

A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF MBUNDA

By

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfilment of the degree of
Master of Arts in Linguistic Science.**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

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DECLARATION

I Kanyaga Kalyata declare that this dissertation:

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of **Kanyanga Kalyata** is approved as fulfilling the partial 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 work provides a linguistic analysis of Mbunda language as spoken by native speakers in Kalabo District of Western Province, Zambia. It describes three levels of linguistic analysis namely Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. Mbunda ya Mathzi dialect is used for this study as it is considered the standard form. In conducting the research, the researcher completed a list of 200 basic vocabulary items (Swadesh list) after which he exposed it to four native speakers of Mbunda for verification and pronunciation. The pronunciations were recorded in order to assist with the sound system of the language (Phonology) and also for use in the other levels of linguistic analysis as some of the terms were eventually used in context of sentences (Syntax). The rest of the information was generated through introspection. Information generated as such was equally verified. With regard to phonology, the study reveals that Mbunda has a five vowel system with twenty one consonants. In order to identify the distinctiveness of consonants and vowels, a minimal pair test is conducted. Arising from the minimal pairs, the study has discovered that Mbunda is one of the few Bantu languages with the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ as in the English word 'thing'. The study also reveals that tone and vowel length can mark distinction in terms of word meaning. The common syllable types in Mbunda are V, CV, CSV and SV. Morphologically, the study shows that Mbunda has eighteen noun classes achieved, mostly, through the addition of a prefix to a stem. The study navigates the semantic role(s) of each noun class. An account of Mbunda Verbal system is provided in which it is evident that the verbal system of the language is heavy with affixes that play different roles as can be observed from verbal extensions present in the language. Syntactically, the basic word order is SVO. It is noted, from the data collected, that Mbunda has a word order that is not restrictive in terms of the position of the main clause; it depends on what one wants to emphasize. Yes/no questions are expressed through intonation (sentence-final rising pitch) and change in word order and through a questioning particle. Data collected shows presence of interrogatives which are used in formation of content questions. The study has addressed some aspects of the three levels of linguistic analysis. It is, therefore, recommended that future linguistic studies on Mbunda address areas absent in this paper and possibly look at the other levels of linguistic analysis as they apply to the concerned language.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my lovely parents Mr. and Mrs. Kalyata, my brothers Nguvu and Kennedy, and my sister Ruth. You are such a force that always propels me to higher grounds. I will always treasure you.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CSO.....	Central Statistical Office
DRC.....	Democratic Republic of Congo
V.....	Vowel
C	Consonant
CV.....	Consonant Vowel
CSV	Consonant Semivowel Vowel
CVC.....	Consonant Vowel Consonant
SVO.....	Subject Verb Object
VSO	Verb Subject Object
VOS	Verb Object Subject
IECA	Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola
NC	Nasal complex
HH	Level high
LL	Level low
LH.....	Rising
HL	Falling
Sg	Singular
Pl	Plural
Cl	Class
PP	Pronominal Prefix

Agr	Agreement
Ep	Enumerative prefix
Tm	Tense marker
Sm	Subject marker
Om	Object marker
Rad	Radical
Ext	Extension
Fv	final vowel
Perf.	Perfect
Past prog. ...	Past progressive
Inf.	Infinitive
Future prog. ...	Future progressive
Imp	Imperative
Neg	Negative
Encl	Enclitic
Pref	Prefix
NP	Noun Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
N pref	Noun Prefix
Quant pref ...	Quantifier prefix
Adj pref	Adjective prefix

N Noun
NPI..... Negative Polarity Item
PPI Positive Polarity Item
Poss Possessive
Adj Adjective
Quant Quantifier
Qual Qualifier
AdvP Adverb phrase
Loc Locative
Ideo Ideophone
Ps rule phrase structure rule
V Verb
Deict det pref deictic determiner prefix

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study entitled *A Linguistic Analysis of Mbunda*. Three levels of linguistic analysis are employed in order to achieve the set objectives. These levels are Phonology, Morphology and Syntax. As demanded by a study of this nature, a brief Sociolinguistic background of Mbunda language is given first. The *statement of the problem, aim of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, definition of terms, structure of the dissertation, and summary of the chapter* are given in this order.

It is equally important to state, from the onset, that this study is informed by descriptive linguistics in order to achieve the set objectives. Sibajene (2013) looks at descriptive linguistics as a branch of linguistics in which linguists describe and explain features of language without making subjective judgments on whether a particular feature is right or wrong. He observes that descriptive linguistics started with scholars such as Franz Boas in the early 1900s and became the main branch within American linguistics until the rise of formal structural linguistics in the mid-20th century. The rise of American descriptive linguistics was necessitated by the concern with describing the languages of indigenous people that were rapidly moving toward extinction. He further notes that the ethnographic focus of the original Boasian type of descriptive linguistics gave birth to the development of disciplines such as Sociolinguistics and Anthropological linguistics which investigate the relations between language and culture.

Sibajene (2013) stresses that the term ‘descriptive’ is usually used synonymously with the term ‘synchronic’. In synchronic linguistics, linguists observe and analyze a given language at a

particular stage of its historical development. Mathews (1997:367) argues that “a synchronic description of a language is accordingly an account of its structure either at present or at some particular moment in the past, considered in abstraction from its history.”

Therefore, descriptive linguistics is the work of objectively analyzing and describing how a given language is spoken or how it was spoken in the past by a group of people in a speech community. For a linguistic description to be considered descriptively adequate, it has to achieve one or more of the following goals of descriptive linguistics:

- a A description of the phonology of the language under study,
- b A description of the morphology of the language in question,
- c A description of the syntax of well-formed sentences of the language,
- d A documentation of the vocabulary of the language under study,
- e A reproduction of a few genuine texts.

This study employed the descriptive linguistics approach to point out the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Mbunda language.

1.1 A Sociolinguistic Background of Mbunda

1.1.1 A Brief historical account of Mbunda people

Mbunda is a Bantu language of Angola (Kwandu-Kuvangu and Moxico Provinces), Zambia (Western and North-Western Provinces), Congo (DRC) and Namibia (Rundu District). Before migration into Barotseland, the Mbunda lived in an area of Angola between the Lungevungu River and the Kwitu-Kavangu River called Mbundaland (Cheke Cultural Writers Association: 1994). From there, they migrated to western Zambia at the end of the 18th Century (Gerald, 1970) and also at the beginning of the 20th Century due to their resistance to Portuguese colonial

occupation and later migrated because of the impact of the Angolan War of Independence (1961-1974). The decolonization conflict in Angola (1974) also led to their migration [Franz-Wilhelm Heiner: 1979]. They mixed well with the Lozi and other tribes they found in Barotseland because of their medicinal art and good war tactics.

1.1.2 The Mbunda Language

According to Guthrie's classification, (1948), Mbunda falls under the Niger-congo language phylum under the Bantu language group which is coded K10. In Zambia, the language is spoken in Western and North-Western Provinces. It is worth noting at this point that Mbunda language has seven dialects namely; *Mathzi, Mbalango, Nkangala, Shamuka (Chiengele), Sango, Ndundu, and Yauma*. Asher (1999) in Mambwe (2008) points out that the term dialect has been used in linguistics, generally, to mean varieties of speech based on geographical locations. *Mbunda Mathzi* dialect, mostly spoken in Kalabo and Lukulu districts, is singled out on the list of dialects for the purpose of this study as it is considered the central core of the Mbunda ethnic group (Cheke Cultural Writers Association, 1994). A brief account of each of the named varieties is given below as observed by Cheke Cultural Writers (ibid.):

As stated above, *Mbunda ya Mathzi* form the central core of the Mbunda ethnic group. The paramount chiefs came from this group. The name of *Mbunda ya Mathzi* came about because the Mbunda people were fond of anointing their bodies with castor oil. They disliked rough and coarse skin; both men and women preferred shiny body skin and long plaited hair which hung backwards over their necks and shoulders. Men had long flowing beards and pointing moustaches which were kept neatly; in addition to the long plaited hair (*mathzi* means oil).

During the short reign of *Mwene Ngonga I Chiteta* who succeeded *Mwene Chingumbe*, more Mbunda left the area of *Mwene Chiteta* and went to settle in the *Mbunda-Mbalango* area fleeing from *Mwene Chiteta's* cruel rule (Cheke Cultural Writers Association, 1994). He used to cut off people's heads for very slight offences. He placed their heads on sharpened poles around his palace.

Those Mbunda who remained behind and endured *Mwene Ngonga I Chiteta's* cruel reign boasted that they were "*Va Mbunda va Mathzi*", brave citizens, who did not flinch from their chief's tyrannical rule. They said they were now called the *Vambunda va Mathzi* and that those who had run away to *Mbalango* were rough skinned and not shinny enough. *Mbunda ya Mathzi* is sometimes referred to as *Mbunda ya Katavola* after *Mwene Katavola II Musangu* (Cheke Cultural Writers Association. *ibid.*)

Mbunda-Mbalango are those Mbunda people who inhabited a similar soil and terrain as the nearby *Mbunda ya Katavola* [Mathzi]. With the fusing of those Vambunda who ran away from the cruel rule of *Mwene Ngonga I Chiteta* into the Mbunda-Mbalango group, these groups of Vambunda have become one and their blood is fused into each other through marriages. *Mbalango* refers to the river confluence areas with the Zambezi River east of Mbundaland.

Mbunda-Nkangala are those Vambunda who became established along the Lungevungu, the Lwanginga and the Kwandu rivers and their numerous tributaries, their populations grew and villages and groups of villages were shifting and moving southwards and crossed the kwandu River and its tributary the Kembo until they reached the Kwitu River and crossed it. They spread and settled in that area which has scattered trees (nkangala). With the passage of time, these Vambunda who occupied the area of Nkangala forests became known as Va Nkangala, people of

the areas of scattered trees. Their origin is central Mbundaland. Their chiefs originate from Mbunda chiefs. They were among those chiefs who were posted by Mwene Yambayamba Kapanda to occupy countries on his behalf and on behalf of the Mbunda.

Mbunda- Yauma are the Mbunda who remained and settled on the plains and marshes of the Kwandu River at the time when those who later became Mbunda- Nkangala crossed the Kwandu or went up the Kwandu River and settled in “Nkangala” (areas of scattered trees). The *Va Yauma* settled on dry mounds on the Kwandu plains. *Yauma* means dry mound or dry island.

Mbunda ya Chiyengele is also called “Shamuka”. Chiyengele is their proper name. The word “Shamuka” is a nickname meaning “diluted” and referring to their “Loziized” speech or dialect. They say “shamuka munanana” so frequently that other people have come to call them “Vambunda va Shamuka”. They are named after Mwene Chitengi Chiyengele, son of Mwene Chingumbe under whom they came to settle in Bulozhi during Mulena Mulambwa’s reign (Mulena means chief or king in Silozi). They are mostly found in Mongu, Kaoma and Kabompo districts.

Mbunda- Ndundu are those mbunda people who prefer to settle in the areas called *ndundu* in the Mbunda language. These are areas which lie between forests and the low-lying plains with bushes dotted along the margins of the plains. They keep to near the plains and avoid dense forests.

Mbunda ya Sango are really the same as the *Mbunda ya Mathzi* or *ya Katavola*. They are those who remained permanently along the Lungevungu River and near the confluences of its southern and south-westerly tributaries while the majority were spreading southwards and southwestwards in the Lwanginga and Kwandu rivers and their tributaries. As the Lungevungu became the

natural boundary between the Mbunda country to the south and the Luvale country to the north, there had been intermarriage between these neighbouring tribes along the Lungevungu for centuries. They speak a mixture of Mbunda and Luvale languages.

It is important, at this point, to note that when all the above groups of the Mbunda nation speak no interpreter is necessary: they understand each other. As a matter of fact, not many people are aware of these many groups of the Mbunda people. It is mostly Mbunda people that are aware of these groups of their nation.

Another point to note is that all the above groups of the Mbunda people are present in all districts of Western and North-western Provinces. They are equally found in the urban and rural areas in the Southern, Central and Copperbelt Provinces and indeed in many other urban areas of Zambia.

There are two religious traditions which coexist in Mbunda society: the traditional religious practices and the modern religious practices and beliefs which are a combination of traditional and Christian influences.

Missionary Rev. Albert Bailey, of the Africa Evangelical Fellowship (then called the South African General Mission) entered Angola in 1914 and opened a mission station at Luanginga River and, with the aid of the Mbunda speaking people engaged in compiling a vocabulary. The work of translating the Mbunda Bible was started in earnest (Interview of Wesley Brian by Paul Erickson for the Missionary Sources Collection of Wheaton College on June 11, 1983).

In 1914, a revolt by the Mbunda people against the Portuguese Colonialists caused large numbers of local people to flee across the border in Barotseland, now Zambia forcing Rev. Bailey to find a more populated area in 1916.

In 1918, the book of John, was translated by the Rev. Bailey known as (*Avele*), it was printed at Kamundongo Mission of United Church of Canada now (IECA) – Igreja Evangelica Congregacional em Angola. In 1919, the book of Mathew in Mbunda and Portuguese was translated by Abraham and Muie also in 1925 and another edition of Rev. Bailey’s translation was published in diglot at Muie in 1928. The book of Luke was by Mateo at Muie in 1927 and also a Hymnal in Portuguese and Mbunda (Interview of Wesley Brian by Paul Erickson for the Missionary Sources Collection of Wheaton College on June 11, 1983).

In 1937 Mr and Mrs Pearson initiated a Bible Training School at Muie, with the New Testament (published in 1935) as their only textbook. At Muie Leonard and Nellie Brain were in charge of the church work and operation of the station (Interview of Wesley Brian by Paul Erickson for the Missionary Sources Collection of Wheaton College on June 11, 1983).

The Mbunda Bible was finally printed and launched on 17 August 2008 in Angola and 31 January 2009 in Zambia (Bible Society of Zambia). However, the Mbunda Bible translation is still heavily saturated with Luchazi spellings.

According to 2010 Census of Population and Housing in Zambia, there were 152,512 native speakers of Mbunda (Central Statistical Office, 2010).

1.2 Statement of the problem

There is little linguistic information about Mbunda as spoken in Zambia. The little available is about the classification of the language by Guthrie. Literature of a historical and religious nature is readily available through the efforts of the *Cheke Cha Mbunda Cultural Writers* and the Bible Society of Zambia respectively. It is this lack of linguistic description of the phonology, morphology and some aspects of syntax that this study has been motivated.

1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to render a descriptive analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Mbunda language.

1.4 Objectives

The proposed study seeks to achieve the objectives set out below:

- (i) To describe the phonology of Mbunda language;
- (ii) To determine the morphological structure of Mbunda language;
- (iii) To examine some aspects of the Syntax of Mbunda language;

1.5 Research Questions

- (i) What is the phonology of Mbunda language?
- (ii) What is the morphological structure of the language under study?
- (iii) What are some of the aspects of the Syntax of Mbunda language?

1.6 Significance of the study

Mbunda, as a minority language in Zambia, has a threatened future because of influence from its surrounding languages especially *Silozi*. *Silozi* is one of the seven regional official languages given this status by the Government of the Republic of Zambia. Its designation is the Western Province of Zambia but the language is equally present in Livingstone, Southern Province, where Tonga is the regional official language. *Silozi* is regarded as a Bantu language classified as K 21 under Guthrie's classification and had 612 000 speakers as of 2010 Census of Population and Housing. Other languages that surround Mbunda language are, Nkoya, Luvale, Luchazi, Chokwe, Luyana, Kwangwa and many more.

Therefore, a linguistic analysis is necessary to undertake as this will ensure that the language is documented thereby making it live through the pages even if it went into oblivion. This work intends to be the foundation for future grammatical analyses of Mbunda language.

1.7 Scope of the study

This proposed study is characterized by a number of limitations. Firstly, this work will focus on one dialect of Mbunda, which is *Mbunda ya Mathzi* sometimes referred to as *Katavola* mostly spoken in Kalabo and Lukulu Districts. Consequently, the study will not linguistically analyze Mbunda language as spoken in other countries. Secondly, stress will elude the scope of this paper.

1.8 Structure of the dissertation

This study comprises seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the study by providing a brief sociolinguistic account of Mbunda followed by stating the problem that motivated this study, aim of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, definition of terms, and the structure of the dissertation. The second chapter reviews literature relevant to the study while the third one indicates the methodology used to arrive at conclusions stated in subsequent chapters. The fourth chapter gives an account of phonological features present in the language under study while the fifth chapter provides a morphological account of the language stated. The sixth chapter reveals some aspects of syntax of Mbunda whereas the seventh chapter summarizes the study.

1.9 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has introduced the study *A Linguistic Analysis of Mbunda* by firstly providing a brief sociolinguistic account of the language. The problem that motivated this study has been

stated followed by the aim of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, significance of the study, scope of the study, definition of terms, and the structure of the dissertation.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Literature Review

This chapter presents relevant literature that was reviewed. It has to be stated here that this section will be divided into two parts: literature on Mbunda language and a review of some related linguistic studies.

2.1 Studies on Mbunda

There is abundant literature in Mbunda primarily on the history of the language. Much of this history is about Mbunda culture and tradition, migration and settlement into Western and North-Western provinces of Zambia respectively (Cheke Cultural Writers Association, 1994). There is equally a bible written in the same language.

2.2 Related Grammatical Studies

Owing to the fact that there is little linguistic information on Mbunda as spoken in Zambia, related linguistic studies were reviewed. Some of the works reviewed are: *Introduction to Silozi Grammar* (Mwisiya, 1977); *A Linguistic Analysis of Cinsenga* (Miti, 2001); *Kimeru Word-Formation Processes: an Onomasiological Approach* (Taitamu, 2014); *The Grammar of Lamba* (Doke, 1937); *Text Book of Lamba Grammar* (Doke, 1938); *An Outline of Kikaonde Grammar* (Wright, 2007); *Luchazi Grammar* (Pearson n.d); *A Grammar of Luvale* (Horton, 1949); and *A Grammatical Sketch of Chitumbuka* (Galafa, 2018). Most of the literature reviewed focused on the three levels of linguistic analysis stated above; the phonological, morphological and syntactic levels.

Mwisiya (1977) divides Silozi speech sounds into vowels, semi-vowels and consonants as in all Bantu languages. He observes that Silozi has five vowels; /a, i, e, u, o/. He then notes the following as consonant sounds:

/p,b,mb,m,w,py,mpy,by,mby,my,f,t,nt,nd,n,l,s,z,ns,nz,c,nc,ny,ly,sh,nj,y,k,nk,ng,ñ,(w),h/. Of note are some of the following consonant sounds:

/mp/ is a nasalized form of *p*. In most cases, however, the /*m*/ sound is so prominent that it can be regarded as a syllable for instance *mpo*, “a gift”.

/mpy/ is a nasalized form of /*py*/. This sound is regarded as a very rare sound in Silozi for instance *mpye*, “ostrich”.

The velar nasal *ñ* is, according to IPA, represented as *ŋ* as could be heard in words like *ñola*, “write”; *ñohola*, “last year”. The labio semivowel /*w*/ also behaves as a velar as can be heard in the word *wona*, “it”.

Other phonological aspects discussed by Mwisiya (1977) are Nasalization, Palatalisation, Vowel Coalescence, Alveolarisation, and Labialisation.

In terms of length Silozi generally exhibits penultimate vowel lengthening like in words, *komu*, “cattle”; and *fumana*, “find”. There are some exceptions to the rule above. For example in a command the last syllable is lengthened:

(1)

- a *kuzeñi!*, “keep quiet!”
- b *zamaya!*, “go!”.

In Silozi, tone is semantic. It is by intonation that words similar in all other respects could be differentiated. For example:

(2)

- a *pata* ‘hide’
- b *páta* ‘face’
- c *luta* ‘urinate’
- d *lúta* ‘teach’

Morphologically, Silozi nouns have *prefixes* and *roots*. Prefixes in Silozi are used to divide nouns into their respective noun classes just like in any other Bantu language as they give a root its meaning. The root –Lozi can be used with the following prefixes:

(3)

- a *Silozi* – Silozi language
- b *Mulozi* – Mulozi person
- c *Malози* – Malози people

It is the repetition of the prefix in some form or other that gives alliterative concord to Silozi language. For instance, *Kashimani kaka kakande ka fitile*, ‘my handsome small boy has arrived’.

All other parts of speech have to agree with the noun prefix as demonstrated above. This recurrence of prefix in some form or another is known as alliterative concord. Mwisiya (1977) notes that Silozi nouns are divided into classes according to their prefixes. He further states that there are 22 noun classes in Silozi language.

Mwisiya (ibid) argues that in any language one cannot make a sentence without a verb. He then indicates three aspects of the verb in the Present Indicative Tense, viz: Indefinite, Continuous and Perfective. He singles out Indefinite and stresses that the said can only be used when the

verb has an object other than an adjectival concord. It can also be used when a verb has an extension. For example:

(4)

- a *munna u lata musali*, ‘the man loves the woman’
- b *batu ba ca hahulu*, ‘people eat much’

From the given examples, it is clear that all classes of the nouns have different subjectival concords joining the verb to its noun.

In his *Linguistic Analysis of Cinsenga*, Miti (2001) begins by identifying the sound system of the said language. Like any other Bantu language, he divides Cinsenga sound system into vowels, consonants and semi-vowels. He identifies Cinsenga as a five vowel system language with vowels; i, e, a, u, o.

Miti (2001) argues that vowel length in Cinsenga is non-contrastive and predictable. The vowel in the penultimate syllable of a word is always long when the word is in utterance-final position. Furthermore, examples of minimal pairs whose meanings are distinguished solely by vowel length are not available.

In terms of the consonant system, Miti (2001) asserts that Cinsenga has twenty-two (22) phonemes. They include the palatal approximant /y/, the velar approximant /w/ and the labial approximant /w̃ /. The symbol /w̃/ is used to stand for the labial approximant and not for the voiced bilabial fricative. The list of the consonant phonemes is as follows: / p, ph, b, m, f, v, w̃, t, th, d, n, s, z, l, c, ch, j, ny, sh, zh, y, kh, g, ng', w/. Description of some consonant phonemes is as follows:

a. **Labial**

Bilabial consonants in Cinsenga are [p], [b], [m] and [w̥] whereas the labial-dental ones are [f] and [v].

b. **Stops**

In the convention adopted by Miti (2001), the segments /c/ and /j/ are classified as stops. To distinguish them from stops where no affrication is involved, they are termed affricated stops. He clarifies that the above classification is phonological and not phonetic.

c. **Aspiration**

Unlike in Petauke Cinsenga where aspiration is predictable, in this dialect it is contrastive, as examples of minimal pairs given below show:

(5)

- a. *tumba* ‘boil’
- b. *thumba* ‘pocket’
- c. *koma* ‘but’
- d. *khoma* ‘lock’
- e. *cona* ‘cat’
- f. *chona* ‘sojourn’

That aspiration in this dialect of Cinsenga is contrastive is probably due to Cewa influence since it is not the case in the Petauke dialect. As in the Petauke dialect, however, all voiceless stops are predictably aspirated after a homorganic nasal.

Four major syllable types may be identified as described below:

a. V- syllable

This type of syllable may be found in word-initial position, in medial position, in medium position and in word-final position.

(6)

I. Word-initially

e- as in e-lâ-la ‘he slept’

o- as in ó-li-la ‘he cries’

II. Word-medially

-i- as in ka-i-ngo ‘a leopard’

-o- as in kú-o-na ‘to see’

III. Word-finally

-u as in mâ-u ‘words’

-o as in nê-o ‘me’

b. C-Syllable

C-syllables consist of a syllabic nasal only and occur word-initially and word-medially. They never occur word-finally since, as in the majority of other Bantu languages, no word may end in a closed syllable.

i. Word-initially

m- as in *m-pú-nga* ‘rice’

n- as in *n-twâ-le* ‘take/escort me’

ii. Word-medially

-m- as in *a-m-pô-zhe*

-n- as in *a-n-twâ-le*

c. CV-Syllable

This type consists of a consonant followed by a vowel. In the analysis adopted by Miti (2001), the sequence homorganic nasal plus consonant is treated as a single sound unit. Hence, a sequence NCV where N stands for a homorganic nasal belongs to the CV-syllable type. The CV-syllable type occurs word-initially, word medially or word-finally.

