

**A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF KUNDA LANGUAGE**

**BY**

**MERCY ZEMBA**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the University Of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the  
Requirements for The Degree of Master of Arts In Linguistic Science.**

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## DECLARATION

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

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Date: .....

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**APPROVAL**

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

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides a grammatical sketch of Kunda language which is spoken in the Eastern province of Zambia, particularly in Mambwe district. The dissertation focuses on the three levels of linguistic analysis and these are phonology, morphology and syntax. The analysis described in this grammatical sketch is based on data collected in the three chiefdoms of Mambwe district namely, Nsefu, Mnkhanya and Jumbe, through the use of six adult native speakers of Kunda language. Each of the informants was given lists of English words and sentences to provide equivalents in Kunda language. Data were arranged according to type and objectives. The data were then categorised according to levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study and the findings were analysed and interpreted according to these levels. The study also relied on document analysis as its source of data. This involved analysing existing manuscripts written in the language.

At phonological level, the study reveals that Kunda has five distinctive phonemic vowels and twenty four consonants. The study also reveals that Kunda language shares the syllable structures with many other Bantu languages and its common syllable patterns being the open type that include V,C, CV and CSV.

With regard to morphology, the study has established that Kunda has eighteen noun classes most of which consist of nominal prefixes which are followed by a stem. The study further reveals that some noun classes may be involved in the formation of diminutives and augmentatives. At nominal morphology, the study deals with the Kunda noun phrase which includes pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives possessives and quantifiers. The study observes that the verbal structure of Kunda contains numerous prefixes and suffixes and that the basic verbal root for Kunda is CVC. It has also been established that Kunda uses a series of suffixes in verbal derivations.

In addition, the study reveals that the basic word order for Kunda is subject, verb and object (SVO). The study also observes that the word order in Kunda is not restrictive; the position of the main clauses may vary. The study establishes that both yes-no and content questions in Kunda are distinct. The adverbial clauses in Kunda are used to provide additional information about time, place and manner.

## **DEDICATION**

To my beloved husband Mpundu, my children, Chali, Jay and Mubanga and my dear parents, the late Mr. Davies, J. and Mrs Esnart Zemba.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title of Dissertation.....	(i)
Declaration.....	(ii)
Copyright.....	(iii)
Approval.....	(iv)
Abstract.....	(v)
Dedication.....	(vi)
Acknowledgements.....	(vii)

### CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 General.....	1
1.1 The background of Kunda.....	1
1.1.1 A brief historical account of the Kunda people.....	1
1.1.2 The Kunda language.....	3
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	3
1.3 Aim of the study.....	4
1.4 Objectives.....	4
1.5 Significance of the study.....	4
1.6 Structure of the dissertation.....	4
1.7 Summary.....	5

### CHAPTER TWO: LITRERATURE REVIEW

1.0 Introduction.....	6
2.1 Literature on Kunda Language.....	6
2.2 Related grammatical studies in Zambia.....	7

2.3 Related grammatical outside Zambia.....	11
2.4 Summary.....	18

**CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN**

3.0 Introduction.....	19
3.1 Methodology.....	19
3.1.1 Research design .....	19
3.1.2 Study area and sample size.....	20
3.1.2.1 Study area.....	20
3.1.2.2 Sample size.....	20
3.1.2.3 Sampling technique.....	20
3.1.3 Data collection procedure.....	20
3.1.4 Data analysis.....	21
3.1.5 Ethical considerations.....	21
3.1.6 Limitations of the study.....	21
3.1.7 Summary.....	22

**CHAPTER FOUR: PHONOLOGY**

4.0 Introduction.....	23
4.1 Inventory of phonemes.....	23
4.1.1 Vowels.....	23
4.1.1.1 Vowel length.....	24
4.1.2 Consonants.....	25
4.1.2.1 Stops .....	26
4.1.2.2 Nasals.....	27
4.1.2.3 Pre- nasals.....	27

4.1.2.4 Fricatives.....	27
4.1.2.5 Approximants.....	28
4.1.5.6 Some phonetic variants/ Allophones of Kunda.....	28
4.1.5.7 Morphophonemic/ morph phonological processes.....	29
4.1.5.7.1 Glide formation/ semi-vocalisation.....	29
4.1.5.7.2 Coalescence.....	29
4.1.5.7.3 Elision.....	29
4.2 Tone.....	30
4.3 The syllable structure.....	30
4.4 Summary.....	31

## **CHAPTER FIVE: NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY**

5.0 Introduction .....	32
5.1 Nominal class system.....	32
5.1.1 Kunda noun classes.....	32
5.1.2 Semantics of Kunda nouns.....	34
5.1.3 Number pairings.....	40
5.1.4 Diminution and Augmentation .....	42
5.1.5 Class agreement.....	44
5.1.5.1 Class particle.....	44
5.1.5.2 Relative particle.....	45
5.2 Noun phrase.....	48
5.2.1 Components of the noun phrase.....	48
5.2.1.1 Pronouns.....	48
5.2.1.1.1 Personal pronouns.....	50

5.2.1.2 Adjectives.....	51
5.2.1.3 Possessives .....	52
5.2.1.4 Demonstratives .....	53
5.2.1.4.1 Near or proximal demonstratives .....	54
5.2.1.4.2 Medium or proximal demonstrative.....	55
5.2.1.4.3 Distant or distal demonstrative.....	55
5.2.1.5 Quantifiers.....	56
5.2.1.5.1 Cardinals.....	57
5.2.1.5.2 Ordinals.....	59
5.2.1.6 Associative nominal.....	60
5.2.1.6.1 Associative constructions expressing possessive.....	62
5.2.1.6.2 Associative constructions expressing location.....	62
5.2.1.6.3 Associative constructions expressing part or whole relation.....	63
5.2.1.6.4 Associative constructions expressing kind.....	63
5.2.1.6.5 Noun 2 modifications.....	64
5.2.1.6.5.1 Adjectives.....	64
5.2.1.6.5.2 Relative clauses.....	64
5.3 Summary.....	64

## **CHAPTER SIX: VERBAL MORPHOLOGY**

6.0 Introduction.....	66
6.1 Kunda verbal structure.....	66
6.1.1 Verbal root .....	67
6.1.2 Verbal stem.....	68
6.2 Verbal inflection.....	68

6.2.1 Tenses Aspect Mood.....	68
6.2.1.1 Tense.....	69
6.2.1.1.1 Past tenses .....	69
6.2.1.1.1.1 Today past.....	69
6.2.1.1.1.2 Immediate past perfective .....	70
6.2.1.1.1.3 Recent past (non hodiernal) .....	70
6.2.1.1.1.4 Remote past perfective.....	71
6.2.1.1.2 Present tense .....	72
6.2.1.1.3 Future tense .....	72
6.2.1.2 Aspect .....	73
6.2.1.2.1 Present progressive.....	73
6.2.1.2.2 Past progressive.....	74
6.2.1.2.2.1 Immediate past/ recent past progressive.....	74
6.2.1.2.2.2 Remote past progressive.....	74
6.2.1.2.3 Future progressive .....	75
6.2.1.2.3.1 Immediate future progressive (near future).....	75
6.2.1.2.3.2 Remote future progressive.....	76
6.2.1.2.4 Persistent .....	76
6.2.1.2.4.1 Present persistent.....	76
6.2.1.2.4.2 Past persistent .....	77
6.2.1.2.5 Anterior forms.....	78
6.2.1.2.5.1 Present anterior .....	78
6.2.1.2.5.2 Past anterior.....	78
6.2.1.3 Mode.....	79
6.2.3.1 The imperative mood .....	79

6.2.3.2 The subjunctive mood.....	79
6.3 Negation .....	82
6.4 Verbal derivation .....	84
6.4.1 The passive extension .....	84
6.4.2 The applicative.....	86
6.4.3 Causative .....	86
6.4.4 Reciprocal .....	87
6.4.5 Intensive.....	88
6.4.6 Stative .....	88
6.4.7 Reduplication .....	89
6.4.8 Reversive .....	90
6.4.9 Persistentive .....	90
6.5 Summary.....	91

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: SYNTAX**

7.0 Introduction .....	92
7.1 Basic word order .....	92
7. 2 Question form .....	93
7.2.1 Yes-No questions.....	93
7.2.2 Content questions.....	94
7.3 Clause combination / structures of sentences.....	96
7.3.1 Coordination .....	96
3.2 Subordinates .....	99
7.3.2.1 Adverbial clauses .....	100
7.3.2.1.1 Adverbs of manner .....	100

7.3.2.1.2 Adverbs of time .....	101
7.3.2.1.3 Adverbs of place .....	102
7.4 Summary.....	103

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION**

8.0 Introduction.....	104
8.1 Conclusion.....	104
8.1.1 Phonology .....	104
8.1.2 Morphology .....	104
8.1.3 Syntax .....	105
8.2 Recommendations for further research.....	105
Reference.....	106
APPENDIX A.....	111
APPENDIX B.....	119

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1 Vowels .....	23
Table 2 Consonant phonemes.....	25
Table 3 Common syllable patterns in Kunda .....	30
Table 4 Kunda class system .....	33
Table 5 Noun classes in singular and plural pairings .....	41
Table 6 Noun class Diminutives.....	42
Table 7 Augmentatives .....	43
Table 8 List of class particles .....	45
Table 9 List of relative particles.....	47

Table 10 List of independent/absolute pronouns for every noun class .....	49
Table 11 Forms of personal pronouns corresponding to three persons .....	50
Table 12 List of possessive relative pronouns .....	53
Table 13 List of Demonstratives .....	56
Table 14 The Basic numerals from one to ten .....	57
Table 15 Numerals from Eleven to Nineteen .....	58
Table 16 Roots with common consonants .....	67
Table 17 Roots with stem glides .....	67
Table 18 Roots with nasal and oval consonants .....	68
Table 19 Examples of imperatives .....	79
Table 20 Verb extensions in Kunda .....	84
Table 21 The Kunda interrogative forms .....	94

## ABREVIATIONS

Agr	Agreement
AM	Aspect marker
App	Applicative
Ass M	Associative Marker
AUX	Auxiliary
C	Consonant
Caus	Causative
Cf	Come from
CL	Noun class
CM	Class marker
CON	Concord
Cop	Copular
con.p	Connective pronoun
Conj	Conjunctive
CP	Class Particle
CS	Consonant Semi-vowel
CV	Consonant Vowel sequence
Demo	Demonstrative
Fut	Future
FV	Final Vowel
Gen TM	General Tense Marker
Imp	Imperative
IO	Indirect Object
Inf	Infinitive

Int	Intensive
IntP	interrogative particle
Loc	Locative
NC	Nasal Consonant
Neg	Negation
Neut	Neuter
N1	Noun 1
N2	Noun 2
Obj	Object
OM	Object mark
Pass	Passive
Perf	Perfective
Pers	Persistive
Pfv	Perfective
PI	Plural
1PI	1 <sup>st</sup> Person plural
2PI	2 <sup>nd</sup> Person plural
3PI	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person plural
Poss	Possessive
Pref	Prefix
Pp	Preposition
Ppx	Pronominal prefix
Prep	Pre prefix
Pres	Present tense
QP	Question particle

Rad	Radical
Rec	Reciprocal
Rel	Relative clause
Rev	Reversible
RP	Relative particle
Stat	Stative
Sub	Subject
Subj	Subjunctive
Suff	Suffix
Sg	Singular
1Sg	1 <sup>st</sup> Singular
2Sg	2 <sup>nd</sup> Person singular
3Sg	3 <sup>rd</sup> Person singular
SM	Subject marker
syl	Syllable
TAM	Tense aspect mode
TM	Tense marker
V	Vowel
VS	Vowel suffix
∅	Zero tense marker

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 General

This study provides a grammatical sketch of Kunda language. In this regard, the chapter introduces the study by providing the background information on the language under study. The chapter also provides the statement of the problem, the aim, the objectives, and the significance of the study.

### 1.1 A sociolinguistic background of Kunda

#### 1.1.1 A brief historical account of the Kunda people

The Kunda people trace their origins from the Luŵa and Lunda Kingdoms of the Mwatayamvo in the Congo Basin of today's Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Banda, Mbewe, Daka, & Sawka 2013). They then occupied part of the Lwangwa valley in the Eastern province of Zambia as well as parts of Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The Kunda claim their ethnic affinities with the Bisa group of people of Zambia that settled in their present habitat under the leadership of Mambwe, who is still a remembered figure. History has it that the Luŵa Chief Chaŵala Makumba had many wives, among them Kawa Chiloŵa. The Luŵa chief did not want male children as such male babies would be killed once they were born. Chiloŵa had only one daughter, Chiluya Manda. When Chiloŵa was pregnant, she decided to seek refuge from chief Mwani in the other chiefdom. She gave birth to the boy who was named Mambwe. The boy was kept by another chief Mwani. As Mambwe grew up into a man, he learnt about what the father was doing and how he treated his subjects, Mambwe did not like the leadership of the father.

After Mambwe, Chaŵala Makumba had other male children; these were Malama, Chula and Mcaca. On dates unknown, Mambwe, together with the mother, his sister and brothers left the Luŵa kingdom. They reached south of the Lake Bangweulu now

Northern province of Zambia and stayed there for a short while. Mambwe continued with their journey until they crossed Lwangwa and stayed at Cikuntho. While at Cikuntho, and following their mother's death, Mambwe and his brother Malama went their separate ways and Malama decided to remain at Cikuntho while Mambwe and the group continued with their journey until they reached Citempha where he distributed land to his kinsmen from the Culu clan. Tindi was given the area east of Luapula River at Mulomba presently known as Simzandu and named him Mambwe Mkongoŵala. Mnkhanya was given the area known as Nsenzi and named him Mambwe Kaŵindula. Jumbe was given katomfya, the area where he is settled now, and named him Mambwe Mcaca. Later chief Msoro Zazatike was given the area at Mutetezi where he built his palace and chief Kakumbi (Munga Kavunda) was given an area near Kafuntha stream on the east bank of the Luangwa River and built his palace at Kawelelo. Kakumbi and Msoro were both atenzi (in-laws) to Mambwe since they married the daughters to Chiluya Manda who was his only sister. Kakumbi had a task to care for the (ancestor shrines) Tuŵimba (Udelhoven, 2006:114). Mambwe himself settled at Citempha where he later fell sick and died in his old age. After his death, his nephew, Mambwe Nsakilwa, was the heir to the throne and this is where the lineage to the heir of the throne starts from to date.

According to Banda *et al* (2013:17) "the Kunda people are organized along a matriarchal system, that is, descendants trace their ancestry through the clan of their mother's side." The ethnic organization of the Kunda has three levels that is the ethnic group itself, the six chiefdoms and the villages. Their villages are headed by headmen who are the senior male members of the founding matrilineage and the position is hereditary, passing normally to the eldest sister's son. Each of the chiefdom is known by the name of the chief and his successor inherits the name together with the chiefdom (Mkunsha, 2014). The Kunda people speak a language known as Kunda which is reflective of the name of their ethnic grouping.

### **1.1.2 The Kunda language**

In Guthrie's (1967) classification of Bantu languages, Kunda is placed in Zone N, group 42 and hence coded as N42. From this classification it is clear that Kunda is an 'independent' language which should not be confused to be a dialect of other similar languages, particularly Nsenga, one of the dominant languages sharing its linguistic boundary with it. As a Bantu language, the grammar of Kunda language is characterized by a nominal class system. The nominal class system is a type of system in which nouns are paired according to their classes identified by a prefix which may denote singular or plural form. This system is also very useful for concordial agreement in the formation of phrases and sentences (Miti, 2006).

As pointed out above, Kunda is spoken in Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. In Zambia, Kunda is spoken in the Eastern part of the country and in particular, Mambwe district. In Mambwe district, the language is surrounded by other Bantu languages such as Nsenga, Bisa and Chewa, which to some extent influence its structure due to language contact (Banda *et al.*, 2013). According to 2010 Census of Population and Housing in Zambia, there were about 6,760 Native speakers of Kunda (Central Statistical Office, 2010). However, due to CSO's limitation in the collection of linguistic data, the number of speakers could either be higher or lower. The linguistic data collected by CSO does not capture the actual language practices of a group of speakers as is the case with sociolinguistic studies.

### **1.2 Statement of the problem**

There is very little known about the linguistic structure of Kunda. This entails that the language has no grammar or any form of a linguistic sketch to rely on. In short, the language has not been linguistically described except for the general work on Bantu languages done by Guthrie (1967). Although there is a mention of the language in the online ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com>), there is no known detailed work on the linguistic structure of the language elsewhere. It is in this vein that the study has been motivated.

### **1.3 Aim of the study**

The aim of the study is to conduct a linguistic analysis of Kunda language in order to present a grammatical sketch of the language.

### **1.4 Objectives**

The study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

- (a) To examine the sound system of Kunda language;
- (b) To establish the morphological system of the language;
- (c) To explore the syntactical structure of the language;

### **1.5 The significance of the study**

A linguistic analysis of Kunda language is necessary to undertake in order to provide a basic description of the linguistic system of the language which remains undocumented. The study will therefore contribute substantially towards preserving a potentially endangered language and importantly, it may provide a starting point for further linguistic studies in Kunda as it will serve as a first reference grammar of the language.

### **1.6 Structure of the dissertation**

The study is structured into eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the study by providing the sociolinguistic background information to the study. It also gives the historical background of the Kunda language, the Kunda people and its neighboring languages. The chapter provides the statement of the problem, aim, objectives, and the significance of the study and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter two outlines the literature that was reviewed. The chapter is divided into three sections namely, literature on Kunda language, related linguistic studies in Zambia and related linguistic studies outside Zambia. The third chapter deals with the research methodology while chapter four presents a brief overview of some phonological aspects of Kunda. Chapter five and six deal with morphology and chapter seven deals with

some aspects of syntax. Chapter eight is the conclusion; it gives the summary of the whole study.

### **1.7 Summary**

This chapter introduced the study by presenting background information, stating the problem under investigation, providing the significance of the investigation. The chapter has also outlined the aim and objectives of the study. The chapter ends by presenting the structure of the dissertation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with literature review. The chapter is organized into three main parts, namely, a section on existing literature on Kunda language, a section on selected and related linguistic studies in Zambia and another on other related literature outside Zambia.

#### 2.1 Literature on Kunda language

There is very little scholarly work conducted on Kunda language. The only available literature on Kunda is '*Mapangano a lomb*' which was first published in 1923 in form of a New Testament Bible. However, this publication cannot be said to have been written solely in Kunda because it equally incorporates some aspects of Nsenga and as such it was known as Kunda-Nsenga version of the New Testament (Banda *et al.*, 2013). Other existing texts in Kunda include an Anglican hymn book and the Kunda Oral and Traditions book called '*Visiilano*' authored by Anifield (1936). These texts also integrate Kunda and Nsenga language and on account of that they may not be described as purely written in Kunda language.

Although Banda *et. al.* (2013) provides what one might describe as the first linguistic treatment of Kunda language; their scope is slightly oriented towards comparing the lexica of Kunda language and that of its neighboring languages such as Bisa, Chewa and Nsenga. Furthermore, the scope of their study was oriented towards language development assessment whose main objective was to enhance the translation of the Bible as well as other literacy programs in Kunda.

Notwithstanding the scope of Banda's *et al* (2013) study, whose findings do not specifically address the overall linguistic structure of Kunda language, which may involve, among others, aspects of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, the

results of this study are of great importance to this study as they provide the starting point.

