bujimi 'we are cultivating the field'
44. Njina kupyanga muunzubo 'I am sweeping in the house'
45. Ujinakupyanga muunzubo 's/he is sweeping in the house'
46. Banakupyanga muunzubo 'they are sweeping in the house'
47. Tunakupyanga muunzubo 'we are sweeping in the house'
48. Najikupyanga muunzubo 'I swept in the house' 'I swept the house'
49. Wajikupyanga muunzubo 's/he swept in the house'
50. Bajikupyanga muunzubo 'they swept in the house' 'we swept the house'
51. Twajikupyanga muunzubo 'we swept in the house' 'we swept the house'
52. Nshakujima bujimi 'I will cultivate the field'
53. Ushakujima bujimi 's/he will cultivate the field'
54. Bashakujima bujimi 'they will cultivate the field'
55. Tushakujima bujimi 'we will cultivate the field'
56. Nshakajima bujimi 'I will cultivate the field'
57. Nshakajima bujimi 's/he will cultivate the field'
58. Bashakujima bujimi 'they will cultivate the field'
59. Tushakajima bujimi 'we will cultivate the field'
60. Najima bujimi 'I have cultivated the field'
61. Wajima bujimi 's/he has cultivated the field'
62. Bajima bujimi 'they have cultivated the field'
63. Twajima bujimi 'we have cultivated the field'
64. Najimine bujimi 'I cultivated the field'

65. Wajimine bujimi 's/he cultivated the field'
66. Bajimine bujimi 'they cultivated the field'
67. Twajimine bujimi 'we cultivated the field'
68. Nakupyanga muunzubo 'I swept the house'
69. Wajikupyanga muunzubo 's/he swept the house'
70. Bajikupyanga muunzubo 'they swept the house'
71. Twajikupyanga muunzubo 'we swept the house'
72. Namupyangijile muunzubo 'swept the house for him/her'
73. Wamupyangijile muunzubo 's/he swept the house for him/her'
74. Bamupyangiljile muunzubo 'they swept the house for him/her'
75. Twamupyangijile muunzubo 'we swept the house for him/her'
76. Npyangile muunzubo 'I swept the house'
77. Wapyagile muunzubo 's/he swept the house'
78. Bpyangile muunzubo 'they swept the house'
79. Twapyangile muunzubo 'we swept the house'
80. Nakwimibula bukishinka awe muntu wachine 'I told you that this person is honest'
81. Nimubujile bukishinka amba awe muntu wachine sana 'I told that this person is very honest'
82. Nemubujile amba awe muntu wachine 'I told you that thi person is of truth'
83. Wakubujile byepi? 'what did s/he tell you'
84. Wamubujile amba wajimulwazhi 's/he told him that he/she was a patient'
85. Lelo kika kyowabujile kumbula amba wajingamulwazhi? 'why did you not tell me that he was a patient?'

86. Nshinayukile amba mulwazhi 'I did not know that he was a patient'
87. Yanga ukamubule akeye kesha 'go and tell him/her to come tomorrow'
88. Yaanga ukamubule eye leelo 'go and tell him/her to come today'
89. Namubulamo kala amba eye leelo 'I have already told that he should come today'
90. Nshinamubujile mambo najinga nanchito 'I did not tell him/her because I had work'
91. Kyawama abya ngawaya kamubula bukumo 'that is fine, go and tell him/her now'
92. Nshinakeba amba eye 'I do not want him/her to come'
93. Nshitukeba amba eye 'we do not want him/her to come'
94. Nshiibakeba amba eye 'they do not want him/her to come'
95. Nshiwajinga nakajo kavula 's/he did not have enough food'
96. Nshitwajinga nakajo kavula 'I did not have enough food'
97. Nshikyawama kwiba 'it is not good to steal'
98. Lelo kangamwiye kunzubo 'don't come home'
99. Nshinaishile mambo najinga mulwazhi 'I did not come because I was sick'
100. Buliji yapona mambo nshiyapangiwe bulongo 'the bridge has collapsed because it was poorly built'

#### **1.4. List of phrases/sentences of Dialect C and their English glosses**

1. Tubena kuzha 'we are dancing'
2. Kechi umvwa ine 'he/she is disobedient'
3. Tubeena kuseeka 'we are laughing'
4. Twaseekleele 'we laughed'
5. Leelo keechi naloota buloongo ine 'toady I have not dreamt well' 'I have not dreamt well today'

6. Bamupuumama maambo kechi umvwa ine ‘ he/she has been beaten because he/she is disobedient’
7. Tubeena kujiima ‘we are cultivating’
8. Baajikutobookaanga ‘they were quarrelling’
9. Twaajikukumaana ‘we met’
10. Baajikuloombeela ba Kifinga ‘the one who prayed awes Mr. Kifinga’
11. Mwaanyike uji nobe yewa ye twaajikwiiya naanji ‘the child is like the one we came with’
12. Ikiila usakupona ‘drop you will fall down’
13. Naji kuteemwa biinya ‘I was very happy’
14. Waji kuuya ‘he went’
15. Nzoolo watetuula ‘the chicken has hatched’
16. Mvula ibeena kunooka ‘the rain is raining’ ‘it is raining’
17. Akye kyaami ‘this is mine’
18. Akya kyaami ‘that is mine’
19. Akya kyeetu ‘that is ours’
20. Akya kyaabo ‘that is theirs’
21. Akya kisaapi kyawama ‘that cloth is fine’
22. Natumiine John kumushiima ‘I sent John to the well’
23. Bamfuumu babeela ‘the chief is sickening’
24. Twaayai tukaambe maambo ‘lets go to talk about the case’
25. Uno mwaaka twajiima biingi ‘this year we have cultivated a lot’
26. Ubeena kwamba buloongo/biyya ‘he is speaking well’