(7)

i. Word-initially

Ci- as in *ci-nthu* ‘thing’

ii. Word-medially

-ntho- as in *wá-ntho-ta* ‘the rude one’

iii. Word-finally

-mbo as in *ma-tu-mbo*

Miti (2001) notes that in the item *wánthota* above, the graphic sequence *-nth-* constitutes a single sound unit since *-nt-* is analyzed as one nasalized stop (or nasal compound) and the letter ‘h’ that follows merely indicates aspiration.

d. Csv V-Syllable

This syllable type consists of a consonant followed by a semi-vowel and a vowel.

(8)

- i. Kwa- as in *kwâ-su* ‘(my) home’
- ii. Mwa- as in *mwâ-na* ‘child’
- iii. –ndwe- as in *ci-ko-ndwe-lelo* ‘joy’

Under morphology, Miti (2001) acknowledges the presence of both bound and free morphemes. As in other Bantu languages, there are more bound morphemes than free ones since this language family is highly agglutinative.

In terms of the nominal class system, Miti (2001) observes that this system is crucial to the understanding of the structure of Bantu languages because it is upon nominal class membership that the syntactically determined system of concordial agreement is based. He further argues that generally, nominal classes are indicated by a prefix. In addition, for most of the classes, there exists a regular association of pairs to show the singular/plural dichotomy. In addition, there is a concord system for each class where a substantive, on the one hand, agrees with its determiners and the verb of which it is the subject, on the other. The importance of class system in Bantu linguistics is also echoed by Guthrie (1953) who stresses that even the most fragmentary description of any Bantu language must contain some list of the classes that operate the system of grammatical agreement. Guthrie further observes that the different kinds of agreement are distinguished by the use of numbers that correspond from language to language in accordance with the results of comparative Bantu linguistic studies.

There are instances where a noun has a zero prefix. In such cases, the only criterion for telling the class of the noun is the type of concordial agreement which the noun governs in the phrase or sentence. The number of noun classes varies from one Bantu language to another. Cinsenga has

17 noun classes. Miti (2001) then morphologically describes pronominal, qualificative, verbal forms, adverbs, ideophones and conjunctions.

Syntactically, Miti (2001) discusses Cinsenga in terms of agreement, word order, simple main clauses and subordinate clauses, the syntax of the Noun Phrase (NP), and the syntax of the Verb Phrase (VP).

He admits that agreement is an important morpho-syntactic feature in Bantu languages. Miti further observes that concords of various elements in a sentence must agree with the class of the controlling nominal. He uses the class 7 prefix *ci* to illustrate the above observations:

(9)

ci- nthu ci- mo ci- wol- e lero

cl7 stem cl7 stem cl7 rad fv today

pref ag ag

thing one rot today

cinthú cimo cíwole lero

‘one thing will rot today’

Miti then shifts his attention to the basic word order in Cinsenga which is *Subject Verb Object* (SVO). Nevertheless, due to topicalisation, he further indicates that VOS word order is still possible. In fact, he goes on stressing that OSV, OVS, SOV, and VSO are still possible word orders in the language under analysis.

In his discussion of the Noun Phrase, Miti (2001) argues that “the subject and object slots may respectively be occupied by a single noun” (p.169). He pushes further by observing that there are

instances where the noun co-occurs with *qualifiers*, *possessive determiners*, *deictic determiners*, and *quantifiers*. Clear illustrations are then provided for each category a noun co-occurs with the above mentioned elements. An account of the Verb Phrase is also provided accompanied by clear examples.

In his Onomasiological Approach to Kimeru Word-Formation Processes, Taitamu (2014) observes that word formation processes in Kimeru involve such processes as *compounding*, *reduplication* and *affixation*. He chiefly focuses on affixation in his analysis of Kimeru Word-Formation processes. Even if Taitamu's work is grounded in the study of names, the main issue is that he deals with word formation processes which are similar to what the current study is going to focus on. Therefore, it is from the perspective of word formation that this particular study was drawn to inform the current work.

Taitamu (2014) begins by establishing Kimeru noun class system from which several linguistic analyses ensure. Among others, he discusses at length, the semantic basis of Kimeru noun class system. He breaks down his analysis on word-formation processes as according to word class as follows:

a Formation of Nouns

i. Agentive Nouns

Taitamu defines Agentive Nouns as naming units that include nouns referring to agent/activities either as the direct doers, as in the case of human executors of actions, or as instruments/tools facilitating the execution of the activity/action. It is further observed that Kimeru agentive nouns are derived by addition of a semantically relevant prefix to a verb. Taitamu further breaks down Agentive nouns as follows:

Firstly, Taitamu (2014) talks about agentive nouns referring to a human agent of an action or activity. Kimeru nouns of this nature are derived by adding the prefix “mũ-/mw-” (/mo-, mw- /) to a verb that refers to the corresponding action or activity, as shown in the data below:

(10)

Verb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>rĩm-a</i> /rema/	‘dig’	” <i>mũ-rĩm-i</i> /moremi/	‘farmer’
<i>ru-a</i> /rua/ ,,	‘cook’	<i>mũ-ru-i</i> /morui/	‘cook’
<i>ĩt-a</i> /eta/	‘travel’	<i>mw-ĩt-i</i> /mweti/	‘traveller’
<i>itia</i> /itja/	‘climb’	<i>mw-itia</i> /mwitja/	‘climber’
<i>koob-a</i> /kɔ:βa/	‘borrow money’	<i>mũ-koob-i</i> /mokɔ:βi /	‘debtor’

Secondly, nouns referring to inanimate agents of actions (instruments/tools /gadgets) are discussed. In Kimeru, new nouns referring to tools or instruments used to carry out certain actions/tasks are formed by adding the prefix, *kĩ-/gi-*, to the verb denoting the action/task/activity as the example below illustrates:

(11)

muunya ‘suck’ *kĩ-muunyi* ‘sucker’

Thirdly, nouns referring to names of plants are formed by prefixation of *mũ- /mw-* to a noun referring to a fruit or other plant product, as shown below:

(12)

mbakĩ ‘tobacco’ *mũ-bakĩ* ‘tobacco plant’

b Formation of Verbs

i Formation of to-infinitives

Kimeru *to-infinitives* are formed by adding the prefix, ku-/kw-, to the root form of the verb as the following data reveals:

(13)

Verb	Gloss	Infinitive Form	Gloss
<i>endia</i> /ɛndja/	sell	<i>kwendia</i> /kwɛndja/	to sell
<i>ũra</i> /ora/	buy	<i>kwũra</i> /kwora/	to buy
<i>romba</i> /rɔmba/	beg/pray	<i>kũ-romba</i> /korɔmba/	to beg/ pray

ii Formation of verbs with the meaning: “to do something on behalf of or for somebody”

These verbs are formed through suffixation of the morpheme -ria/-ra to another verb as the data below indicates:

(14)

okethia ‘oversee building of’ *okethi-ria* ‘oversee building on behalf of’

iii Formation of verbs with the meaning of “to be done/completed” (of an activity/action)

Such verbs are formed through the addition of the suffix, -ĩka, to another verb as shown below:

(15)

Baanga ‘organise’ *baang-ĩka* ‘get organised’

Taitamu (2014) goes further by clearly illustrating formation of compounds in Kimeru. The data from this study will chiefly assist in addressing part of the second objective of the study that intends to determine the word formation processes of Mbunda language.

Another work relevant to this study is one by Bauer (1989) who has clearly discussed compounding as a word formation process in English. He (ibid: 26-42) classifies compound words into four categories as follows:

- a. *Endocentric compound* – the compound is a hyponym of the grammatical head as in *bee hive* is a kind of a *hive*.
- b. *Exocentric compound* – the compound or *bahuvrihi* (in Sanskrit terminology) is a hyponym of some unexpressed semantic head. The composed is frequently used as metaphorical (as in *redskin*) or synecdoche (as in *highbrow*).
- c. *Appositional compound* – as in *maidservant*. *Maidservant* is a hyponym of both *maid* and *servant*; a *maidservant* is a type of a *maid* and also a type of a *servant*.
- d. *Dvandva or Copulative Compound* - it is not clear which element is the grammatical head and the compound is not a hyponym of either elements, but the elements name separate entities which combine to form the entity denoted by the compound as in *bittersweet*.

The semantic divisions interact with syntactic divisions according to the form class of the whole compound. The form classes of the individual elements in the compounds like *redskin* as well as

being an exocentric compound is a compound noun made up of an adjective and a noun and *armchair* is an endocentric compound noun made up of two nouns.

Carstairs-McCarthy (2002: 60-62) offers a structural classification of compounds with relationships of conjoining segments as illustrated below:

(16)

- a. Adjective + Verb (AV): dry-clean, whitewash [compound verb]
- b. Noun + Adjective (NA): sky-high, oil-rich [compound adjective]
- c. Noun+ Noun (NN): mosquito net, butterfly, hair restorer [compound noun]
- d. Adjective + Noun (AN): blackboard, faintheart, greenstone [compound noun]

The two works reviewed above (Bauer, 1989 & Carstairs-McCarthy, 2002) are likely to offer insights to the current work especially in the area of word formation which is also of concern to this study.

In his *Graded Lamba Grammar and Exercises*, Doke (1937) indicates that Lamba has a five (5) vowel system (like many other Bantu languages). These are written as *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*.

/i/ is pronounced as 'ee' in 'sheep', for instance *imiti* 'trees'.

/a/ is pronounced as in 'ma', for example *ulukasa* 'foot'. Doke (ibid) cautions that care must be taken not to pronounce a final 'a' as the English -er.

/u/ is pronounced as 'oo' in 'moon', for example *umuntu* 'person'.

The symbol e is used for two differing pronunciations: Phonetic **e** and **ɛ**. In each case the Lamba vowels are ‘pure’, that is, they are not diphthongs as in English.

- a. (Phon. **e**) pronounced as the first part of the English diphthong *ei*, as in ‘way’, for instance *Lēta* ‘bring’.
- b. (Phon. **ɛ**) pronounced as the first part of the English diphthong *ɛə*, as in ‘wear’, for example *lela* ‘nurse’ *lēla* ‘fade’.

Doke (1937) further reveals that the symbol o is used for two differing pronunciations: Phonetic **o** and **ɔ**. In each case, here again, the Lamba vowels are ‘pure’, and must not be diphthongized as are their equivalents in English.

- a. (Phon. **o**) pronounced as the first part of the English diphthong *ou*, as in ‘note’, for example *imitōndo* ‘water-pots’.
- b. (Phon. **ɔ**) pronounced as the first part of the English diphthong *ɔi*, as in ‘boy’, for instance *posa* ‘weave’, *pōsa* ‘throw’.

As has been noticed that certain vowels have a bar over them, this is used to differentiate a long vowel from a short one, as length of vowels is a distinguishing feature of words in Lamba. In his 1938 version of Lamba Grammar, Doke emphasizes vowel length by submitting that it is a very important aspect in Lamba phonetics. Like several other Bantu languages, Lamba shares the phenomenon of semantic length of a vowel; that is to say the change in the length of a vowel may involve an entire change of meaning in the word; and there are many pairs of words distinguished in this way, which would otherwise be phonetically alike. In some cases a change of tone accompanies the change of length. The long vowel is indicated by a bar above it. Below are examples of semantic length:

(17)

- a *salula* ‘roast’ *sālula* ‘slander’
- b *amakosa* ‘strength’ *amakōsa* ‘bangles’

Examples of semantic length accompanied by some change of tone as well:

(18)

- c *itila* ‘pour out’ *ītīla* ‘maggot’

Doke (ibid) observes the following in terms of Lamba consonant sounds:

The plosive/stop consonants are as follows; /p/, /b/ (generally as mb); /t/, /d/ (generally as nd); /c/, /j/ (generally as **nj**); and /k/, /g/ (generally as **ng**).

The voiced forms, /b/, /d/, /j/ and /g/, are sometimes heard in words derived from English over foreign languages. For instance *Dafidi* ‘David’, *Gidyoni* ‘Gideon’. In addition *bw* occurs in Lamba, like in the word *bwīno* ‘well’.

Of the unvoiced forms, Doke (1937) observes that there is nothing particular to note regarding /p/, /t/ and /k/; *mb*, *nd* and *ηg* form compound consonants, and are pronounced together in one syllable.

In Lamba each syllable ends in a vowel; thus the syllabic division of the word *ukundanjisya* ‘to show to me’ is u-ku-nda-nji-sya. Normally, there is a stress on the last syllable but one (the penult) of each word in Lamba: for example *icipatéla* ‘hospital’, *ukundanjísya* ‘to show to me’.

The nasal consonants are as follows: *m*, *n*, *ny*, *η*. The nasal *ny* (usually written and printed simply *ny*), is the palatal nasal, with the tongue position as for *c* and *j*. It is pronounced as the French ‘gn’ in ‘regne’, for instance *nyina* (his, or her mother). The nasal *ny* must be distinguished from

ny signifying *n* plus a *y*-glide, as in *palanya* ‘cause to resemble’. The nasal *ŋ* is the velar nasal, pronounced as ‘*ng*’ in English ‘singer’, for example *ijombe* ‘ox/cattle’.

The nasal consonants also occur preceding other consonants in the same syllable, for example *mp*, *mb*, *nt*, *nd*, *ns*, *ŋk*, *ŋg*. In the case of the combinations *nc*, *nj*, *nsi* or *nsy*, the *n* is palatal, and pronounced as *ny*.

Doke (1937) further illustrates the fricative consonants [ŵ, f, s]. He observes that the symbol ŵ represents the bilabial voiced fricative, foreign to English speech. In English ‘V’ is pronounced as with upper teeth touching lower lip, and the air being forced between, causing a vibration. Ŵ, in Lamba, is pronounced similarly with the two lips touching one another lightly and the air being forced between (the teeth playing no part in the formation of this sound). For example:

(19)

- a *ŵona* ‘see’
- b *aŵantu* ‘people’

The fricative **f** is as in English ‘if’; there is no ‘V’ in Lamba.

S in Lamba represents two different sounds:

(20)

- a. When followed by *i* or *y*, it has the value of “sh” as in *Singa* (smear), *silisilile* (they are finished), *ukusyala* (to remain), *insya* (duiker).
- b. When followed by *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* or *w*, it is pronounced as in English: *isa* (come), *suma* (bite), *ukuswa* (leak).

The lateral consonant **l** is pronounced in two ways in Lamba.

(21)

- a. When associated with a, o, u, (sometimes e), and w, it is usually pronounced as in English. For instance

Lāla (lie down), *lōta* (dream)

Leka (leave alone), *ukulwala* (to be ill)

- b. When associated with i, (often with e), and y, it is pronounced with a single flap of the tongue. This often sounds to the foreign ear as ‘r’ or ‘d’.

Examples:

ukwililila (to go away for good)

lyesu (our), *pembelela* (await)

Doke (1937) further reveals that the Lamba semi-vowels w and y are pronounced as in English; for instance, *ukuwama* (to be good), *wāliwīle* (he fell), *isiwi* (word), *yanyi* (my), *yeŋka* (it alone).

In addition, he observes that the following semi-vowels are found as glide sounds following most of the Lamba consonants:

py, *my*, *ny*, *ŵ*, *fy*, and so on

pw, *mbw*, *ŋgw*, *nw*, *fw*, *sw*, and so on.

Lamba may certainly be described as a “tone Language”, one in which a variation of the musical sequence of the syllables may cause a change of meaning or grammatical significance. Nevertheless, vowel length in Lamba is far more important than tone.

In normal grammatical speech Lamba employs three level tones, a high level, a mid level and a low level. No intermediate tones and no gliding tones are found, though these are seen to occur in the emotional speech of interjections and ideophones. In the examples provided by Doke

(ibid) high tone is indicated by the diacritic (') above the vowel, the mid tone is unmarked, and the low tone is marked by the diacritic (,) beneath the vowel. Tone is used in Lamba semantically, as the only differentiating factor between many words alike in phones and vowel length, but bearing different meanings. Examples:

(22)

akaũdu ‘quail’ *akaundu* (jigger)

ukukũlq ‘to grow’ *ukukulq* ‘to drag’

The following is the order of the Lamba alphabet:

/a, b, c, d, e, f, g, i, j, k, l, m, n, ny, ŋ, o, p, s, t, u, ŵ, w, y/

The symbols h, q, r, v, x, and z are not used. Further, ny is commonly replaced by ny, thus leaving 22 letters in the Lamba alphabet.

Morphologically, Doke (1937) observes that the composition of nouns in Lamba is that (with special exception) of two formatives, *stem* and *prefix*. The stem of the noun is the constant element, while the prefix may change to form the plural, and varies according to the class to which the noun belongs. The noun prefix is of extreme importance, for it determines the form of the pronouns representing the noun, and of the concords used in forming the adjectives (and other qualifying words), as well as the verbs brought into relationship therewith.

He then classifies Lamba nouns into 13 classes. However, it is noted that the last three are generally grouped together into one, in class 11a. These nouns are divided broadly according to significance.

The first class (class 1) signifies names of persons, class 5 is largely about animals, class 7 is mainly abstract, and so on although it is noted that there is a great deal of overlapping. Doke emphasizes that neither nouns nor pronouns in Lamba are divided according to sex gender. Thus: *ye* (he or she), *alukuya* (he or she is going), *ndukumuŵona* (I see him or her) are only distinguishable by the meaning of the noun referred to, for example *moye* (girl) *umusankwa* (young man) *umwānakasi* (woman); all those nouns are found in class 1 (or 1a). Similarly all verbal and pronominal forms will be alike for the nouns *indume* (brother) and *inkasi* (sister), since both are in class 3.

Syntactically, Doke (1937) observes that the normal word order in Lamba is SVO (with subjectival concord prefixed). For instance:

(23)

Aŵantu ŵalukuŵona aŵasungu ‘the people see Europeans’

Wright (2007) observes that Kikaonde has a five vowel system represented by the letters *a, e, i, o, u* as in *kupala* ‘to scrape’, *kupela* ‘to end’ *kupila* ‘to bail out’, *kupola* ‘to become cool’, *kupula* ‘to break through a barrier’. He equally notes that many words and some verb forms are distinguished from each other by the length of vowels, that is, their duration in time.

(24)

- a *Kúbula*, ‘to lack’, *kúbuula* ‘to tell’
- b *Mana* ‘toes’, *maana* ‘wisdom’
- c *Baleeta* ‘they bring’, *baaleeta* ‘they have brought’

The consonants used in Kikaonde are charted as follows using the symbols currently used.

Table 1: Kikaonde Consonant Chart

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar
Stops	Voiceless			t			k
	Voiced	b ¹		d ²			g
Fricatives (sibilants aspirants)	Voiceless		f	s	š sh ³		
	Voiced		v	z	zh ³		
Affricates	Voiceless				c tš		
	Voiced				j d		
Lateral				l			
Nasals		m				ny ³	ŋ (ng') ³
Glides (semi- vowels, approxim ants)		w				y	

Notes from the Table

- i. Phonemically, the voiced bilabial stop [b] is actually an allophone of the voiceless bilabial fricative.
- ii. Similarly, phonemically [d] is actually an allophone of /l/.
- iii. Orthographically, the voiceless and voiced alveopalatal affricates [tš] and [dj] are represented by single letters or graphemes namely c and j respectively.
- iv. /b/ represents a stop (as in English) but only after the bilabial nasal /m/. Elsewhere it represents a bilabial fricative. Wright (ibid) notes that this sound is widespread in Zambian languages.

- v. /d/ is normally only found after the alveolar nasal /n/ and may in fact be considered as a form of the same sound as represented by /l/, since the latter when preceded by /n/ is heard as /d/. An illustration is drawn from the first person singular present tense of the verb *kulaala* in *ndaala*. Note has to be taken that the sound represented by the symbol l is described as a voiced flapped lateral. This means that it sounds to English ears like an r, but an r made by a rapid single up-and-down flap of the blade of the tongue.
- vi. /g/ and /k/ have a palatal quality before /i/ (or y) but before other vowels, /g/ is normally preceded by a voiced [ŋ] (which in the current orthography is written as n).

In terms of syllable structure, Kikaonde words are composed of one or more syllables. A syllable may consist of a long or short vowel (V), or of a consonant or consonant cluster plus a vowel (CV), or of a homorganic nasal at the beginning of a word (N). If two vowels follow each other without combining they form two separate syllables.

Each tone in Kikaonde carries a tone that is related in musical pitch to surrounding syllables. The majority of syllables are spoken at a more or less even pitch, but certain syllables stand out as higher in pitch. The normal tone of syllables may be spoken of as low, and the syllables that stand out as high.

Wright (2007) notes that the actual pitch of individual syllables may be very varied and complex but the significant contrasts that affect meaning are only two. Kikaonde has two tonemes, high (H) and low (L). For illustration purposes, high tones are marked with an accent (´) and low

tones are left unmarked. The tone is marked on the vowel of the syllable or on the homorganic nasal, if it is syllabic. Long vowels may be considered as a sequence of two short vowels. Tone in Kikaonde may be described as lexical, morphological or syntactic. Examples below illustrate the above observation that long vowels may be considered as a sequence of two short vowels.

(25)

- a *báánza mujilo* ‘light the fire’ [Level high - HH]
- b *kuulu* ‘foot’ [Level low - LL]
- c *maányi* ‘fat’ [Rising - LH]
- d *léeta nyama* ‘bring the meat’ [Falling - HL]

Morphologically, most nouns are made up of a *prefix* and a *stem* (there are a few without a prefix). The stem remains constant and bears the meaning of the word; the prefix can change to show plural or some other modification of the meaning: For instance:

(26)

- a *mu-ntu* ‘a person’
- b *ba-ntu* ‘people’

mu- and *ba-* are variable prefixes, *-ntu* is the invariable stem. Prefixes consist of a nasal consonant (m, n, or ŋ) or of a consonant plus a, i, or u.

Kikaonde has an eighteen (18) noun class system where nouns are mostly distinguished by their prefixes, a characteristic prevalent in most Bantu languages. Some classes are singular whereas others are plural. The singular and plural forms being associated together through what is called *class gender*. However, Wright (ibid) rightly observes that some singular classes share a common plural class, and some have no associated plural class at all.

Wright (2007) then discusses verbal morphology where he observes that Kaonde verbs consist of a root preceded and/or followed by one or more affixes, in a fixed order. A particular verb form

may consist of anything from one to fourteen syllables. The majority of simple **roots** consist of a consonant plus a long or short vowel plus a consonant (CVC), for instance:

(27)

e.g. *leet-* ‘bring’;

(28)

a few consist of a single consonant,

e.g. *-j-* ‘eat’

Syntactically, Wright (2007) observes that when a sentence consists of a subject and a verb, if the verb is emphasized, the subject comes first,

(28)

e.g. *báana baíya* ‘the children have come’

(29)

but if the subject is emphasized the verb comes first,

e.g. *baíya báana* ‘the children have come’

When the noun object is present the normal order is Subject Verb Object (SVO) as illustrated below:

(30)

bányike bámona múkulúmpe ‘the youngster has seen an elder’.

In his *Luchazi Grammar*, Pearson (n.d) observes that Luchazi has a five vowel system, namely, *a, e, i, o, u*. He argues that vowels in Luchazi are shorter when unstressed and are prolonged when doubled or when stressed at the end of a word. He characterizes each of the stated vowels as follows:

/a/ – Long when accented, as *a* in *father*. Examples: *táta, nána*.