## **2.2 Related grammatical studies in Zambia**

In view of the scanty literature on Kunda language, the literature review for the present study was extended to other related studies carried out on other Bantu languages in Zambia in order to draw insights from them. In this regard, there are several grammatical analyses conducted on a number of languages spoken in Zambia. I have purposefully selected a few of them which include: An outline of *Chitonga Grammar* (Carter, 2002), *A Grammar of Luvale* (Horton, 1937); *A Grammar of Chichewa* (Waltkins, 1937), *A Linguistic Analysis of Cinsenga* (Miti, 2001) and *the Grammar of Lamba* (Doke 1937).

*An Outline of Chitonga Grammar* (Carter, 2002) essentially deals with the grammatical system of the Tonga language. The outline begins by providing the sound system and the orthography of Tonga. It further deals with some aspects of morphology and syntax. This text was useful to the current study because it offered some insights on the sound system and some aspects of morphology as they relate to Bantu languages.

Horton (1937) provides a thorough description of Luvale language, another Bantu language spoken in Zambia and Angola. The text gives a comprehensive analysis of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. According to Horton, Luvale has five vowels as follows: /a, e, i, o, u/ and 22 consonants as follows:/p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ny, ŋ, f, v, s, z, x, j, h, c, j, l, w, y/. Horton (1937) states that vowels in Luvale are of differing lengths in pronunciation and that length is determined by three factors; stress and position, semantic distinction and coalescence.

From a morphological point of view, Horton (1937) establishes that Luvale nouns are divided into ten classes and four subclasses, according to the prefixes which they assume. He also deals with pronouns, verbal derivatives and states that verbs in Luvale may be inflected in various ways by suffixes to form derivatives.

Syntactically, Horton (1937) deals with conjugation of the verbs, adverbs, conjunctives and interrogatives. He further deals with grammatical structures such as word-division, concord, word-order, and parts of speech of Luvale language. Although Luvale is not closely related to Kunda, some descriptions provided in this particular grammar especially on morphology and syntax were insightful, partly because Luvale is a Bantu language just as is Kunda.

Watkins' (1937) work on *A Grammar of Cichewa*, A Bantu language of British Central Africa provides further linguistic insights to the current study. Like the previous grammatical studies reviewed above, Watkins (1937) deals with some aspects of phonology and morphology of Cichewa language.

At phonological level, Watkins (1937) classifies Cichewa as a tone language like many other Bantu languages in that tone is distinctive in this particular language. Watkins (1937) further deals with the phonetic system of the language. He thus identifies five vowels as follows: / i,ɛ,a,ɔ,u/ and 19 consonants as /b, p, d, t, g, k, v, f, s, z, c, ɣ, h, m, n, ŋ, l, w, y/ which correspond to the number of phonemes.

Morphologically, Watkins (1937) deals with nominal and verbal morphology. He presents the classes in terms of the noun prefixes (singular and plural), the verbal Concordia agreement (subject and objective), and the qualificative concordial agreement, Watkins further describes tense, aspect and modality of Cichewa language. He also describes verbal derivatives, pronouns, locatives, conjunctives and interjections.

Watkin's descriptions of many linguistic structures in the Cichewa language guided my analysis of similar Kunda forms. His descriptions on the inventory of phonemes, grammatical processes, noun structure, verbal derivatives and pronouns helped my understanding of similar aspects in Kunda.

A notable study reviewed is Miti's (2001) *A linguistic analysis of Cinsenga*, a Bantu language spoken by the Angoni of Chipata district in the Eastern province of Zambia. This study is notable in that it is one of the most well-known extensive linguistic descriptions of a Zambian language closely related to Kunda. From this perspective, Miti (2001) provides a fairly comprehensive morphological description of Cinsenga language and a brief description of its sound system. He also touches on some aspects of the syntax of Cinsenga.

At the phonological level, Miti (2001) deals with the Cinsenga sound system and identifies a five vowel system consisting of /i,u,e,o and a/ and twenty-two consonant phonemes which include approximants as in /p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g, m, n, ny, ng' f, v, s, z, sh, zh, ŵ, l, y, w/. Miti (2001) reveals that Cinsenga uses pitch to indicate lexical meaning and to show grammatical relationships. The basic tones identified are High (H), low (L) and surface falling (F) tone. In addition, Miti identifies four main syllable types in Cinsenga which include: Vowel (V) as in **e-la-la** 'he slept', consonant C; as in **m-pú-nga** 'rice', CV; as in **ci-nth** 'thing' and the CSvV-syllable as in **kwa-su** 'my home'.

At morphological level, Miti (2001) describes the nominal and verbal forms. Cinsenga has seventeen nominal classes. Miti also deals with morphophonemic processes affecting nouns which include elision, glide formation, truncation and coalescence. Miti further describes the pronominal forms based on the morphological structure and not on syntactic functions. The pronominal forms include absolute pronouns, the deictic pronouns, the connective pronouns, the Quantitative pronouns, the possessive pronouns and the interrogative pronouns. Miti (2001) asserts that there are four personal absolute pronouns and seventeen nominal class absolute pronouns in Cinsenga. Miti further reveals that the basic verbal structure in Bantu languages consists of a radical (rad) and affixes. The affixes may include subject markers (sm), object markers (Om), tense and aspect markers (tm) and various derivational suffixes as in **ni-ka-lil- e** 'I will cry'.

In addition, Miti (2001) provides a description of tense, aspect and mood. He identifies verbal extensions in Cinsenga and these are passive /-iw-/, causative /-ish-/, applicative /-il-/, persistive /-ilil-/ reversive /-ulul-/, potential /-ik-/, intensive /-ish-/ and reciprocal /-an-/. He further deals with a semantic categorization and morphological analysis of adverbial forms which included manner, time, and place.

At syntactic level, Miti (2001) states that the word order for simple main clause declarative sentences is SVO as in the following example; *cisilu cikulya mumbu* 'the fool eats maize' but due to topicalisation, patterns such as VOS are accepted. Miti reveals that in the noun phrase, the subject and object slots may respectively be occupied by a single noun. Miti (2001) asserts that generally the noun in the noun phrase precedes the modifier and that the modifier must agree with the class of the head noun.

Miti (2001) also establishes that in a verb phrase, a phrase structure rule for Cinsenga is VP-V (Np) (Loc) (Adv p) (Ideo). He contends that the verb phrase in Cinsenga may consist of a verb followed by one or more of the categories in the parenthesis. Word order possibilities in relative clauses are more restricted than in simple declarative sentences and in other subordinate clauses

Miti's analysis of the morphophonemic process affecting nouns, his description of the nominal class system, pronominal forms, verbal extensions as well as noun phrases also guided the analysis of similar Kunda forms. Miti's work is therefore important to this study because he provides a detailed account of the morphology and syntax of Cinsenga whose scope is related to the current study.

Another piece of work worth mentioning is *The Grammar of the Lamba Language* by Doke (1922). Lamba is one of the Bantu languages spoken on the Copper belt and parts of Northwestern provinces of Zambia. Doke provides a detailed grammatical account of the language by looking at some aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax.

In providing the grammar of the language, Doke (1922) approaches it from three linguistic levels namely phonological, morphological and syntactical. At phonological level, Doke provides the sound system of Lamba and states that there are five main vowels as follows; /a, e, i, o, u/ and 19 consonants which are grouped into nasals [m, ɱ, n, ɳ, ŋ], plosives [p, b, t, d, c, k, j, g] fricatives [f, v, w̥, s,] laterals [l] and semivowels [w, y].

At morphological level, Doke (1922) describes the nominal class system and establishes that Lamba nouns are divided into eleven classes with singular and plural prefixes. Doke (1922) also deals with the pronominal forms, the verb, derivative verb forms indicating the passive, neuter and neuter passive voices, applied form, intensive, causative, reflexive and reciprocal form. He further describes the adverbs, prepositions and conjunctives.

At syntactic level, Doke (1922) discusses the word order, the concord, the verb and the sentence as well as relative clauses, consecutive clauses, conditional clauses, concession clauses and interrogative clauses. Doke's insightful work on the grammar of Lamba is relevant to the current study because it provides a basis for the analysis of similar Kunda forms. However, Doke's work is somewhat lacking in that in most cases, he only provides descriptions of the different aspects of the grammar of Lamba without subjecting them to detailed analysis.

### **2.3 Related grammatical studies outside Zambia**

There are many studies conducted on the grammatical analysis of some Bantu languages outside Zambia. However, for the purpose of this study, only a few have been reviewed. These include; *A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian* (Abdel-Hafiz, 1988); *Aspects of Phonology and Morphology of Shimakonde* (Liphola 2001); Others reviewed include: *A Reference Grammar of Bena* (Morrison, 2011); *A Grammatical description of Buwal* (Viljoen, 2013) and *The Grammar of Nzadi* (Crane, Hyman, and Tukumu 2011).

Abdel-Hafiz's (1988) study, *A Reference Grammar of Kunuz Nubian*, a language spoken in Egypt focused on the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. From the phonological point of view, Abdel describes the phonemic system and phonetic variation of the language and contends that there are five short and five corresponding long vowels in Kunuz nubian as follows /i, e a, o, u/ /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/ and 15 consonants as follows /t, k, b, j, g, m, n, ɲ, f, s, š, h, l/r, w, y/. Abdel (1988) further establishes the syllable structure and states that Kunuz Nubian has four syllable types as V, VC, CV and CVC.

Morphologically, Abdel-Hafiz (1988) deals with both nominal and verbal morphology. At the nominal level, he deals with structure of nouns, adjectives and pronouns. At the verbal morphological level, Abdel-Hafiz establishes that Kunuz Nubian has several derivation morphemes and that the verb takes five grammatical categories such as mood, tense, number, person and aspect.

At the syntactic level, Abdel (1988) describes word order and contends that the basic word order for Kunuz Nubian is SVO. He further deals with noun phrases, numerals, relative clauses, complement clauses, adverb clauses, coordination, and subordination. Some descriptions provided in Abdel-Hafiz's study were insightful and relevant to the current study in that he focuses on phonology, morphology and syntax, the scope of the current study although Kunuzi Nubian is different from Kunda with regards to constituent order.

In his study, *Aspects of Phonology and Morphology of Shimakonde*, a language spoken in northeastern Mozambique and southern Tanzania, Liphola (2001) provide a descriptive account of the aspects of phonology and morphology of the language. He deals with the sound inventory and contends that there are five phonemic vowels in Shimakonde as follows / a, e, i, o, u/ and 18 consonantal phonemes as follows / b, c, d, g, j, k, l, m, n, ŋ, ɲ, p, s, sh, t, v, w, y/.

At morphological level, Liphola (2001) discusses the noun class system of the language. He states that Shimakonde nouns are divided into 18 classes and the class of the noun is indicated by a prefix. Liphola further contends that class agreement in Shimakonde is reflected by the subject prefix and object prefix, and that verbs do not use noun class prefixes.

Liphola (2001) identifies 23 positive verbal tenses in Shimakonde and every tense has a corresponding negative form, including one volitional future tense which brings the total number of tenses to 45. In addition Liphola establishes eight verbal extensions in Shimakonde as follows Applied, Causative, Impositive, Passive, repetitive, Reversive, Reciprocal and Stative.

Phonologically, Liphola (2001) provides a detailed description of consonantal phonology and the basic phonological rules involving consonants. He further deals with processes that apply when two vowels are brought together word internally or at the phrase level. In addition Liphola deals with consonantal mutation, Hiatus resolution and verbal tonology. Liphola's insightful descriptions on noun morphology and verbal morphology were relevant to the current study. His detailed descriptions on noun classes, class agreement, tenses and verbal extensions strategies enabled me to discover Kunda's techniques for expressing similar structures. However, his descriptions on consonantal and vocalic phonology, his detailed analysis on phrasal tone and its operations were not important to the current study.

*A Reference Grammar of Bena*, a Bantu language spoken in south-western Tanzania, is another important study which also informed the current one. Morrison provides a detailed grammar of Bena thereby providing some important insights on the analysis of Kunda linguistic forms. As with other similar works, Morrison approaches the grammar of Bena from three levels of linguistic analysis, namely phonology, morphology and syntax.

At phonological level, Morrison (2011) begins with an overview of the segmental inventory of Bena. She contends that Bena has twenty two consonants namely /p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, f, v, s, h, ts, mb, ns, nd, ng, w, l, y/ and five vowels as follows /i, e, a, o, u/ and both exhibit contrastive length. Morrison (2011) identifies the consonants according to their various classes as follows: stops, nasals, fricatives, affricatives, pre-nasalized consonants and approximants.

Morrison (2011) further contends that vowel length in Bena is phonemic and results into vowel contrasts at the segmental level. In addition, she states that Bena allows open syllable structures and syllable onsets may either be simple or complex and that tone plays an important role for both lexical and grammatical purposes. She further deals with morphophonemic processes such as glide formation, vowel harmony, spirantisation and imbrication.

At morphological level, Morrison (2011) describes the noun classes in Bena and identifies some of the semantic characteristics of nouns belonging inherently to the class. Morrison (2011) establishes nineteen different classes in Bena. She points out that a class is marked by a prefix on the noun and triggers nominal concord with other elements and that Bena nouns typically consist of an optional augment, a noun class prefix and a nominal stem. Locative nouns have two noun class prefixes; the locative prefix and the inherent noun class prefix as illustrated below.

#### **Augment + locative noun class prefix + noun class prefix + nominal stem**

Morrison (2011) further contends that nominal derivation is an extremely productive process in in that nouns may be derived from other nouns, from adjectives, or from verbs. She further discusses the structure of the noun phrase and constituents that occur with the noun phrase. Morrison (2011) further states that the verbal structure in Bena contains numerous prefixes and suffixes. She further deals with subject marking, tense, aspect, negation and other various derivational properties. Morrison identifies

Bena derivational suffixes as follows; passive, applicative, causative, reciprocal, stative, separative, intensive, repetitive, positional extensive and reduplication.

At syntactic level, Morrison (2011) establishes the basic word order in Bena as SVO in transitive sentences and SV in intransitive sentences. She adds that the subject in Bena is the most prominent grammatical relation because it controls agreement. Morrison (2011) deals with adverbial clauses and states that adverbial clauses in Bena can take the form of relative clauses, infinitives and fully finite clauses. Additionally, Morrison discusses the types of adverbial clauses; time, purpose, location, manner, reason, conditional and concessive. Morrison's detailed description of many different linguistic structures in the Bena language provided a basis for analysis of similar Kunda structures and helped describe the various tenses in the current study.

In her study of Buwal, a Bantu language spoken in the far North of the region of Cameroon, Viljoen (2013) gives a description of grammar with a particular focus on the phonology, morphology and syntax of various linguistic units such as words, phrases and clauses. At phonological level, Viljoen deals with the notion of the underlying root skeleton which is a well-known idea in the study of Semitic languages. Viljoen (2013), states that the structure of lexemes consists of a consonant skeleton to which other peripheral phonological elements such as vowels, prosodies and tones are added. Viljoen adds that the underlying structure of lexemes in Buwal can also be said to consist of a series of consonants and one full vowel phoneme /a/. as in Ca [dɛ] /dà/ "prepare/cook" CaC [bɛʒɛ] /bʒǎ/ "bless"

Viljoen (2013) identifies thirty nine consonant phonemes in Buwal and the most common are the implosives, the lateral, the lateral fricatives and the labial-dental flap. The complex consonants include the pre-nasalized plosives, the affricates and the labialized velar and that the Buwal vowel system involves only one underlying vowel. She also reveals that Buwal has seven syllable types and there are no restrictions to the distribution of these syllables. These are V; CV; CV; CVC; CCV and CCVC.

At morphological level, Viljoen (2013) contends that the nominal system is mostly isolating and there is very little affixation. The only nominal affix is a plural marker which only occurs with a small set of animate nouns and that the properties of nouns and verbs in Buwal overlap in that they can both function as complements of preposition. Viljoen (2013) further states that the most common noun structures in Buwal are CaCaC and CCaC, followed by CaCCaC and CaC. There are no nouns that begin with a vowel like the case is with Kunda. According to Viljoen (2013) Buwal has three tense/aspect prefixes which follow the subject agreement marker and precede the verb root. He states that Buwal is both prefixing and suffixing with a slight preference for suffixation and that reduplication of syllables or the whole phonological word is very common and found in all major word classes. .

At syntactic level, Viljoen (2013) reveals that the basic word order of Buwal clauses is SVO/SV, with an indirect object following a direct object. Viljoen contends that Buwal has verb less clauses in which the subject precedes the predicate. He further states that grammatical relations in Buwal are organized according to nominative/accusative system in that subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses are treated in the same way and are coded by both word order and verbal agreement marking. Viljoen (2013), states that negation in Buwal is marked by a negative particle occurring at the end of a clause. He identifies two main negative markers in Buwal; the plain negative *k<sup>w</sup>āw/ sk<sup>w</sup>āw* and the existential negative *ák<sup>w</sup>āw / ásk<sup>w</sup>āw*.

Viljoen (2013) points out that subordinate clauses in Buwal can be divided into three types: complement, relative and adverbial. Relative clauses are marked with an invariable relative marker *má* and it can be used alone to mark temporal adverbial clauses. She further contends that adverbial clauses in Buwal are categorized according to their semantic type, and the structures used to express each type. In addition Viljoen states that Buwal has constructions which express conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination and adversative coordination. Although the underlying structure of the Buwal language is different from that of Kunda, Viljoen's

explanation of coordination and subordinate clauses aided me in identifying Kunda subordinate clauses and provided valuable linguistic insights to the current study.

Another study is that of Crane, Hyman and Tukumu (2011) on Nzadi, a Bantu language spoken in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Crane *et.al* (2011) deal with phonology, morphology and syntax. At phonological level, they present the word and stem structure, syllable structure, the vowel system, the consonant system and the phonological rules. In addition tone is also analyzed. Crane *et.al* (2011) state that Nzadi distinguishes seven contrasting vowels, which can occur short or long: and these are /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u/ and 22 consonants as follows /p, b, t, d, k, (g), kp, (gb), (pf), bv, ts, dz, f, v, s, z, m, n, l, (r), y, w/.

They contend that Nzadi contain monosyllabic and bisyllabic stems. Words from all parts of speech can consist of a free-standing stem of one or two syllable. Crane *et.al* (2011) add that stems in Nzadi obligatorily begin with a consonant, while grammatical markers such as nouns and verb prefixes may consist of a single **V-** or homorganic nasal **N-** and that all vowels except /u/ may occur as a prefix as in *ibaa* 'man' *ebin* 'door' Crane *et.al* (2011) states that VNC sequences also occur in Nzadi and that they are syllabified between the vowel and the nasal. They further state that there are a number of phonological rules that affect vowels and consonants in Nzadi and most of these rules are morphophonemic. The major processes are vowel coalescence, shortening, centralization, vowel harmony and nasalization. In addition, they reveal that Nzadi contrasts two tone levels High and Low and these two may in turn combine to produce HL (falling), LH (rising), LHL (rising-falling) contours and the tone bearing unit is a syllable.

At morphological level, Crane *et.al* (2011) deal with noun, noun phrase, the verb, tense aspect mood and negation. They state that a noun stem in Nzadi consists of a single syllable which, in most cases, is preceded by a vowel or a nasal. According to Crane *et.al* (2011) Nzadi has only four underlying prefixes, /i-/ , /a-/ , /e-/ and /o-/. They state that although the noun prefixes and their singular/ plural pairings clearly derive from PB

noun classes, the only surviving noun class agreement in Nzadi occurs in the genitive construction.