27. Wasebeenzelee nangovu 'he worked very hard'
28. Wapoyeele mushiima 'he dug the well'
29. Walaala pa musengeele 'he is sleeping on the bed'
30. Bankambo batemeene nkuunyi 'my grandfather/mother cut the wood'
31. Bamaama batekeelee biiya 'mum cooked well'
32. Naiile kumajiimi 'I went to the field'
33. Najijiile 'I cried'
34. Upe bamwiinsho woobe 'give your uncle'
35. Upe bamwiinsho waanji 'give his uncle'
36. Ujímá bujiimi 'I cultivate the field'
37. Ujima bujiimi 's/he cultivates the field'
38. Tujiiima bujiimi 'we cultivate the field'
39. Bajiima bujiimi 'they cultivate the field'
40. Mbeena kujiima bujiimi 'I am cultivating the field'
41. Ubeena kujiima bujiimi 's/he is cultivating the field'
42. Tubeena kujiima bujiimi 'we are cultivating the field'
43. Baana kujiima bujiimi 'they are cultivating the field'
44. Mbeena kupyaanga 'I am sweeping'
45. Ubeena kupyaanga 's/he is sweeping'
46. Tubena kupyaanga 'we are sweeping'
47. Babeena kupyaanga 'they are sweeping'
48. Njimaanga bujiimi 'I will be cultivating the field'
49. Ujimaanga bujiimi 's/he will be cultivating the field'

50. Bajimaanga bujiimi 'they will be cultivating the field'
51. Tujimaanga bujiimi 'we will be cultivating'
52. Nsakujiima bujiimi 'I will cultivate the field'
53. Usakujiima bujiimi 's/he will cultivate the field'
54. Basakujiima bujiimi 'they will cultivate the field'
55. Nkajiima bujiimi 'I will cultivate the field'
56. Ukajiima bujiimi 's/he will cultivate the field'
57. Bakajiima bujiimi 'they will cultivate the field'
58. Tukajiima bujiimi 'we will cultivate the field'
59. Najiima bujiimi 'I have cultivated the field'
60. Wajiima bujiimi 's/he has cultivated the field'
61. Bajiima bujiimi 'they have cultivated the field'
62. Twajiima bujiimi 'we have cultivated the field'
63. Najimiine bujiimi 'I cultivated the field'
64. Wajimiine bujiimi 's/he cultivated the field'
65. Bajimiine bujiimi 'they cultivated the field'
66. Twajiimine bujiimi
67. Nakupyaanga munzuubo 'I swept the house'
68. Wakupyaanga munzuubo 's/he swept the house'
69. Bakupyaanga munzuubo 'they swept the house'
70. Twakupyaanga munzuubo 'we swept the house'
71. Napyangiile munzuubo 'I swept the house'
72. Wapyangiile munzuubo 'he swept the house'



73. Bapyaangiile munzuubo 'they swept the house'
74. Twapyaangiile munzuubo 'we swept the house'
75. Namupyangijiile munzuubo 'I swept the house for him/her'
76. Napyangile munzuubo 'I swept the house'
77. Wapyangile munzuubo 's/he swept the house'
78. Bapyangiile munzuubo 'they swept the house'
79. Twapyangiile munzuubo'
80. Nakwimibuula namba awe muuntu wakishiinka 'I told you that this person is honest'
81. Nemibujiile namba awe muuntu wakishiinka 'I told that this person is honest'
82. Nemubujiile namba awe muuntu wakishiinka 'I told you that this person is of truth'
83. Wakubujiile amba ka? 'what did s/he tell you'
84. Wamubujiile amba mulwaazhi 's/he told him that he/she was a patient'
85. *Kiika kyowabujiile kuumbula amba mulwaazhi? 'why did you not tell me that he was a patient?'*
86. Kechi nayukiile amba mulwaazhi ine. 'I did not know that he was a patient'
87. Yaanga ukamubuule akeye kesha 'go and tell him/her to come tomorrow'
88. Yaanga umubuule eye leelo 'go and tell him/her to come today'
89. Namubuula kala amba eye leelo 'I have already told that he should come today'
90. Keechi namubujiile ine mambo najinga nankiito 'I did not tell him/her because I had work'
91. Kyawaama pano yaanga ukamubuule katataka 'that is fine, now go and tell him/her'
92. Kechi nkeeba amba eye ine 'I do not want him/her to come'
93. Keechitukeeba amba eye ine 'we do not want him/her to come'

94. Keechibakeeba amba eye ine 'they do not want him/her to come'
95. Keechi wajiinga nakaajo kavuula ine 's/he did not have enough food'
96. Keechitwajiinga nakaajo kavuula ine 'I did not have enough food'
97. Kechikyawaama kwiiba ine 'it is not good to steal'
98. Keechimwiye kunzuubo ine 'don't come home'
99. Keechi naishiile ine mambo najinga mulwazhi 'I did not come because I was sick'
100. Buliji yapoona mambo kechi yapangiiwe buloongo ine 'the bridge has collapsed because it was poorly built.'