Short when unstressed or before two consonants or *y* or *s* and in monosyllabic adverbs, as **a** in *artistic*. Examples: *tata, paya, asa, hanga, ma-mama*

The vowel is prolonged when doubled or stressed at the end of a word or syllable. Examples: *ku laako, tambuka* (when calling someone).

/e/ – Long when accented, as *a* in *ale*. Examples: *heta, seza*. The vowel is short when unstressed, as *a* in *senate*. Examples: *hete, seze*.

/i/ - Long when accented, as *e* in *eve*. Examples: *tina, sika*. The vowel is short when unstressed or before two consonants, as *e* in *event*. Examples: *citi, linga*.

/o/ – Long when accented, as *o* in *old*. Examples: *soka, koka*. The vowel is short when unstressed, as *o* in *obey*. Examples: *soko, loto*.

/u/ - Long when accented, as *u* in *rude*. Examples: *tuta, fula*. The vowel is short when unstressed or before two consonants or before *s*, as *u* in *put*. Examples: *futuka, mbunga, kusa*.

Pearson then notes unusual values attached to some of the letters of the alphabet: *c* is pronounced like *ch* in church, *n* followed by *k* or *g* is always nasal like *ng* in ring. He submits that close attention should be given to *v* before *u*. This sound of /v/ is bilabial instead of labiodental.

There are some unusual consonantal combinations in Luchazi that Pearson terms consonantal glides. These are: *mb*, *mp*, *nc*, *nd*, *ndz*, *ng*, *nj*, *nk*, *nt*, *nts*, *ts*. A vivid account of coalesces, elision and accent is then offered with illustrative examples.

In terms of the noun class system, Pearson (n.d) contends that its most striking feature in Bantu languages is the inflection of nouns by means of prefixes (sometimes called classifiers) to show number or state. He observes that the noun consists of two parts: the root and the prefix but equally acknowledges the fact that some grammarians prefer “stem” to “root,” making the stem include the simple root plus suffixes. The root is invariable. The prefix may be singular or plural, personal or impersonal, diminutive, augmentative, or abstract.

There are eight main classes of nouns in Luchazi distinguished from one another by their singular and plural prefixes. There are many subclasses which are classified according to their alliterative concord. In addition to these eight main classes and the subclasses there are others that fall under neither heading. These are the locative classes and the verbal noun class. These may either be simple or complex compounds as to structure. Pearson then discusses verbal morphology, the formation of adverbs, the adjective, and the pronoun at great length.

Another study that was insightful to the current study is Horton’s (1949) *A Grammar of Luvale*. He notes that Luvale has a five vowel system having such vowels as a, e, i, o, and u. Among other pertinent aspects, Horton talks about vowels in terms of processes such as coalescence and harmonization. He observes that vowel length is important in Luvale and that the vowel differs at

three levels namely stress and position, semantic distinction, and coalescence. A lengthy description of special consonantal processes such as nasalization, palatalization, and elision is vividly given. The important aspect of tone is discussed in terms of semantic tone and grammatical tone with clear examples.

Horton (1949) equally notes that Luvale nouns are divided according to the prefixes they assume. He submits that Luvale has ten noun classes and four sub-classes. Horton stresses that “it is the noun which governs the sentence, the prefix of the noun determining the form of the pronoun of the pronoun, adjective, possessive, numeral, or verb which refers to it” (p. 24). He, too, acknowledges the feature prevalent in Bantu languages that “the noun itself is inflected by its prefixes to show singular and plural numbers” (p. 24).

Horton (1949) then provides a vivid account of derivations of noun stems in terms of deverbative nouns, denominative nouns, reduplicated stems, and compound nouns. The above aspects are illustrated with vivid examples. An account of Luvale pronouns is given followed by a discussion on the varieties of the verb, the adverb, the ideophone and other aspects of grammar.

In terms of syntax, Horton (1949) discusses this level of linguistic analysis, among other aspects, in terms of the substantive, the qualificative, the predicative, and the descriptive. In each aspect listed above, a lengthy explanation is given followed by clear examples.

The three levels of linguistic analysis looked at are related; they depend on each other at some level. Kroeger (2005) clearly demonstrates the relationship between Phonology and Syntax when he talks about Yes-No questions being expressed through intonation. He (p. 203) argues that, “since Yes-No questions do not contain a question word; there must be some other means of distinguishing them from simple declarative sentences.” He then submits that one of the ways of

achieving the above is through intonation where there is sentence-final rising pitch in contrast to a final falling pitch in declarative sentences. Here, the interaction between sentence construction (Syntax) and sound (Phonology) comes into fruition. A good example of the interface between morphology and phonology (Morphophonology) could be extracted from Galafa's (2018) *A Grammatical Sketch of Chitumbuka* where, among other issues, he addresses the process of vowel deletion. He observes that, "there is vowel deletion in some circumstances where two vowels follow each other" (p. 81):

(31)

Luta 'go'

- i. *Ti+ku+luta* 'we are going'
- ii. *Ti+ka+luta* 'we went'
- iii. *Ti+za+mu+luta* 'we will go'
- iv. *Ti+a+luta* '*Taluta*' 'we have gone'

The data presented by Galafe (2018) demonstrates an interface between Morphology and Syntax (Morpho-syntax). It is also a possibility that the language under study will exhibit a similar arrangement just like Galafe demonstrates the *Noun – Adjective agreement* below (p. 88):

(32)

Mwanalume muwemi 'good husband'

From the above example it is clear that the inflectional affix attached to the root *-lume* and the agreement marker attached to the adjective *-wemi* have to agree in number. The prefixes could purely be looked at from the morphological point of view whereas the resulting agreement in the above string could be analyzed syntactically.

2.3 Summary

The literature reviewed immensely contributed to the current study in terms of analytical depth of each linguistic level. Most notable in the literature above is *A Linguistic Analysis of Cinsenga* (Miti, 2001), *A Grammar of Luvale* (Horton, 1949), *Luchazi Grammar* (Pearson, n.d), and *An Outline of Kikaonde Grammar* (Wright, 2007). Closely looking at the above reviewed work, one is bound to notice that the linguistic levels the current study is addressing have equally been talked about. This can only point to the fact that the three levels of linguistic analysis namely, Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax occupy an essential place in the grammar of a given human language.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter shows the research design and methodology employed to arrive at conclusions that addressed the set objectives. The chapter, among other issues, reveals sampling techniques, data collection procedures and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), a research design tells the investigator whether s/he should use the qualitative, quantitative or triangulation method in the process of research. The method to be employed in research dictates the procedures that will be used depending on the nature of that particular research. This study follows a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena (Hancock, 2007). That is to say, it aims to help the researcher to understand the world in which s/he lives and why things are the way they are.

Within the qualitative research approach, this study employed the descriptive research design. The major purpose of descriptive research is description of the state of affairs as it exists (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). The researcher reports the findings. It can be used when collecting information about people's attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues (Orodho and Kombo, 2002). Ethridge (2004) looks at descriptive research as a statement of affairs as they are at present. He characterizes descriptive studies as simply "the attempt to determine, describe or identify what is, while analytical research attempts to establish why it is that way or how it came to be" [p. 24]. Fox and Bayat (2007:45) support the above observation by submitting that descriptive research is "aimed at casting light on current issues or problems

through a process of data collection that enables them to describe the situation more than was possible without employing the method.” Then it is safe to conclude that data collected and analyzed from descriptive research can be further researched using different research techniques. The data can also help point towards the types of research methods to be used for the subsequent research. Therefore, this study employed the descriptive approach to analyze and describe the Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax of Mbunda language as spoken by the native speakers.

3.1.1 Study area and sample size

3.1.1.1 Study area

The sample for this study was drawn from Liumba village of Chief Mwenemundu in Kalabo District of Western Province. Liumba village is approximately 40 kilometers from Kalabo town. The population in Kalabo District stood at 83,442 as per 2010 Census of Population and Housing. In Liumba ward specifically, there were 3,661 people in the said year.

Western Province is divided into sixteen districts, namely, Kalabo District, Kaoma District, Lukulu District, Mongu District, Mulobezi District, Senanga District, Sesheke District, Shangombo District, Nalolo District, Limulunga District, Nkeyema District, Sikongo District, Sioma District, Mitete District, Mwandu District and Luampa District. All the district headquarters are the same as the district names. As per the 2010 Zambian Census, Western Province had a population of 902,974 accounting for 6.72% of the total Zambian population.

3.1.1.2 Sample size

From the area mentioned above, 4 people were purposefully sampled. These were between 30 and 60 in terms of age. Firstly, these were all native speakers and had spent many years in the study area. Secondly, the selected respondents had interacted with the language for many years

thereby making them proficient enough to note standard vocabulary from that which is not standard. The purpose for this sampling was for the selected respondents to verify information that was given to them by the researcher.

3.1.1.3 Sampling technique

Four respondents were purposively sampled based on their being native speakers of the language under study. All respondents had spent a significant number of years in the study area.

3.1.2 Data collection procedure

The data collection exercise was undertaken over a period of one week. The researcher completed a word list of 200 words (Swadesh list) which were then subjected to the said respondents for verification. In addition, interviews were conducted in which respondents were requested to read out verified vocabulary. This information was recorded on an electronic device. The purpose of recording the pronunciation was to capture sound patterns that were used for phonology, morphology and syntax (certain words were used in context of sentences). The Swadesh list was simply used as a guide to collect common vocabulary that cuts across languages. The Mbunda Bible was used as standard reference for the orthographic translations from the Swadesh list. The rest of the data was generated through introspection. Introspection involves relying on personal intuitions about the structure of the language under study. Information generated as such was equally subjected to verification.

3.1.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis started during data collection. Information obtained was arranged in line with set objectives. Specifically, information was arranged according to the levels of linguistic analysis

namely phonology, morphology and syntax. As mentioned above, no specific theory is employed in analyzing information obtained as this study finds shelter under descriptive linguistics.

3.1.4 Ethical Consideration

The researcher obtained permission from respondents to ensure that they participated voluntarily. The purpose of the study was explained fully for them to make an informed decision. At all times, the researcher respected the rights and views of the respondents.

3.2 Summary of the chapter

The research employed qualitative research approach within which the descriptive research design was used. The chapter has brought out how data were collected and analyzed. Sample size and sampling techniques have equally been addressed. Ethical considerations have also been highlighted as ethics are paramount in research.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE PHONOLOGY OF MBUNDA

4.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a description of the phonological system of Mbunda in addressing objective (a). It begins with an analysis of the phonemes present in the language (vowels and consonants) followed by a discussion on phonological processes (vowel harmony and assimilation), tone, vowel length, syllable structure, and constraints on syllable structure of the language under study.

4.1 Phonemic Analysis of Mbunda

4.1.1 The Vowel Sounds in Mbunda

Mbunda, like most Bantu languages follows a five vowel system. Vowels that occur in the said language are /a, e, i, o, u/. In order to ascertain that the aforementioned vowels are distinctive in nature, a minimal pair test is conducted as follows:

Minimal Pairs involving vowel sounds

(33)

a) linga ‘do’

b) tanda ‘read or count’

lenga ‘cut, especially nails’

tonda ‘look for’

c) eta ‘arrive’

d) vuka ‘harsh or violent behavior’

ita ‘pass’

vuki ‘honey’

e) lima ‘cultivate’

f) mwanike ‘young person’

lema ‘heavy’

mwanuke ‘remember him or her’

g) mate ‘saliva’ mata ‘guns’

Arising from the minimal pair test conducted above, the stated vowels can be presented in table form as demonstrated below:

Table 2: Mbunda Vowel Chart

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	

Source: Adapted from “A Handbook of International Phonetic Alphabet”

4.1.2 The Consonant Sounds in Mbunda

There are 21 consonantal phonemes in the stated language. These are /c, nd, f, ng, h, j, k, l, m, mb, n, ny, p, s, t, t̥, v, w, sh, y, z/. In order to show their distinctiveness, a minimal pair test is conducted below:

Minimal Pairs involving consonant sounds

(34)

a) **th**ala ‘remain’ /θ/

b) lithika ‘cold’ /k/

thzala ‘dress up’ /ð/

lithi**m**a ‘a well’ /m/

c) sha**l**uka ‘(being) warm’ /l/

d) sha**ndz**a ‘(to) vomit’ /ndʒ/

sha**t**uka ‘run’ /t/

sha**nd**a ‘spread’ /nd/

- e) **shinga** ‘stir’ /**f**/
linga ‘do (something)’ /**l**/
- f) **jola** ‘laugh’ /**j**/
vola ‘rot’ /**β**/
- g) **limo** ‘pregnancy’ /**m**/
limbo ‘village’ /**mb**/
- h) **vuta** ‘gun’ /**t**/
vuma ‘mud’ /**m**/
- i) **shika** ‘instruct’ /**k**/
shita ‘squeeze’ /**t**/
- j) **jula** ‘get wet’ /**l**/
juva ‘remove skin/hide’ /**β**/
- k) **tulo** ‘sleep’ /**t**/
vulo ‘marriage’ /**β**/
- l) **kalumba** ‘hare’ /**l**/
kapumba ‘(a) sweet cassava’ /**p**/
- m) **calo** ‘chair’ /**tʃ**/
lalo ‘again’ /**l**/
- n) **hunga** ‘dance of male initiates’ /**h**/
tunga ‘sow or make something’ /**t**/
- o) **thunga** ‘diastema’ /**θ**/
vunga ‘meali meal’ /**β**/
- p) **kondthzi** ‘fibre’ /**k**/
nyondthzi ‘rain’ /**ɲ**/
- q) **nulo** ‘chest’ /**n**/
tulo ‘sleep’ /**t**/
- r) **fuma** ‘come out or exit’ /**f**/
tuma ‘send (someone/something)’ /**t**/
- s) **hya** ‘be ripe’ /**y**/
hwa ‘be finished’ /**w**/
- t) **kuthsa** ‘to die’ /**t**/
kuwa ‘to fall’ /**w**/
- u) **ngulu** ‘pig’ /**ng**/
mpulu ‘male animal’ /**mp**/
- v) **ñanda** ‘issue or news’ /**ɲ**/
tanda ‘count or read’ /**t**/

w) **nk**uta ‘court’ /**nk**/ kuta ‘tie’ /**k**/ x) vana ‘children’ /**n**/ **ch**ana ‘valley’ /**tʃ**/

y) kw**itha** ‘lie to someone’ /**θ**/

kw**ita** ‘apply, especially lotion on self or on someone else’ /**t**/

Arising from the minimal pair test involving consonantal phonemes, the table below shows the position of these respective phonemes in relation to manner and place of articulation.

Table 3: Mbunda Consonant Chart

The chart below was adopted from the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet)

	Bilabial	Denti-labial	Dental	Alveolar	Post Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p (b)		t̚	t (d)			k (g)	
Aspirated	mp ^h		nt̚ ^h				nk ^h	
Nasals	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Prenasals	mb			nd			ng	
Fricatives	v	f	s z			ʃ j		h
Affricates					c (j)			
Lateral				l				
Semi-vowels	w					y		

4.1.2.1 Phonemic Description of Mbunda Consonant Segments

A detailed description of each of the consonant segments of Mbunda language is given below supported by examples of words in which the stated segments occur:

/p/ is the voiceless bilabial plosive e.g. *pala* ‘scratch’, *panga* ‘(you) work’, *panga* ‘divide’, *kupulula* ‘to fly’.

/mp/ is the prenasalized voiceless bilabial plosive e.g. *mpuka* /mp^huka/ ‘bee’, *mpundthzi* ‘wind’, *vuthimpe* ‘courage’.

/m/ is the bilabial nasal e.g. *maninga* ‘blood’, *munye* ‘a finger’, *mwatho* ‘song’, *mathzi* ‘fat or cream applied on a person’s skin’, *mwaka* ‘year’.

/mb/ is the prenasalized voiced bilabial plosive e.g. *mbandu* ‘sore’, *lombela* ‘pray’, *imba* ‘sing’, *mbunga* ‘group’.

/v/ is the voiceless bilabial fricative represented by the symbol /β/ e.g. *vwanike* /βwanike/ ‘childhood’, *vueve* ‘dullness’, *vunga* ‘meali powder’, *vwala* ‘beer’, *vanu* ‘people’

/w/ is the labial-velar semi-vowel e.g. *fwila* ‘worthy’, *mutwe* ‘head’, *wabo* ‘one of theirs’, *mwebo* ‘wife’.

/f/ is the voiceless denti-labial fricative e.g. *fundanga* ‘gunpowder’, *fuma* ‘come out/exit’, *kufumuka* ‘to float’, *kulifwa* ‘to look alike’.

/t̥/ is the voiceless dental stop. The symbol attached to the segment simply indicates that the segment in question is much more complex, in terms of sound and composition, than what it looks like. As a matter of accuracy, the entire sound represented by /t̥/ symbol is /ths/ present in words such as *kuthsa* ‘to die’, *kuthsiya* ‘to kill’, *muthsiyi* ‘killer’. During the articulation of the above sound, the tip of the tongue exerts pressure behind the upper incisors so much that a stinging like sound is produced. The study has established that this sound is amongst some sounds that are peculiar to Mbunda language.

/nt̥^h/ is the aspirated voiceless dental plosive. Again, the symbol attached to the sound segment represents a complex sound; in this case, aspiration comes into play. This sound segment occurs in words like *ntumbi* /nt̥^humbi/ ‘rat’, *ntanga* /nt̥^haŋga / ‘piece of cloth’.

/t/ is the voiceless alveolar plosive e.g. *tulo* ‘sleep’, *tulongolo* ‘insects’, *teleka* ‘cook’, *eteka* ‘bend’.

/s/ is the voiceless dental fricative. It has an equivalent of the theta /θ/ sound *th* as in the English word “thing”. In Mbunda, the said sound is present in words such as *thitu* /θitu/ ‘meat’, *vithi* /βiθi/ ‘fish’, *thimbu* ‘time’. Arising from the minimal pair test for consonants, the study has revealed that Mbunda is one of the few languages, within the Bantu family, with the theta /θ/ sound. As a result, *Mbunda ya Mathzi* dialect sets itself apart from other dialects and languages around it as the other languages and dialects mostly realize the /s/ sound where the standard dialect (*Mbunda ya Mathzi*) realizes the /θ/ sound. A good example could be drawn from *Shamuka dialect* where one would say *situ* ‘meat’, whereas a *Mbunda ya Mathzi* speaker would say *thitu* ‘meat’. The *Mbunda Shamuka* dialect, mostly spoken around Mongu area, has been diluted to the extent that most speakers opt to replace the voiceless dental fricative *th* /θ/ with the alveolar fricative /s/ just like the example above has demonstrated.

The data collected suggests that the theta sound /θ/ in Mbunda, is, in certain cases prenasalized. This is evident in such a word as *nthsingo* /nθiŋgo/ ‘neck’, where the theta is prenasalized. Whether in the prenasalized position or not, both cases presented above point to one phoneme /θ/.

/z/ represents the voiced dental fricative sound /ð/ like the *th* in the English words, the, their, these, and there. In *Mbunda ya Mathzi*, the above sound segment represents the sound segment /thz/ as in the words *kuthziva* ‘to hear/listen’, *munakathzi* ‘female’, *muthzimbu* ‘news’, *kuthzala*

‘to dress up’. Data collected also indicates that this particular sound has set apart *Mbunda ya Mathzi* speakers as other dialects and even some related languages only use the voiced alveolar fricative /z/. In such cases, words like *mathzi* ‘fat or cream applied on one’s body’ are orthographically realized as *mazi* thereby shifting from being a voiced inter-dental fricative sound to a mere voiced alveolar fricative sound. There is change in the place of articulation.

The study has revealed that the voiced dental fricative /ð/, in Mbunda, has allophones. Allophones can simply be looked at as different realizations of a phoneme depending on the context in which they occur. As a matter of illustration, the phoneme in question is realized as a prenasalized voiced dental plosive /nð/ as in the word *ndthzita* /nðita/ ‘war’. Another allophonic realization is in the word *mwanthzi* ‘crack’ in which a prenasalized inter-dental fricative is realized. Actually, when listened to carefully, the realization in the second instance is that of a voiced prenasalized inter-dental fricative sound /n[̥]ð/. The realization in the first case is such that more pressure is exerted, by the tip of the tongue, on the back of the upper front incisors, thus realizing a voiced prenasalized dental stop. In all instances aforementioned, it would be prudent enough to conclude that the actual phoneme is /ð/ realized differently in different environments.

/n/ is the alveolar nasal e.g. *Nanantu* ‘uncle’, *nima* ‘back’, *vanike* ‘children’, *nange* ‘with me’.

/l/ is the alveolar lateral e.g. *limbo* ‘village’, *liyo* ‘tooth’, *lindi* ‘leg’, *lilonga* ‘plate’.

/c/ is, just like in a number of Bantu languages, the post-alveolar affricate, an equivalent of the *ch* sound /tʃ/ as in the English word “church”. According to data collected, the stated consonant sound has two values: Firstly, it is realized as merely *c* when the word in which it occurs is not a proper noun. Secondly, it is realized as *ch* where it is used to designate a proper noun. Examples of the first case would be found in words such as, *cuma* ‘thing’, *cala* ‘fingernail’, *cithsili*

‘shoulder’. The second case is evident in such names as *Chipango*, *Chikwama*, *Chishwashwa*, *Chimbwela*, *Chimbanda*, *Chiyambi*, and many others. In both cases, it is important to remember that the pronunciation remains that of the *ch* in “church” as the only differentiating factor is orthographically achieved.

/ɲ/ is the palatal nasal e.g. *nyali* ‘brother or sister in law’, *kunyoka* ‘to rain’, *linyoka* ‘snake’.

/ʃ/ is the voiceless palatal fricative like the *sh* in the English word “Sheep”. In Mbunda, the above sound is present in words such as *shwata* /ʃwata/ ‘thicket/bush’, *kushaka* /kufaka/ ‘to want or need’, *mushongo* /muʃoŋgo/ ‘disease’, *shompo* /ʃompo/ ‘type of vegetable’.

/j/ is the voiced palatal fricative. It has the equivalent of the sound /ʒ/, as in the /s/ in the English words “measure” and “pleasure”. In Mbunda, this situation is present in words such as *ija* ‘come’, *uje* ‘that one’, *kujomboka* ‘to jump’, *kuje* ‘there’, *lijulu* ‘nose’.

/y/ is the palatal semi-vowel. It is treated as a consonant, and not as a vowel, because it functions as one. Like in Luvale, *i* coalesces as *y* before a following vowel. A good example of the above scenario could be drawn from words such as *mi-atho* ‘songs’ which is simply written as *myatho*, *vi-ange* ‘they are mine’ to simply being realized as *vyange*. This semi-vowel can also be placed at the beginning of a word as follows: *yomba* ‘hunt’, *yove* ‘you’, *yetu* ‘us’. The following are the combinations in which *y* is found: *hy* as in *tuhya* ‘fire’, *ly* like in the word *lya* ‘eat’, *my* as in the word *myatho* ‘songs’, *vy* like in the word *vyula* ‘barks of trees’.

/k/ is the voiceless velar plosive. It is present in words such as *kunwa* ‘to drink’, *kuthoneka* ‘to write’, *kulimina* ‘to cultivate for’, and many more.

/ŋ/ is the velar nasal. It is present in such words as *ñanda* ‘talk’, *ñala* /crab/.