Crane *et.al* (2011) reveal that most verb stems in Nzadi contain a single syllable root, always consonant- initial and may have any of the shapes as follows CV, CVV, CVC, CVVC, and can be schematized as CV (V) (C). Bisyllabic verbs are limited to CVCsa, CVCka, CVCul, CVCuk, CVCil, CVCan. Crane *et.al* (2011) add that Nzadi sentences inflect for tense, aspect and mood and for negation. Tenses distinguished in Nzadi include past, present, and future and mood distinctions include negation, imperative mood, and subjunctive/hortative mood.

Syntactically, Crane *et.al* (2011) contends that main clauses in Nzadi have the form S-Aux-V-(X), where x can be a direct object (DO) or other complement or adjunct. The subject is obligatorily overt, either as a full lexical noun phrase (NP) or as a pronoun. They add that di-transitive may be expressed in two constructions: double object (S-V-DO-DO) and object + oblique (S-V-DO-Obl). Crane *et.al* (2011) further deals with coordination and subordination. They point out that coordination of different kinds of constituents is marked by the same conjunction 'ye'. Crane *et.al*'s study provides further linguistic insights to the current study

## **2.4 Summary**

This chapter has reviewed selected works that were consulted in this research. From the reviewed literature, it is clear to note that the grammar of every language discussed constitutes the three main levels of linguistic analysis. These include phonology, morphology and syntax. Each of the studies reviewed seem to take a similar approach in their analysis of linguistic items of the languages involved. However, their scope and depth of analysis depends on whether the aim of the study was to provide a grammatical sketch or a detailed account of the grammar of the language concerned. However, regardless of the scope of a grammatical analysis, it is clear that the main levels of linguistic analysis occupy an important place in such studies.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the research design and the methodology employed in the study. The chapter goes on to provide the data collection procedures and how the data was analyzed.

### **3.1 Methodology**

#### **3.1.1 Research Design**

A research design is a plan or strategy which moves from the underlying assumptions to specify the selection of respondents, the data gathering techniques to be used and the data analysis to be done (Maree 2007). It is the conceptual structure within which research is conducted. A study design therefore, can either employ qualitative or quantitative approach.

According to Strauss and Corbin (1990:17), qualitative research is “any kind of research that produces findings not assured at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantifications”. It has data collected by interacting with people. It describes and analyses people’s individual and collective social actions, beliefs, thoughts and actions. Qualitative research is an enquiry process of understanding a social or a human problem, based on building a complex, holistic picture formed with words, reporting detailed views of informants, and conducting the study in a natural setting (Creswell 2003). The qualitative approach was used in order to collect data in detail for the results to be taken as true, correct, complete and believable reports of the views and experiences of informants. Mungenda and Mungenda (1999), state that by using qualitative method, researchers are able to collect data and explain phenomena more deeply and exhaustively”. The researcher observed the languages in use by native speakers in its natural usage and in more informal, relaxed settings to encourage subjects to participate in the research. The qualitative approach exercised flexibility in all aspects of research process in that the researcher was able to change course when

things proved otherwise. The research framework and direction were revised as new information emerged.

Within the qualitative research approach, this study employed a descriptive research design. According to [www.thefreedictionary.com/phonology](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/phonology) (2012), descriptive linguistics refers to “a description at a given point of time of a language with respect to its phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics without value judgments”. Therefore, this study employed the descriptive approach to analyze and describe the phonology, morphology and syntax of the Kunda language as spoken by the native speakers.

### **3.1.2 STUDY AREA AND SAMPLE SIZE**

#### **3.1.2.1 STUDY AREA**

The sample for this study was drawn from three chiefdoms of Mambwe district in Eastern Province of Zambia namely Nsefu, Mnkhanya and Jumbe.

#### **3.1.2.2 SAMPLE SIZE**

From the areas stated above, a purposive sample of 6 persons, four males and two females of varying age and social status were selected for the study.

#### **3.1.2.3 SAMPLING TECHNIQUE**

Informants were chosen through purposive sampling techniques targeting the native speakers of the language to obtain samples from the areas under investigation. The six informants were selected on the basis of them being first language speakers and originating from the areas of study.

### **3.1.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE**

The data collection exercise was undertaken over a period of five months. The study is based on responses from the six informants and document analysis. As indicated above, all the informants were native speakers of Kunda who lived in the respective areas of study for the greater part of their lives.

A word and the sentence list involving 225 and 501 items, respectively were distributed to native speakers of Kunda who were purposively sampled. The informants were asked to translate the list of words and sentences from English to Kunda in the written form. Since the word and sentence lists were in English, the researcher selected informants who were native speakers of Kunda and able to translate the Basic English vocabulary and sentences into Kunda. However, the researcher was able to further probe the informants to give examples or equivalents to Cinsenga words and sentences when she needed them to clarify certain aspects. The use of Cinsenga in this respect was used because it is a commonly used language in Mambwe.

#### **3.1.4 DATA ANALYSIS**

Data analysis started during the data collection period. In qualitative research approach, data analysis begins while data collection is going on (Mugenda & Mugenda 1999). After collection of comprehensive data, data were sorted or arranged according to type and objectives. Secondly, data were categorized according to levels of linguistic analysis applied in the study, namely phonology, morphology and syntax. The data analysis was done according to phonological, morphological and syntactic levels of linguistic analysis. Being a descriptive study, this research does not apply any specific theoretical framework.

#### **3.1.5 Ethical considerations**

Permission was sought from the informants to ensure that they participate voluntarily. The researcher fully explained the purpose of the research in advance to informants. The researcher respected the rights and views of the informants.

#### **3.1.6 Limitations of the study**

The study is limited to Kunda spoken in Mambwe district. Due to its scope, the study could not make use of all the chiefdoms, it concentrated only on three chiefdoms and these are Nsefu, Mnkanya and Jumbe. The study has not comprehensively discussed all the aspects of Kunda grammar because it is a grammatical sketch. The study has not included tone.

### **3.1.7 Summary**

This chapter focused on the research design and the methodology applied in the study. This was done by first explaining research design identified for the study and then the research approach used, that is, qualitative approach. The chapter then considered the methodology used by providing information on the sampling technique used, the data collection procedure and how data were analyzed. The chapter concluded with a section on ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE SOUND SYSTEM OF KUNDA LANGUAGE

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the sound system of Kunda language. The chapter first identifies the general sounds found in Kunda according to their types. Thereafter, the chapter looks at the syllable structure of the language.

#### 4.1 An inventory of Kunda phonemes

##### 4.1.1 Vowels

Based on the inventory of phonemes from the data analysed, it is evident that Kunda has a five distinctive phonemic vowel system that is 2 high, 2 mid and 1 low or 3 fronts and 2 backs, consisting of /i, e, a, o, u/ as in table 1 below. These vowels are phonologically represented with their corresponding phonetic symbols as below:

**Table 1: Vowels**

	<b>Front</b>	<b>Back/round</b>
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low	a	

The five vowels shown in the table above have phonemic status in Kunda as they are contrastive as in the following minimal pairs below:

#### 1. Minimal pairs involving some vowels

(a). mano 'intelligence'

meno 'teeth'

(b). munzi 'villages'

menzi 'water'

(c). mutwe 'head'  
mitwe 'heads'

(d). nzila 'manner'  
nzala 'hunger'

(e). kulya " to eat'  
kolya 'you eat'

#### 4.1.1.1 Vowel length

Vowel length in Kunda is distinctive and occurs in at least four vowels /ii, ee, aa, uu/ though not phonemically contrastive as illustrated below;

- 2 (a). ta-akoyenda [taakoyenda] 'she is not walking'  
(b). ta- enze [teenze] 'was not'  
(c). ta-ali [taali] 'was not'  
(d). ku-umvwa [kuumvwa] 'to hear'  
(e). ŵali-imbile [ŵaliimbile] 'they sung'

There is no contrastive semantic distinction between long and short vowels in Kunda; hence there are no examples to illustrate the pairs of contrast. There is no phonetic evidence to support long vowel for /oo/ phoneme. Vowel length in Kunda may be derived through fusion and coalescence. When two vowels come into sequence, the other vowel fuses with the other and is therefore pronounced long as in (2b) above. And when two like vowels are in sequence, they coalesce in to a long vowel as illustrated in these combinations below;

- 3 (a). a+a = aa  
(b). a+e = ee  
(c). i+i = ii  
(d). u+u = uu.

### 4.1.2 Consonants

Kunda has 24 consonantal phonemes. These consonants include stops, nasals, fricatives as well as palatal approximant /y/, the velar approximant /w/, the alveolar approximant /l/ and the labial approximant /w̃/. These consonants are grouped according to the chart below. There are unvoiced and voiced consonants. Voiceless consonants are on the left of each column represented by the minus [-] sign and the voiced are on the right represented by a plus [+] sign.

**Table 2: Consonantal phonemes**

	Labial		Alveolar		palatal		Velar	
	-	+						
Stops	p	b	t	d	c	j	k	g
Aspirated	ph		th				kh	
Nasals		m		n		ny		ng (nj)
Prenasals		mb	ns	nd				ng
Fricatives	f	v	s	z	sh	zh		
Approximant		w̃		l		y		w

The above consonants have a phonemic status in Kunda and to show that they are distinct segments, a minimal pair test is provided.

4 (a). munzi 'village' /z/  
mumsi 'pestle' /s/

(b). muzya 'slave' /zy/  
munda 'field' /nd/

(c). citonga 'cob of maize' /tʃ/  
vitonga 'maize' (pl) /v/

(d). langa 'to initiate' /l/  
manga 'build' /m/

(e). mukati 'inside' /m/  
pakati 'in the middle' /p/

(f). nunsha 'smell' /n/  
punsha 'steal' /p/

(g). kanshi 'yet' /sh/  
kanji 'my small thing' /j/

(h). vwala 'to dress' /w/  
vyala 'to bear a child'/y/

(i). kankwino 'small hoe' /k/  
tunkwino 'small hoes' /t/

(j). ng'anga 'witch doctor'/ŋ/  
nanda 'house' /n/

(k). cinkhombé 'clay pot' /kh/  
cikumbe 'farmer' /k/

(l). fuma 'come out' /f/  
puma 'to hit' /p/

(m). munthu 'person' /th/  
mutwe 'head' /t/

(n). kumphá 'to give me' /ph/  
kufwá 'to die' /f/

(o). mbuzi 'goat' /mb/  
munzi 'village'/m/

(p). nyungwa 'elephant without tusks'/ɲ/  
m'punga 'rice' /m/

These consonantal phonemes are classified as follows:

#### 4.1.2.1 Stops

Kunda has voiceless and voiced stops at the labial, alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation. There are eight stops in all. /p, t, c, k, b, d, j, g/

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop [p] as in *pompwe* 'thief'

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop [t] as in *mutwe* 'head', *citi* 'tree'

/c/ voiceless alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ] as in *cisasa* 'door', *cinthu* 'thing', *cule* 'frog'

/k/ voiceless velar stop [k] as in *kwatu* 'ear' *koni* 'bird'

/b/ voiced bilabial stop [b] as in *lemba* 'write', *lamba* 'belt'

/d/ voiced alveolar stop [d] as in *nkhunde* 'cowpeas', *nanda* 'house'

/j/ voiced alveopalatal affricate [dʒ] [dʒ] as in *nunji* 'porcupine'

/g/ voiced velar stop [g] as in *ng'nga* 'witchdoctor', *longa* 'put together'

/p<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated bilabial stop [p<sup>h</sup>] as in *mphasa* 'mat', *cisamphi* 'bedmat'

/t<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated alveolar stop [t<sup>h</sup>] as in *nthekwe* 'sniffing item'

/k<sup>h</sup>/ aspirated alveolar stop [k<sup>h</sup>] as in *nkhuni* 'firewood', *nkhunde* 'cowpeas'

Aspirated stops are always voiceless.

#### 4.1.2.2 Nasals

Kunda has four nasals and these are /m, n, ny and ng/ at the labial, alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation.

/m/ labial nasal [m] as in *wama* 'mother'

/n/ alveolar nasal [n] as *nsele* 'insults' *nanda* 'house'

/ny/ palatal nasal [ɲ] as in *nyungwa* 'elephant without tusks'

/ng'/ velar nasal [ŋ] as in *ng'anga* 'witch doctor'

#### 4.1.2.3 Prenasals

Kunda has four different prenasalised consonants and these are prenasalised stops /ng, mb, nd/ and a prenasalised fricative /ns/

/ng/ prenasalised velar stop [ŋ] as in *unga* 'mealiemeal', *nguluwê* 'pig'

/mb/ prenasalised labial stop [mb] as in *mbowo* 'buffalo', *kuimba* 'to sing'

/nd/ prenasalised alveolar stop [nd] as in *tandala* 'to visit', *kwendo* 'leg'

/ns/ prenasalised alveolar fricative [ns] as in *linso* 'eye', *nswanda* 'basket'

#### 4.1.2.4. Fricatives

Kunda has six fricatives. Two labial dental fricatives, two alveolar and two palatal fricatives as follows:

/f/ voiceless labial fricative [f] as in *fufuta* 'fog', *mafina* 'pus'

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative [s] as in *cisasa* 'Reed door' *nswanda* 'basket'

/sh/ voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] as in *kununsha* 'to smell'

/v/ voiced labial fricative [v] as in *vitekwa* 'domestic animals', *vitonga* 'maize'

/z/ voiced alveolar fricative [z] as in *mwezi* 'moon', *zuwâ* 'sun', *zembe* 'axe'

/zy/ voiced palatal fricative [ʒ] as in *muzya* 'slave'

/w/ bilabial approximant [w] as in *wana* 'children' *muwili* 'body', *zuwâ* 'sun'

#### 4.1.2.5 Approximants

Kunda has three approximants, the lateral approximant /l/, the palatal approximant /j/ and the velar approximant /w/ as in the illustrations below:

/l/ alveolar lateral approximant [l] as in *lunzi* 'fly', *lala* 'sleep'

/y/ palatal approximant/ glide [j] as in *paya* 'kill'

/w/ velar approximant/glide [w] as in *walwa* 'beer', *nswanda* 'basket'

It is worth noting that Kunda has one major liquid, the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and that glides are analysed as consonants rather than vowels since they occupy consonantal slots in the phonological structure. Labio dental fricative /v/ is followed by the labio-velar approximant /w/ and palatal approximant /y/ in some instances as in *vwala* 'to dress up' and *vyola* 'bag', respectively.

#### 4.1.2.6 Some phonetic variants/allophones of Kunda

Allophones are different realisations of phonemes (Roach 1991). In Kunda some phonemes have variations depending on the position in which they occur.

The phoneme /b/ in Kunda is realised as [b] only when preceded by the homorganic nasal /m/ as in [mb], and realised as fricative [w̥] when it occurs elsewhere. e.g. *mbew̥a* 'mice'. Similarly the phoneme [d] only occurs when preceded by the homorganic alveolar nasal /n/, e.g. *nanda* 'house'. The phonetic realisation of phoneme /g/ is [g] only when preceded by a nasal /n/, e.g. *sengo* 'horn'. The fricative /z/ in Kunda is realised as palatal [ʒ] when it occurs before /j/ and as [z] elsewhere, e.g. *muzya*- [muʒa] 'slave' and *zuw̥a* 'sun', respectively.

[ph], [th] and [kh] are allophones of the voiceless bilabial stop /p/, voiceless alveolar stop /t/ and voiceless velar stop /k/ respectively. The phoneme /p/ is realised as aspirated [p<sup>h</sup>] only when preceded by a nasal /m/, as in *cisamphi* 'bed mat'. In the same vein the phoneme /t/ and /k/ are realised as aspirated [t<sup>h</sup>] and [k<sup>h</sup>] when preceded by a homorganic alveolar nasal /n/ as in *nthekwe* 'sniffing item' and *nkhunde* 'cowpeas'.

#### 4.1.2.7 Morphophonemic / morphophonological processes

Morphophonological processes occur as a result of the interface of morphological and phonological effects at some level. There are three types of morphophonological processes in Kunda, namely glide formation, coalescence and fusion.

##### 4.1.2.7.1 Glide formation / semi vocalisation

Gliding is a morphophonological process by which glides or semi vowels are formed. The process is called semi-vocalisation. In Kunda, when the high back vowel /u/ is followed by /a/, or /e/ it gives rise to /w/. When the high front vowel /i/ is followed by /a/, /e/, /o/ or /u/, it gives rise to /y/. The process is illustrated by the examples below:

- 5 (a). u+a /mu-ana/            [mwana] ‘child’  
    (b). u+e /mu-ezi/         [mwezi]. ‘moon’  
    (c). i+a /mi-aka/         [myaka] ‘years’  
    (d). i+e /mi-ezi/         [myezi] ‘months’  
    (e). i+u /vi-ulu/         [vyulu] ‘anthills’  
    (f). i+u /vi-ola/         [vyola] ‘bags’

##### 4.1.2.7.2 Coalescence / fussion

This is a morphophonological process by which units that are separated at one level of representation are realised by a form in which there is no corresponding boundary (Mathews 2005). When the vowel /i/ is preceded by /a/ the two, coalesce to /e/ as in /ma-ino/ thus [**meno**] ‘teeth’, /ma-inso/ [**menso**] ‘eyes’.

##### 4.1.2.7.3 Elision

According to Trask (1996:105) “elision is a loss of segment from a word or other phonological form”. In Kunda, this process involves deletion of /i/ when it occurs after a consonant other than /m/ or /v/ and before any vowel other than /i/ as illustrated below:

- 6 (a). /ci-ulu/     [culu] ‘anthill’  
    (b). /ci-ola/     [cola] ‘bag’

## 4.2 Tone

From the data, it has been established that there is a limited use of tone in Kunda to signal contrast in both lexicon and grammar. Although tone seems to be predictable in Kunda, from data obtained, there is literally no lexical nor grammatical minimal pairs semantically based on the difference in tone only, to exemplify the tone system in Kunda.

Kunda speakers do not use tone to signal certain distinctions, hence tone is not often critical for communication and the context alone can serve to disambiguate the structures in question. As such this study will not deal with tone.

## 4.3 The syllable structure

From the data obtained, Kunda shares the syllable structure of many Bantu languages and the most common syllable patterns in the Kunda language are summarised in the table below:

**Table 3 Common syllable patterns in Kunda**

Syllable type	Examples
V	<b>u</b> -le “millet” <b>u</b> -lesi “laziness” wa- <b>i</b> -zi-le “you had come” wa- <b>o</b> -ne-le “you saw”
C	<b>m</b> -si-tu ‘graveyard’
CV	<b>mu</b> -nzi “village” le- <b>mba</b> “write”
CV	<b>Kuu</b> -mvwa “to hear” <b>taa</b> -li “is not”
CSV	Kuu- <b>mvwa</b> “to hear” <b>kwe</b> -ndo “leg” mwa- u- <b>mvwi</b> -le

NB: (**V**) = vowel, (**C**) = consonant, (**S**) = semi-vowel.

As illustrated in the table above, there are rules that govern the combination of given segmental phonemes to form syllables. Therefore in Kunda, just as in other Bantu

languages, only open syllables are allowed meaning that all syllables end in a vowel which will always be a nucleus. Pre-nasalised and aspirated consonants are considered as complex onsets and thus, will be viewed as single consonants as in (7) below.

#### 7. to-**ntho-nkha**-nya 'think' (CV)

For Kunda, in all the syllable structures, the nucleus of the word final syllable is a vowel. There are no restrictions on the distribution of the syllable types. In the V structure syllable, the nucleus is a syllable on its own. The V-syllable type can either be word initially or word medially. The CV syllable type is the most common one in Kunda where consonants including pre-nasalised and aspirated (treated as single unit of consonant) are followed by a vowel. This syllable type occurs in all word positions that are word initially, medially and finally. The CSV syllable type consists of a consonant followed by a semi vowel and a vowel. It takes all the word positions.