/b/ never occurs alone in Mbunda. The study has established that this speech sound always occurs with its homorganic nasal /m/. It is worth noting that this combination /mb/ is regarded as a single consonant (compound consonant) and specifically classified as a voiced prenasalized bilabial stop. Words such as *mbandu* ‘sore’, *mbunge* ‘heart’, and *kwambata* ‘to get/marry’, are good examples of how the sound /b/ is realized in Mbunda. It is equally important to state that /m/ in this combination should not be syllabified. Consequently, there is no such syllable division, in Mbunda, as *m-ba-n-du* but *mba-ndu* occurs. More information on this sound segment will be given below under the heading *Some Phonetic variations of Mbunda consonants*.

/g/ just like /b/ above does not occur without the nasal /n/. It occurs in words such as *ngonde* ‘moon/month’, *nguvu* ‘hippo’, *lilonga* ‘plate’, and many more.

/d/ like /b/ never occurs without its homorganic nasal /n/. Data collected indicates that /d/ occurs in combinations such as *ndando* ‘price’, *ndulo* ‘fishing bait’, *kutanda* ‘to read/count’, *kulanda* ‘to buy’, and many more.

/j/ is the voiceless post-alveolar affricate. The study has established that /j/ only occurs with its homorganic nasal /n/. Just like /m/ in *mbandu* ‘sore’, /n/ should not be syllabified. This segment is realized in words such as *njamba* /ndzamba/ ‘elephant’, *njuvo* ‘house’, *njala* ‘hunger’, *mbanja* ‘special place where men sit’, and many more.

/nk^h/ is an aspirated velar plosive present in words like *nkoma* /ŋk^homa/ ‘snuff box’, *nkuta* /ŋk^huta/ ‘court’, etc.

/h/ is the voiceless glottal fricative present in words such as *hwa* ‘be finished’, *hya* ‘be ripe’, *hathi* ‘on the ground’, *kuvwaha* ‘to be good’.

4.1.2.2 Classification of Mbunda phonemes

A detailed account of all the phonemes classified below has been given above complimented by the use of example words in which they occur. Where necessary, an explanation has been attached to the concerned classification in order to enhance clarity and for the sake of consistence.

a) Stops

Stop sounds in Mbunda are /p, b, d, t, t, k, g/. One has just as good an argument for indicating less stop consonants as for indicating the list above. This would be in line with the earlier position given on some of the stop sounds listed above as they are only realized as such when prenasalized. On a strict note, Mbunda stop consonants would be given as /p, t, t, k/. As submitted earlier /b, d, g/ do not occur alone as they should always be prenasalized.

b) Aspirated /mp, nt, nk/

c) Nasals /m, n, ŋ, ŋ/

d) Prenasals /mb, nd, ng/

e) Fricatives /v, f, s, z, sh, j, h/

f) Affricates /c, j/

g) Lateral /l/

h) Semi-vowel /w, y/

4.1.2.3 Some phonetic variations of Mbunda Consonants

From the study, some Mbunda consonants seem to have phonetic variations. The consonants in question have been placed in parentheses (in the consonant chart above) as they are only realized as such in certain circumstances. The following observations substantiate the above claim:

4.1.2.3.1 The stop /b/

The stop /b/ is only realized as such when it occurs with its homorganic nasal /m/ to realize the combination /mb/. Elsewhere, the phoneme /b/ is realized as the voiceless bilabial fricative [β] written as *v* in Mbunda. Care has to be taken when interacting with the phoneme /v/ in Mbunda so as not to confuse it with the voiced labio-dental /v/ that occurs in other Bantu languages. In short, the voiced bilabial stop [b] is actually an allophone of the voiceless bilabial fricative. The following are example words in which above observation occurs:

(35)

- a *Mbandu* ‘sore’
- b *Mbunge* ‘heart’
- c *Mbunga* ‘group’

4.1.2.3.2 The stop /d/

The stop /d/ is only realized as [d] when preceded by the nasal /n/. In fact, most literature on Bantu linguistics suggests that the combination /nd/ draws its origin from the combination /nɺ/. It is argued that /l/ when preceded by /n/ becomes /d/. The following are example words in which the /nd/ combination occurs:

(36)

- a *Ndando* ‘price’
- b *Ndumba* ‘lion’

4.1.2.3.3 The stop /g/

The phoneme /g/, just like in (36) above, does not occur alone as it is only realized as [g] when preceded by the nasal /n/. The following are some words in which this stop occurs:

(37)

- a *Nguvu* ‘hippopotamus’
- b *Ngulu* ‘pig’
- c *Ngolo* ‘Zebra’

4.1.2.3.4 The phoneme /p/

The phoneme /p/ becomes aspirated /p^h/ when preceded by the bilabial nasal /m/ thus the combination [mp^h]. The examples below illustrate the above observation:

(38)

- a *Mpundthzi* ‘wind’
- b *Mpuka* ‘bee’
- c *vuthimpe* ‘courage’

4.1.2.3.5 The phoneme /t/

The phoneme /t/ becomes aspirated /t^h/ when preceded by the alveolar nasal /n/ to form the combination /nt^h/. The following words contain the aforementioned combination:

(39)

- a *Ntanga* /nt^hanɡa/ ‘piece of cloth’
- b *Ntumbi* /nt^humbi/ ‘rat’

4.1.2.3.6 The phoneme /k/

Like the above cases of aspiration, the phoneme /k/ becomes aspirated when it is preceded by the nasal /n/. Refer to the examples below:

(40)

- a *nkoma* /ŋk^homa/ ‘snuff box’
- b *nkuta* /ŋk^huta/ ‘court’

4.1.3 Phonological processes

4.1.3.1 Assimilation

The study has revealed that progressive or anticipatory assimilation occurs in the language under study. The voiceless bilabial fricative /v/ becomes a non-continuant /b/ when it occurs after the bilabial nasal /m/. The combination of the bilabial nasal /m/ with the voiceless bilabial fricative /v/ gives birth to the nasal compound /mb/. The two phonemes now combined share the same place of articulation. In rule form, the above observation appears as follows:

v → b/m _____

This rule is evident in words such as:

(41)

- a *Mbandu* ‘sore’

- b *Mbunge* ‘heart’
- c *Vumbanda* ‘medicine’

4.1.3.2 Vowel harmony

The illustration of vowel harmony below uses some verbal extensions and the imperative verb when directed at more than one person. Refer to the following analysis:

4.1.3.2.1 Applied Extension

The study has revealed that when the root vowel is *o* or *e*, the vowel in the extension will be *e* and when the root vowel is *u* or *i*, the vowel in the extension will be *i*. The examples below speak to the claims submitted above:

(42)

- a *Yombela* ‘hunt on behalf of’
Yomb- el- a
hunt ext fv
- b *Thonekela* ‘write on behalf of’
Thonek- el- a
write ext fv
- c *Limina* ‘cultivate on behalf of’
Lim- in- a
cultivate ext fv
- d *Tungila* ‘build on behalf of’
Tung- il- a
build ext fv

4.1.3.2.2 Causative Extension

The data collected suggests that when the root vowel is *i*, the suffix vowel is also *i* and when the root vowel is *a*, the suffix vowel is *e*. The above is demonstrated in the examples below:

(43)

- a *Limitha* ‘make somebody cultivate’

Lim- itha

cultivate suffix

- b *Kwatetha* ‘make somebody hold’

Kwat- etha

hold suffix

4.1.3.2.2 The imperative

Data collected suggests that vowel harmony is equally expressed through the imperative when it is directed at more than one person. When the root vowel is *e* or *i*, the suffix vowel will be *e*.

Refer to the examples below:

(44)

- a *Endekeni* ‘talk’

Endek- eni

talk suffix

- b *Imbeni* ‘sing’

Imb- eni

sing suffix

4.1.4 Tone

From the study, it has been established that in addition to phonemes contrasting meaning, Mbunda also uses tone to contrast meaning in some words. There are two types of tone in the language under study; high tone and low tone. In the examples below, only high tone is marked:

(45)

- a) *aká* ‘put’ *aka* ‘this little thing’
- b) *mukánda* ‘puberty camp’ *múkanda* ‘letter’
- c) *límo* ‘pregnancy’ *limo* ‘a single big thing’
- d) *nána* ‘mother’ *nana* ‘a cheek’
- e) *vilí* ‘which ones?’ *vili* ‘they are’
- f) *tungíla* ‘small paths’ *tungilá* ‘build for’
- g) *mbunda* ‘waist’ *Mbúnda* ‘language (Mbunda language)’
- h) *lílu* ‘heaven’ *lilu* ‘a wasp’
- i) *lyála* ‘a nail’ *lyala* ‘far’
- j) *vuli* ‘loneliness’ *vulí* ‘which?’

4.1.5 Vowel length

Other than contrasting meaning phonemically and through tonal variations, the study has revealed that vowel length can also contrast meaning in this language. However, one has to be extra careful when discussing vowel length in Mbunda as it is possible to confuse it with tone changes in respective words. The vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u* could be used to differentiate words semantically as demonstrated below:

(46)

- a) *hali* ‘where?’ *haali* ‘he/she is there’
- b) *lina* ‘louse’ *liina* ‘a thick blanket’
- c) *nuna* ‘be fat’ *nuuna* ‘meanness’

d) *yange* ‘me’ *yaange* ‘mine’

e) *yove* ‘you (2nd person singular)’ *yoove* ‘yours (2nd person singular possessive)’

f) *yeni* ‘you (2nd person plural or honorific)’ *yeeni* ‘yours’

g) *yetu* ‘us’ *yeetu* ‘ours’

4.1.6 Syllable structure

Like most Bantu languages, Mbunda has an open syllable structure. This means no word in the stated language ends with a consonant. The syllable in any given language has an ordered structure. Firstly, a syllable must have at least a vowel. The nucleus of the syllable in Mbunda is a vowel. Secondly, one or more consonants may be attached either before or after the vowel but it is optional (https://www.academia.edu/35582481/SYLLABLE_STRUCTURE_AND_SYLLABIFICATION).

Yule (2010) terms the permissible arrangements of sounds in a language as phonotactics. He further observes that phonotactics is obviously part of every speaker’s phonological knowledge of a particular language. The following are the common syllable types in Mbunda:

a) V-syllable

In Mbunda, this type of syllable may be found in word-initial position and in word-medial position.

(47)

I. Word-initially

a- as in *a-ká* ‘put’

u- as in *u-lí* ‘which one?’

e- as in *e-te-ka* ‘bend or fold’

i- as in *i-ya* ‘who?’

II. Word-medially

-e- as in *vwa-e-tha* ‘prepare or make’

-e- as in *vu-e-ve* ‘dullness’

-e- as in *ci-ku-la-e-the-lo* ‘hope’

b) CV-syllable

This type of syllable is formed by a consonant followed by a vowel. In the analysis adopted by Miti (2001), the sequence homorganic nasal plus consonant is treated as a single sound. He further argues that the sequence NCV where N stands for a homorganic nasal belongs to the CV-syllable type. The CV-syllable type occurs word-initially, word-medially or word-finally. Therefore, this researcher treats Mbunda sound sequences of that nature in a similar manner as demonstrated below:

(48)

I. Word-initially

tu- as in *tu-ka* ‘insult’

ka- as in *ka-nda* ‘not yet’

nthzi- as in *nthzi-li* ‘power’

II. Word-medially

-mba- as in *vu-mba-nda* ‘medicine’

-thze- as in *vu-thze-mo* ‘kindness’

-thi- as in *vu-thi-mpe* ‘courage’

-mbu- as in *mwa-mbu-lu-li* ‘preacher’

III. Word-finally

-thzi as in *ve-thzi* ‘thieves’

-nda as in *mú-ka-nda* ‘letter’

-nga as in *mu-lo-nga* ‘case or crime’

-nthzi as in *mya-nthzi* ‘cracks’

It is equally prudent to conclude that Mbunda words where there is vowel lengthening equally belong to the CV category because it is the same vowel being repeated and not the introduction of a different one and that the entire string is said in one breath. The following words where there is vowel lengthening are used to cement the above submission:

(49)

- a. *maako* (*maa-ko*) ‘councillors’
- b. *Chuundi* (*chuu-ndi*) ‘main chieftainship’

c) CSV-syllable

This type of a syllable is made up of a consonant followed by a semi-vowel that is then followed by a vowel. In Mbunda, the above situation obtains as follows:

(50)

I. Word-initially

mwe- as in *mwe-hwa* ‘nephew’

mya- as in *mya-tho* ‘songs’

II. Word-medially

-vwa- as in *ku-vwa-ha* ‘to be good or beautiful’

-ngwe- as in *yo-ngwe-le-la* ‘watch for longer’

-twa- as in *ku-twa-la* ‘to take something to someone or somewhere’

III. Word-finally

-ndwa as in *ku-ku-ndwa* ‘being blunt’

-fwa as in *ku-li-fwa* ‘to look alike’

-ngwa as in *ma-ta-ngwa* ‘days’

d) SV-syllable

This syllable type is made up of a semivowel (*y* or *w*) followed by a vowel. Like the other syllable types, this syllable type occurs word-initially, word-medially or word-finally.

The following examples substantiate the above position:

(51)

I. Word-initially

ya- as in *ya-nge* ‘me’

wa- as in *wa-nge* ‘he or she is mine’

wa- as in *wa-ka-ma* ‘he/she/it is big’

II. Word-medially

-yo- as in *ku-yo-ya* ‘to live or breathe’

-wa- as in *va-wa-na* ‘they are four’

-ya- as in *chi-ya-mbi* ‘fisherman’

-yi- as in *vi-yi-lo* ‘graveyard’

III. Word-finally

-wu as in *o-wu* ‘this one’

-ye as in *i-ke-ye* ‘it is him or her’

-ya as in *ku-ka-va-nge-ya* ‘to follow around’

In table form, the Mbunda syllable structure would be summarized as follows:

Table 4: Summary of Mbunda Syllable Structure

Syllable type	Examples
V	<i>a-ká</i> ‘put’, <i>í-ya</i> ‘who?’, <i>ci-ku-la-e-the-lo</i> ‘hope’
CV	<i>maako</i> (<i>maa-ko</i>) ‘councillors’ <i>Chuundi</i> (<i>chuu-ndi</i>) ‘main chieftainship’ <i>ka-</i> as in <i>ka-nda</i> ‘not yet’ <i>-mbu-</i> as in <i>mwa-mbu-lu-li</i> ‘preacher’ <i>-thzi</i> as in <i>ve-thzi</i> ‘thieves’
CSV	<i>mya-</i> as in <i>myatho</i> ‘songs’ <i>-ngwe-</i> as in <i>yo-ngwe-le-la</i> ‘watch for longer’ <i>-ngwa</i> as in <i>ma-ta-ngwa</i> ‘days’
SV	<i>ya-</i> as in <i>ya-nge</i> ‘me’ <i>-yi-</i> as in <i>vi-yi-lo</i> ‘graveyard’ <i>-wu</i> as in <i>o-wu</i> ‘this one’

NB: C – consonant, S- semivowel, V- vowel

4.1.6.1 Some constraints on syllable structure

The study has revealed that no nasal can constitute a syllable on its own. This extends to all other consonants present in Mbunda. Consequently, there is no such syllable division in this language as *m-ba-n-du* or *n-da-n-do* but *mba-ndu* ‘sore’ and *nda-ndo* ‘price’ is present. However, it is possible for a vowel to constitute a syllable on its own. Refer to examples given below:

(52)

a. *Aká* ‘put’

A-ká

b. *Uje* ‘that one’

U-je

c. *Endá* ‘walk’

E-ndá

Secondly, all Mbunda syllables are open; no word ends in a consonant in this language. Therefore, it would be prudent enough to conclude that a syllable in this language should contain a vowel. That is why there are no such words as *mband* or *ndand* in this language.

While there is evidence that the nasal plus consonant (NC) combination, of which the C is a stop consonant, occurs in this language, the study has established that not all stop consonants can occur in the said string. Combinations such as *mb*, *mp*, *nd*, *nj*, *nt*, *ng*, *nk* are allowable, at different positions in a word, whereas combinations such as *mg*, *mj*, *md*, *mk*, *np*, *nb* are not allowable.

4.2 Summary

This chapter has accounted for the phonology of Mbunda by identifying the phonemes present in the language. This was done using the minimal pair tests. The study revealed five (5) vowels and 21 consonants as follows:

/a, e, i, o, u, c, nd, f, ng, h, j, k, l, m, mb, n, ny, p, s, t, ʔ, v, w, sh, y, z/

Among others, the chapter has provided a phonemic description of Mbunda and equally addressed some phonological processes that occur in the language. Other than contrasting meaning phonemically and through tonal variations, the study has revealed that vowel length can also contrast meaning in this language. The syllable structure has been established as V, CV, CSV, and SV.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF MBUNDA

5.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses objective (ii) and thus presents the morphological structure of Mbunda language. It starts by highlighting the Mbunda noun class system after which pronominal forms and qualificative forms will be discussed. This will be followed by a discussion on the verbal forms, adverbial forms and word formation processes. Morphophonological processes present in the language under study will close the chapter.

5.1 Mbunda Noun Class System

Like most Bantu languages, Mbunda has an eighteen (18) noun class system with some sub-classes. The general structure of the noun in this language is prefix plus stem. The following table summarizes the Mbunda noun class system. The semantic interpretation for the stated noun classes will be provided afterwards. In certain instances, there are noun classes that would be paired thereby showing the singular-plural system of the classes concerned.

Table 5: Mbunda Noun Class System

Class	Prefix	Example	Meaning
1	Mu	<i>Munu</i> <i>Mulothzi</i> <i>Mwehwa (mu-ehwa)</i>	Person Witch Nephew
1a	Ø	<i>Tate</i> <i>Nananu</i> <i>Nana</i>	Father Maternal uncle Mother
2	Va	<i>Vanu</i> <i>Valothzi</i> <i>Vehwa (va-ehwa)</i>	People Witches Nephews
2a		<i>Vatate</i> <i>Vanananu</i> <i>Vanana</i>	My father Maternal uncle My mother
3	Mu	<i>Mukanda</i> <i>Muthzi</i> <i>Munye</i>	Letter Root Finger
4	Mi	<i>Mikanda</i> <i>Mithzi</i> <i>Minye</i>	Letters Roots Fingers
5	Li	<i>Limanya</i> <i>Liputa</i> <i>Livunda</i>	Stone Leaf Egg
6	Ma	<i>Mamanya</i> <i>Maputa</i> <i>Mavunda</i>	Stones Leaves Eggs
7	Ci	<i>Cikolo</i> <i>Citwamo</i> <i>Cikuvo</i>	Door Chair Metal
8	Vi	<i>Vikolo</i> <i>Vitwamo</i> <i>Vikuvo</i>	Doors Chairs Metals
9	n-	<i>Njuvo</i> <i>Ngolo</i> <i>Membe</i>	House Zebra Goat
10	Vi	<i>Vinjuvo</i> <i>Vingolo</i> <i>Vimembe</i>	Houses Zebras Goats
11	Lu	<i>Lupa</i> <i>Lukombo</i> <i>Luvinda</i>	Cassava Broom Misfortune
12	Ka	<i>Katuhya</i> <i>Kandongga</i>	Small fire Small river

13	Tu	<i>Kavulili</i> <i>Tutuhya</i> <i>Tundonga</i> <i>Tumalili</i>	Small bed Small fires Small rivers Small beds
14	Vu	<i>Vuta</i> <i>Vwato (vu-ato)</i> <i>Vunga</i>	Gun Boat Meali meal
15	Ku	<i>Kulya</i> <i>Kuthsiya</i> <i>Kwenda (ku-enda)</i>	Eating Killing Walking
16	Ha	<i>Hamutwe</i> <i>Hanja</i> <i>Hathi</i>	On the head On the outside On the ground
17	Ku	<i>Kunjuvo</i> <i>Kunima</i> <i>Kulutwe</i>	To the house To the rear/back To the front
18	Mu	<i>Munjuvo</i> <i>Mumbunda</i> <i>Mumembo</i>	In the house In/around the waist In the villages

5.1.1 Semantic Analysis of Mbunda Noun Classes

In the semantic analysis that follows, some classes are paired because they share the singular – plural relationship. In each given pair, the digit to the left expresses the singular form of a particular noun whereas the one to the right shows the plural form of a respective noun.

Class 1 & 2 (mu- va-)

In most Bantu languages, this class mostly indicates persons because nouns referring to persons belong to it. Nevertheless, this class, just like in Luchazi, equally includes animate beings as they take pronouns and mostly the alliterative concord of this class. Examples of nouns in this class:

(53)

- | | | |
|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| a | <i>Munu</i> ‘person’ | <i>vanu</i> ‘people’ |
| b | <i>Muthsi</i> ‘dead person’ | <i>vathsi</i> ‘dead people’ |
| c | <i>Mulothzi</i> ‘witch’ | <i>valothzi</i> ‘witches’ |
| d | <i>Muvethzi</i> ‘ill person’ | <i>vavethzi</i> ‘ill people’ |

e	<i>Mutwe</i> ‘head’	<i>mitwe</i> ‘heads’
f	<i>Munye</i> ‘finger’	<i>minye</i> ‘fingers’
g	<i>Muvila</i> ‘body’	<i>mivila</i> ‘bodies’
h	<i>Munguli</i> ‘hyena’	<i>minguli</i> ‘hyenas’

Class 5 & 6 (li- ma-)

This class comprises both animate and inanimate nouns. In this pair, class 5 houses the singular form of nouns while class 6 expresses them in plural form. The pair includes, among others, nouns that appear in pairs, liquids and collections in particular body parts.

(56)

a	<i>Livunda</i> ‘egg’	<i>mavunda</i> ‘eggs’
b	<i>Liputa</i> ‘leaf’	<i>maputa</i> ‘leaves’
c	<i>Liyo</i> ‘tooth’	<i>mayo</i> ‘teeth’
d	<i>Lishelwa</i> ‘cloud’	<i>mashelwa /mafelwa/</i> ‘clouds’
e	<i>Linyoka</i> ‘snake’	<i>manyoka</i> ‘snakes’
f	<i>Lithzina</i> ‘name’	<i>mathzina</i> ‘names’
g	<i>Limbotwe</i> ‘frog’	<i>mambotwe</i> ‘frogs’
h	<i>Lisho</i> ‘eye’	<i>mesho (ma+isho)</i> ‘eyes’
i	<i>Maninga</i> ‘blood’	
j	<i>Mathina</i> ‘pus’	
k	<i>Mate</i> ‘spittle’	
l	<i>Lindova</i> ‘mud’	<i>mandova</i> ‘mud (plural)’
m	<i>Mavele</i> ‘milk’	

Class 7 & 8 (ci- vi-)

This class, too, comprises both animate and inanimate nouns, personal nouns and living beings, parts of the body and perjorative nouns. Examples of the above categories are as follows:

(57)

- a *Citumbamo/citwamo* ‘chair’ *vitumbamo/vitwamo* ‘chairs’
- b *Cikuvo* ‘metal’ *vikuvo* ‘metals’
- c *Cinjunda* ‘frog’ *vinjunda* ‘frogs’
- d *Cifungwithzi* ‘midwife’ *vifungwithzi* ‘midwives’
- e *Ciyombi* ‘hunter’ *viyombi* ‘hunters’
- f *Cing’uku* ‘eye-brow’ *ving’uku* ‘eye-brows’
- g *Cithsiya* ‘bone’ *vithsiya* ‘bones’
- h *Canike* ‘big ugly/worthless child’ *vyanike (vi+anike)* ‘big ugly/worthless children’

Class 9 & 10 (n-, vi-)

This class is made up of inanimate and animal nouns. It is important to indicate that these nouns, in their singular form, have a prefix /n-/. In certain instances, some nouns in the singular form are led by the prefix /m-/ which is an allomorph of the class prefix /n-/. The plural form of nouns in class 9 is found in class 10 (vi-). Examples of nouns from this class are as follows:

(58)

- a *Ndando* ‘price’ *vindando* ‘prices’
- b *Njuvo* ‘house’ *vinjuvo* ‘houses’
- c *Membe* ‘goat’ *vimembe* ‘goats’
- d *Ngolo* ‘zebra’ *vingolo* ‘zebras’
- e *Moko* ‘knife’ *vimoko* ‘knives’
- f *Mbandu* ‘sore’ *vimbandu* ‘sores’

Class 11 (lu-)

This class is home to inanimate nouns led by the prefix *lu-*. It, among others, houses miscellaneous nouns, abstract nouns, and collective nouns. The following are some of the nouns present in this class:

(59)

- a *Lupa* ‘cassava’
- b *Lukombo* ‘broom’
- c *Luvinda* ‘misfortune’
- d *Luku* ‘finger millet’

Class 12 & 13

This pair is mostly about diminutive nouns with class 12 expressing them in singular whereas class 13 expresses them in plural. The examples below speak to the above observation:

(60)

- a *Kavulili* ‘small bed’ *tumulili* ‘small beds’
- b *Katuhya* ‘small fire’ *tutuhya* ‘small fires’
- c *Kandongga* ‘small river’ *tundonga* ‘small rivers’
- d *Kalitako* ‘small buttock’ *tumatako* ‘small buttocks’

Data collected suggests that the prefixes *ka* and *tu* play two functions; they denote diminutiveness, as demonstrated in (60) above and also express nouns without showing the quality of diminutiveness. This is so because there are nouns, in Mbunda, that carry the prefixes *ka-* and *tu-*, respectively, that in no way indicate diminutiveness. Some of the nouns are only in

plural form. In class 12 there are nouns whose plural could also be found in class 2 (*va-*). The examples below substantiate the above observations:

(61)

- a *Kanyungi* ‘shepherd’ *tunyungi* ‘shepherds’
- b *Kanwa* ‘mouth’ *tunwa* ‘mouths’
- c *Kathendengele* ‘ankle’ *tuthendengele* ‘ankles’
- d *Kathzila* ‘bird’ *tuthzila* ‘birds’
- e *Kathumbi* ‘chicken’ *tuthumbi* ‘chickens’
- f *Tulo* ‘sleep’
- g *Tuthzi* ‘excrement’
- h *Ka Mbunda* ‘Mbunda person’ *va Mbunda* ‘Mbunda people’
- i *Ka Luchazi* ‘Luchazi person’ *va Luchazi* ‘Luchazi people’

Class 14 & 6 (vu-, ma-)

This class is home to miscellaneous nouns, collective nouns and those abstract in nature. Class 14 expresses the singular form of the concerned nouns whereas the plural form is in Class 6. The following examples clarify the above submission:

(62)

- a *Vuta* ‘gun’ *mata* ‘guns’
- b *Vwato* (*vu+ato*) ‘boat’ *mato* ‘boats’
- c *Vuki* ‘honey’
- d *Vunga* ‘meal meal’
- e *Vulaja* ‘length’
- f *Vwithzi* (*vu+ithzi*) ‘theft’
- g *Vulo* ‘marriage’

Class 15 (ku- or kw- before vowel stems)

Class 15 is used for all verb infinitives as the following examples demonstrate:

(63)

- a *Kulya* ‘eating’
- b *Kulyatangela* ‘Treading’
- c *Kwenda* ‘walking’
- d *Kuthsiyitha* ‘causing to die’
- e *Kwihula* ‘asking’

Class 16 (ha-)

Class 16 is a locative class; it indicates position as seen from the examples below:

(64)

- a *Hamutwe* ‘on the head’
- b *Hanja* ‘on the outside’
- c *Hathi* ‘on the road’

Class 17 (ku-)

Class 17 is equally a **locative** class as the examples below demonstrate:

(65)

- a *Kunjuvo* ‘to the house’
- b *Kunima* ‘to the rear/back’
- c *Kulutwe* ‘to the front’

Class 18 (mu-)

Class 18 is, just like classes 16 and 17, a locative class. See the examples below:

(66)

- a *Munjuvo* ‘in the house’
- b *Mumbunda* ‘around the waist’
- c *Mumembo* ‘in the villages’

5.1.2 Pronouns

Rodger (2012) looks at pronouns as being structurally equivalent to noun phrases and that they can function as subjects or objects. The following types of pronouns are discussed: absolute pronoun, connective pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, possessive pronoun, and interrogative pronoun.

5.1.2.1 Absolute Pronoun

From the data collected, it is noticed that absolute pronouns are in two types; *four personal pronouns* and *18 nominal class absolute pronouns*. Personal pronouns are simply pronouns that refer to one-self while nominal absolute pronouns are pronouns that merely stand in place of nouns and say nothing else about them. Just like in most Bantu languages, absolute pronouns for nominal classes 1 and 2 may, too, be regarded as third personal pronouns.

List of Absolute Pronouns

- a) 1 sg *i-ange* ‘I/me’ (*i-ange* - *yange*)
- b) 1 pl *i-etu* ‘we/us’ (*i-etu* - *yetu*)
- c) 2 sg *i-ove* ‘you’ (*i-ove* - *yove*)
- d) 2 pl *i-eni* ‘you’ (*i-eni* - *yeni*)
- e) Cl 1 *i-keye* ‘him/her’
- f) Cl 2 *va-kevo* ‘them’
- g) Cl 3 *u-kewo* ‘it’

- h) Cl 4 *i-keyo* ‘them’
- i) Cl 5 *li-kelyo* ‘it’
- j) Cl 6 *a-kewo* ‘it/them’
- k) Cl 7 *ci-keco* ‘it’
- l) Cl 8 *vi-kevyo* ‘them’
- m) Cl 9 *i-keyo* ‘it’
- n) Cl 10 *vi-kevyo* ‘them’
- o) Cl 11 *lu-keko* ‘it (is)’
- p) Cl 12 *ka-keko* ‘it’
- q) Cl 13 *tu-keto* ‘them’
- r) Cl 14 *vu-kevo* ‘it’
- s) Cl 15 *ku-keko* ‘it’
- t) Cl 16 *ha-keho* ‘on- it’
- u) Cl 17 *ku-keko* ‘to it/there’
- v) Cl 18 *mu-kemo* ‘in- it/ in- there’

5.1.2.1.1 Personal Pronouns

From the data gathered, it is noted that Mbunda personal pronouns do not share a common stem but a common prefix which is /i-/. The above observation is substantiated below:

- a) 1 sg [i-]
- b) 1 pl [i-]
- c) 2 sg [i-]
- d) 2 pl [i-]

A detailed realization of the personal pronouns is as follows:

a) 1 sg *i- ange* (i-ange – *yange* ‘I/me’)

pp stem

b) 1 pl *i- etu* (i-etu – *yetu* ‘we/us’)

pp stem

c) 2 sg *i- ove* (i-ove – *yove* ‘you’)

pp stem

d) 2 pl *i- eni* (i-eni – *yeni* ‘you’)

pp stem

5.1.2.1.2 Nominal Class Absolute Pronouns

From the data collected, the nominal class absolute pronoun consists of a prefix and a stem. The prefix is identical to the nominal class subject marker of a class under scrutiny. The stem is variable but there is a constant particle /-ke-/ that forms part of the stem. Mbunda equally permits absolute pronouns that begin in a vowel.

Nominal Class Subject Markers

a. Cl 1 i-

b. Cl 2 va-

c. Cl 3 u-

d. Cl 4 i-

e. Cl 5 li-

f. Cl 6 a-

g. Cl 7 ci-

- h. Cl 8 vi-
- i. Cl 9 i-
- j. Cl 10 vi-
- k. Cl 11 lu-
- l. Cl 12 ka-
- m. Cl 13 tu-
- n. Cl 14 vu-
- o. Cl 15 ku-
- p. Cl 16 ha-
- q. Cl 17 ku-
- r. Cl 18 mu-

5.1.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

The primary function of demonstrative pronouns is to show location of persons and things in relation to their distance from the speaker or the addressee or both (Miti 2001). From the data collected, the following are the lists of deictic pronouns in Mbunda:

Near Speaker and Addressee

- a. *owu* ‘this (one)’
- b. *ava* ‘these (ones)’
- c. *owu* ‘this (one)’
- d. *eyi* ‘these’
- e. *eli* ‘this’
- f. *awa* ‘these’

- g. *eci* ‘this’
- h. *evi* ‘these’
- i. *eyi* ‘this’
- j. *evi* ‘these’
- k. *olu* ‘this’
- l. *aka* ‘this’
- m. *otu* ‘these’
- n. *ovu* ‘this’
- o. *oku* ‘this’
- p. *aha* ‘here’
- q. *oku* ‘here’
- r. *omu* ‘(in) here’

Far from Speaker but Near Addressee

- a. *owo* ‘that (one)’
- b. *avo* ‘those’
- c. *owo* ‘that (one)’
- d. *eyo* ‘those’
- e. *elyo* ‘that’
- f. *awo* ‘those’
- g. *eco* ‘that’
- h. *evyo* ‘those’
- i. *eyo* ‘that’
- j. *evyo* ‘those’
- k. *olo* ‘that’
- l. *ako* ‘that’

- m. *oto* 'those'
- n. *ovo* 'that'
- o. *oko* 'there'
- p. *aho* 'there'
- q. *oko* 'there'
- r. *omo* '(in) there'

Near Speaker but Far from Addressee

- a. *uno* 'this (one)'
- b. *vano* 'these'
- c. *uno* 'this (one here)'
- d. *ino* 'these (ones here)'
- e. *lino* 'this'
- f. *ano* 'these'
- g. *cino* 'this'
- h. *vino* 'these'
- i. *ino* 'this'
- j. *vino* 'these'
- k. *luno* 'this'
- l. *kano* 'this'
- m. *tuno* 'these'
- n. *ano* 'these'
- o. *kuno* 'this'
- p. *hano* 'here'
- q. *kuno* 'here'

r. *muno* '(in) here'

Far from both Speaker and Addressee

a. *uje* 'that'

b. *vaje* 'those'

c. *uje* 'that'

d. *ije* 'those'

e. *lije* 'that'

f. *aje* 'those'

g. *cije* 'that'

h. *vije* 'those'

i. *ije* 'that'

j. *vije* 'those'

k. *luje* 'that'

l. *kaje* 'that'

m. *tuje* 'those'

n. *vuje* 'that'

o. *kuje* 'there'

p. *haje* 'there'

q. *kuje* 'there'

r. *muje* '(in) there'

5.1.2.3 Connective Pronouns

Connective pronouns are pronouns that could be thought of as having the English equivalent of ‘of’. From the data collected, the commonly used connective pronouns in Mbunda are *ca*, *wa* and *lya*. The following examples illustrate the above position.

(67)

a. *Cikuvo ca Kavindama* ‘Kavindama’s metal’

cl7 cl7 agr

b. *Lindi lya Kanyanga* ‘Kanyanga’s leg’

cl5 cl5 agr

c. *Munalume wa Chilombo* ‘Chilombo’s man’

cl1 cl1 agr

5.1.2.4 Possessive Pronouns

Possessive pronouns are used to show possession. Mbunda possessive pronouns consist of a connective pronoun and a stem. The data collected suggests that the enclitic pronoun of the possessor follows the copula of the thing possessed. It is equally important to state that there is no morphological difference between the forms for **my/mine**, **your/yours**, **our/ours**, and **their/theirs**.

(68)

a. *Evi vitwamo vyange.* ‘these chairs are **mine**’

C18 cl8 poss.

b *Vitwamo vyange* ‘**my** chairs’

Cl8 cl8 poss.

c *Ovu vuta vove* ‘this gun is **yours**’

Cl14 cl14 poss.

d *Vuta vove* ‘**your** gun’

cl14 cl14poss.

e *Ije njuvo yetu.* ‘that house is **ours**’

cl9 cl9poss.

f *Njuvo yetu* ‘**our** house’

cl9 cl9poss.

g *Owu mukanda wavo* ‘this letter is **theirs**’

cl3 cl3 poss.

h *Mukanda wavo* ‘**their** letter’

cl3 cl3poss

Possessive stems are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1 st person	-ange	-etu
2 nd person	-ove	- eni
3 rd person Class 1	-eni	- avo

Class 2 (Possessive for the rest of the classes is the same as the enclitic)

Possessive Concorde for Animate Nouns

- a Wa-
- b Va-
- c Wa-
- d Ya-
- e Lya-
- f a-
- g ca-
- h vya
- i ya-
- j vya-
- k lwa-
- l ka-
- m twa-
- n vwa-
- o kwa-
- p ha-
- q kwa-
- r mwa-

5.1.2.5 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns in the language under study take on different pronominal prefixes depending on the noun class under scrutiny. It is also important to comment that the interrogative pronouns do not have a constant stem. Some of the interrogative forms are as follows:

- a *Iya/veya* ‘Who?’
- b *Tangwalika/like* ‘When?’
- c *Kuli* ‘Where?’

d *Vati* ‘How?’

e *Uli/vali/ili* ‘Which (one)?’

The following are some instances in which the above interrogative pronouns occur:

(69)

a. *veya vaje?* ‘who are those?’

ve- ya va- je (va+iya –veya -coalescence)

cl2pp stem cl2 stem

b. *Tangwalika muya?* ‘when are you going/leaving’

Like in other Bantu languages, the interrogative pronoun *tangwalika* gives challenges in assigning it a noun class. This is so because it is mostly understood as an adverb of time.

c. *Hali/ kuli?* ‘where?’

Ha- li

Cl16pp stem

Ku- li

Cl17pp stem

d. *Muli vati?* ‘how are you?’

As in the case with the “when” interrogative pronoun, the interrogative pronoun *vati* gives challenges in assigning it a noun class. This is so because it is mostly understood as an adverb of manner.

e. *Lili liputa* ‘which leaf?’

li- li li- puta

cl5pp stem cl5 stem

5.1.3 Quantifiers

Two types of quantifiers are addressed in this study. These are the *adjective* and the *enumeratives*. The divisions are made according to the concords assumed.

5.1.3.1 Adjectives

From the data collected, it is evident that true adjectives in Mbunda are few. True adjectives are generally few in number in most Bantu languages. Examples are as follows:

(70)

a. *vanike vavehi* ‘short children’

cl2 cl2 agr

b. *vinjuvo vyakama* ‘big houses’ (vi-ange – vyange (semi-vocalisation))

cl10 cl10 agr

c. *lixo lyakuvenga* ‘red eye’ (li-akuvenga – lyakuvenga (semi-vocalisation))

cl5 cl5 agr

5.1.3.2 Enumeratives

From the data collected, the language under study has a quinary numeral system; based on the first five numerals. The enumeratives are divided into cardinal and ordinal.

5.1.3.2.1 Cardinal Enumeratives

These are made up of an enumerative prefix (ep) and an enumerative stem. It is evident, from the data collected, that there are seven stems for cardinal enumeratives as shown below:

-mo (one)

-vali (two)

-tatu (three)

-wana (four)

-tanu (five)

-kumi (ten)

-kulukathzi (thousand)

Just like in other Bantu languages, it is possible to numerically qualify any nominal using the above seven stems. Examples below illustrate the above claim:

(71)

a. *vanu va- vali*

cl2 cl2 stem

ep

vanu vavali ‘two people’

b. *vanu va- tanu na va- tatu*

cl2 cl2 stem and cl2 stem

ep

ep

vanu vatanu na vatatu ‘eight people’

5.1.3.2.2 Ordinal Enumeratives

There are eight ordinal enumerative stems of which the first and last one could purely be considered verbal derivatives.

-kulivanga ‘first’

-vali ‘two’

-tatu ‘three’

-wana ‘four’

-tanu ‘five’

-kumi ‘ten’

-kulukathzi ‘thousand’

-mamanethelelo ‘last’

The following examples illustrate some of the observations submitted above:

(72)

- a. *Cuma cakulivanga* ‘the first thing’

Cuma ca- ku – livanga

Cl7 cl7 agr cl15 stem

- b. *Cuma cacivali* ‘the second thing’

Cuma ca- ci- vali

Cl7 cl7 agr cl7(n.pref) stem

5.2 Verbal Forms

5.2.1 Basic verbal structure in Bantu

Generally, the verbal structure in Bantu languages contains a radical (rad) and accompanying affixes. The affixes may be tense and aspect markers (tm), subject makers (sm), object markers (om) and various derivational suffixes (Miti 2001). The basic structure could be summarized as follows:

sm-tm-rad-fv

(73)

njikalinga ‘I will do’

nji- ka- ling- a

SM TM do fv

5.2.1.1 Tense Aspect Mood

Tense, Aspect and mood could be looked at as properties of verbs. They affect verbs to an extent that meaning of a sentence is affected in so many ways. From the data collected, it is evident that the language under study makes distinction between an event that took place today and that which took place before today. Similarly, there is a distinction between an event that will take place today and that which will take place after today. The terms *hodiernal past* and *non-hodiernal past* will be used in the deliberations below. Alternative terms to the above terms are *recent past* and *simple future* respectively. Consequently, the study will, amongst other tenses, describe *hodiernal future* and *non-hodiernal future*. In short, there is a variety of expressions of tense- aspect in the language under study.

5.2.1.1.1 Characteristics of Tenses Aspect Mood

5.2.1.1.1.1 Completed Non-hodiernal Past (*before today*)

According to the data collected, completed non-hodiernal past shows subject marker, root of the verb, extension, and an invariable final verbal vowel /-e/. The examples below satisfy the above claim:

(74)

a. *Nja lilile*

Nja- lil- il- e

SM cry ext fv 'I cried'

b. *Vajolele*

Va- jol- el- e

SM laugh ext fv 'they laughed'

5.2.1.1.1.2 Completed Hodiernal Past (today)

(75)

a. *Njajolo*

Nja- jol- o

SM laugh fv 'I laughed (today)'

b. *Njaxatuka*

Nja- xatuk-a

SM run fv 'I ran (today)'

5.2.1.1.1.3 Implicative Non-hodiernal Past (before today)

The Implicative Non-hodiernal Past is expressed through a *subject marker*, *perfect*, *radical*, *extension* (sometimes), and a *final vowel*. It is clear, from the collected data, that the *perfect* is expressed through the constant particle /-na-/.

(76)

a. *Njinalilile*

Nji- na- lil- il- e

SM perf. cry ext fv 'I had creid'

b. *Vanathonekele*

Va- na- thonek- el- e

SM perf. write ext fv 'they had written'

5.2.1.1.1.4 Implicative Hodiernal Past (today but before time of speaking)

The Implicative Hodiernal Past is made up of subject marker, the perfect, radical, and the final vowel:

(77)

a. *Vanathoneka*

Va- na- thonek- a

SM perf. write fv 'they have written'

b. *Tunajolo*

Tu- na- jol- o

SM perf. laugh fv 'we have laughed'

5.2.1.1.1.5 Non-hodiernal Future (after today)

The following is the structure for Non-hodiernal Future:

Sm-ka-rad-fv

(78)

a. *Mukajola*

Mu- ka- jol- a

SM TM laugh fv 'you will laugh'

b. *Akathoneka*

a- ka- thonek- a

SM TM write fv 'he/she will write'

5.2.1.1.1.6 Hodiernal Future (today)

The hodiernal future is expressed through the subject marker, radical, and final vowel.

(79)

a. *Mulya*

Mu- ly- a

SM eat fv 'you will eat (today)'

b. *Mwendeka (mu-endeke)*

Mu- endek- a

SM talk fv 'you will talk (today)'

5.2.1.1.1.7 Past Progressive (before today)

From the data collected, the Past Progressive is made up of a *subject marker*, *constant past progressive marker /-kele-/* (used to), *infinitive marker (ku)*, the *radical*, and the *final vowel*.

(80)

a. *Njakele kuthoneka*

Nja kele- ku - thonek- a

SM (past prog.) inf write fv 'I was writing'

b. *Nakele kwendeka*

Na- kele ku- endek- a

SM (past prog.) inf talk fv 'he/she was talking'

5.2.1.1.1.8 Future Progressive/Habitual (after today)

The above stated type of progressive consists of a *subject marker*, *constant future tense marker /-ku-/*, *future progressive marker /-kala-/*, *infinitive marker /-ku-/*, *radical*, and *final vowel*.

(81)

a. *Nja ku kala kwenda*

Nja- ku- kala ku- end- a

SM TM (future prog.) Inf. walk fv ‘I will be moving (after today)’

b. *Nja ku kala kwimba*

Nja- ku- kala ku- imb- a

SM TM (future prog.) Inf. sing fv ‘I will be singing (after today)’

5.2.1.1.1.9 General Progressive/Habitual

The **general progressive** is made up of a *subject marker*, *present progressive marker* /-li/, *perfect tense marker* /na-/, *infinitive marker* /-ku/, *radical*, and *final vowel*. The habitual form is made up of a *subject marker*, *tense marker* /-ka-/, *radical*, and *final vowel*. To differentiate the habitual from simple future tense, phonological factors come into play. Here, tone is critical. In the examples below, the first one illustrates the general progressive form whereas the second one clearly points to the habitual one.

(82)

a. *Muli nakulya* ‘you are eating (now)’

Mu- li na- ku- li- a (li-a – lya (semi-vocalisation))

SM (present prog.) Perf. Inf. eat fv

b. *Mukathóneka* (habitually) /*Mukáthoneka* ‘you will write (simple future)’

Mu- ka- thonek- a

SM TM write fv ‘you write (habitually)’

5.2.1.1.1.10 The Imperative

The data collected points to the fact that the imperative, just like in other Bantu languages, is realized in more than one way depending on how many people are being addressed. The following are the realizations in Mbunda:

a. Directed at one person

The imperative directed at one person consists of a *radical* and a *final vowel*. The examples below satisfy the above submission:

(83)

i. *endeka*

endek-a

talk fv cl(1a) 'talk'

ii. *Imba*

Imb-a

sing fv cl(1a) 'sing'

b. Directed at more than one person

This imperative is made up of a *radical*, *final vowel*, and a *plural suffix marker* /-ni/. It is worth noting that the plural suffix marker /-ni/ is equally used for honorific purposes.

(84)

i. *endekeni*

endek- e- ni

talk fv cl(2a) suffix 'talk'

ii. *Imbeni*

Imb- e- ni

sing fv cl(2a) suffix 'sing'

5.2.1.1.11 The Subjunctive Mood

From the collected data, it is clear that the subjunctive is made up of a subject marker, a zero tense-aspect morpheme, a radical, a final vowel and a constant final suffix /-ni/:

(85)

- a. *Twendekeni (tu+endekeni)*
Tu- endek- e- ni
SM talk fv cl(2a) suffix ‘let us talk’
- b. *Twimbeni (tu+imbeni)*
Tu- imb- e- ni
SM sing fv cl(2a) suffix ‘let us sing’

5.2.1.2 The Negative

The negative marker for the imperative is *kethi* meaning ‘not’ while the one for the subjunctive is *kuwapandele/kumwapandele* meaning ‘you should not.’

5.2.1.2.1 Negative Imperative

The negative imperative consists of the imperative negative marker *kethi* followed by the subject marker, radical and the final vowel (*kethi-sm-rad-fv*):

(86)

- a. *Kethi ulye*
Kethi u- li- e (li-e - lye (semi-vocalisation))
Imp neg SM eat fv ‘do not eat (singular)’
- b. *Kethi mwendeke (mu+endeke)*
Kethi mu- endek-e
Imp neg SM talk fv ‘do not talk’

5.2.1.2.2 Negative Subjunctive

From the collected data, it is observed that the negative subjunctive form is formed by the negative marker *kuwapandele* (you should not -singular) or *kumwapandele* (you should not – plural/honorific) followed by the infinitive /ku-/, the radical and the final vowel. Refer to the examples below:

(87)

- a. *Kuwapandele kulya*

Ku- wa- pand-el-e ku- li- a (li-a – lya (semi-vocalization))

Inf. SM should not inf. eat fv ‘you should not eat’

- b. *Kutwapandele kwimba (ku+imba)*

Ku-twa- pand-el-e ku- imb- a

Inf. SM should not inf. sing fv ‘we should not sing’

5.2.1.2.3 Negative completed Non-hodiernal Past

The Negative Completed Non-hodiernal Past is composed of the following:

Neg. (ku)-sm-rad-ext(-il-)-fv

(88)

- a. *Kumwathzivile*

Ku- mwa- thiv - il- e

Neg SM cl(2a) hear ext. fv ‘you did not hear’

- b. *Kuwalile*

Ku- wa- ly- il- e

Neg SM cl(1a) eat ext. fv ‘you did not eat’

5.2.1.2.4 Negative Non-hodiernal Future (after today)

From the information gathered, the Negative Non-hodiernal Future consists of a negative marker /ku-/, a subject marker, a tense marker, a radical, and a final vowel (negative-sm-tm-rad-fv).