#### **4.4 Summary**

This chapter has provided information on the aspect of the phonology of Kunda language. It presented the segmental inventory of Kunda as well as the syllable structure. The allophonic and morphophonemic processes have also been described. It has been established that Kunda has five contrastive vowels and 22 consonants. Vowel length is a distinctive feature. However, there is no contrastive semantic distinction between long and short vowels. Consonants are distributed into stops, nasals, prenasals, fricatives and approximants. It has been noted that kunda has five common syllable structures as follows; V, C, CV, CVC, and CSV and that tone could not signal any semantic distinction between words. Kunda has three types of morphophonemic processes that occur in the language and these are glide formation, coalescence and elision.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

In this study morphology will be discussed in two parts, namely nominal and verbal morphology. This chapter is concerned with nominal morphology of Kunda. The next chapter will deal with verbal morphology. In delving with nominal morphology, this chapter looks at the nominal class system as it relates to other parts of speech that include: pronouns, adjectives, possessives and demonstratives.

#### **5.1 Nominal class system**

Kunda language has a noun class system like many other Bantu languages. In this vein, Aronoff and Fudeman (2005:56) state that Bantu languages are like “most languages of the Niger-Congo family...have a complex gender, or noun class system.” This class system is used to classify nouns into common classes and also the noun class system forms an agreement/concordial system of the languages. Bantu languages have as many as 23 different classes available to them, both singular and plural (Guthrie 1971; Meussen 1967; Welmers 1973). Therefore, individual languages will have a certain number of noun classes which may range from 14 to 23 classes.

##### **5.1.1 Kunda Noun Classes**

From the data analysed, Kunda has 18 noun classes. Like many other Bantu languages, most nouns in Kunda consist of a nominal prefix (NPx) followed by a stem. Every noun is made up of two parts that is the prefix and stem and the prefix indicates the class of a noun. Each noun belongs to a particular noun class which can be distinguished from other classes by characteristics of a particular pair of prefixes, one for singular and the other for the plural form of the word. It can also be distinguished by characteristic forms of associated words when the noun appears in context. Singular noun classes are usually odd numbered and plurals are even numbered (Bleek, 1862)

**Table 4: Kunda Nominal class system**

<b>Class</b>	<b>Prefix</b>	<b>Examples</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
1	mu	munthu, mwana, muzya, mwanakazi, mwanalume	person, child, slave female, male
2	wa	wanthu, wana, wazya, wanakazi, wanalume	persons, children, slaves females, males
3	mu	munzi, mwezi, munda, mutwe, msitu	village, moon, field head, pestle, grave yard
4	mi	minzi, myezi, minda, mitwe, minsi, misitu	villages, moons, fields heads, pestles, grave yards
5	li,	linso, liziwi, lulimi , liluwa	eye, word tongue, flower
6	ma	menso, maziwi, malilimi, maluwa	eyes, words tongue, flowers
7	ci,	cinongo, culu, cigayo, citonga, cisasa, cinthu	big/ bad clay pot, anthill hammer mill, a cob of maize reed door, thing
8	vi	vinongo, vyulu, vigayo, vitonga, visasa, vinthu	big/ bad clay pots, anthills hammer mills, cobs of maize reed doors, things
9	n, m, ng, ny	njinga, mbowo, nguluwe, nzovu, nyungwa	bicycle, buffalo, wild pig elephant without tusks
10	n, m, ng, ny	njinga, mbowo, nguluwe, nzovu, nyungwa	bicycles, buffalos, wild pigs elephants without tusks
11	lu	lulimi, lunzi, luwango	tongue, fly, winnowing basket
12	ka-	katemo, koni, kasimbi, kankwino	axe, bird, a small girl small hoe

13	tu	tutemo, tuni tusimbi, tunkwino	small axes, birds, small girls, small hoes
14	u-	ule, ulesi, unga	millet, laziness, Mealie-meal
15	ku-	kuseka, kwatu, kuimba, kulila, kwendo, kwanja	laughing, ear, singing, crying, leg, hand
16	pa-	pamtenje, pamulu, panze	on roof, up, outside
17	ku	kumunzi, kumwesu, kunze	to the village, to my home, outside
18	mu-	omuno, mucitundu m'munzi	in here, in the basket, in the village

Below the nominal prefixes are listed in their singular-plural pairings of the noun classes and each noun class will be treated in great detail

### 5.1.2 Semantics of Kunda noun classes

In Kunda language, classes other than classes 14, 15 and the locative classes 16, 17 and 18 are paired to express singulars and plurals. Some classes may also be used as a way of deriving words from other words such as forming diminutives, augmentatives/pejoratives and abstract nouns. Classes are associated with particular semantics or rather nouns with certain meaning belong to certain classes.

#### Class 1 and 2

Classes 1 and 2 represent a major class in Kunda because it comprises nouns denoting animate beings mostly to do with human beings such as persons, children, men, women and their personal relations. Class 1 is used for singulars and nouns are prefixed with **mu-**. They form their plurals by dropping the singular and replacing them with **wâ** hence class 2 nouns are prefixed with **wâ**.

8 (a). mu- nthu  
Cl.1- person  
'person'

wâ- nthu  
Cl.2- person  
'persons'

(b). mw- ana  
Cl.1- child  
'child'

ŵa- ana  
Cl.2- child  
'children'

Nouns of this class are sometimes used in plural form to denote respect, even when the meaning is singular (honorific plural).

(c). ŵa- nakazi  
Cl.2-'female/woman'

Females/women (to mean a woman of strong character/ hard work/courage etc)

### **Class 3 and 4**

These classes embrace among others, many names of impersonal objects, body parts and natural phenomena such as heard, years etc. Class 3 prefix are **mu-**, **mw-** which form their plurals in class 4 by changing them to **mi-** and **my-**.

9 (a). mu- nzi  
Cl.3- village  
'village'

mi- nzi  
Cl.4- village  
'villages'

(b). mu-aka (mwaka)  
Cl.3- year  
'year'

mi-aka (myaka)  
Cl.4- year  
'years'

(c). mu-ezi (mwezi)  
Cl.3- month/moon  
'month/moon'

mi-ezi (myezi)  
Cl.4- month/moon  
'months/moon'

### Class 5 and 6

Class 5 nouns are prefixed with **li-** and take its plural in class 6. The **li-** is dropped and replaced by **ma-** hence noun class prefix for class 6 noun is **ma-**, and the phonemic **m** which is irregular.

10 (a). li- ziwi

Cl.5- word

'word'

ma- ziwi

Cl.6- word

'words'

(b). li- nso

Cl.5- eye

'eye'

me- nso (ma- inso)

Cl.6- eye

'eyes'

### Class 7 and 8

The noun class prefix for class 7 noun is **ci-**. Class 8 is the plural of class 7 nouns and are prefixed with **vi-**. Classes 7 and 8 can also be used argumentatively or pejoratively with nouns inherently belonging to other classes. These classes are difficult to classify semantically.

11 (a). ci- ti

Cl.7- tree

'tree'

vi- ti

Cl.8- tree

'trees'

(b). ci- nongo

Cl.7- big/bad clay pot

'Big/bad clay pot'

vi- nongo

Cl.8- big/bad clay pot

'big/bad clay pots'

(c). ci- ulu (culu)

Cl.7- anthill

'anthill'

vi- ulu (vyulu)

Cl.8- anthill

'anthills'

## Class 9 and 10

These classes embrace nouns in **n-**, **m-**, **ng-**, and **ny-** containing miscellaneous objects, animals as in **nongo** ‘clay pot’, **mbowo** ‘buffalo’, **ng’anga** ‘witch doctor’ and **nyungwa** ‘elephant without tusks’, respectively. They have the same forms in both singular and plural. These do not have a noun class prefix per-se but can be observed through agreement patterns. The nasals which harmonises in place with the following consonants are the ones that may be termed as noun prefixes. The only way to determine number is by the way of concord on other elements in the noun phrase.

12 (a). njinga yanji	njinga zanja
Cl.9- bicycle (my) sg.	Cl.10- bicycle (my) pl.
‘my bicycle’	‘my bicycles’
(b). mbowo imo	‘mbowo zisano’
Cl.9- buffalo –one	Cl.10- buffalo-five
‘one buffalo’	‘five buffalos’

## Class 11

Nouns in this class are prefixed with **lu-** and they take class 6, the regular plural for class 5 as their plural prefixes. The plural prefix is **ma-** and is attached to the fully fledged noun as below:

13 (a). lu-limi	ma-lu-limi
Cl.11-tongue	Cl.6-Cl11-tongue
‘tongue’	‘tongues’
(b). lu-wango	ma-lu-wango
Cl.11-winnowing basket	Cl.6-Cl.11-winnowing basket
‘winnowing basket’	‘winnowing baskets’

### **Class 12 and 13**

These classes consists mainly small things to form diminutives in general or adoration. The class prefixes are extensively added to any class so as to denote smallness. They do not displace the original class prefixes of the words they qualify, but are added to them and in some instances they replace them. Class 12 has a prefix **ka-** and is used for singular nouns. Class 13 takes plural and is prefixed **tu-**.

14 (a). ka- nkwin	tu- nkwin
Cl.12- axe	Cl.13- axe
'small axe'	'small axes'

(b). ka- simbi	tu- simbi
Cl.12- small girl	Cl.13- small girl
'small girl'	'small girls'

### **Class 14**

The nouns in this class express abstract ideas and mass nouns and they rarely possess plural forms. The class 14 prefix is **u-**.

15 (a). u-lesi  
Cl.14- 'being lazy/laziness'

(b). u-nga  
Cl14- 'mealiemeal'

Class 14 nouns can be derived from other nouns or adjectives besides nouns which inherently belong to class 14. The resultant meaning when they are derived is usually the quality of being.

16 (a). mu -ana (mwana)	u- mwana
Cl.1- child	Cl.14- child

'child'	'childhood/ childish'
(b). mu-zya	u-zya
Cl.1-slave	Cl.14- slave
'Slave'	'being enslaved'
(c). nini	u- nini
small (adjective)	Cl.14- small
'small'	'smallness'
(d). niiweme	u- weme
'beautiful' (adjective)	Cl.14- 'beauty'

### **Class 15**

Class 15 consists of the infinitives of verbs, both in their active and passive voices. All infinitives are formed by prefixing the syllable **ku-** to the stem of the verb. Other than the infinitives, this class contains some words that refer to some parts of the body and these take their plural prefix **ma-** in class 6.

17 (a). ku-seka

Cl.15- laugh

'to laugh'

(b). ku- atu (kwatu)

Cl.15- ear

'ear'

m- atu

Cl.6- ear

'ears'

### **Class 16**

Class 16 is one of the three locative classes in Kunda nominal classification. It takes the prefix **pa-** to mean on/at and used to some expressed position.

18 (a). pa- mtenje  
Cl.16- roof  
'on the roof'

(b). pa- munzi  
Cl.16- village  
'at the village'

### **Class 17**

This is also a locative class and it takes the prefix **ku-** to mean at, or to. The **ku-** indicates the general neighbourhood of a place mentioned, if near; or it indicates that the place mentioned is more or less remote.

19. ku- munzi  
Cl.17- village  
'to the village'

### **Class 18**

This locative class takes the **mu-** prefix to mean 'in'. **mu-** indicates inside some bounds indicated by the noun following.

20. mu- munzi  
Cl.18- village  
'in the village'

### **5.1.3 Number pairings**

Number pairings for noun classes in African languages, especially in Bantu languages is a common feature. Most classes are paired for singular and plural. Pairing of classes is done to express grammatical number.

In Kunda, classes other than noun classes 14, 15 and the locative classes are grouped into six pairs to express singular and plural as shown in the table below.

**Table 5: Noun classes in singular and plural pairings**

Gender	Classes	Singular/Plural Examples	Gloss
1	1&2	munthu/ wanthu	person/ persons
2	3&4	munda/ minda	field/ fields
3	5&6	liziwi/ maziwi	word/ words
4	7&8	cinthu/ vinthu	thing/ things
5	9&10	njinga/ njinga	bicycle/ bicycles
6	11&6	luwango/ maluwango	winnowing basket/baskets
6	12&13	kamwana/ tuwana	small child/ small children

Class 1 and 3 can be differentiated on concord grounds. Katamba (2003) notes that human beings always occur in classes 1/2 and particular classes are used for diminutives and augmentatives. It is observed that body parts/ objects occur in classes 3/4. In Kunda classes 1/3 (prefixes **mu-**) are distinguished on the basis of agreement other than meaning. noun classes 1 and 2 includes human beings while most of those in class 3 and 4 include some names of body parts, natural phenomena and plants.

The noun class prefix for class 9 (singular) class 10 (plural) are the same hence differentiated by observing the concord on the other elements of the noun phrase. The subject verb agreement differs as exemplified below;

21 (a). *Nzovu **ikoiza** pa nanda* ‘the elephant came at the house’

(b). *Nzovu **zikoiza** pa nanda* ‘the elephants came at the house’

In class 14 most nouns are abstract and mass nouns and they have no plural. Similarly in most cases, class 15 is used for infinitives and they do not take plural forms. The locative prefix is added to the noun before the existing noun class prefix. Pre-fixation in locative classes is additive rather than substitutive. It is worth noting that locatives do not have plural counterparts too.

### 5.1.4 Diminution and Augmentation

There is also diminution and augmentation in Kunda for classes 12/13 and for classes 7/8 respectively. Sometimes diminutives connote a good quality rather than small size and argumentative connotes a bad quality rather than largeness (Wicks 2006). The speaker may choose to use a class 7/8 prefix with a noun that belongs inherently to another class in order to indicate larger and quality than normal size. In addition to augmentation in size, class 8 can be used for nouns which are normally pluralised in different classes to denote augmentation in number. Classes 12/13 prefixes are generally smaller as illustrated in (table 6) and (table 7).

There is also noun class shift in Kunda by diminution and augmentation. Noun class shift is when noun class prefix is replaced by a different noun prefix, creating a different meaning as below; (Morrison 2011:165)

22. munthu	tunthu	vinthu
mu – nthu	tu – nthu	vi – nthu
Cl1 – person	Cl13 – thing	Cl8 - thing
‘person’	‘small/good things’	‘big/bad things’

**Table 6: Noun class Diminutives**

Noun	Diminutives (Sg.) Cl.12	Diminutives (Pl.) Cl.13
mwana Cl.1	ka-mwana ‘beautiful/good child’	tu-wana “beautiful/good children”
mwanalume Cl.1	ka-nalume “handsome man”	tu-nalume “handsome men”
nongo Cl.9	ka-nongo “a small/good pot”	tu-nongo “small/good pots”
linso Cl.5	ka-linso “a small eye”	tu-linso “small eyes”
katemo Cl.12	ka-nkwino “axe”	tu-nkwino “more than one axe”
mutwe Cl.3	ka-mutwe “small/nice head”	tu-mitwe “small/nice heads”
kwendo Cl.15	ka-kwendo “small/good legs”	tu-mendo “small/good legs”



### 5.1.5 Class agreement

As pointed out above, in Bantu languages agreement is cardinal in that there exists a concord system for each class where a substantive agrees with its determiners and the verb of which it is the subject (Miti 2001:17). The concords of various elements must agree with the class of the controlling nominal (Miti 2001:156)

#### 5.1.5.1 Class Particle

In Kunda, there is prefix-agreement between various parts of speech such as verbs, adjectives, numerals and pronouns. The substantive in a sentence gives the clue to this agreement, and that these parts of speech used to describe it must so vary their prefixes as to agree with it in number and in person. When a noun is qualified by one or more of the four parts of speech, brings them in to concord agreement with itself by causing them to adopt its own particular prefix which is a class particle which varies with each class of noun, singular and plural (Ranger 1928:26).

In Kunda, a class particle consists either of the dominant element in the noun or the prefix itself. The class particle for class 1 singular is the dominant element **-u** and class 2 plural is the dominant element **-a** as the representative letters for prefix *mu-* and *wâ-* for class 1 and 2, respectively.

24 (a). *tuwâna twanji tuweme*

*tu- wâna tu - a - nji tu - wem-e*

Cl13-child Cl13pp(cp)-stem Cl13-cp- rad - fv

'my good/ beautiful child'

(b). *wâna wânji waweme*

*wâ - na w - a - nji w - a - wem - e*

Cl2 child Cl2pp(cp)- stem Cl2- cp - rad - fv

'my children good/ beautiful'

In class 12 and 13 noun classes are formed with prefix **ka-** and **tu-** in singular and plural, respectively and these syllables are their class particles as in (24a). Below is the list of Class Particles.

**Table 8: List of Class Particles**

<b>Class</b>	<b>Example</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Class particle</b>
1	munthu	person	u-
2	wana	children	a-
3	mutwe	head	u-
4	mitwe	heads	i-
5	Liziwi	word	li-
6	maziwi	words	a-
7	Cinongo	big/bad clay pot	ci-
8	Vinongo	big/bad clay pots	vi-
9	Nguluwe	wild pig	i-
10	Nguluwe	wild pigs	zi-
12	kamwana	child	ka-
13	Tuwana	children	tu-
14	Ulesi	laziness	u-
15	Kuseka	to laugh	ku-
16	Pamtenje	on the roof	Pa
17	Kumtenje	to the roof	ku-
18	Munanda	in the house	mu-

### **5.1.5.2 Relative Particle**

Practically, a relative particle is a genitive or possessive particle, the equivalent of English (of) or (for) and in Bantu languages (of) is always in agreement with the thing possessed (Ranger 1928:26). The noun is brought into relation with other nouns and personal pronouns by means of the relative particle. The relative particle in Kunda is

formed for each class and number by the letter **-a** preceded by the class particle. The dominant element in the noun, prefix or in the initial syllable coalescence with the vowel **-a**.

E.g. when the class particle **v-** for class 8 precedes **-a**, the combination gives rise to Relative particle **vya**.

25. vitonga vya wama

CI8maize RP CI2 mother

'my mother's maize'

Example (25) is rendered as maize of my mother and the particle **of** being in concord with the word maize (vitonga) a plural noun of class 7 which is class 8.

26. kuseka kwa wanakazi

CI15inf laugh RP CI2 woman

'the laugh of women'

The relative particle in the above example agrees with kuseka 'laugh' (CI.15). The dominant element of this class and number is the Class Particle **ku-** which when combined with **-a**, thus **ku-a** forms the relative particle **kwa-**.

27. nanda za wanakazi

CI10.housesRP CI2. women

'houses for women'

In (27) the noun is brought in to relation with another noun in the form which is rendered by the prepositions 'for'.

Below are the relative particles corresponding to the singular and plural forms of the various classes of the noun.

**Table 9: List of Relative Particles**

Class	Example	Gloss	Relative Particle
1	mwanakazi wa mfumu	woman for the chief	u-a (wa)
2	wanakazi wa vizo	women of strength	a-a (wa)
3	munzi wa Kunda	the village of the Kunda	u-a (wa)
4	minzi ya Kunda	villages of the Kunda	i-a (ya)
5	liziwi ya wata	word of my father	li-a (ya)
6	maziwi ya wama	words of my mother	a-a (ya)
7	cisasa ca nanda	reed mat for the house	ci-a (ca)
8	visasa vya nanda	reed mats for the house	vi-a (va/vya)
9	nguluwe ya mfumu	the chief's wild pig	i-a (ya)
10	nguluwe za mfumu	the chief's wild pigs	zi-a (za)
12	kasimbi ka mwalimu	the teacher's small girl	ka-a (ka)
13	tusimbi twa mwalimu	the teacher's small girls	tu-a (twa)
14	unga wa wamakhate	the lepper's Mealiemeal	u-a (wa)
15	kuseka kwa simbi	the laughter of the girls	ku-a (kwa)
16	pamtenje pa nanda	on the roof of the house	pa-a (pa)
17	kumunzi kwa wata	to the village of my father	ku-a (kwa)
18	m'munzi mwa wata	In my father's village	mu-a (mwa)

The relative particle is followed by **-ka** (con. p) in some instances as in example (28)

28. mwana wa- ka mwalimu

CI1.child RP-Con.p CI1.teacher

'the child of the Teacher'

In Kunda the Relative Particle may also be used to express the Possessive Case.