Refer to the examples below:

(89)

- a. *Kumukendeka* (*kumuka+endeka*)

Ku- mu- ka- endek- a

Neg. SM TM talk fv cl(2a) ‘you will not talk’

- b. *Kuvakali*

Ku- va- ka- li- i (li-i – lyi (semi-vocalization))

Neg. SM TM eat fv cl(2a) ‘they will not eat’

5.2.1.2.5 Negative Hodiernal Future (today)

The above negative aspect is made up of a negative marker /ku-/, a subject marker, a radical, and a final vowel. The following examples speak to the claim submitted above:

(90)

- a. *Kumwendeka* (*kumu+endeka*)

Ku- mu- endek- a

Neg. SM talk fv cl(2a) ‘you will not talk (today)’

- b. *Kumuli*

Ku- mu- li- i (li-i – lyi (semi-vocalization))

Neg. SM eat fv cl(2a) ‘you will not eat (today)’

5.2.1.2.6 Negative past Progressive/ Habitual

The data collected shows that the Negative past Progressive consists of a negative marker /ku-/, a subject marker, a constant past progressive marker /-kele/, an infinitive marker /-ku-/, a radical, and a final vowel. Refer to the examples below:

(91)

a. *Kumwakele kulya*

Ku- mwa- kele ku- li- a (li-a – lya (semi-vocalization))

Neg. SM cl(2a) (past prog.) Inf. eat fv ‘you used not to eat’

b. *Kuvakele kwendeka*

Ku- va- kele ku- endek- a

Neg. SM cl(2a) (past prog.) Inf. talk fv ‘they used not to talk’

5.2.1.2.7 Negative Future Progressive (after today)

The above negative aspect is composed of a negative marker /ku-/, a subject marker, a constant tense marker /-ka-/, a constant future progressive marker /-kala/, an infinitive marker /-ku-/, a radical, and a final vowel. The examples below substantiate the above claim:

(92)

a. *Kumukakala kulya*

Ku- mu- ka- kala ku- li- a (li-a – lya (semi-vocalization))

Neg. SM cl(2a) TM (future prog.) Inf. eat fv ‘you will not be eating’

b. *Kumukakala kwendeka*

Ku- mu- ka- kala ku- endek- a

Neg. SM TM (future prog.) Inf. talk fv ‘you will not be talking’

5.2.1.2.8. Negative General Progressive/ Habitual

The Negative General Progressive consists of a constant negative marker /ke-/, an infinitive marker /-ku-/, a radical, and a final vowel (*neg-inf-rad-fv*). Refer to the examples below:

(93)

a. *Kekulya*

Ke- ku- li- a (li-a – lya (semi-vocalization))

Neg. inf. eat fv ‘he/she does not eat’

b. *Kekwendeka*

Ke- ku- endek-a

Neg. inf. talk fv ‘he/she does not talk’

5.2.1.3 The Infinitive

From the data collected, the infinitive houses components such as the constant prefix /ku-/ or /kw-/ (before a vowel stem), radical, and final vowel as demonstrated below:

(94)

a. *Kuthoneka* ‘to write’

Ku- thonek- a

Inf write fv

b. *Kwimba* (ku+imba) ‘to sing’

Ku- imb- a

Inf sing fv

5.2.1.4 Enclitics

5.2.1.4.1 The Enclitic /-ho/

The English equivalent of the said enclitic would be ‘on’, ‘at’, or ‘through’. Refer to the examples below:

(95)

a. *Mukalyataho*

Mu- ka- liat- a- ho (li-at – lyat (semi-vocalisation))

SM TM step fv encl(on-it) ‘you will step on it’

b. *Njikalyaho*

nji- ka- li- a- ho (li-a – lyat (semi-vocalization))

SM TM eat fv encl ‘I will eat through it’

5.2.1.4.2 The Enclitic /-ko/

The above enclitic has ‘to’ or ‘at’ as equivalents in English:

(96)

a. *Njiyako*

Nji-ya- ko

SM go encl ‘I will go (to) there’

b. *Cinayileko*

ci- na- yi- il- e -ko (cinayileko – i-deletion)

SM perf. go ext fv encl ‘it had gone there’

5.2.1.4.3 The Enclitic /-mo/

The enclitic /-mo/ has the English equivalent ‘in’:

(97)

a. *Njikovelamo*

Nji-kovel- a- mo

SM enter fv encl ‘I will get in there’

b. *Vanakamo*

Va- na- ak- a- mo (vanakamo –a-deletion)

SM perf. put fv encl ‘they have put in there’

5.2.1.5 Syntactic Polarity

Martins (2009) submits that grammatical polarity is the distinction of affirmative and negative, which shows the truth or falsehood of a statement respectively. A polarity item that appears in positive contexts is called a positive polarity item (PPI) whereas the one that appears in negative contexts is called a negative polarity item (NPI)

5.2.1.5.1 Negative polarity

In Mbunda, negation is achieved by placing the negative particle /*ka/ku*/ close to the verb of the sentence. The said particles are deployed depending on the number of the entity being talked about: *ka* being singular whereas *ku* being both plural and honorific. The negative imperative marker *kethi* ‘not’ is also used to show negation (refer to examples *c* and *d* below).

(98)

a. *Kuvakathoneka* ‘they will not write’

Ku - va – ka – thonek - a

Neg SM TM write fv

b. *Kathzivukile* ‘he/she did not know’

Ka- thzivuk- il- e

Neg know ext fv

c. *Kethi ikeye*

Not him/her

‘it is not him/her’

d *Kethi ulye*

Not eat

‘do not eat (don’t eat)’

5.2.1.5.2 Positive polarity

The affirmative form in Mbunda appears with the ‘do’ combination in the verb. Refer to the following examples:

(99)

a. *Vana vwahelela* ‘they are happy’

Va - na - vwahelela

SM TM happy

b. *Njikembi* ‘I do sing’

Nji- ka- imb- i (ka-imbi – kembi (coalescence))

SM TM sing fv

5.3 The Adverb

Two kinds of adverbs will be addressed here: adverbs proper and modal or descriptive adverbs.

5.3.1 Adverbs Proper

5.3.1.1 Adverbs of Place

Some of the adverbs of place in Mbunda are as follows:

(100)

a *halutwe* ‘in front’

b *helu* ‘above’

c *hathi* ‘on earth’

d *hano* ‘here’

5.3.1.2 Adverbs of time

The following are some of the adverbs of time:

(101)

- a *laja* ‘long ago’
- b *lelo* ‘today’
- c *mene* ‘tomorrow’
- d *cimene-mene* ‘early in the morning’

5.3.1.3 Adverbs of Manner, Degree

These are some of the adverbs for the above designation:

(102)

- a *vwathi* ‘quickly’
- b *ka vundeende* ‘slowly’
- c *lika* ‘only, alone’

5.3.1.4 Adverbs of Mode

Some of the adverbs of mode are as follows:

(103)

- a *cili* ‘certainly’
- b *mwavuthunga* ‘truly’
- c *mwane* ‘yes’

5.3.2 Modal or Descriptive Adverbs

Some of the modal or descriptive adverbs are given below:

(104)

- a *Kuvenga ngengu* ‘to be bright red’
- b *Kuthzivala vwi* ‘to be pitch black or dark’

c *Kutonola keke* ‘to be ice cold’

5.4 Word Formation Processes In Mbunda

Morphology is the study of the internal structure, forms and classes of words (Hartmann and Stock 1972: 146). In the same thought, Lieber (2009: 2) looks at Morphology as “the study of word formation, including the ways new words are coined in the languages of the world, and the way forms of words are varied depending on how they are used in sentences.” Hartmann and Stock (p. 231) reveal that “all native speakers of a language seem to have intuitive idea of what is meant by the term ‘word’ in its general sense, whether they write language or not”. Hartmann and Stock (p.256) also rightly observe that as a linguistic unit the word is more difficult to define and for many writing systems “a written word can be defined as a sequence of letters which occurs between spaces.” Crystal (1987:91) also acknowledges the difficulty associated with unilaterally defining the concept of word as he submits that “linguists have spent a great deal of time trying to devise satisfactory criteria (for identifying words) – none of which is entirely successful.”

One of the widely accepted definitions of the concept of ‘word’ is that of the American linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1933:178). Bloomfield looks at the word as “a minimum free form, meaning a form which can be used alone.” However, the definition by Bloomfield is not found entirely successful by Hartmann and Stock (1972:256) who observe that “such words as *the* and *a* and some other ‘words’ in English cannot be used alone.”

Traditionally, morphology is divided into *inflectional morphology* and *derivational morphology*, with derivational morphology being the chief focus of this chapter. Crystal (1987:90) looks at the two divisions as follows:

- a “Inflectional morphology studies the way in which words vary (or ‘inflect’) in order to express grammatical contrasts, such as singular/plural or past/present tense.”
- b “Derivational morphology, however, studies the principles governing the construction of new words, without reference to the specific grammatical role a word might play in a sentence...”

Scholars have been criticizing the classical/traditional definitions of inflection and derivation (Nichodamus, 2016: 62). He, Nichodamus, cites Spencer and Zwicky (1998) who claim that it can be difficult in practice to distinguish inflection from derivation since the grammatical relations upon whom derivation operates seem to be the same as those which operate with inflection. The problem in distinguishing derivation and inflection in most of Bantu languages emanates from the ambiguous nature of the noun prefixes since they perform more than one function. Nevertheless, Nichodamus (2016:63) agrees with Crystal (1987) when he submits that:

...derivation is a process of word-formation (affixation) where morphemes or affixes change meaning or word class of the root to which they are attached while inflection process does not change meaning or word class of the root, rather marks for person and number, mood, voice, tense and aspect, and polarity.

In short, a derivational morpheme is one which is used to derive a word from another word (morpheme used to form a new lexeme), whereas an inflectional morpheme is a morpheme used to express some grammatical contrast (morpheme used to form a word-form), such as singular/plural, present/past tense, progressive, etc.

The following are the word-formation processes in Mbunda:

5.4.1 Formation of Nouns

5.4.1.1 Agentive Nouns

Taitamu (2014) defines agentive nouns as those nouns referring to agent/activities either as the direct doers, as in the case of human executors of actions, or as instruments/tools facilitating the execution of the activity/action. In Bantu languages and in Mbunda particularly, the above is achieved through the addition of a semantically relevant prefix to a verb.

5.4.1.1.1 Agentive Nouns Referring to a Human Agent of an Action or Activity

Mbunda nouns referring to human agents of actions/activities are derived by adding the prefix *chi-*, *ka-*, *mu-* or *mw-* (before vowel stems) to a verb that refers to the corresponding action or activity:

Table 6: Agentive Nouns Referring to a Human Agent of an Action or Activity

Verb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>Yomba</i>	Hunt	<i>Chiyombi</i>	Hunter
<i>Oletha</i>	Heal	<i>Mwolethi</i>	Healer
<i>Landetha</i>	Sale	<i>Mulandethi</i>	Seller
<i>Ambulula</i>	Preach	<i>Mwambululi</i>	Preacher
<i>Nyunga</i>	Take care of (shepherd)	<i>Kanyungi</i>	One who takes care of (shepherd)

From the table above, it is noted that derived nouns undergo vowel change when the respective prefix has been introduced. In all the given examples, there is evidence of vowel rising where the low and open vowel *a* (in the verb) rises to be realized as *i* which is the high front vowel.

5.4.1.1.2 Nouns Referring to Inanimate Agents of Actions (Instruments/Tools/Gadgets)

Nouns referring to tools or instruments used to carry out certain actions/tasks are formed by adding the prefix *ka-* or *ci-* to the verb denoting the action/task/activity. The table below illustrates the above observation:

Table 7: Table 7 Nouns Referring to Inanimate Agents of Actions (Instruments/Tools/Gadgets)

Verb	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>Lova</i>	Fish	<i>Kalovo</i>	Fishing line
<i>Thzala</i>	Put on	<i>Cithzalo</i>	Cloth
<i>Tumama</i>	Sit	<i>Citwamo</i>	Seat

Again, it is observed that the derived nouns experience vowel change in that the low and open vowel *a*, present in the verbs, is realized as the high-mid back vowel *o* in the derived noun.

5.3.1.1.3 Nouns Referring to Names of Plants

Nouns used to refer to names of plants are formed by adding the prefix *muti wa-* or *citi ca-* to a noun referring to a fruit or other plant product. It has to be noted that some of the nouns listed below are, in actual sense, lexically adopted:

Table 8: Nouns Referring to Names of Plants

Name of fruit/product	Gloss	The plant	Gloss
<i>Mupulanga</i>	Timber	<i>Muti wa mavala</i>	Timber tree (Eucalyptus)
<i>Lalanja</i>	Orange	<i>Muti wa malalanja</i>	Orange tree
<i>Mango</i>	Mango	<i>Muti wa mango</i>	Mango tree
<i>Chamu</i>	Pineapple	<i>Citi ca chamu</i>	Pineapple (tree) plant

5.4.1.1.4 Concrete Nouns with the meaning: ‘person/thing having the quality specified by an adjective’

These involve people or things with the quality or attribute specified by the adjective. In Mbunda, this is achieved by prefixing respective adjectives with *wa-/waku-* or *ca-/caku-*. The table below shows the above situation:

Table 9: Concrete Nouns with the meaning: ‘person/thing having the quality specified by an adjective

Adjective	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
<i>Nyanyama</i>	Intelligence	<i>wakunyanyama</i>	One who is intelligent
<i>Thzivala</i>	Dark/black in colour	<i>Cakuthzivala</i>	Dark/black thing
<i>Vulwa</i>	Laziness	<i>Wavulwa</i>	One who is lazy

5.4.1.1.5 Abstract nouns referring to the state/fact/quality of being what it is specified by the adjective

These abstract nouns are based on adjectives and are formed by adding the prefix *vu-* to a relevant adjective:

Table 10: Abstract nouns referring to the state/fact/quality of being what it is specified by the adjective

Adjective	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>-ndende</i>	Small	<i>vundende</i>	Smallness
<i>-thzivala</i>	Dark	<i>vuthzivale</i>	Darkness
<i>-laha</i>	Long	<i>Vulaha</i>	Length
<i>-ihi</i>	Short	<i>Vwihi</i>	Shortness
<i>-jela</i>	Bright	<i>Vujele</i>	Brightness

5.4.1.1.6 Abstract nouns based on verbs referring to state/fact/act/process indicated by a verb

The aforementioned abstract nouns are realized through prefixing *vu-*, *vi-*, *vw-* (before vowel stem), *k-* to a verb. Refer to the table below:

Table 11: Abstract nouns based on verbs referring to state/fact/act/process indicated by a verb

Verb	Gloss	Abstract Noun	Gloss
<i>Nwa</i>	Drink	<i>Vunwi</i>	Capacity to drink
<i>Longetha</i>	Teach	<i>vilongetha</i>	Teachings
<i>Katuka</i>	Obey	<i>Vukatuke</i>	Obedience
<i>Akako</i>	Add	<i>Vwake</i>	Addition

5.4.1.1.6 Formation or Pejorative Nouns

Pejorative is a term used to refer to nouns that are perceived to be bad, ugly or big (Sibajene, 2013). In Mbunda pejorative nouns are formed by adding the prefix *vi-* or *ci-* to a noun.

Table 12: Formation or Pejorative Nouns

Noun	Gloss	Pejorative Noun	Gloss
<i>Vanike</i>	Children	<i>Vyanike (vi+anike)</i>	Undesirable children
<i>Vanu</i>	People	<i>Vinu</i>	Unwanted people
<i>Munakathzi</i>	Woman	<i>cimunakathzi</i>	Big and ugly woman
<i>Mutwe</i>	Head	<i>Cimutwe</i>	Big and ugly head

5.4.1.1.7 Formation of Augmentative Nouns

To augment is to simply make something greater by adding something to it. In the language under study, augmentative nouns are made by adding the prefix *li-* to a noun. The following examples vivify the above position:

Table 13: Formation of Augmentative Nouns

Noun	Gloss	Augmentative Noun	Gloss
<i>Ngombe</i>	Cow	<i>Lingombe</i>	A big cow
<i>Mutwe</i>	Head	<i>Limutwe</i>	A big head
<i>Muti</i>	Tree	<i>Limuti</i>	A big tree
<i>Mbututu</i>	Baby	<i>Limbututu</i>	A big baby

5.4.1.1.8 Formation of Diminutive Nouns

Diminutive form is used to convey a slight degree of the root meaning, smallness of the object or quality named, intimacy or endearment (Taitumu, 2014). The following Mbunda examples exhibit diminutiveness in the nouns where the prefix *ka-* is attached to the respective nouns:

Table 14: Formation of Diminutive Nouns

Noun	Gloss	Diminutive Noun	Gloss
<i>Metha</i>	Table	<i>Kametha</i>	A small table
<i>Njuvo</i>	House	<i>Kanjuvo</i>	A small house
<i>Mutwe</i>	Head	<i>Kamutwe</i>	A small head
<i>Lihya</i>	Field	<i>Kalihya</i>	A small field

5.4.1.1.9 Formation of Nouns referring to an inhabitant of a place or citizen of a country or a member of a social grouping

The above type of nouns is achieved by adding the prefix *muka-* or *ka-* to the noun concerned as the examples below demonstrate:

Table 15: Formation of Nouns referring to an inhabitant of a place or citizen of a country or a member of a social grouping

Proper Noun	Gloss	Derived Proper Noun	Gloss
<i>Tonga</i>	Tribe	<i>Ka Tonga</i>	a Tonga person
<i>Kasempa</i>	Kasempa (a place/region)	<i>Muka Kasempa</i>	A person from Kasempa
<i>Cheke Cha Mbunda</i>	Organization	<i>Muka Cheke Cha Mbunda</i>	A member of Cheke Cha Mbunda

NB: In Mbunda, just like in other Bantu languages, prefixes are not attached to proper nouns; they stand on their own but find qualification in the noun concerned.

5.4.1.1.10 Nouns referring collectively to ‘somebody’s people’ or the family members of a given person

In the formation of nouns described as above, the entire stretch of *vaka-* should be put before a noun referring collectively to somebody’s people or family members of a given person. Refer to the table below:

Table 16: Nouns referring collectively to ‘somebody’s people’ or the family members of a given person

Noun	Gloss	Derived Noun	Gloss
<i>Mwevo</i>	Wife	<i>Vaka mwevo/munakathzi</i>	The wife’s people or relatives
<i>Munalume</i>	Man	<i>Vaka munalume</i>	The man’s people/relatives

5.4.2 Formation of Adverbs

“An adverb is a grammatical category (part of speech) that serves to modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, and whole clauses semantically” (Bussmann, 2006: 22). It is important, at this stage, to indicate that this part of the study will concentrate on adverbs of manner. In basic terms, adverbs of manner give more information about how a verb is done. In Mbunda, adverbs of manner are derived by the addition of the prefix *mu-* or *na-*(rarely) and also a relevant suffix, in some instances, to a relevant noun. Refer to the examples below:

Table 17: Formation of Adverbs

Noun	Gloss	Derived Adverb	Gloss
<i>Vuthimpe</i>	Courage	<i>Muvuthimpilo</i>	Courageously
<i>Chikulaetho</i>	Hope	<i>Muchikulaethelo</i>	Hopefully
<i>Nthzili</i>	Power	<i>Munthzili/nanthzili</i>	Powerfully
<i>Chibwaeletho</i>	Delight	<i>Muvwaelethelo</i>	Delightfully
<i>Kathingimiko</i>	Respect	<i>Mukathingimiko</i>	Respectfully

5.4.3 Formation of Verbs

It is important, at this point, to state that the verb in Bantu linguistics is a complex part of speech morphologically; it involves many categories. Below are verb formation processes that occur in Mbunda. It should be noted that in Bantu linguistics the verb formation processes are mostly called Bantu Extensions.

5.4.3.1 Formation of to-infinitives

To-infinitives are part of the non-finite (non-tensed) forms of verbs (Roger, 2012:32). In the language under study, *to-infinitives* are formed by the addition of the prefix *ku-* or *kw-* (before vowel stems) to the root form of the relevant verb. The examples below illustrate the above submission:

Table 18: Table 18 Formation of to-infinitives

Verb	Gloss	Infinitive Form	Gloss
<i>Landetha</i>	Sell	<i>Kulandetha</i>	To sell
<i>Thoneka</i>	Write	<i>Kuthoneka</i>	To write
<i>Jwela</i>	Bathe	<i>Kujwela</i>	To bathe
<i>Jola</i>	Laugh	<i>Kujola</i>	To laugh
<i>Enda</i>	Walk	<i>Kwenda (ku+enda)</i>	To walk

After a careful analysis, one is bound to observe that the *to-infinitive* verb maker *ku-* is very productive not only in Mbunda language but also in other Bantu languages across geographical divides.