29 (a). Minzi ya - ka mfumu

CI3.villagesRP-Con.p chief

'the chiefs villages'

(b). liziwi lya mwana

Cl5.word RP cl1.child

'the childs voice'

## 5.2 Noun phrase

A noun phrase is made up of a noun as a head and optional modifiers, meaning that it can as well be made up of a noun only. It functions in the same way that a noun functions. The structure of the noun phrase in Kunda is head-initial; therefore within the noun phrase the noun precedes other modifiers as illustrated in the following *m'sambo unini* 'a small branch', in this illustration *m'sambo* is a noun and *unini* is a modifier

### 5.2.1 Components of the Noun Phrase

In Kunda, noun phrases may include pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers.

#### 5.2.1.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are the most common type of pronominal forms which replace nouns or noun phrases. They are different types of pronouns in Kunda, and they include personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and many more. In Kunda, pronouns are used primarily for persons and emphasis.

"As in other Bantu languages, the independent/ absolute pronoun may be divided in to two types" (Miti 2001:42). Kunda, just like Cinsenga in Miti (2001:42) has four personal absolute or independent pronouns and a full range of independent pronouns for every noun class though they are not always used.

**Table 10: A list of a full range of absolute and reflexive pronouns for every noun class**

Class	Absolute Pronoun	Gloss	Reflexive pronoun	Gloss
CI 1	wamene	him/her	mwine	himself
CI 2	w̄amene	them	w̄ene	themselves
CI 3	wamene	It	wene	Itself
CI 4	yamene	them	yene	themselves
CI 5	yamene	It	yene	Itself
CI 6	yamene	them	yene	themselves
CI 7	camene	It	cene	Itself
CI 8	vyamene	them	vyene	themselves
CI 9	yamene	It	yene	Itself
CI 10	zamene	them	zene	themselves
CI 12	kamene	It	kene	Itself
CI 13	twamene	them	twene	themselves
CI 14	wamene	It	wene	Itself
CI 15	kwamene	It	kwene	Itself
CI 16	pamene	on/ it	pene	Itself
CI 17	kwamene	to- it/ there	kwene	Itself
CI 18	mwamene	in-it/ in-there	mwene	Itself

(cf. Miti 2001: 43)

The nominal class absolute pronoun consists of a prefix and a stem. The stem is **-mene** whereas the prefix varies from one nominal class to another. The prefix is identical to the relative particle of a given class, whereas the stem is never changing and it is always –mene. Pronouns ‘it’ and ‘they’ take the pronoun of the relative particle of the noun to which they refer.

30 (a). kwa- mene

CI1PRE-stem

kwamene ‘it’

- (b). *ŵa* – mene  
 CI2PRE- stem  
*ŵamene* ‘they’

### 5.2.1.1.1 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are “words used to refer to the speaker, the person spoken to, other persons and things whose referents are presumed to be clear from context”( Schachter & Shopen: 2007: 24) In Kunda, there are distinctive forms of the personal pronoun corresponding to the three persons as presented in the table below.

**Table 11: forms of the personal pronoun corresponding to the three persons**

Personal pronoun	Gloss	Reflexive pronoun	Gloss
neo (ne, neo)	I, me (1sg)	nemwine	myself
seo (se, seo)	we, us (1pl)	teŵene	ourselves
weo (we, weo)	you (2sg)	wemwine	yourself
mweo(mweo)	you (2pl)	mweŵene	yourselves
eve	he/she, his, her (3sg)	mwine	him/herself
ŵeve	they, them (3pl)	ŵene	themselves

A personal pronoun in Kunda, just like for Cinsenga, consists of a pronominal prefix (PPx) and a stem. The stem for the personal absolute pronoun is /-eo/ with the following prefixes **n-**, **s-**, **w-**, **mw-** (Miti 2001).

31 (a). 1 sg n- eo ‘I/me’  
 PPx stem

(b). 1 pl s- eo ‘we/us’  
 PPx stem

(c). 2 sg w- eo 'you'  
PPx stem

(d). 2 pl mw- eo 'you'  
PPx stem

It is worth noting that Kunda personal plural forms are used in preference to the singular as a way of being polite or showing respect in certain cases. For instance an elderly person would call a child weo that is (2sg) but a younger person would call an elderly person mweo (2pl). And normally the third person plural is used instead of the third person singular as in weve (3sg) and wêve (3pl).

### 5.2.1.2 Adjectives

In general, adjectives describe or modify a noun by specifying its quality or state. In Kunda, some adjectives are made to agree with nouns or pronouns which they are used to qualify according to class and number by use of Class Particle or the representative syllable. Adjectives consist of an adjectival root mark in the form of a prefix, (adjectival prefix) corresponding to the class of the noun to be modified.

32 (a). wana waweme

wâ-na wâ- weme

CI2-childCI2adj.pref-stem

'a good child'

(b). nanda zikulu

n- anda zi – kul – u

CI10- houseCI10adj.pref-stem

'big houses'

(c). nanda zabwino zikulu

n – and - a za – bwino zi – kul - u

CI10-house-fv CI10Agr good CI10Agr-big-fv  
'good big houses'

When these adjectives qualify nouns which are also related to other nouns, they always take the relative particle of the noun they qualify.

33 (a). ka - temo ka ka mu - alimu ka – weme  
CI12-stem Prp of cl1 teacher RP good  
'the good axe of a teacher'

(b). ka – temo kaka mu - alimu mu – weme  
CI12- stem PP CI1- teacher RP- good  
'the axe of the good teacher'

In this case, in example (33a), the adjective bwino 'muweme' takes the Relative Particle of the noun it qualifies that's katemo 'axe' which is **ka-** hence kaweme where as in example (33b), the same adjective bwino 'muweme' takes the Relative Particle of mwalimu 'teacher', the noun it qualifies which is mu- hence mu-weme.

### 5.2.1.3 Possessives

In Kunda, just like in other Bantu languages, the noun is brought into relation with the personal pronouns by prefixing the relative particles of the various classes of nouns to the possessive (whose) hence possessive relative pronouns.

The table below shows the pronouns affixed to the relative particles of the various classes (Possessives)

**Table 12: List of possessive Relative Pronouns**

	1Sg	2Sg	3Sg	1Pl	2Pl	3pl
Class	my (nji)	your (ke)	his,her,its (ke)	our (esu)	yours (nu)	their (wo)
1	wa-nji	o-wê	wa-ke	we- su	we-nu	wa-wo
2	wâ-nji	wô-wê	wâ-ke	wê-su	wê-nu	wâ-wo
3	wa-nji	o-wê	wa-ke	we-su	we-nu	wa-wo
4	ya-nji	yo-wê	ya-ke	ye-su	ye-nu	ya-wo
5	ya-nji	yo-wê	ya-ke	ye-su	ye-nu	ya-wo
6	ya-nji	yo-wê	ya-ke	ye-su	ye-nu	ya-wo
7	ca-nji	co-wê	ca-ke	ce-su	ce-nu	ca-wo
8	vya-nji	vyo-wê	vya-ke	vye-su	vye-nu	vya-wo
9	ya-nji	yo-wê	ya-ke	ye-su	ye-nu	ya-wo
10	za-nji	zo-wê	za-ke	ze-su	ze-nu	za- wo
12	ka-nji	ko-wê	ka-ke	ke-su	ke-nu	ka-wo
13	twa-nji	to-wê	twa-ke	twe-su	twe-nu	twa-wo
14	wa-nji	ko-wê	wa-ke	we-su	we-nu	wa-wo
15	kwa-nji	ko-wê	kwa-ke	kwe-su	kwe-nu	kwa-wo
16	pa-nji	po-wê	pa-ke	pe-su	pe-nu	pa-wo
17	kwa-nji	ko-wê	kwa-ke	kwe-su	kwe-nu	kwa-wo
18	mwa-nji	mo-wê	mwa-ke	mwe-su	mwe-nu	mwa-wo

The plural possessive connection **-nu** is used invariably as if singular to show respect especially when addressing a stranger, a superior and an elderly. **-nu** is used to express politeness as illustrated below;

34. nanda yenu ‘your house’

#### 5.2.1.4 Demonstratives or Deictic pronouns

There are three forms of demonstratives which point out different degrees of distance or reference that is the near or proximal demonstrative, the middle or medial

demonstrative and the distant or distal demonstrative. The particular form used depends upon the distance from the speaker or the person referred to (Ranger 1928). Demonstratives are used to indicate proximity. Mathews (1997:91) defines demonstrative as “a word whose basic role is to locate a referent in relation to a speaker, an addressee or some other person.”

Deictic pronouns in Kunda are morphologically marked by a pre- prefix + pronominal prefix + stem.

35. eci cinthu “this thing” ( near speaker and addressee)

eci cinthu “this thing” ( near speaker far from addressee)

ecila cinthu “that thing” ( near addressee far from speaker)

ecila cinthu “that thing” (far from both speaker and addressee)?

#### **5.2.1.4.1 Near or proximal demonstrative**

In Kunda, the near demonstratives are used to denote things that are very close or near to the speaker. They are formed for each class and number by prefixing the class particle to the syllable.

36 (a). munthu o - yu ‘this person’

CI1.person CP this

(b). w̃anthu a - w̃a

CI1people CP- these

‘these people’

(c). minda e – yi

CI3 fields CP – these

‘these fields’

(d). liluw̃a e– yi

CI5flower CP – this

'this flower'

The proximal demonstrative can also be used to express temporal proximity.

37. a – no masiku yi - lokwa lyonse/ yi - lokwa lyonse a – no masiku  
CP –these days it rains all the time/ it rains all the time cp- these days  
'these days it rains all the time'

#### 5.2.1.4.2 Medium or medial demonstrative

The medial demonstratives are used to denote something that is close to or far from the speaker or something that is near to the hearer but far from the speaker. It is formed by the prefix **o** and a stem. It also refers to things already spoken of representing the English definite article.

38 (a). munthu o – la  
C1person CP- that  
'that person'

(b). wanthu a -wa - la  
C12people CP-RP- those  
'those people'

(c). njinga e– yi-la  
C19bicycle CP-that  
'that bicycle'

#### 5.2.1.4.3 Distant or distal demonstrative

This demonstrative is used to refer to something that is far from both the speaker and the hearer. It is formed by prefixing the class particle of each class to the syllable **-la**.

39. mwana o – la

CI1 child CP – that  
‘that child’

**Table 13: List of demonstratives**

Class	Noun example	This(proximal)	This(proximal)	That(medial)	That(distal)
1	mwana	o- yu	o- yu	o- la	o – la
2	wana	a – wa	a- wa	a- wa- la	a- wa- la
3	munzi	o- yu	o- yu	o- la	o- la
4	minzi	e – yi	e - yi	e-yi-la	e-yi-la
5	liziwi	e- yi	e-yi	e-yi- la	e-yi- la
6	maziwi	a-ya	a- ya	a- ya-la	a-ya-la
7	culu	e – ci	e- ci	e -ci - la	e- ci- la
8	vyulu	e – vi	e- vi	e -vi – la	e -vi- la
9	njinga	e – yi	e - yi	e -yi –la	e -yi- la
10	njinga	e – zi	e - zi	e - zi – la	e-zi- la
12	katemo	a- ka	a- ka	a- ka –la	a-ka- la
13	tutemo	o – tu	o- tu	o- tu – la	o-tu- la
14	ulesi	o – yu	o- yu	o- la	o- la
15	kuseka	o – ku	o- ku	o- ku -la	o-ku- la
16	panze	a – pa	a - pa	a- pa -la	a-pa- la
17	kumwesu	o – ku	o- ku	o- ku -la	o-ku- la
18	m'munzi	o – mu	o- mu	o -mu-la	o-mu- la

### 5.2.1.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are “noun modifiers that indicate quantity and scope” (Schachter & Shopen 2007:37). Kunda quantifiers include Cardinal numerals, Ordinal numerals and other quantifiers.

In Kunda, people count by fives. They have separate words for numbers up to five which are linked to the words they qualify by the concordial prefixes. They have a stem that requires concord prefix. The numbers from six until thousand are built from five and ten by addition with **-na** and are in sequence.

### 5.2.1.5.1 Cardinals

The word for one is a pronominal form, taking the pronominal prefix, then two, three, four and five are nominal forms, and they take nominal prefix. Six is a noun just as the words for ten, hundred and thousand.

The morphological structure of the cardinal numbers from one to five is generally prefix + stem, example; ci- mo ‘one’

**Table 14: The basic numerals from one to ten**

<b>Cardinal Numerals</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
- mo	one
- wili	two
- tatu	three
- ne	four
- sano	five
mtanda	six
cine luwali	seven
cine konse konse	eight
pawula	nine
kumi	ten

Among the cardinal numbers, only the first five numerals are roots which show agreement with nouns. They are formed by taking a numeral root form and combining it with a concord prefix, corresponding to the class of the chosen head noun, and the concord prefixes have the same shape as the nominal class prefixes as in examples below.

40 (a). munthu umo

mu – nthu u – mo

Cl1 – person Cl1con – one

‘one person’

(b). vigayo viwili

vi – gayo vi – wili

Cl8-hammermil-cl8con-two

‘two hammer mills’

Seven, eight and nine are derived from five and two, three and four respectively. Mtanda which is six, is a set word, Cine luwili(7) meaning four on one side and Cine konse konse (8) meaning four on both sides are phrases while pawula (9) meaning there is one missing is a sentence. kumi (10) is a noun and belongs to class 15 which is a **ku-** class and takes the plural makumi from class 6.

In Kunda, six and nine are invariable words (they do not agree in class with the item counted)

41. Wanthu mutanda ‘six people’

ng’ombe mutanda ‘six cows’

The numerals from eleven (11) to nineteen (19) are formed by additions to numeral ten (10) and are introduced by the nominal conjunction (**-na**) and followed by the basic numerals with the right concord where necessary.

**Table 15: The Numerals from eleven (11) to nineteen (19)**

<b>Cardinal Numerals</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
kumi na cimo	eleven
kumi na viwili	twelve
kumi na vitatu	thirteen
kumi na vine	fourteen

kumi na visano	fifteen
kumi na mtanda	sixteen
kumi na cine luwali	seventeen
kumi na cine konse konse	eighteen
kumi na pawula	nineteen

The multiples of ten (10) up to a hundred use the plural of ten that is makumi, followed by basic numerals from (2) to nine (9) prefixed by (**ya-**) if need be.

42. makumi yaŵili ‘twenty’

makumi cine luwali ‘seventy’

#### 5.2.1.5.2 Ordinals

The order of enumeration first, second, third, fourth, fifth, tenth, thousandth and last is expressed by prefixing **ci-** or **ca-** to the numeral stem

43. cakuyamba ‘first’

cauŵili ‘second’

cautatu ‘third’

cine ‘fourth’

cisano ‘fifth’

cakumi ‘tenth’

caikana ‘thousandth’

cakushalila ‘last’

44. cakuyamba ‘the first thing’

usiku wa ciŵili ‘the second day’

ica kumi ‘tenth thing’

The adverbials once, twice, thrice, four times are expressed by prefixing **li-** to the numeral stem as;

45 (a). li – mo ‘once’  
PRE stem (one)

(b). li – wili ‘twice’  
PRE stem ‘two’

(c). li – tatu “thrice”  
PRE stem “three”

### 5.2.1.6 Associative Nominal

Associative nominal is a class of nominal constructions found in several Bantu languages. Associative constructions are used to link two nouns or noun phrases that are associated with each other; the first noun which is the head noun is modified in some way by the second, often a semantic relationship of possession (Wicks 2006).

In Kunda, just like other Bantu languages associative nominal consists of two nouns with a Relative Particle which is an associative marker, a connective occurring between the two nouns. The structure of the Associative construction is schematically represented as (Noun 1+ AM (ka) + Noun 2). The first noun which is the head noun is modified in some way by the second noun. In Kunda some associative markers may go with the connective pronoun (con.p) – **ka**.

46 (a). wana waka mwalimu  
w – ana wa – ka mu – alim-u  
C12-child cl2AssM-ka cl1- teacher-fv  
‘the teachers children’

(b). njinga zaka walimi  
n-jinga za- ka wa - lim – i  
Cl10-bicyclecl10AssM-ka cl2 farmer-fv  
‘the farmers bicycle’

(c). nsima ya ule  
 nsima ya u – le  
 Cl9-nsima cl9AssM cl14-millet  
 'nsima of mille'

The nouns in these constructions as in (46) above, are divided into a class marker and a root. A noun will be (CM + Root) as in (47).

47. katemo ka mulimi  
 (ka – temo) ka (mu – limi)  
 CM – Rt                      CM - Rt  
 'the farmers axe'

The Associative Marker agrees with the noun class of the head noun, hence the noun class of noun 1 (head noun) forms concord agreement as illustrated in (48).

48. mutwe wa nzovu	mitwe ya nzovu
N1            N2	N1            N2
Cl3 –head cl3AssM cl9Elephant	Cl4 –head cl4AssM cl9Elephant
'the head of an Elephant'	'the heads of Elephants'

In the construction above, the concord agreement marker agrees in concord with class 3 and 4, the classes to which nouns 1 belong. Noun 1 is the head of construction for it determines the class of the whole construction; as such the associative nominal are left headed

In Kunda, the Associative construction is used to express or describe a variety of purposes such as expressing possession, location, part or whole relation and kind.

### 5.2.1.6.1 Associative constructions expressing possessive

When expressing possession, the head noun which is the first noun (N1) is possessed by the second (N2) and the order of associative construction is Noun (possessee), Associative marker (AM), Noun (possessor) as in the example below:

49 (a). nanda yaka mwalimu

n- anda ya (ka) mu – alim – u

Cl9-housecl9AssM(poss)cl1-teacher-fv

'the teachers house'

(b). manja yake

manja ya – ke

Cl6 hand cl6AssM-cl1poss

'his hands'

### 5.2.1.6.2 Associative constructions expressing location

In Kunda, the associative construction may also be used with certain expressions of location. When the head noun is locative (N1), the Associative Marker agrees in concord with the nouns inherent class which is the locative noun class as in example (50) below:

50 (a). mukati mwa nanda

mu – kat –i -mu - a nand – a

Cl18inside-fvcl18AssM (loc) cl9-house

'inside the house'

(b). pa mtenje wa nanda

pa- mtenje wa nanda

Cl16up-cl3roof cl3AssM cl9house

'the roof of the house'

(c). kuminda kuli wata

ku – mind – a kuli wata – ta

Cl17-field-fv cl17AssM (loc) cl2father

‘to the field of my father’

NB: In the above constructions, the associative marker agrees with the locative nouns which are the head nouns.

#### 5.2.1.6.3 Associative constructions expressing part/whole relation

The part or whole associative marker agrees in concord with the head nouns inherent class and the associative marker takes the form of the relative marker.

51. linso lya mwanakazi

li – nso li-a mu – anakaz – i

Cl5-eye Cl5AssM-Cl1- female- fv

‘the woman’s eye’

NB: The associative marker in the above construction agrees in concord with the head noun linso and takes the form of relative marker **lya**.