5.4.3.2 Formation of Applied Extension

Formation of verbs with the meaning: ‘to do something on behalf of or for somebody’, involves attaching the morphemes *-in-*, *-el-*, *-il-* to a relevant verb in the suffix position as seen from the given examples below:

Table 19: Formation of Applied Extension

Verb	Gloss	New Verb	Gloss
<i>Yomba</i>	Hunt	<i>Yombela (yomb-el-a)</i>	Hunt on behalf of
<i>Thoneka</i>	Write	<i>Thonekela (thonek-el-a)</i>	Write on behalf of
<i>Tunga</i>	Build	<i>Tungila (tung-il-a)</i>	Build on behalf of
<i>Lima</i>	Cultivate	<i>Limina (lim-in-a)</i>	Cultivate on behalf of

5.4.3.3 Formation of Causative Extension verbs

Formation of Causative Extension generally involves verbs that mean ‘make or have somebody/something do something’. In Mbunda the suffix *-itha* or *-etha* is added to relevant verbs in order to form the respective verbs. The examples below strengthen the above position:

Table 20: Formation of Causative Extension verbs

Verb	Gloss	New Verb	Gloss
<i>Lima</i>	Cultivate	<i>Limitha (lim-itha)</i>	Make somebody cultivate
<i>Lila</i>	Cry	<i>Lilitha (lil-itha)</i>	Make somebody cry
<i>Lya</i>	Eat	<i>Litha (l-itha)</i>	Make somebody eat
<i>Kwata</i>	Hold	<i>Kwatetha (kwat-etha)</i>	Make somebody hold
<i>Panga</i>	Work	<i>Pangetha (pang-etha)</i>	Make somebody work

5.4.3.4 Formation of Neuter

In this case, neuter means ‘resulting state’. In Mbunda, the neuter form is achieved through the addition of the suffix *-ek-* or *-ik-* to a relevant verb. The following examples speak to the submission above:

Table 21: Formation of Neuter

Verb	Gloss	New Verb	Gloss
<i>Kumona</i>	To see	<i>Kumoneka (ku-mon-ek-a)</i>	To be seen
<i>Kuthziva</i>	To hear	<i>Kuthzivika (ku-thziv-ik-a)</i>	To be heard
<i>Kulima</i>	to cultivate	<i>Kulimika (ku-lim-ik-a)</i>	To be cultivated

5.4.3.5 Formation of Reversive Active Extension

The above is basically the formation of verbs that mean ‘to undo or to reverse an action.’ They are formed by adding the suffix *-ul-*, or *-ulul-* to a relevant verb. In Mbunda, it is noticed that the reversion form of the verb mostly takes a different shape from the original. Nevertheless, there is evidence of consistence in terms of the reversion marker(s) employed. The examples below sustain the above claim:

Table 22: Formation of Reversive Active Extension

Verb	Gloss	New Verb	Gloss
<i>Kuta</i>	Tie	<i>Vutula (vut-ul-a)</i>	Untie
<i>Tunga</i>	Build	<i>Ngujula (nguj-ul-a)</i>	Demolish
<i>Eteka</i>	Bend	<i>Etulula (et-ulul-a)</i>	Straighten
<i>Kuna</i>	Plant	<i>Shimbula/tukula (shimb-ul-a/tuk-ul-a)</i>	Uproot

5.4.3.6 Formation of verbs with the general meaning of ‘to prolong a specified action/activity up’

The above type of verbs is formed by adding the suffix *-ilil-* or *elel* to a relevant verb. The following examples demonstrate the above aspect:

Table 23: Formation of verbs with the general meaning of ‘to prolong a specified action/activity up’

Verb	Gloss	New Verb	Gloss
<i>Kupupa (mostly used by women)</i>	To beat	<i>Kupumulilila (ku-pum-ul-ilil-a)</i>	Beat for longer
<i>Kulya</i>	To eat	<i>Kulyililila (ku-ly-il-ilil-a)</i>	Eat for longer
<i>Kwika (ku+ika)</i>	To cook	<i>Kwikililila (ku-i-ki-l-ilil-a)</i>	Cook for longer
<i>Kuyongola</i>	To watch	<i>Kuyongwelela (ku-yong-u-e-elel-a)</i>	To watch for longer

5.4.4 Formation of Compounds

Derivation is not the only way of forming new words, of course. Many languages also form words by a process called compounding. Compounds are words that are composed of two (or more) bases, roots, or stems (Lieber, 2009: 43). In terms of structure, Lieber (2009) observes that compounds could be looked at precisely the same way that derived words are in that they, too, have an internal structure. This part of the chapter will look at endocentric and exocentric compounds present in Mbunda language.

A grammatical construction is (in this case a compound) said to be endocentric if it fulfills the same linguistic function as one of its parts, and exocentric if it does not (Mathews, 1981: 147).

From the data collected, endocentric and exocentric compounds were found as follows:

5.4.4.1 Endocentric compounds in Mbunda

(105)

- a *Kafungamavele* (verb + subject: *kufunga* ‘to bind’, *mavele* ‘breasts’) ‘breast binder or brassiere’
- b *Ishamatanga* (subject + object: *ishe* ‘father of’, *matanga* ‘crowds’) ‘the creator’
- c *Themanavo* (verb + subject: *thema* ‘give birth’, *navo* ‘with them’) ‘maternity dress’
- d *Inavanike* (subject + object: *ina* ‘mother of’, *vanike* ‘children’) ‘mother of twins’

5.4.4.2 Exocentric compounds in Mbunda

(106)

- a *Matendangongi* (subject + object: *matenda* ‘crackings’, *ngongi* ‘bell’) ‘very virulent wasps’.
- b *Ngulumutwe* (noun + noun: *ngulu* ‘pig’, *mutwe* ‘head’) ‘clean-shaven head/skull.’

5.5.5 Reduplication

Lieber (2009: 80) submits that reduplication is “a morphological process in which all or part of the base is repeated.” He goes on to identify types of reduplication such as full and partial reduplication. Full reduplication is seen as the process of repeating the entire base and that full reduplication is usually used to form an attenuative, which is a form meaning ‘sort of’ or ‘a little bit.’ Full reduplication is normally used to form nouns from verbs. Partial reduplication is where only part of the base is repeated; it needs not repeat the initial part of the base but the final. Lieber (p.81) stresses that the final syllable of a verb root can be reduplicated to indicate iterative or repetitive action. Phonologically, there is a tendency, in Mbunda, to lower the tone in the final syllable of the reduplicant. The following are some of the reduplicated words in Mbunda:

(107)

- a *Cimene-mene* (*cimene* ‘morning’) ‘very early in the morning’
- b *Kamandende-ndende* (*kamandende* ‘slowly’) ‘very slowly’
- c *Kwoloka-oloka* (*kwoloka* (ku+oloka) ‘to keep quite’) ‘to keep quite frequently – repetitive action.’
- d *Kuteleka-teleka* (*kuteleka* ‘to cook’) ‘to cook frequently – repetitive action’
- e *Vakulunu-kulunu* (*vakulunu* ‘the old’) ‘those that are well positioned in society, that is, those with resources and influence.’
- f *Mesho-mesho* (*mesho* ‘eyes’) ‘very morally loose.’
- g *Likithi-kithi* (*likithi* ‘monster’) ‘literally masqueradish.’
- h *Cikulo-kulo* (*cikulo* ‘edge’) ‘very much by the edge of the low-lying area.’
- i *Vwino-vwino* (*vwino* ‘well or nice’) ‘very nicely or well.’
- j *Kwithi-kwithi* (*kwithi* ‘low lying’) ‘very low lying, almost at the bottom or lowest.’

5.4.6 Mbunda words realized through morphology-Syntax interface

Morpho-syntactic features of words belong to the field of inflectional morphology and not derivational morphology (Taitumu, 2014: 51). The above scholar equally observes that there are basically two reasons why it is important to talk about morpho-syntactic aspect of word formation for most Bantu languages. Firstly, it is observed that there is an intersection between morphology and syntax especially when it comes to the issue of agreement where certain grammatical morphemes infiltrate into the morphology of new lexemes. Secondly, it is seen that lexical component of a language supplies word-formation component with word formation bases and affixes together with morpho-syntactic properties, while the word formation component feeds the lexical component with new complex lexemes that bear inherent morpho-syntactic features determined by the lexemes' formal constituent components. In a nutshell, the following is what Taitumu (2014: 51) says:

The Syntactic Component exerts its influence on the word-formation process through the mediation of the Lexical Component which stores all the words and affixes of a language together with information on their morpho-syntactic features. Those bilateral units (words and affixes) serve as the raw materials to the Word-formation Component for the formation of new complex lexemes in the language.

The data collected demonstrates that there are words formed as a result of the intersection between morphology and syntax. Specifically, the study relies on the *noun-adjective agreement* and the *noun (subject) - verb agreement* respectively to show the aforementioned intersection. Refer to the following tables:

Table 24: Mbunda words realized through morphology-Syntax interface

Class	Singular	Plural
1/2	<i>Munu wakuthzivala</i> 'Black person'	<i>Vanu vakuthzivala</i> 'Black people'
3/4	<i>Mwithi wakutoka</i> 'white pounding stick'	<i>Mithi yakutoka</i> 'white pounding sticks'
5/6	<i>Lisho lyakuvenga</i> 'red eye'	<i>Mesho akuvenga</i> (<i>ma+isho</i>) 'red eyes'
7/8	<i>Cuma cakunyanyama</i> 'Intelligent thing'	<i>Vyuma vyakunyanyama</i> (<i>vi+uma, vi+akunyanyama</i>) 'Intelligent things'

Table 25: Subject (noun) Verb Agreement

Class	Singular	Plural
1/2	<i>Mulothzi nathsi</i> 'the witch has died'	<i>Valothzi vanathsi</i> 'the witches have died'
3/4	<i>Munye unathzimbi</i> 'the finger is swollen'	<i>Minye inathzimbi</i> 'the fingers are swollen'
5/6	<i>livunda linavolo</i> 'the egg has gone bad'	<i>Mavunda anavolo</i> 'the eggs have gone bad'
7/8	<i>Cithsiya cinapokoka</i> 'the bone has broken'	<i>Vithsiya vinapokoka</i> 'the bones have broken'

It is noted from the above tables that the given inflectional prefixes are inflecting for number and agreement. Closely looking at the data provided above, one is bound to notice that the shape of each given inflectional prefix is determined by the noun class prefix with which it agrees.

5.4.7 Morphophonological processes in Mbunda

Morphophonology is simply understood as the study of the interface between phonology and morphology. It mainly focuses on the changes of sounds in morphemes when they come together to form words. The data collected shows that morphophonological processes such as coalescence, elision, and semi-vocalization occur in the language under study. The following is a vivid illustration of the said aspects:

5.4.7.1 Coalescence

Coalescence, sometimes referred to as fusion, is a morphophonological process that brings together features of two segments into one segment. In another interpretation, Coalescence is a phonological process by which a sound is affected by both the processes of assimilation and deletion (<https://enacademic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/4144881>). The following are examples of coalescence in Mbunda:

(108)

- a *a* coalesces with *i* forming *e**membo* (ma+imbo) ‘villages’
- b *a* coalesces with *e* forming *e**nende* (na+ende) ‘he/she has walked’
- c *a* coalesces with *u* forming *o**vinomu* (vina+umu) ‘they have dried’
- d *i* coalesces with *i* forming *i**vithi* (vi+ithi) ‘fish’
- e *a* coalesces with *o* forming *o**voshe* (va+oshe) ‘all of them’

5.4.7.2 Semi vocalization

Semi vocalization is a morphophonological process in which semi vowels or glides are formed. In Mbunda, semi-vowels are formed as follows:

(109)

- a. *u* becomes *w* before *a*.....*mwatho* (mu+atho) ‘song’
- b. *i* becomes *y* before *a*.....*myatho* (mi+atho) ‘songs’
- c. *u* becomes *w* before *e*.....*mwehwa* (mu-ehwa) ‘Nephew’
- d. *i* becomes *y* before *e*.....*vimyene* (vimi+ene) ‘chiefs’

5.4.7.3 Elision (Deletion)

In rapid speech, there is a tendency to drop the prefix *li* from some nouns when these nouns are preceded by the locatives *mu*, *ha*, and *ku* (examples *a* to *f*). This situation equally occurs in Luchazi. The other case of deletion in Mbunda is where the vowel *i* is deleted when it occurs immediately before the high back vowel *u* and immediately preceded by *c* or *ch* (refer to examples *g* to *m* below). Thirdly, certain nouns that contain the singular marker *li*, lose this marker in their plural form (refer to examples *n*, *o* and *p* below) where *ma* is introduced as the plural marker. The following examples sustain the above observations:

(110)

- a. *mwimo* (mu limo) ‘in the stomach’
- b. *mwilu* (mu lilo) ‘in the sky’
- c. *hembo* (ha limbo) ‘at the village’
- d. *helu* (ha lilo) ‘at the top’
- e. *kwimbo* (ku limbo) ‘to the village’
- f. *kwilu* (ku lilo) ‘to the sky’
- g. *cula* (ci+ula) ‘bark (of a tree)’
- h. *cuma* (ci+uma) ‘thing’
- i. *cendi* (ci+endi) ‘it is his or hers’

- j. *cavo* (ci+avo) ‘it is theirs’
- k. *cange* (ci+ange) ‘it is mine’
- l. *cove* (ci+ove) ‘it is yours’
- m. *cen*i (ci+eni) ‘it is yours (2nd person honorific or plural)’
- n. *lihya* (li-hya) ‘field’, *mahya* ‘fields’ (ma-li-hya isn’t allowed)
- o. *litemo* (li-te-mo) ‘hoe’, *matemo* ‘hoes’ (ma-li-te-mo isn’t allowed)
- p. *litangwa* ‘day’, *matangwa* ‘days’ (ma-li-ta-ngwa isn’t allowed)

5.5 Summary of the Chapter

The chapter started with a highlight on the Mbunda noun class system and the semantic analysis of the same. The study has established that there are 18 noun classes in Mbunda. Pronominal and verbal morphology have been discussed in that order. Word formation processes such as formation of nouns, verbs, adverbs, compounds, and reduplication have equally been accounted for. Words formed due to the intersection between morphology and syntax have been addressed too. The chapter closed with a highlight on morphophonological processes that occur in Mbunda.

CHAPTER SIX

ASPECTS OF THE SYNTAX OF MBUNDA

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents some aspects of syntax of Mbunda language. Consequently, it addresses areas such as basic word order and position of the main clause, agreement, question forms, clause combinations, the syntax of the noun phrase, and the syntax of the verb phrase.

6.1 Basic Word Order

Concerning basic word order, Sibajene (p.50) draws on the conclusion of Nurse and Hinnesbusch (1993) who conclude that it (basic word order) serves as the most common way of expressing or asserting a proposition or an idea. Like in most Bantu languages, the basic word order in Mbunda is SVO (**S** – subject, **V** – verb, **O** - object). Fromkin and Rodman (1993: 111) have the following to say about sentence components:

The order of other sentence components in a language is most frequently correlated with the language type. If a language is of a type in which the verb precedes the Object – a “VO” language, which includes SVO, VSO, or VOS - then the Auxiliary Verb tends to precede the Verb, Adverbs tend to follow the Verb, and Prepositions tend to precede the Noun, among other such ordering relationships.

Below, word order is highlighted in terms of transitive and intransitive verbs including a brief highlight on the position of the main clause. It has to be clarified from the onset that languages, in general, have a variety of ways in which they express their word order.

a. Transitive (SVO)

(111)

i. *Vanike vathzanga vinkongolo*

va- nike va - thzang- a vi- nkongolo

cl2 children cl2 ag love fv cl10 pl rainbow

‘the children love rainbows’

ii. *kanike ketethele muluwa*

ka - nike - ke - teth- el - e muluwa

cl12 (dim.) small child cl12 ag past conveyed fv cl3 message

‘the small child conveyed the message’

b. Intransitive verbs

(112)

i. *Mayo anahu*

ma-yo a- nah- u

cl6 teeth cl6 ag pre finish fv

‘teeth have finished’

ii. *va jombokele*

va jombok-el-e

cl2 they jump *past* (-ed) *fv*

‘they jumped’

c. Position of the main clause

One of the most obvious yet important ways in which languages differ is the order of the main elements in a sentence (Robert and Van, 2001: 1). Kroeger (2005: 197) clearly states that “variations in word order are often used to make one part of the sentence more prominent than another.” From the collected data, the language under study has a word order that is not restrictive in terms of position of the main clause; it depends on what is being emphasized. The examples below sustain the above claim:

(113)

a. *Vanike vathzanga vinkongolo*

S V O

Vathzanga vinkongolo vanike

V O S

Vinkongolo vavithzanga vanike

O V S (present but rarely used word order)

‘children love rainbows’

b. *Mayo anahu*

S V

Anahu mayo

V S

‘teeth have finished’

6.2 Agreement

The concept of agreement in Bantu languages is a pure instance of the relationship shared by Morphology and Syntax linguistically called morpho-syntax. This is so because elements in a sentence must be in consonance with the class of the controlling nominal (Miti, 2001). In the examples below, noun classes 2 and 5 have, respectively, been chosen to demonstrate the above named relationship:

(114)

a. *Vanu vavo vavengi vakuthzivala*

Va- nu va- vo va- vengi va- kuthzival- a
Cl2 stem cl2 stem cl2 stem cl2 black fv
Pref agr agr agr

‘many of their people are black’

b. *Litemo lyange linathzimbala*

li- temo li- ange li- na- thzimbala (li+ange - lyange – glide formation)
cl5 stem cl5 stem cl5 perf lost/missing fv
pref agr agr

‘my hoe has gone missing’

6.3 Interrogative Sentences

Kroeger (2005: 203) observes that “two basic types of questions are found in virtually all languages: (a) Yes – No Questions; and (b) Content questions.” He then goes on to talk about the difference between the two types of questions (to be adequately illustrated below under each designation). Zemba (2016: 93) citing Andvik (2010:192) stresses that “an interrogative sentence functions as a request for information or confirmation of the speakers understanding of a state of affairs.” Below is a discussion on the *yes/no questions* and *wh- questions* (content questions) in Mbunda.

6.3.1 Yes/No Questions

Yes/no questions are usually defined as questions for which either “yes” or “no” is the expected answer (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999: 205). Kroeger (p. 203) submits that, “Yes-No questions are sometimes referred to as “closed questions,” because the set of answers is closed, containing just two members (*yes* and *no*).” Mbunda expresses *yes-no questions* in two ways: Firstly, it uses the yes-no questioning particle “*indi*”. Secondly, it employs intonation and change in word order. It is worth noting that the use of *indi* as the questioning particle for “yes-no” questions is rare as speakers mostly deploy the second questioning criteria. The following are examples of questions using *indi* as the questioning particle:

(115)

a. *Munali indi?*

‘have you eaten?’

b. *Unajwele indi?*

‘have you bathed?’

In rapid speech, where a speaker chooses to end with the questioning particle “*indi*” as demonstrated in example (115) above, a silent “*i*” is realized leaving only “*ndi*”. The above expressed order is not restrictive as there are instances where the questioning particle precedes other elements of the utterance. Refer to the examples below:

(116)

a Indi munali?

‘have you eaten?’

b Indi munajwele?

‘have you bathed?’

Intonation and change in word order are some of the ways discussed by Kroeger (2005) that make it possible to distinguish *yes-no* questions from simple declarative sentences. He outlines the following as the “most commonly used devices for marking *yes-no* questions” (p. 203).

a. Intonation

b. Clitics or particles

c. Verbal affix (interrogative mood)

d. Change in word order

From the aforementioned, there is evidence (from collected data) that Mbunda also expresses *yes-no questions* through intonation and change in word order. Change in word order chiefly speaks to the element in the question that is being emphasized. This is demonstrated below:

(117)

a Vanambata vungayi?

‘they taken have how much?’

‘how much have they taken?’

b Vungayi vanambata?

‘how much they have taken?’

‘how much have they taken?’

From the examples given above in 117 (*a & b*), it is evident that there are elements more emphasized than others. In 117 (*a*), the focus is on the the action of taking by ‘them’ while in 117 (*b*) the emphasis is on ‘how much’ has been taken.

In line with Kroeger’s (2005) observation on languages with special intonation, Mbunda uses the question mark “?” in the orthographic system of *yes-no questions*. The question intonation pattern involves a sentence-final rising pitch, in contrast to a final falling pitch in declarative sentences. This is also a clear instance of Syntax-phonology interface. In the examples below, only the rising pitch is indicated with examples under *b* exhibiting change in word order:

(118)

a. i. *Wathsíyíle linyoká?*

‘did you kill a snake?’

ii. *Wakala nayaya ové?*

‘do you stay with your brother?’

iii. *Vanayi kulí?*

‘where have they gone?’

b. i. *Linyoka wathsiyilé?* (Original: *wathsiyile linyoká?* ‘did you kill a snake?’)

‘is it a snake you killed?’

ii. *Ku Sesheke wakalá?* (Original: *wakala ku Sesheké?* ‘do you live in Sesheke’)

‘is it in Sesheke where you live?’

iii. *Mbelela vana teleká?* (Original: *vana teleka mbelelá?* ‘have they cooked/prepared relish?’)

‘is it relish they have cooked/prepared?’

It has to be noted that most of the questions above (118 *a* & *b*) quickly transform to be realized as simple declarative sentences if they lose the sentence-final rising pitch. Look at the examples below:

(119)

a. *wathsiyile linyoka.*

‘you killed a snake.’

b. *Wakala nayaya ove.*

‘you live with your brother.’

c. *Wakala ku Sesheke.*

‘you live in Sesheke.’

d. *Vana teleka mbelela.*

‘they have cooked/prepared relish.’

6.3.2 *Wh*- Questions

Questions are used to request specific information, so the need to use them arises often. They are used for social interaction (what’s your name?), getting directions (where is the post office?), in seeking explanations (why is the plane late?), etcetera (Celce-Murcia & Larsen-Freeman 1999: 241). The above scholars argue that while *yes/no* questions query an entire proposition, *wh*-questions are used when the speaker is missing one specific piece of information. They further observe that the nature of the missing piece of information conditions the selection of the question word, which most often, although not always, begins with *wh*. *Wh*- questions are sometimes called interrogative sentences or content questions; they ask questions. In line with the above observations, Kroeger (2005: 205) submits that “in content questions, a question word replaces one of the constituents of the corresponding declarative sentence.” He goes on to observe that the said question word is always the focused element of the question, “representing the crucial piece of new information that is being requested.”

In order to orderly account for interrogative sentences in Mbunda, it is important to firstly indicate the interrogative pro-forms present in the said language. Interrogative pro-forms are words like ‘what, who, where, when’ etc. which are used in questions (Schachter & Shopen 2007: 33). This study presents the Mbunda interrogative pro-forms in form of a table, a model adopted from Viljoen (2013: 228):

Table 26: Interrogative Pro-forms

Part-of-speech	Pro-form	Gloss	Referent
Noun	<i>Vika</i>	What	Non-human
Noun	<i>Cili</i>	Which	Category
Noun	<i>Kuli</i>	Where	Destination/location
Noun	<i>Iya/ceya</i>	Who/whose	Human/possessor
Adjective/adverb	<i>Vati</i>	How	State/manner
Numeral	<i>Vingayi</i>	How many	Number
Numeral	<i>Vungayi</i>	How much	Number
Adverb	<i>Tangwalika</i> <i>Thimbu muka</i>	When	Time
Adverb	<i>Vika</i>	Why	Reason/cause
Adverb	<i>Ca vika / vya vika</i>	For what purpose	Purpose

Examples from the given table:

(120)

a *Vungayi vithi ava?*

‘how much is this fish?’

b *Vingayi vithzalo vili muje?*

‘how many clothes are in there?’

c *Tangwalika muya?*

‘when are you leaving?’

d *Muli vati?*

‘how are you?’

e *Vika vili muje?*

‘what is in there?’

f *Thimbu muka wija?*

‘what time are you coming?’

g *Ceya (ca + iya) citwamo eci?*

‘whose chair is this?’

h *Ca vika citwamo mutwala hanja?*

‘For what purpose are you taking the chair outside?’

i *Vanike vali kuli?*

‘where are the children’

j *Vika ulila?*

‘why are you crying?’

6.4 Clause combination

6.4.1 Coordination

Coordination is achieved through the use of coordinating conjunctions. In this case, a conjunct is a word that joins together other words or groups of words. Some conjunctions used to coordinate clauses in Mbunda are *na* ‘and’, *oloni* ‘but’, *indi* ‘or’, *co* ‘so’. See the examples below:

(121)

a *Kayawe na Kalyata vanayi ku Angola.*

‘Kayawe and Kalyata have gone to Angola.’

b *Vanike vaka likuwu kujwelewa oloni vathzinda mala avo kutetewa.*

‘children enjoy being bathed but hate getting their nails cut.’

c *Njatha kucambata indi kucithethza.*

‘I can take it or leave it.’

d *Chipango wathzile njala manene co walya vyakulya vyoxe.*

‘Chipango was very hungry, so he ate all the food.’

6.4.2 Subordinate (dependent) Clauses

From the data collected, subordinate or dependent clauses only make sense when they are part of the complex sentence. In other words, they must occur with an independent or main clause for them to make sense. The following is a highlight on adjectival clauses, noun clauses, and adverbial clauses:

6.4.2.1 Adjectival clauses

These clauses describe nouns and pronouns; they perform nominal functions. They are usually introduced or headed by words such as *who, that, which, whose, whom*, etc. Refer to the examples below:

(122)

a. *Mwanike wathzimbalele vana muwana.*

‘the child who had gone missing has been found.’

Main clause: *mwanike vana muwana* ‘the child has been found.’

Subordinate clause: *wathzimbalele* ‘who had gone missing.’

b. *Katali wa kuthzivala nali tuthumbi vavali.*

‘the black dog has eaten two chickens.’