#### 5.2.1.6.4 Associative constructions expressing kind

The second noun (N2) describes some characteristics of the head noun (N1).

52 (a). ulalo wa viti

u – lal – o u-a v – it – i

Cl14bridge-fv cl14AssMcl8-tree-fv

‘a bridge made of trees’

(b). mpando wa mawe

mpand -o u-a ma – w – e

cl9- chair-fv cl9AssM cl6- stone-fv

'the chair of stones'

It is worth noting that in all the associative constructions, the associative marker agrees with the head nouns inherent class.

#### **5.2.1.6.5 Noun 2 modifications**

In Kunda associative constructions, noun 2 (N2) can be modified by various types such as adjectives and relative clauses.

##### **5.2.1.6.5.1 Adjectives**

Noun 2 (N2) can be modified by an adjective where by the adjective agrees in class with N2. The adjective modifies the N2 and not the whole associative nominal or construction.

53. mtenje wa nanda ikulu

Cl3roof (N1)Cl3AssMCl9house adj.

'the roof of the big house'

##### **5.2.1.6.5.2 Relative clauses**

The relative clauses can also modify the noun 2 (N2) in associative constructions. The agreement in class between N2 and the relative clause marker shows that the RC is modifying N2.

54. mtenje wa nanda wamangile waliponele

mtenje wa nanda wâ - mang - ile wali - pon - ele

Cl3roof(N1)cl3AssMcl9houseRCM-rad-app suf. TM - rad- app suf.

'the roof of the house that they built collapsed'

### **5.3 Summary**

The chapter has analysed some important features of Kunda nominal morphology. It has provided a description of the noun class system, the semantics of the noun classes,

the number pairings and the class agreement. The chapter has also dealt with the components of the noun phrase and the associative constructions.

## CHAPTER SIX

### VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

#### 6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with nominal morphology. This chapter focuses on verbal morphology. Verbal morphology specifically deals with the verb which is one of the major word classes. The chapter focuses mainly on the description of the verbal structure, verbal inflection and verbal derivation. In verbal inflection it deals with Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM) while in derivation, it deals with verbal extensions. The verb is distinguished from the other major word classes by inflectional paradigms. In Kunda only verbs take such grammatical categories as tense, aspect and mood. The morphosyntactic process used in Kunda verbs are prefixation and suffixation

#### 6.1 The Kunda verbal structure

The verbal structure can contain numerous prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes are primarily inflectional while suffixes are primarily derivational. According to Miti (1998, 2001, 2006) the basic verbal structure in Bantu languages consists of a radical (rad) and affixes. The affixes may include subject markers(sm), tense markers (tm), object marker (Om), aspect marker (asp.m) and the final vowel (fv) which signals the mood and various derivational suffixes.

Miti (2001) suggests that the basic verbal form may be summarised as indicated below:

Sm – Tm – radical – fv.

Below is the example of this type of analysis in the sentence **nikalile** 'I will cry'

55. ni – ka – lil – e

sm - tm - rad – fv

'I will cry' (Miti 2001:79)

Kunda verbal structure follows Miti's basic verbal structure as presented in (55). The section that follows, discusses the main elements of the structure

### 6.1.1 Verbal Root

In Kunda language the verbal root is a mono-morphemic base that is not influenced by any further analysis. It is the position of the verb with no derivational or inflectional affixes. The verbal root has different syllabic structures. The common verbal Root types in Kunda include a number of different Verbal Roots. The basic verbal root is CVC

#### Common Verbal Roots

**Table 16: Roots with common consonants**

Root Type	Illustration	Gloss
CVC	pik – a	cook
CVCVC	tolok – a	jump
VC	iz – a	come

**Table 17: Roots with stem Glides**

Root Type	Illustration	Gloss
CS	-py – a	burn
CVS	-pay – a	kill
CVNS	-temw – a	love
NCS	-mvw – a	hear
GVCS	-yavy – a	help
CSVC	-vwal – a	wear
CSVNC	-pyang – a	sweep
CVNCVS	-tengew – a	married

**Table 18: Roots with nasal and an Oral Consonant**

Root Type	Illustration	Gloss
CVNC	-zung – a	going round
VNC	-imb – a	Sing
CVNCVC	-tandal – a	Visit
CVNC	-long – a	Pack

### 6.1.2 Verbal Stem

The Verb Stem includes the Root of the verb, followed by various verbal extensions and a final vowel morpheme. In Kunda, like in many Bantu languages the Stem final vowel is usually the morphologically default low vowel **-a**. The stem final morpheme **-a**, appears in the indicative verbs but in tenses like the Subjunctive and the Perfective, the final morpheme can be **-e** in some cases as in (56).

56. ti - ko - ly – a ‘we are eating’      ti - ly – e ‘let us eat’

### 6.2. Verbal inflection

This section offers a basic overview, with exemplification of a number of Kunda’s morphological and periphrastic means that are used to express tense, aspects and mood contrasts in the verbal system.

#### 6.2.1 Tense Aspect Mood

Tense Aspect Mood (TAM) system in Bantu languages has been characterised as one of the most complex and intricate systems (Botne & Kershner 2008; Crane 2011; Dahl 1985), hence of all the grammatical sub-systems Tense-Aspect-modality (TAM) is the most difficult to analyse to any linguist (Givon 1994:269). Tense and Aspect are grammatical categories that express the semantic notion of time in natural languages.

### 6.2.1.1 Tense

Tense refers to the time when an action occurs. Comrie (1985:9) defines tense as “grammaticalised location in time” they relate the event being described with respect to the present. Kunda, just like other Bantu languages has one present tense, one past tense and future tense, all relative to a particular reference point in time.

#### 6.2.1.1.1 Past Tenses

The past tenses in Kunda are marked morphologically and their morphological expression is the same. There are no obligatory distinctions between degrees of past tenses but what distinguishes them morphologically are adverbials. They are marked with the general tense **-li** and perfective suffix **-ile**. There is the recent past (non hodiernal past), the today (hodiernal) past, Immediate past perfective, and the remote past. Crystal (1997) defines hodiernal as a time frame that is within the day.

##### 6.2.1.1.1.1 Today past (hodiernal past)

The today past is used to mark events that happened earlier in the same day or sometime today. It is the form on which all other past perfectives are based.

57 (a). nalilalile

na – li – lal – ile

1sg- tm-rad- perf.suff

I slept

nalilalile lelo “I slept today”

(b). mwaliumvwile

mu – a – li – umv – ile

2sg - tm- rad – perf.suff

‘you heard’

. mwaliumvwile lelo “you heard today”

(c). ŵalitandalile

wa – li – tandal - ile  
3pl – tm– rad – perf. suff  
'they visited'  
walitandalile lelo "they visited today"

#### 6.2.1.1.1.2 Immediate past perfective

This tense denotes that something has just happened within last few minutes.

58 (a). nalilalile

na – li – lal – ile  
1sg- tm-rad- perf.suff  
'I slept'  
nalilalile lombapanove "I have just slept"

(b). mwaliumvwile

mu – a – li – umv – ile  
2sg - tm- rad – perf.suff  
'you heard'  
mwaliumvwile lombapanove "you just heard"

(c). walitandalile

wa – li – tandal – ile  
3pl – tm– rad – perf. suff  
'they visited'  
walitandlile lombapanove "they just visited"

#### 6.2.1.1.1.3 Recent past (non- hodiernal)

This tense marks specific events that occurred before sunrise today and as far back as a week ago or so. It is marked with the general tense li- and perfective aspect **-ile**.

59 (a). nalilalile

na – li – lal – ile  
1sg- tm-rad- perf.suff  
'I slept'  
nalilalile mailo "I slept yesterday"

(b). mwaliumvwile

mu – a – li – umv – ile  
2sg - tm- rad – perf.suff  
'you heard'  
mwaliumvwile mailo "I heard yesterday"

(c). ŵalitandalile

ŵa – li – tandal –ile  
3pl – tm– rad – perf. suff  
'they visited'  
ŵalitandalile mailo "they visited yesterday"

#### 6.2.1.1.1.4 Remote past perfective

Remote past perfective refers to events that occurred along time ago.

60 (a). nalilalile

na – li – lal – ile  
1sg- tm-rad- perf.suff  
'I slept'  
nalilalile ulya mwaka "I slept that year"

(b). ŵalitandal - ile

ŵa – li – tandal – ile  
3pl – tm– rad – perf. suff  
'they visited'  
ŵalitandele ulya mwaka "they visited that year"

### 6.2.1.1.2 Present tense

The present tense is used to communicate events that are taking place at the current time. It can also be used to describe an action that will take place very soon (in the next few minutes). The present tense is used with aspect and moods. It is marked by the tense marker **ko-**, and it is aspirated when used with 1<sup>st</sup> person singular as in examples below;

61 (a). nkholya

n – kho – ly – a

1sg- TM – eat – fv

'I eat / I am eating'

nkholya nsima "I am eating nsima"

(b). wâkolila

wâ – ko – lil – a

3pl – TM- cry- fv

'they cry / they are crying'

(c). mukoumvwa

mu – ko – umvw – a

2pl – TM – hear – fv

'you are hearing'

### 6.2.1.1.3 Future tense

Just like for the past tense, Kunda future tenses are marked morphologically and their morphological expressions are the same, they are marked with the general tense **-ko** and the infinitive particle **-ku** attached to the verb. These are hodiernal future, the near future, the remote future perfective.

62 (a). ukokuiza

u – ko – ku – iz – a

2sg-genTM-Inf-come-fv  
'you will come'

(b). wâkokulala

wâ – ko – ku – lal – a  
3pl-genTM-Inf-sleep-fv  
'they will sleep'

(c). tikokupemphela

ti – ko – ku – pemphel – a  
3sg-genTM-Inf-pray  
'we will pray'

It is worth noting that the boundaries between the tenses depends on the context, and the most basic distinctions that are made in Kunda tenses are the time adverbials that are more or less obligatory.

### **6.2.1.2 Aspect**

Aspects are “different representations of time with an event” (Nurse & philppson 2003:94); they describe how an action occurs or is perceived. Several aspects are common for Bantu languages and these include imperfective, perfective anterior, progressive, habitual and persistive (2003: 96). In Kunda aspect is manifested in four different ways.

#### **6.2.1.2.1 Present progressive**

It is used to indicate an action that is on-going at the time of speaking. The morphological expression is just the same as that of the present tense.

63 (a). tikoyenda

ti – ko – yend – a  
3sg- TM- walk – fv

'we are walking'

(b). ukolala

u – ko – la – a

2sg-TM-sleep-fv

'you are sleeping'

### 6.2.1.2.2 Past progressive

#### 6.2.1.2.2.1 Immediate past progressive/ recent past progressive

Immediate past progressive refers to an event that was on-going at the time of reference, which is sometimes earlier in the day whereas recent past progressive refers to events that were on-going at the time of reference, which is sometimes recently (within the past few days). They are both morphologically marked by **-enze** (the verb to be) which is preceded by the class prefix and it is used mainly with the infinitive verbs. In some verbs the infinitive can be dropped or omitted and the **-e** in enze changes to **-o** due to fussion as in (64b).

64 (a). nenze kuyenda

n - enze ku – yend- a

1sg- TM INF – walk – fv

'I was walking'

(b). wenzo yenda

w - enze yend- a

3pl- TM walk – fv

'they were walking'

#### 6.2.1.2.2.2 Remote past progressive

Refers to an event on-going at the time of reference, which is sometimes in the past (usually a year or more ago), the morphological expression is just the same as for other past progressive and what distinguishes them are time adverbials. It is morphologically

marked by **-enze** (the verb to be) which is preceded by the class prefix and it is used mainly with the infinitive verbs.

65 (a). n - enze ku – yend- a

1sg- TM INF – walk – fv

'I was walking'

(b). *w*enze kuyenda

*w* - enze ku – yend- a

3pl- TM INF – walk – fv

'they were walking'

From the examples above, it is imperative to note that in Kunda all the three past progressive aspects or form take the same morphological expression but what distinguish them are the time adverbials.

### 6.2.1.2.3 Future progressive

#### 6.2.1.2.3.1 Immediate future progressive/ near future progressive

Immediate future progressive describes an event that will be on-going sometime today and near future progressive describe events that will be on-going soon in the next few days or weeks. They are both marked by general tense **ko-**, and they attach the infinitive **ku-** to the verbs. They can also be expressed by expressive future tense – **koya** and also **-koza** and the /k/ in Koya and koza is aspirated when used with the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular as in (64b).

66 (a). *w*wakokulala

*w*a – ko – ku – lal –a

2pl-genTM-INF-sleep-fv

'they will be sleeping'

(b). nkhoza kuyenda

n – khoz - a ku – yend - a

1sg- TM – fv INF- walk- fv  
'I will be walking'

(c). *wakoza kulala / wakoya kulala /*  
*ŵa – koz - a ku – lal – a*  
2pl – TM – fv IMF- sleep- fv  
'they will be sleeping'

#### 6.2.1.2.3.2 Remote future progressive

Remote future progressive describes an event that will be on-going sometime in the far future and they attach the infinitive **ku-** to the verbs. The auxiliary verb *mu* 'be' precedes the infinitive as in examples below;

67 (a). *nkhoza mukuyenda*  
*n – khoz – a mu – ku – yend – a*  
1sg- TM – fv Aux – INF – walk- fv  
'I will be walking'

(b). *wakoza mukuyenda / wakoya kuyenda*  
*ŵa – koz-a mu – ku – yend – a/ ŵa – koy-a ku-yend-a*  
3pl – TM-fv Aux- inf- walk – fv / 3pl – TM-fv inf- walk-fv  
'they will be walking'

#### 6.2.1.2.4 Persistentive

##### 6.2.1.2.4.1 Present persistentive

The present persistentive is used for an event that began sometime in the past and has been happening continuously up until the time of speech. It is marked morphologically by the persistentive aspect **-kali** which is the English "still" as in example (68a).

68 (a). *nkali nkhozenda*  
*n - kali n – kho – yend – a*

1sg- pers 1sgAgr-genTM-walk-fv  
'I am still walking'

(b). akali akovina

a - kali a – ko – vin – a  
2sg-pers 2sAgr-genTM-dance-fv  
'she is still dancing'

(c). ŵakali ŵakovina

ŵa - kali ŵa – ko – vin - a  
3pl- pers 3plAgr- TM – dance-fv  
'they are still dancing'

#### 6.2.1.2.4.2 Past persistent

Past persistent is used for events that started sometime in the past and were on-going up until the time of temporal reference, which is the near past and also used for events that have a temporal reference point in the remote past. It is expressed by – **enze** the verb to be which precedes the persistent aspect **-kali**.

69 (a). nenze nikali nkoyenda

n - enze ni – kali n – kho – yend – a  
1sg- TM1SgAgr-pers1sg-genTM-walk- fv  
'I was still walking'

(b). ŵenze ŵakali ŵakoyenda

ŵ - enze ŵa - kali ŵa – ko – yend – a  
3pl- TM3plAgr-pers 3plagr- genTM- walk-fv  
'they were still walking'

### 6.2.1.2.5 Anterior forms

#### 6.2.1.2.5.1 Present anterior

70 (a). nalala

na – lal – a

1sg-sleep-fv

'I have slept'

(b). ŵayenda

ŵa – yend – a

3pl- walk – fv

'they have walked'

(c). talya

ta – ly – a

3sg- eat- fv

'we have eaten'

#### 6.2.1.2.5.2 Past anterior

71 (a). naliyendele

na - li – yend – ele

1sg- TM-walk – suf.

'I had walked'

(b). walilalile

wa – li – lal – ile

2sg- TM- sleep- suf.

'I had slept'

### 6.2.1.3 Mood

Mood is a marker of the finite verb form that indicates how the speaker prefers to put the proposition into the discourse context (Bybee 1985). According to Katamba (1993:222), the main function of the mood is to “describe an event in terms of whether it is necessary, possible, permissible, and desirable”.

#### 6.2.1.3.1 The imperative mood

The imperative is “the form of the verb used in giving directions, orders or commands” (Lyons 1968:308). The imperative indicates that the speaker is giving orders or commands to the addressee who has to perform these actions. According to Payne (1997:303) imperatives are used “to directly command the addressee to perform some action”. The addressee is usually the second person either singular or plural.

**Table19: examples of imperatives**

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural/honorific</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
lila	lileni	cry
llya	llyeni	eat
lemba	lembeni	write
lpika	ipikeni	cook
vwala	vwaleni	dress
yangala	yangaleni	play
tandala	tandaleni	visit

The plural imperative is expressed by attaching the suffix – **eni** to the root of the verb.

#### 6.2.1.3.2 The subjunctive mood

In Kunda, the subjunctive is extensively used to express permission (requests), a desire or a purpose (intention) and in un-certainty. The subjunctive mood is marked morphologically with the final vowel –**e** though not consistently throughout all subjunctive constructions (Morrison: 281). In Kunda, the subjunctive is formed minimally with the subject marker, a zero tense-aspect morpheme (**∅**), followed by a radical with

an extension if any and the final vowel – e. The meaning of these constructions can be compared to English phrases using the word ‘let’ as in ‘let us go’. In some constructions in Kunda “let” is expressed by the syllable **na-** prefixed to the first and third persons, singular and plural of the subjunctive mood.

72 (a). tilye

ti – Ø - ly – e

Sm1pl- tm - rad – fv

‘let us eat’

natilye

na - ti - Ø – ly - e

syl– sm1pl- tm – rad –e

‘let us eat’

(b). niize

ni - Ø - iz – e

Sm1sg-tm-rad- fv

‘let me come’

naniize

na – ni – iz - e

syl –sm1sg-rad-fv

‘let me come’

(c). movine

mu – Ø - vin – e

Sm2pl- tm – rad-fv

‘you should dance’

NB: A zero tense-aspect marker morpheme is expressed by Ø.

A further use of **na-** with the subjunctive is to provide a deferential request and is so employed in place of an immediate imperative.

73. namuize

na – mu – iz – e

syl – 2pl –rad – fv

‘will you please come?’

In Kunda, the subjunctive mood is also used in indirect commands, as a more polite form of command than the standard imperative. It indicates that the order is conveyed in

a polite way hence the polite commands are expressed by the polite suffix **-eni** attached to the roots or stems of verbs in some instances.

### Standard Imperative

### subjunctive imperative (polite imperative)

74 (a). pyela

pyel - a

rad - fv

'sweep'

pyeleni

pyel – e - ni

rad – v – suf

'can you sweep'

(b). lala

lal – a

rad – fv

'sleep'

laleni

lal – e – ni

rad – v – suf

'can you sleep'

It is worth noting that the polite suffix in subjunctive mood imperative takes the same form as that of plural actual imperative, it indicates that the command is done politely. Without the polite suffix – **ni**, the command is considered impolite and inappropriate to be used especially with strangers or old people.

Kunda subjunctive takes the final vowel **-a** especially when expressing the future and it is marked by the general tense **ko-** and the infinitive particle **ku-** as in the following examples.

75 (a). tikokulala

ti – ko – ku – lal – a

Sm- tm – imf- rad – fv

'we will / shall sleep'

(b). tikokulala

ti – ko- ku – lal – a

Sm- tm - inf –rad – fv  
'we shall go and sleep'

### 6.3 Negation

The data shows that there are two negative morphemes in Kunda, and these are **ta-**, **nsi-**. The morpheme **ta-** can co-occur with nearly every finite verb form and does not generally change tense-aspect morphemes and can occur in one or two positions. The negative marker **ta-** occurs immediately preceding the subject marker, in the pre-subject marker (SM) slot as examples below;

76 (a). kutalemba

ku – ta – lemb – a  
Cl15inf-neg-write-fv  
'not to write'

(b). taakoyenda

ta –a - ko – yend - a  
neg-3sg-tm – walk – fv  
'she is not walking'

(c). taŵakokuyenda

ta - ŵa – ko – ku –yend – a  
Neg-3pl-TM-INF - walk – fv  
'they are not walking'

In some instances the negative marker follows the subject marker.