Main clause: *katali nali tuthumbi vavali* ‘the dog has eaten two chickens.’

Subordinate clause: *wa kuthzivala* ‘which is black’

6.4.2.2 Nominal clauses

These are equivalent to nouns or pronouns and can form the subject, complement or object of the verb. The examples below illustrate the above submission:

(123)

a. *Nathzivukile ngwendi vaina valanda vyakulya.*

‘he/she knew that his/her mother would buy food.’

Main clause: *Nathzivukile* ‘he/she knew’

Subordinate clause: *Ngwendi vaina valanda vyakulya* ‘that his/her mother would buy food’.

b. *Va venya limbo vendekele ngwavo nji kamone chimbanda.*

‘the owner of the village said that I should see a medicine man’

Main clause: *va venya limbo* ‘the owner of the village’

Subordinate clause: *vendekele ngwavo nji kamone chimbanda* ‘said that I should see a medicine man’.

6.4.2.3 Adverbial clauses

6.4.2.3.1 Adverbs of time

(124)

a. *Wije cingwethzi*

‘Come in the evening (today)’

b. *Vakaya imene cimene*

‘they will leave tomorrow morning’

6.4.2.3.2 Adverbs of place

(125)

a. *Litangwa lili hakati.*

‘the sun is on the middle’

b. *Vanike vali munima*

‘the children are behind’

6.4.2.3.3 Adverbs of Manner, Degree

(126)

a. *Njakele kuthoneka kamandende*

‘I was writing slowly’

b. *Tunende ngwe vanalume*

‘we have walked like men’

6.5 Relative clauses

Biber et al (1999: 195) look at a relative clause as “characteristically a postmodifier in a noun phrase.” They observe that it is introduced by a *wh*- word, which has a grammatical role in the relative clause in addition to its linking function. They further indicate that the relativizer points back to the head of the noun phrase, which is generally referred to as the antecedent. Refer to the following examples:

(127)

a. *Vanananu, vakala ku Kaoma, vavalaha manene.*

‘My uncle, who lives in Kaoma, is very tall.’

b. *Makonde, unja landele lya mu Chivali, akuvola.*

‘The bananas, which I bought on Tuesday, are rotten.’

c. *Nanjikumwine mweene njali wanene nendi ku Lukulu.*

‘I was invited by the chief whom I met in Lukulu.’

d. *Njathzinda katali wa nji shumine.*

‘I hate the dog that bit me.’

6.6 The Syntax of the Noun Phrase (NP)

The criteria for establishing the types of elements that can become dependents of the noun in the noun phrase are based on the morphological properties, syntactic behavior, and semantic features (Rugemalira, 2007: 135). Rugemalira syntactically stresses the positions an element may occupy in the noun phrase (NP) as well as the possibilities of, and limits on, co-occurrence of an element with other elements. He then introduces the concept of stacking where he notes that if an element cannot co-occur with another, it may be because the two occupy the same syntactic position.

This, he argues, would be a strong basis for considering such elements as belonging to the same syntactic category.

From the data collected, Mbunda nouns can co-occur with *quantifiers*, *demonstratives*, *possessives*, *numerals*, and *qualifiers*. It is possible, in the language under study, for the position of subject and object, respectively, to be occupied by a single noun. The co-occurrence of the said elements is not done haphazardly as the concept of concord (agreement) should be highly considered. In most cases, the noun precedes the modifier. The examples below demonstrate the co-occurrence of the noun with elements stated above:

6.6.1 Quantifiers

A quantifier is a term that “designates operators that specify or quantify a set and are expressed in everyday language by indefinite adjectives or pronouns, numerals, the definite article, or indefinite plurals” (Bussmann, 2006:972). Quantifiers answer the question of *how much* or *how many* of an entity is being talked about.

(128)

a. *Vanike voshe*

Va- nike va- oshe (va+oxe – voxo -coalescence)

Cl2 stem cl2 stem

n pref quant pref

children all

‘all the children’

b. *Vinjuvo vyavingi*

vi- njuvo vya- vingi
cl10 stem cl10 stem
n pref cl10
n pref quant pref
'many houses'

6.6.2 Demonstratives (deictic determiners)

(129)

a. *Liputa eli*

li- puta e- li
cl5 stem cl5 stem
n pref pp (pronominal prefix)
deict det pref
leaf this
'this leaf'

b. *Maputa aje*

Ma- puta a- je
Cl6 stem cl6 stem
n pref pp
leaves those
'those leaves'

6.6.3 Possessives

(130)

a. *Vanu vendi*

Va- nu va- endi (va+endi - vendi -coalescence)

Cl2 stem cl2 stem

n pref pp

people his/her

‘his/her people’

b. *Lilonga lyange*

li- longa li- ange (li+ange – lyange - glide formation)

cl5 stem cl5 stem

n pref pp

plate mine

‘my plate’

6.6.4 Numerals

(131)

a. *Mithzi itatu*

mi- thzi i- tatu

cl4 stem cl4 stem

n pref pp

roots three

‘three roots’

b. *Cithzalo cimo*

ci- thzalo ci- mo

cl7 stem cl7 stem

n pref pp

cloth one

‘one cloth’

6.6.5 Qualifiers

(132)

a. *Munu wakuthzivala*

Mu- nu wa- kuthzivala

Cl1 stem cl1 stem

N pref adj pref

Person black

‘black person’

b. *Vanu vavehi*

Va- nu va- vehi

Cl2 stem cl2 stem

n pref adj pref

People short

‘Short people’

The data collected indicates that it is possible to come across a noun phrase that has a noun followed by two or more modifiers. Refer to the examples given below:

(133)

a. *Vanu vavo va vehi*

People their short

N poss adj

‘their people are short’

b. *Vanu vavo vavengi vakuthzivala*

N poss quant qual

People their many black

‘many of their people are black’

6.7 The Syntax of the Verb Phrase

The verb in a verb phrase is a compulsory element. Actually, it is not unusual, in Bantu languages to find a verb phrase consisting of a verb only. It is equally noticed that the Bantu verb phrase may consist of a verb and/or other lexical and phrasal categories such as noun phrase (NP), an adverbial phrase (AdvP), a locative (Loc), and an ideophone (ideo) [Miti, 2001]. Miti collapses the elements that may accompany a verb phrase into the following phrase structure rule (PS rule):

$$VP \rightarrow V (NP) (Loc) (Advp) (ideo)$$

He interprets the above PS rule as, “a VP may consist of a verb followed by one or more of the categories shown in parentheses” (p.166). In Mbunda, the stated PS rule takes the following shapes:

(134)

a. $VP \rightarrow V NP$

Vakamwana vumbanda

Va- ka- mwan- a vumbanda

SM TM give fv

V NP

‘they will give him/her medicine’

b. $VP \rightarrow V NP Loc$

Vakathethza vumbanda hametha

Va- ka- thethz- a vumbanda hametha

SM TM leave fv medicine on-the-table (ha- Loc pref)

V NP Loc

‘they will leave the medicine on the table’

c. $VP \rightarrow V Advp Loc$

Akakala munjuvo thimbu yoshe.

a- ka- kal- a munjuvo thimbu yoshe.

SM TM stay fv in-the-house time all

V Loc (mu- Loc pref) Advp

‘he/she stays in the house all the time’

d. $VP \rightarrow V NP Loc Advp$

Akathethze vumbanda munjuvo thimbu yoshe.

A- ka- thethz- e vumbanda munjuvo thimbu yoshe

SM TM leave fv medicine in-the-house time all

V NP Loc Advp

‘he/she leaves medicine in the house all the time’

e. $VP \rightarrow V NP Ideo$

vanathzala vithzalo vya kutoka tó

va- na- thzal- a vithzalo vya kutoka tó

SM TM put on fv clothes of white very

V NP Ideo

‘they have put on very white clothes’

From the foregoing examples, it is evident that the verb in Mbunda, and indeed in other Bantu languages, is complex. This is due to the fact that what is a single verb in Mbunda translates into a full sentence in English. Miti (2001) rightly observes that the only obligatory elements in a verb are the radical (rad) and the final vowel (fv). Other elements such as the negative marker (neg), subject marker (sm), tense marker (tm), object marker (om), and extension (ext), are optional. He again collapses the vowel elements as follows:

$$V \rightarrow (neg) (sm) (tm) (om) rad (ext) fv$$

Refer to the following examples as they put into practice the above rule:

(135)

a. $V \rightarrow rad fv$

Thoneka ‘write’

thonek- a

write fv

b. $V \rightarrow sm tm rad fv$

Njikathoneka

Nji- ka- thonek- a

SM TM rad fv

‘I will write’

c. $V \rightarrow \text{neg sm tm rad fv}$

Kunjikathoneka

ku- nji- ka- thonek- a

neg SM TM write fv

‘I will not write’

d. $V \rightarrow \text{neg sm tm om rad fv}$

Kunjikavatuvakana

Ku- nji- ka- va- tuvakan- a

neg SM TM OM overtake fv

‘I will not overtake them’

e. $V \rightarrow \text{neg sm tm om rad ext fv}$

Kunjikavathonekela

Ku- nji- ka- va- thonek- el- a

Neg SM TM OM write ext fv

‘I will not write for them’

6.8 Summary

The chapter has addressed some aspects of syntax such as *agreement, basic word order, position of the main clause, question forms, clause combination, the syntax of the noun phrase, and the*

syntax of the verb phrase. It has been stressed that agreement is a crucial morpho-syntactic aspect in that elements in a sentence should agree with the controlling nominal. From the data gathered, it has been observed that Mbunda, just like other Bantu languages, has *SVO* for its basic word order realization. Other possibilities of word order are *VOS* and *OVS*. Question forms have been discussed in two: *yes/no questions* and *content questions*. “Yes/no” questions are realized through the use of a *particle* and equally through the use of *intonation and change in word order*. Content questions are expressed through interrogative pro-forms like *vika* (what), *kuli* (where), *vungayi* (how much) and many more. Clause combination has been discussed in terms of coordination and subordinate clauses. The chapter has equally highlighted the syntax of the noun phrase (NP) and that of the verb phrase (VP). It has been stressed that the noun is a compulsory element in a noun phrase which can combine with other elements such as *general quantifiers, demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and qualifiers*. The verb has equally been pointed at as a compulsory element in a verb phrase with the potential to combine with other lexical or phrasal categories such as noun phrase (NP), an adverbial phrase (AdvP), a locative (Loc), and an ideophone (ideo). At each level of analysis, examples have been given and where necessary, vivid explanations have been attached.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the work entitled *A Linguistic Analysis of Mbunda*. The conclusion is structured in such a way that major findings, for each set objective, are given. These findings directly answer the research questions as given in the first chapter. The levels of linguistic analysis summarized here are phonology, morphology, and syntax.

7.1 Conclusion

7.1.1 Phonology

Through minimal pair tests conducted, the study has established that Mbunda has five distinct vowels and 21 consonants: /a, e, i, o, u, c, nd, f, ng, h, j, k, l, m, mb, n, ny, p, s, t, t̥, v, w, sh, y, z/. A detailed description of each consonant has been given followed by the grouping of consonants according to manner and place of articulation. The study has discussed two phonological processes namely Assimilation and Vowel harmony. Under assimilation, the study has discovered that the voiceless bilabial fricative /v/ becomes a non-continuant /b/ once it is preceded by the bilabial nasal /m/. The concept of Vowel harmony has been demonstrated by the use of some verbal extensions such Applied extension and Causative extension. Data from the study has also shown that tonal variations and vowel length bring about meaning change in some words. The common syllable structure in Mbunda is V, CV, CSV and SV. In terms of constraints on the syllable, the study has discovered that a nasal does not constitute a syllable and that no syllable in the said language is closed. The nasal plus consonant combination (NC), where the consonant is a non-continuant/stop, does not happen haphazardly as there are no such combinations as *mj*, *mt*, *mg*, but combinations such as *mb*, *ng*, and *nj* are possible.

7.1.2 Morphology

Morphologically, the study has established that Mbunda has 18 noun classes. The nouns are mostly made up of a prefix and a stem. From the semantic analysis provided, the prefix has been seen playing different roles such as formation of the pejorative, augment, plural, and many other forms within the bracket of noun classes.

The study has looked at pronominal forms in terms of absolute pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, connective pronouns, possessive pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. The study has revealed that there are four (4) personal pronouns and 18 nominal absolute pronouns. The four (4) personal pronouns are *yange* (i-ange) ‘me’, *yetu* (i-etu) ‘us’, *yove* (i-ove), ‘you’, and *yeni* (i-eni) ‘you’ plural/honorific. These personal pronouns do not share a common stem but a common prefix /i-/. The nominal absolute pronouns consist of a prefix and a stem. The prefix is identical to the nominal class subject marker of the class concerned. The stem is variable but there is a constant particle /-ke-/ that forms part of the stem.

Demonstrative pronouns have been seen to be playing the function of locating persons and things in relation to their distance from the speaker or the addressee or both. Mbunda demonstrative pronouns have been looked at in categories such as those *near the speaker and addressee*, *far from speaker but near addressee*, *near speaker but far from addressee*, and *far from both speaker and addressee*.

The connective pronouns *ca*, *wa*, and *lya* have been established to have the equivalent of ‘of’ in English. Mbunda possessive pronouns consist of a connective pronoun and a stem. The enclitic pronoun of the possessor follows the copula of the thing possessed. Possessive markers are *lya*,

ca, and *wa*. Possessive stems in singular form are *-ange*, *-ove*, and *-eni*, whereas in plural form, the possessive stems are *-etu*, *-eni*, and *-avo*.

Interrogative pronouns take on different prefixes depending on the noun class concerned. The interrogative pronouns do not have a constant stem. Examples of interrogative pronouns are *iya/veya?* ‘who?’, *kuli* ‘where?’, *vati?* ‘how?’, *uli/vali/ili?* ‘which (one)?’, etc.

Enumeratives and adjectives are the two qualificative forms discussed in this work. The study has established that true adjectives in Mbunda are few; a situation that is common in most Bantu languages. The numerical system is quinary; based on the first five numerals. The enumeratives are divided into cardinal and ordinal. The cardinal enumeratives are made up of an enumerative prefix and an enumerative stem. There are eight ordinal enumerative stems of which the first and the last one could be considered verbal derivatives.

In terms of verbal morphology, this study has discussed the basic verbal structure in Bantu, generally, and in Mbunda, specifically. This is achieved through discussions surrounding tense, mood, and aspects as they obtain in the said language.

Two kinds of adverbs have been looked at; adverbs proper and descriptive adverbs. Adverbs proper are looked at in form of adverbs of place, time, manner/degree, and mode. Descriptive adverbs have, among others, been looked at as appealing to the human senses of touch and sight.

The study has also established morphophonological processes (the interface between phonology and morphology) that occur in the language such as elision/deletion, semi-vocalization, and coalescence.

7.1.3 Syntax

In terms of Syntax, the study discovered that the basic word order in Mbunda is SVO. In addition, word orders such as VSO and VOS are possible in this language. The study also discussed aspects like *agreement, question forms, clause combinations, the relative clause, the syntax of the noun phrase and the syntax of the verb phrase*. In terms of agreement, the study has revealed that elements in a sentence must be in consonance with the class of the controlling nominal. The research also discovered that *yes/no* questions are expressed through a questioning particle “indi” and also through intonation and change in word order. The question intonation pattern involves a sentence-final rising pitch, in contrast to a final falling pitch in declarative sentences. Change in word order chiefly speaks to the element in the question that is being emphasized. Content questions are expressed through interrogative pro-forms. Interrogative pro-forms are words like ‘what, who, where, when’ which are used in questions. The study equally revealed that Mbunda nouns can co-occur with quantifiers, demonstratives, possessives, numerals, and qualifiers. The co-occurrence of these elements follows the aspect of agreement. The verb phrase in this language may consist of a verb and/or other lexical and phrasal categories such as noun phrase, an adverbial phrase, a locative, and an ideophone.

7.2 Recommendations

The study recommends the following:

- a A deeper analysis of the levels of linguistic analysis covered by this work i.e phonology, morphology, syntax.
- b There is also need to analyse other linguistic levels such as semantics and pragmatics.
- c More literature, in Mbunda, should be produced suitable for all age groups to encourage use of the standard form of the language. Literature thus produced could be taught in

informal settings by those knowledgeable since this language is not taught in Zambian schools.

- d A comparative study should be done involving dialects as spoken in Zambia, Angola, and Namibia.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SWADESH LIST

001 ALL – vyoshe (things), voshe (people)

002 AND - na

003 ANIMAL - kathitu

004 ASHES - lito

005 AT – ku

006 BACK – nima or mwongo

007 BAD – vuvi

008 BARK (OF A TREE) - cula

009 BECAUSE - mwafwa/mwomwo

010 BELLY – lifu

011 BIG – kwama

012 BIRD - kathzila

013 TO BITE – kushuma

014 BLACK - kuthzivala

015 BLOOD - maninga

016 TO BLOW (WIND) – kupembethzela

017 BONE - cithsiya

018 TO BREATHE –kuhwima

019 TO BURN (INTRANSITIVE) – kwenyeka, kuthimika

020 CHILD (YOUNG) - mwanike

021 CLOUD - mashelwa

022 COLD (WEATHER) - cithika or kutonola

023 TO COME - kwija

024 TO COUNT - kutanda

025 TO CUT - kutavula

026 DAY (NOT NIGHT) – mutanya (mathsiki)

027 TO DIE - kuthsa

028 TO DIG – kwinda (ku inda)

029 DIRTY - mathzilo

030 DOG - katali

031 TO DRINK -kunwa

032 DRY (SUBSTANCE) – cakuma

033 DULL (KNIFE) – kukundwa

034 DUST - likungu

035 EAR - litwitwi

036 EARTH (SOIL) - livu

037 TO EAT - kulya

038 EGG - livunda

039 EYE - lisho

040 TO FALL (DROP) - kuwa

041 FAR - kulako

042 FAT (SUBSTANCE) - mathzi

043 FATHER - tate

044 TO FEAR - lyova

045 FEATHER (LARGE) – lingona

046 FEW – vundende

047 TO FIGHT - kulwa (kulipupa)

048 FIRE - tuhya

049 FISH - vithi

050 FIVE - vitanu

051 TO FLOAT - kufumuka

052 TO FLOW – kuvuva

053 FLOWER - lipalisa

054 TO FLY - kupululuka

055 FOG - mbundu

056 FOOT - lindi

057 FOUR - viwana

058 TO FREEZE – kukondakana, kuminina

059 FRUIT - vushuka

060 TO GIVE - kwana

061 GOOD - vuvwa

062 GRASS - vishoni

063 GREEN - vushompo

064 GUTS – kukaluka

065 HAIR – ving'ambu

066 HAND - livoko

067 HE – ikeye (unisex) mukwenje ndi munalume (young man or old man)

068 HEAD - mutwe

069 TO HEAR - kuthziba

070 HEART - mbunge

071 HEAVY - kulema

072 HERE - hano

073 TO HIT - kupupa

074 HOLD (IN HAND) – kukwata

075 HOW – vati

076 TO HUNT (GAME) – kuyomba

077 HUSBAND – muka limbo lyange

078 I - yange

079 ICE - kondamema

080 IF - mona

081 IN - mukati

082 TO KILL – kuthsiya

083 KNOW (FACTS) - kuthzivuka

084 LAKE - lishali

085 TO LAUGH - kujola

086 LEAF - liputa

087 LEFT (HAND) - cimoshwe

088 LEG - lindi

089 TO LIE (ON SIDE) – kushuluvala

090 TO LIVE - kuyoya

091 LIVER - lishuli

092 LONG - vulaha

093 LOUSE - lina

094 MAN (MALE) - munalume

095 MANY – vwingi (vavengi- people, vyavingi – things)

096 MEAT (FLESH) - thitu

096b MOON - ngonde

097 MOTHER- nana

098 MOUNTAIN - lilundu

099 MOUTH - kanwa

100 NAME - lithzina

101 NARROW - vundende

102 NEAR - muyehi

103 NECK - nthsingo

104 NEW - vuha

105 NIGHT - vuthsiki

106 NOSE - lijulu

107 NOT - kethi

108 OLD – kukuluvala (aged). Laja (a long time ago)

109 ONE - cimo

110 OTHER - cikwavo

111 PERSON - munu

112 TO PLAY - kweha

113 TO PULL - kukoka

114 TO PUSH - kunakula

115 TO RAIN - kunyoka

116 RED - kuvenga

117 RIGHT (CORRECT) – cili, mukemo

118 RIGHT (HAND) - cilyo

119 RIVER - ndonga

120 ROAD – ngila

121 ROOT - muthzi

122 ROPE - mukole

123 ROTTEN (LOG) - kuvola

124 RUB - kukwita

125 SALT - mwongwa

126 SAND -mushekesheke

127 TO SAY - kwendeka

128 SCRATCH (ITCH) - kujwa

129 SEA (OCEAN) - kalungalwiji

130 TO SEE - kumona

131 SEED - mbuto

132 TO SEW - kutunga

133 SHARP (KNIFE) - kuvambuka

134 SHORT - vwihi

135 TO SING - kwimba

136 TO SIT - kutumbama

137 SKIN (OF PERSON) – cikanda (cijubu)

138 SKY - mwilu

139 TO SLEEP - kukotha

140 SMALL - vundende

141 TO SMELL (PERCEIVE ODOR) - kunika

142 SMOKE - vwithi

143 SMOOTH - kutheleneta

144 SNAKE - linyoka

145 SNOW - kondamema

146 SOME - vimo

147 TO SPIT - kujekula

148 TO SPLIT - kwangununa

149 TO SQUEEZE - kukamuna

150 TO STAB (OR STICK) - kutuba

151 TO STAND -kwimana

152 STAR - ngongonothi

153 STICK (OF WOOD) – cikuni

154 STONE - limanya

155 STRAIGHT - kuthungama

156 TO SUCK – kuthsemba, kujamwa

157 SUN - litanya

158 TO SWELL - kuthzimba

159 TO SWIM - kutana

160 TAIL - mukila

161 THAT – ije, cije

162 THERE – kuje, haje

163 THEY – ovo, vaje

164 THICK - kukonda

165 THIN - kuhokama

166 TO THINK - kuthinganyeka

167 THIS - eci

168 YOU - yove

169 THREE - vitatu

170 TO THROW - kwasha

171 TO TIE - kukuta

172 TONGUE – lilimi, ndaka

173 TOOTH (FRONT) liyo

174 TREE – muti, citi

175 TO TURN (VEER) – kutenguluka

176 TWO vivali

177 TO VOMIT - kushanja

178 TO WALK - kwenda

179 WARM (WEATHER) - kushaluka

180 TO WASH - kukusha

181 WATER - mema

182 WE - yetu

183 WET -kujula

184 WHAT - vika

185 WHEN - tangwalika

186 WHERE - kuli

187 WHITE - kutoka

188 WHO - iya

189 WIDE - vukama

190 WIFE - mwevo, muka limbo lyange

191 WIND (BREEZE) - mpunthdzi

192 WING - limbava

193 WIPE - kupwitha

194 WITH (ACCOMPANYING) - na

195 WOMAN - munakathzi

196 WOODS - viti

197 WORM - ndulo

198 YOU- yove

199 YEAR - mwaka

200 YELLOW – buthela

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE & LANGUAGES

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS

INTRODUCTION

Dear respondent, based on the word list you verified, you are hereby requested to be interviewed. The information you'll provide will be recorded on an electronic device, especially when it comes to the reading out of the Mbunda word items.

BACKGROUND

Interview guide serial number: _____

Sex of participant: Male _____ Female _____

Interviewer's name: _____ Date: _____

1. Are there any other words that can be used to correctly translate any of the given items?
2. Kindly read through, at moderate speed, all the Mbunda items from the list you were given to verify.