77. mutalemba

mu – ta – lemb – a  
2pl – neg-write – fv  
'you should not write'

When the negative **ta-**, is used with **-enze** verb 'to be', a- for the negative particle changes to **e-** due to fusion as in (78).

78. teenze kuumvwa

ta - enze ku – umvw – a (fusion)

Neg-2sg-be INF- hear- fv

'he was not hearing'

The other negative marker is **nsi-**, and it is normally used with 1<sup>st</sup> person singular. This negative morpheme changes into a variant, **nsh-** based on the type of vowels it follows as in example (79c)

79 (a). nsili wino

nsi – li win - o

Neg1sg-TM well-fv

'I am not well'.

(b). nsilayako

nsi – la – yak – o

Neg1sg-TM-be-fv

'I have not been'

(c). nshalale

nsh – a – lal – e

Neg- TM- sleep-fv

'I will not sleep'

## 6.4. Verbal Derivation

**Table 20: Verb extensions in Kunda**

Extension	Suffix
passive	- iw-, - ew -, - ik -, - ek -
Causative	- ish -, - esh -, - zya -
applicative	- il -, - el -
reciprocal	- an -
intensive	- ish -, - esh -
stative	- ek-, - ik -
reduplication	- entire verbal stem
reversive	- ulul-, - olol -, - ula
persistentive	- lilil -

The section that follows, deals with the verbal extensions in detail.

### 6.4.1 The passive extension

The passive is formed from the verbal stem by changing the final a- to derivational suffix **-iwa** if the penultimate vowel is a, i, u and **-ewa** if the penultimate is e or o. the form indicates that the subject is acted upon by an agent.

The action is viewed from the perspective of the object of the verb. If the person/thing denoted by the subject of a sentence is the receiver or sufferer of the action, then that form of the verb is the passive and is expressed by the derivational suffix **-iwa** and **ewa**. The choice of the allomorph is phonologically determined. The passive extension morpheme is **(-iw-)** and **(-ew-)**.

They substitute the final vowel a- for the verb –stem or a particular modification of the stem to which it is attached. Stems in **-aya** and **-iya**, drop the **/y/** in adopting the passive formation.

#### Passive

80 (a). ku –mang - a

ku – mang - iw – a

imf – rad - fv  
'to build/arrest'

inf - rad - pas – fv  
'to be built/ arrested'

(b). ku – ipay – a  
imf – rad – fv  
'to kill'

ku – ipay – iw – a  
inf – rad – pas – fv  
'to be killed'

(c). ku – temw – a  
inf – rad – fv  
'to love'

ku - temw – ew – a  
inf – rad – pas - fv  
'to be loved'

In Kunda, certain verbs of various endings in the active voice have, in addition to their regular passives, a neuter passive. Neuter passive bears the meaning very similar to that of the ordinary passive. According to Doke (1922:102) “neuter is used with no reference to any agent but describing the state of the subject”. A neuter passive form is obtained by changing the final a- of a verbal stem to derivational suffix – **ika** if the penultimate vowel is a, i, u and in to derivational– **eka** if penultimate vowel is e or o. A neuter passive denotes the passive state of the subject and indicates that the action of the verb is possible. The neuter extension morpheme is (– **ik-**) and (– **ek-**).

### **Regular passive**

81 (a). ku – mang –iwa  
inf – rad – pas  
'to be built/bound”

(b). ku – temw –ewa  
inf – rad – pas.  
'to be loved'

### **Neuter passive**

ku – mang – ik – a  
inf – rad – neut.- fv.  
'to be able to be built/bound'

ku – temw – ek – a  
inf – rad – neut – fv.  
'to be loveable'

It can therefore be noted from example (81) that the regular form of passive always infers an active and external agent, while the neuter form indicates a natural or internal

quality. **Kutemwewa** (passive) indicates that the object is loved by someone while **kutemweka** (neuter) merely states that it is lovable.

### 6.3.2 The applicative (the applied form)

The applied form of the verb is expressed by the derivational suffix **-ila** if the penultimate vowel is a, i or u and derivational suffix **-ela** if the penultimate vowel is e or o. In applied form, a verb represents an action that is not performed directly upon an object but on behalf of or against that object. This form expresses the intention or object in the direction of, the purpose of or in place of. The applicative morpheme is ( **-il-**) and ( **-el-**).

	<b>Applicative</b>
82 (a). ku – mang – a	ku – mang – il –a
inf – rad – fv	inf – rad – app – fv
kumanga	kumangila
'to tie'	'to tie for'
(b). ku – lemb - a	ku – lemb –el – a
inf – rad – fv	inf – rad – app – fv
kulemba	kulembela
'to write'	'to write for'

It is worth noting that this form also expresses the participial “for doing” with the adjective particle **-o** such as thing or place.

- 83 (a). **co** – lembela ‘a thing for writing’  
 (b). **po** – pangila ‘a place for making’

### 6.3.3 Causative

Causative forms are used for getting things done. They indicate that there is a participant other than the agent that caused or will cause the action to come in to effect. It is the causation of an action and it is expressed by changing the final **-a** of the simple stem into derivational suffix **-isha** if the penultimate vowel is a, i or u and derivational

suffix **-esha** if the penultimate vowel is e or o. **-ish** and **-esh** are considered as the most common causative formation in Kunda. There are a few causatives that are expressed by **-zya** .

### Causatives

84 (a). sek- a	sek- esh – a
rad- fv	rad – caus – fv
seka	sekesh
'laugh'	'to make (one) laugh'
(b). laŵ - a	laŵ – ish –a
rad – fv	rad – caus – fv
laŵa	laŵisha
'taste'	'to make (one) taste'
(c). tandal – a	tanda -zy – a
rad - fv	rad – caus – a
tandala	tandazya
'to visit'	'to show a guest around'

### 6.3.4 Reciprocal

A reciprocal form is expressed by changing the final –a in to derivational suffix **-ana**. The reciprocal morpheme is **-an-** and it expresses reciprocity. In Proto Bantu reciprocal extension **-an-** is also called 'associative' (Schadeburg 2003). In Kunda, the reciprocal extension always has a meaning of doing anything together and also expresses actions that are done jointly. Reciprocal verbs have a plural subject.

### Reciprocal

85 (a). ku – temw - a	ku – temw – an – a
inf – rad – fv	inf – rad – rec – fv
kutemwa	kutemwana
'to love'	'to love each other'

(b). ku – yavy – a  
inf – rad – a  
kuyavya  
'to help'

ku – yavy – an – a  
inf – rad – rec – fv  
kuyavyana  
'to help each other'

### 6.3.5 Intensive

Intensive form is expressed by the derivational suffix **-isha** and **-esha**. The intensive morpheme is **-ish** and **-esh**. It has a meaning of doing a thing much or doing a thing too much. It is used to intensify a particular action. It should be noted that in Kunda, all intensive forms are used when occasion demands causatives.

86 (a). kumb – a  
rad – fv  
kumba  
'dig'

#### Intensive

kumb – ish – a  
rad – int – fv  
kumbisha  
dig deep/hard'

(b). temw – a  
rad – fv  
temwa  
'love'

temw – esh – a  
rad – int – fv  
temwesha  
'love exceedingly'

### 6.3.6 Stative

Stative extension is used to express something which has undergone a particular action or which is capable of undergoing that action. Stative verbs are used with verbs to denote a state or an action to indicate the presence of the state. The stative form is expressed by changing the final vowel –a in to derivational suffix **-eka** and **-ika**. These suffixes indicate that the situation described by the verb is present as a state.

87 (a). cenek – a  
rad – fv  
ceneka  
'destroy'

### Stative

cenek – ek – a  
rad – stat – fv  
cenekeka  
'destroyed'

(b). mang – a  
rad – fv  
manga  
'tie'

mang – ik – a  
rad – stat – fv  
mangika  
'tied'

### 6.3.7 Reduplication.

Reduplication is the repetition of the verb stem or the inflected verb in some other form to denote frequency, intensity or continuity of action. In kunda reduplication is expressed by reduplicating the entire verb that is full reduplication.

88 (a). yend – a  
rad – fv  
yenda  
'walk'

### Reduplication

yend- a yend – a  
rad – fv rad – a  
yendayenda  
'to walk about'

(b). toŵ - a  
rad – fv  
toŵa  
'break'

toŵ – a toŵ – a  
rad – fv rad – fv  
toŵatoŵa  
'break time after time'

### 6.3.8 Reversive

The reversive form is the opposite meaning given to certain verbs by means of suffix either by addition or substitution. The reversive morphemes are **-ulul** and **-olol**. It reverses the meaning of the simple verb or undoes what has been done.

	<b>Reversive</b>
89 (a). vung – a	vung – ulul – a
rad – fv	rad - rev – fv
vunga	vungulula
‘roll/fold’	‘unroll/unfold’
(b). long – a	long – olol – a
rad – fv	rad – rev – fv
longa	longolola
‘pack’	‘unpack’

### 6.3.9 Persistentive

The persistentive form is expressed by the persistentive morpheme **-lilil-**. It denotes persistent repetition of an action.

	<b>Persistentive</b>
90 (a). kan – a	kan - ililil – a
rad – fv	rad – pers – fv
kana	kanililila
‘refuse’	‘refuse completely’
(b). wul – a	wul – ilil – a
rad –fv	rad – pers – fv
wula	wulilila
‘take’	‘take for good’

## **6.4 Summary**

This chapter dealt with verbal morphology. It looked at the Kunda verbal structure and its common verbal roots. It also dealt with the verbal Inflection were tense, aspect and mood were discussed as well as verbal derivation in terms of the different verbal extensions that verbs in Kunda may take.

## CHAPTER 7

### SYNTAX

#### 7.0 Introduction

This chapter concerns itself with some aspects of syntax of Kunda language. In particular, the chapter deals with basic word order and interrogatives. It also looks at complex clauses covering both coordination and subordination.

#### 7.1. Basic word Order

The basic word order in Kunda is SVO, that is, Subject, Verb and Object. In simple main clause declarative sentences, intransitive sentences have the order SV while the transitive has the order SVO.

##### 91 (a). SV (intransitive)

citi capona

citi ca- pon-a

Cl7treecl7ag pres- fall-fv

'the tree has fallen'

##### (b). SVO (transitive)

wasimbi wakolya nsima

w – simbi wa – ko – ly – a nsima

Cl2 girl cl1ag pres eat- fv cl9nsima

'the girls are eating nsima'

The word order in Kunda is not restrictive; the position of the main clause may vary, as such, constituents may be fronted in focus constructions as in (92). Focused elements tend to be fronted (Givon1990).

##### 92 (a). wakolya nsima wamsimbi

V O S

'the girls are eating nsima'

(b). akoyenda msimbi

V            S

'the girl is walking

It is also possible in Kunda to have constructions with two post-verbal objects (double object construction) that is SVOO as in example (92c) below.

(c). mulumbwana walyeshele imbwa cakulya

mu – lumbwan– a wa – lyesh - ele imbwa ca – ku – ly – a

cl1 boy            - fv cl1ag feed - caus cl9obj-dog c17 obj- food-fv

'the boy fed the dog food'.

It is worth noting that the concord of the elements in the sentences above agree with the controlling nominal or the head noun as in example (92a) and (b) .

## 7.2 Question Form/ Interrogative sentence

An interrogative sentence functions as a request for information or confirmation of the speakers understanding of a state of affairs (Andvik 2010:192). The two basic types of interrogative sentences are yes-no questions and content questions. In Kunda, both yes-no and content questions are distinct.

### 7.2.1. Yes-No question

Kroeger (2005:203) describes yes-no questions as 'closed questions' because the set of possible answer is closed and contains yes-no. Kroeger (2005:203) states that "since yes-no questions do not contain a question word; there must be other means of distinguishing them from simple declarative sentences." He commonly used devices for making yes-no questions according to frequency, a) Intonation, b) Clitics or particles, c) verbal affix (interrogative mood), d) change in word order ( Sung-Woo 2011).

Kunda uses the question particle to indicate yes-no questions. It uses '*kansi*' as a question Particle to differentiate them from statements.

93 (a). *kansi waliile ku munda*

*kansi wa – liil - e ku munda*

Q.particle 2sg – go-fv cl17 munda

'did you go to the field?'

(b). *kansi mwana akolya nsima*

*kansi mwana a – ko – ly-a nsima*

Q.particle child 1sgagr-Tm-eat-nsima

'is the child eating nsima?'

### 7.2.2 Content Questions

Content questions are questions which must be answered by the kind of information specified by the interrogative word (Konig & Siemund 2007:291; Payne 1997:298).

Content questions are formed using interrogative pro- forms, and they are sometimes called interrogatives. The major interrogative pro-forms are what, who, where, which etc. According to Viljoen (2013:228), pro-forms often cut across word categories and they are placed according to which word class they replace.

**Table21: Kunda Interrogative Pro-forms**

Part of speech	Pro- form	Gloss	Referent
noun	ni-ndo	What	non-human
noun	ci-ndo	Which	category
noun	kwa-ni	Where	destination/location
noun	w̄a-ni/ cakuw̄ani	who/ whose	human/ possessor
adjective/adverb	sha-ni	How	state/ manner
numeral	vi-nga	how many	number
numeral	zi-nga	how much	number

adverb	lila-li/-ndo	When	time
adverb	ni-ndo	why	reason/ cause
adverb	ca-ndo	for what purpose	purpose

(cf. Viljoen 2013: 28)

In Kunda interrogatives are expressed by the following stems; **-ndo**, **-ni**, and **-nga**, respectively. The interrogative pronouns take the class prefix of the noun. They behave like nominal modifiers, they immediately follow the nouns which are being questioned and in some instances they are inflected with either a relative particle or class particle of the head noun.

94 (a). walyele nendo visunga/ nkhoto “

wa – lyel –e ne-ndo visunga/ nkhoto

2sg- eat- fv tm- what porridge

‘what did you eat porridge with?’

(b). waizile lilali

wa – iz - ile li-lali

2sg-come-tm when

‘when did you come?’

(c). buku ili kwani

book tm where

‘where is the book?’

It is worthnoting that in Kunda **wani** ‘who’ the personal pronoun interrogative is used in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons and class 1 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. It is an independent form and does not require any affix when used with persons. And that interrogative **-ndo** ‘what is it’ is also used as a suffix to the verb stem and in some instances it follows the noun which it questions and inflected with the noun class prefix of the head noun as in example below:

95 (a). ni-wani a – ko – utuk – a?  
1Sgcop-IntP 1sgAgr-TM-run-fv  
'who is running?'

(b). akocitando msimbi?  
a – ko – cita - ndo msimbi?  
1sg-TM- do – IntP girl  
'what is the girl doing?'

### 7.3 Clause combinations / Structures of sentences

Sentences may consist of several clauses. These clauses combine in coordinating or subordinating relationship with each other. According to Sung-Woo (2011:108), "coordination and subordination are the two basic ways in which clauses can combine."

#### 7.3.1 Coordination

Coordination is used to join words, phrases or sentences. Coordinating conjunction can also be used to coordinate two clauses by following each other. Haspelmath (2007:1) defines coordination as "being when two or more units of the same type are combined into larger unit and still have the same semantic relations surrounding elements." According to (Payne 1997:336) coordination is a morph syntactic means of linking two clauses of equal grammatical status. Payne (1997:338) contends that "the most common means of indicating conjunction is by the use of coordinating conjunction such as **and** in English."

(1) na 'and/ with'

The conjunction 'and' is used to connect nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. The conjunctive **na** means either 'and' or 'with'. They are used when the referents are considered to be part of the same group. In Kunda when **na** is used with nouns of different classes which are subjects of the same verb, that verb takes the concord of class 8.

96 (a). njinga na katemo vili panze  
 Cl.9n conj Cl.12n Cl.8conc Cl.16loc.  
 'the bicycle and the axe are outside'

Nouns of the same class whether singular or plural, adopt the plural concord of their class.

(b). mwanakazi na mwana wa li mu munzi  
 Cl.1n conj Cl1n smCl2 pp Cl18 Cl.3  
 'the woman and the child are in the village'

(c). waizile na wata na wama na wana  
 wa – iz – il – e na wata na wama na wana  
 Sm rad tm fv conj Cl.2 conj Cl.2 conj Cl.2  
 'she/he came with father, mother and the children'

(d). nkhoza kuli wata namwana kunuma navya kulya pamutwe.  
 nd – ay – a ku - li wata na mwana ku – num - a na vya ku - lya pa mutwe  
 Sm/tm rad fv inf pp Cl2 conj Cl1 om.pref rad fv conj Cl8pref inf-rad Cl16 - ?  
 'I go to my father with a child on my back and food on my heard'

It is worth noting that when a sentence contains a string of nouns, the '**na**' is repeated as often as is necessary. In case of finite parts of two or more verbs connected by '**na**', each verb after the first is placed in the infinitive mood and the **na** becomes '**no**' as in example (97). This is similar to Cinsenga as (Miti 2001:153) asserts; "due to coalescence the conjunctive '**na**' may appear on the surface as **no**".

97. wama waliizile na kumpha nsima  
 wama wa – li – iz – il- e no ku- mpha nsima  
 Cl2 sm iv rad tm fv conj inf rad Cl9 nsima  
 'mother came and gave me nsima'

(2). koma 'but/yet'

**Koma** is used to distinguish between nouns or pronouns. In its prepositional sense is 'except'

98 (a). sembe nasitile mbwansi koma nsikwete ndalama

sembe na – sit - il - e mbwansi koma n - si – kwet – e ndalama

would sm rad tm fv Cl9n conj sm neg rad fv cl9 n

'I would buy sweet potatoes but I don't have money'

When 'but' occurs between nouns or adjectives used predicatively the copula **-ni** is repeated and **lomba** literally 'now' in English becomes necessary.

(b). m'simbi nimuweme lomba ni wa mutuku

'the girl is beautiful but arrogant'

(3). m'paka 'until'

The conjunction **mpaka** 'until' is used only in linking up sentences. The verb of the clause is intentional to indicate that the future event is intended and that with the verbs of doing and working.

99 (a). nshaye m'paka undipile

'I will not go until you pay me'

It can also be used with *pati* which may be considered as a complete future tense as in example (99b) and is also used with infinitive as in example (99c).

(b). mpaka pati iloke(le) mvula

'**until the rain falls**, I will still be here'

(c). mpaka kulokwa mvula

'I will be here **until the rain falls**'

(4). *eco* ‘thus/ so/ and therefore’

100. *nacosewa sukulu eco nkholongela.*

*na – cos – ew – a sukulu eco nkho – longel – a*

*Sm-tm- rad-pas- fv school-conj –s/tm - rad –*

‘I have been expelled from school and so I ‘m packing’

(5). *kano* ‘If/may be’

101. *kano nikatume mwana*

*kano – ni – ka – tum – e mu - ana*

*conj - sm – tm – rad–fv cl.1- stem*

*maybe I fut send pref child*

‘maybe I will send the child’

(6). *ngati/kano* ‘whether/ if’

In Kunda, ‘whether’ and ‘if’ clauses are introduced by *kano* or *ngati* often after the main verbs and are expressed in whatever tense is demanded by the meaning. *Ngati* and *kano* introduce indirect questions after verbs of knowing and asking.

102. *nsikoiziŵa ngati/kano akoiza kulala*

*nsi-n-ko – iziŵ-a ngati / kano a – koiz-a ku – lal - a*

*neg-SM-TM-know-fv if 2sgAgr-come INF-sleep-fv*

‘I don’t know if/ whether he will sleep’

### 7.3.2 Subordinates

Kroeger (2005:219) describe a subordinate clause as “one which functions as a dependent, rather than a co-head” and further describes three basic types of subordinate clauses; compliment clauses, adjunct (or adverbial) and relative clauses. Just as Kroeger (2005) does, Thompson and Longacre (1985:172) distinguish three types of subordinate clauses as those which function as noun phrases (called

compliments), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses) and those which function as modifiers of a verb phrase or the entire proposition (called adverbial clauses).”

This study will describe the adverbial clauses such as manner, place, time, reason, purpose, concession and conditional clauses.

### **7.3.2.1 Adverbial Clauses**

According to Thompson *et.al* (2007:231) “Adverbial clauses function as modifiers of verb phrases or the entire clause” Adverbs like adjectives, are modifiers. They modify verbs, adjectives or other adverbs. The adverbial clauses are categorised according to their semantic type and the structures used to express each type are described or to the meaning they convey. In Kunda adverbial clauses are used to provide additional information about the time, place an event took place, the manner in which it is or was done and the reason or purpose for the event.

#### **7.3.2.1.1 Adverbs of manner**

These are used to indicate the way an action is or was performed. In Kunda, adverbs of manner typically modify verbs and they answer the question how. They occur immediately following the verb which they modify.

103 (a). waicitileve panini

wa – i– citi - leve pa - nini

2sg- TM- hurt-only prep- small

‘you were just slightly injured’

(b). w̄ayendele muluw̄ilo

w̄a – yend – ele mu – luw̄ilo

3pl- walk - tm prep hurry

‘they walked hurriedly’

- (c). nenze kusosa na mwezo  
n – enze – ku - sos – a na mwezo  
1sg- tm – inf – talk –fv prep fear  
'I spoke with fear'

### 7.3.2.1.2 Adverbs of time

These express or indicate when an action is or was done; they include adverbs like yesterday, tomorrow, the day before yesterday, the day after tomorrow, when, how long and how often etc

- 104 (a). waizile lilali

wa – iz – ile lilali  
2sg-come tm when  
'when did you come?'

- (b). akokuiza cungulo

a – ko – ku – iz – a cungulo  
3sg-tm fut- imf – come-fv afternoon  
'she will come in the afternoon'

- (c). tikokutwizya mu - cisalo

ti – ko – ku – twizi – a mu – cisalo  
3sg-tm –inf – rest –fv cl17- dry season  
'we will rest in the dry season'

**Epo** and **ilyo** 'when' introduce the time clauses and indicate an indefinite time in the past or the future and **lilya** introduces time clauses and points to a more definite and more remote time in the future or in the past.

105. Epo wwayambile kusenga kuli Leza

'It is when they started asking God'

The adverbial once, twice, thrice are expressed by prefixing *li-* to the numeral stem as *li-mo*, *li-tatu*, *li-wili*. 'Often' is expressed by *lyonse* and 'how often' is expressed by *li-nga-nji* with *-nji* as its question particle.

### 7.3.2.1.3 Adverbs of place

The adverb of place is used to express where an action is or was done. They include here, there. They are made of the directional or locative prefixes of classes 16 */-pa/*, 17 */-ku/*, and 18 */-mu/* with adjectival stems.

106. panze / kunze 'outside'

pakati 'in the middle'

mukati 'inside'

kunuma 'behind'

apala 'right there'

apano 'right here'

107 (a). pali cine na - enze ku chalichi / neenze ku chalich pali cine.

Cl15cop thursday1sgagrcl16church

'I was at church on Thursday'

(b). wâli panze

wâ – li pa – nze

Cl2- cop cl15- outside

'they are outside'

The suffixes */-po/*, */-ko/*, */-mo/* are adverbials

108. Nalilepo, nalilemo and nalileko 'I went there' to mean at a place, in the place and to a place respectively.

#### **7.4 Summary**

This chapter has dealt with some aspects of syntax. It basically dealt with the basic word form of Kunda. It discussed the question form with emphasis on both yes-no questions and content questions. It further looked at complex clauses where coordination and subordination were dealt with. Under subordinate clauses, adverbial clauses were categorised into adverbs of manner, time and place.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **8.0 Introduction**

This chapter concludes the grammatical sketch of Kunda language. The conclusion is dealt with according to the main linguistic levels of linguistic analysis dealt with. That is, phonology, morphology and syntax.

#### **8.1 Conclusion**

##### **8.1.1 Phonological level**

The study has revealed that Kunda has five distinctive phonemic vowels which can be put into three groups that are high, mid and low. These vowels are presented phonetically with their corresponding symbols. There are twenty four consonants in Kunda which can also be categorised as voiced and unvoiced. The consonants are grouped according to the way they are articulated such as labial, Alveolar, Palatal and velar. The consonants can as well be distributed as stops, nasals, pre-nasals, fricatives, aspirated and approximants. The study stated that Kunda shares syllable structures of many Bantu languages and its common syllable patterns are V; C; CV; CV: and CS.

##### **8.1.2 Morphological level**

At this level, the study dealt with two types of morphology separately, namely, nominal morphology and verbal morphology. With regards to nominal morphology, it was noted that Kunda has eighteen noun classes and most of these consists of nominal prefixes which are followed by the stem. The study observed that some noun class prefixes may be involved in the formation of diminutives and augmentatives and that both trigger agreement on modifiers and verbs. The study dealt with the Kunda noun phrase which included pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, possessives and quantifiers which included cardinals and ordinals and it further revealed that associative nominal constructions in Kunda consist of two nouns with an associative marker which is a connective occurring between two nouns.

In dealing with verbal morphology, the study observed that the verb structure of Kunda contain numerous prefixes and suffixes and that prefixes are inflectional and suffixes are derivational. The verbal root in Kunda is a mono- morphemic base that is not influenced by any further analysis. The Kunda verbal root has different syllabic structures and the basic verbal root is CVC. The study revealed that Tense Aspect Mood (TAM) is a distinct feature in Kunda. The study has dealt with ten verbal extensions in Kunda and these are; passive, causative, applicative, reciprocal, intensive, reduplication, reversive and persistive. Negation has also been discussed.

### **8.1.3 Syntactic level**

At Syntactic level, it has been revealed that in Kunda, the basic word order is subject, verb and object (SVO) in descriptive order. However, the word order in Kunda is not restrictive; the position of the main clause may vary because the constituents may be fronted due to focus. The study noted that both yes-no and content questions in Kunda are distinct. Content questions are formed using interrogative pro-forms which mostly occur at the end of the clause. Complex clauses were also dealt with in the study and under it, coordination and subordination were discussed. It was noted that adverbial clauses are used to provide additional information about time, place an event took place as well as the manner in which it is or was done.

### **8.2 Recommendations for further research**

Due to an overlap of Nsenga with Kunda, mainly caused by language contact phenomena between the two, leading to what may be viewed as a blend of Kunda-Nsenga, there is need to conduct a contrastive study of Kunda and Nsenga in order to reconcile the differences and similarities between the two languages.

Having provided a grammatical sketch of Kunda which is the first of its kind, it is recommended that other researchers venture into more detailed and focused linguistic analysis of some aspects of Kunda linguistics such as phonology, syntax, semantics and so on.

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## APPENDIX A

### ENGLISH WORD LIST TRANSLATED INTO KUNDA LANGUAGE

1. anthills [vyulu]
2. afternoon [cungulo]
3. ashes [coto]
4. anthill [culu]
5. and [na]
6. axe [zembe / katemo]
7. bag [cola]
8. back [numa]
9. banana [vi(cikonde)]
10. bark (of a tree) [cikwa]
11. basket [nswanda/citundu]
12. bed mat [cisamphi]
13. behind [kunuma]
14. belly (lower part of the body or abdomen) [cumo]
15. belt [lamba]
16. big [kulu]
17. bird [koni]
18. bite [suma]
19. black [fita]
20. blind person [mphofu]
21. blood [lopa]
22. body [muwili]
23. bone [fupa]
24. breast [wele]
25. bridge [ulalo]
26. burn [oca]
27. but [koma]
28. buy [sita]

29. call [ita]
30. cat [cona/pusi]
31. catch [kata]
32. chair [m'pando]
33. chew [sheta]
34. chicken [nkhoko]
35. chief [mfumu]
36. cloud [kumbi]
37. cockroach [nyandule]
38. cold [talala]
39. cook [ipika]
40. cowpeas [nkhunde]
41. cry [lila]
42. day [siku]
43. death [imfwa]
44. die [ifwa]
45. doctor [sing'anga/ng'anga]
46. dog [imbwa]
47. domestic animals [vitekwa]
48. door [cisasa]
49. down [pansi]
50. dress [vwala]
51. drink [imwa]
52. dry [uma]
53. dust [lukungu]
54. ear [kwatu]
55. earth [calo]
56. eat [lya]
57. egg [lisumbi]
58. elephant [nzovu]
59. elephant without teeth [nyungwa]

60. eye [linso]
61. far [kutali]
62. fear (noun) [mwezo]
63. fear (verb) [tina]
64. feather [lingala]
65. fifth [cisano]
66. fire [mulilo]
67. firewood [nkhuni]
68. first [cakuyamba]
69. firstly. [pakuyamba]
70. fish [inswi]
71. flesh (meat) [nama iwisi]
72. fly (noun) [lunzi]
73. fly (verb) [nalala]
74. fly [unzi]
75. fog [fufuta]
76. foot [cipalamanthilo]
77. fourth [cine]
78. frog [cule]
79. full [zula]
80. give [ipa]
81. give birth [kuyala]
82. go [kaiye]
83. good [weme]
84. grass [zani]
85. green (colour) [limbwelimbwe]
86. hair [sisi]
87. hands [manja]
88. heart [mtima]
89. horn (of bull) [sengo]
90. horns "masengo]

91. hot (warm of weather) [pya]
92. how often [nikangati]
93. how? [shani]
94. hunger [nzala]
95. husband [mulume]
96. if/may [kano]
97. in the middle [pakati]
98. inside [mukati]
99. insults [nsele]
100. louse [inda]
101. rest [twizya]
102. stones "maliwe]
103. cultivate [lima]
104. even though [angula]
105. goat [mbuzi]
106. grandmother [mbuya]
107. his/her [eve]
108. house [nanda]
109. hurriedly [luwilo]
110. I/me [neo]
111. knee [likonkho]
112. know (facts) [ziwa]
113. lake [citowo]
114. last [silizyila]
115. lastly. [pakusilizya]
116. laugh [seka]
117. leaf [tepo]
118. lip [mulomo]
119. liver [ciwu]
120. long [tali]
121. love [temwa]

- 122. many [vinji]
- 123. mat [mphasa]
- 124. mealie meal [unga]
- 125. mice [Mbewa/koswe/mend]
- 126. millet [ule]
- 127. month [mwezi]
- 128. months [myezi]
- 129. moon [mwezi]
- 130. mopani tree [Citi ca mphando]
- 131. mountain [lupili]
- 132. mouth [kanwa]
- 133. my [-nji]
- 134. myself [newine]
- 135. name [zina]
- 136. neck [mkosi]
- 137. night [usiku]
- 138. nostril [mphuno]
- 139. nostrils [m'mphuno]
- 140. often [masiku enji]
- 141. once [limo]
- 142. open [zula]
- 143. outside [panze]
- 144. place [malo/cikalo]
- 145. play [yangala/soŵela]
- 146. pray [pemphele]
- 147. pus [mafina]
- 148. rat [koswe/mbewâ/mende ]
- 149. red [sweta]
- 150. refuse [kana]
- 151. right here [apano]
- 152. right there [apala]

153. river [kamana]
154. road [museo]
155. roll/fold [vunga]
156. root [muzyu]
157. rope [thambo]
158. saliva [mate]
159. salt [mucele]
160. second [caciwili]
161. seed [mbuto]
162. sew [tima]
163. sharp [catwa]
164. sheep [mbelele]
165. short [ipi]
166. shoulder [pewa]
167. sit [ikala]
168. skin [nkhanda]
169. small [nini]
170. smoke [cusi]
171. snake.[nzoka]
172. sniffer item [ntheuwe]
173. sniffing [nunsha]
174. stab (verb) [lasa]
175. stand 'imilila]
176. stone [liwe]
177. strength [vizo]
178. sun [zuwa]
179. sweep [phyela]
180. swim [nyaya]
181. tail [mucila]
182. take [wula]
183. taste [lawa]

184. tenth [ca kumi]
185. that [ecila]
186. thatch [vimba]
187. therefore [eco]
188. thief [pompwe]
189. thigh [citewelo]
190. thigh [citewelo]
191. think [tonthonkhanya]
192. third [cacitatu]
193. thirst [laka]
194. this [eyi/eci]
195. thousandth [ca mwanda]
196. thrice [litatu/katatu]
197. thus [eco]
198. tie [manga]
199. tooth/teeth [lino/ meno]
200. towa [break]
201. stranger [Mulwendo]
202. tree [citi]
203. trouble [vuto]
204. try [ezya]
205. twice [liwili]
206. until [mpaka]
207. visit [tandala]
208. walk [yenda]
209. water [menzi]
210. we/us [seo]
211. well [wino]
212. what? [nindo]
213. when? [lilali]
214. where ? [kwani]

- 215. whether/if [ngati/kano]
- 216. which? [ cindo]
- 217. white [uta]
- 218. why? [nindo]
- 219. wife [mkazi]
- 220. write [lamba]
- 221. you [weo/mweo]
- 222. Watch [ona]
- 223. sand [musenga]
- 224. only/ merely [ceka]
- 225. again/ moreover [nakambi]

## APPENDIX B

### ENGLISH SENTENCE LIST TRANSLATED INTO KUNDA LANGUAGE

1. I cry [nkholila]
2. I will cry [nkhoti nilile/nkhoza kulila]
3. I will not cry [nshalile/nshaze kulila]
4. I will not cry for him [nshamulile/nshaze kumulila]
5. I eat [nkholya]
6. I will eat [nkhoza kulya]
7. I will not eat [nshalye/ nshaize kulya]
8. I will not eat for him [nshaze kumulyelako]
9. I am eating nsima [nkholya nsima]
10. I am pounding groundnuts [nkhotwa nshaŵa]
11. They bring vegetables [ŵakoleta munani wamatepo]
12. You heard [m/waliumvwile]
13. You came [waizile/waliizile]
14. You jumped [walitolokele]
15. You visited [wali tandalile]
16. You had heard [waliumvwile]
17. You had come [waliizile]
18. You had visited [ali tandalile]
19. You had jumped [walitolokele]

20. You used to hear [wenze kuumvwa]
21. You used to visit [wenze kutandala]
22. You used to come [wenze kuiza]
23. She had slept [walilalile]
24. She slept [enze lele]
25. I came yesterday [naizile mailo]
26. I had come yesterday [naliizile mailo]
27. You came [m/waliizile]
28. You jumped [walitolokele]
29. You visited [wali tandalile]
30. I came today [naiza lelo]
31. I had come today [nenze naiza lelo]
32. You had come [wenze waiza]
33. You had visited [wali tandalile]
34. You will come [ukokuiza]
35. You will eat [ukokulya]
36. You will visit [uko(ya) kutandala]
37. They will visit [wakokutandala]
38. We will pray [tikokupemphela]
39. You will come [ukokuiza]
40. They will sleep [wakokulala]

41. You will dance [m/ukokuvina]
42. You will be hearing [m/ukomkuumvwa]
43. We will be coming [tikokuiza/tikoyakuiza]
44. They will be walking [wâkokuyenda/wâkoya kuyenda]
45. You will be eating [mkomkulya/ukoya mkulya]
46. We will pray [tikoza kupemphela]
47. You are sleeping [uli lele]
48. You are hearing [m/ukoumvwa]
49. You are walking [m/ukoyenda/ukoyenda]
50. You hear [umvwa]
51. You sleep [lala]
52. You come [iza]
53. Not to write [kutalemba]
54. Not to think [kutalingilila/kutaganizila]
55. Not to eat [kutalya]
56. Not to walk [kutayenda]
57. Not to sweep [kutapyanga/kutapyela]
58. Not to cry [katalila]
59. I am not eating [nsikolya]
60. To write [kulemba]
61. To think [kulingilila/kuganiza]

62. To eat [kulya]
63. To walk [kuyenda]
64. To sweep [kupyanga/kupyela]
65. To cry [kulila]
66. Let us eat [izeni tilye]
67. Let us write [izeni tilembe]
68. Let us sweep [izeni tipyele/izeni tipyange]
69. Let us dance [izeni tivine]
70. Let us think [izeni tilingilile/izeni tiganizile]
71. You should not pray [m/utapemphela/osapemphela]
72. You should not write [m/utalemba]
73. You should not eat [m/utalya]
74. You should not sleep [m/utalala]
75. You did not hear [tawaumvwile]
76. You did not come [tawaizile]
77. You did not eat [tawalyele]
78. You had not heard [tawaumvwile]
79. You had not cried [tawalilile]
80. You had not slept [tawalalile]
81. You had not written [tawalembele]
82. You used not to write [tewenze kulemba]

83. You used not to cry [tewenze mkulila]
84. You will not hear [tawaumvwe]
85. You will not hear [tawakaumvwe]
86. You will not sleep [tawakalale]
87. You will not be writing [tawaye mkulemba]
88. You will not be crying [tawaye mkulila]
89. You will not be dancing [tawaye mkuvina]
90. You don't hear [taukoumvwa]
91. You don't write [taukolemba]
92. You don't jump [aukotoloka]
93. You don't sleep [taukolala]
94. To be built [kumangiwa]
95. To be mourned [kuliliwa]
96. To be killed [kuipaiwa]
97. To be loved [kudemwewa]"
98. To be laughed at [kusekewa]
99. To be beaten [kupumwa/kupumiwa]
100. To be opened(with/by) [kuizuliwa]
101. To make (one) laugh [kusekesha]
102. To make (someone) taste [kulaŵisha]
103. To make (someone) drink [kumweshwa/kumweshewa]

104. Show a guest around [kutandazya]
105. Cause to be bitten [kusumisha]
106. Cause to be open [kuizuliwa]
107. To build for [kumangilwa]
108. To cultivate for [kulimilwa]
109. Very hard [cakosa ngako]
110. To go for good [kuililila]
111. To refuse completely [kukanililave]
113. To take for good [kutolelela]
114. To sleep for good [kulalilila]
115. The house that she bought was expensive [nanda yaasitile yenze yadula]
116. To unwrap [kuvungulula]
117. To unpack [kulongolola]
118. To be unrolled [kupombololala]
119. To separate [kumatula]
120. To love each other [kudemwana]
121. To help each other [kuyavyana]
122. To see one another [kuonana]
123. To hit each other [kupumana]
124. Dig deep/hard [kukumbisha]

125. To love exceedingly [kudemweshā]
126. Look around [kulolesha]
127. Break hard [kutoŵesha]
128. Being opened [kuizuliwa]
129. Being seen [kuonekela]
130. Being married [kutengewa]
131. Being stolen [kuiŵiwa]
132. (Break) shatters or smashes time after time [kutoŵatoŵa]
133. (Jump) jump around [kutoloka- toloka]
134. Wander around [kuzungazunga]
135. Make laugh (frequently) [kusekaseka]
136. Dance anyhow [civinevine]
137. Cry repeatedly [kulilalila]
138. I will write on it [nkhoza kulembapo]
139. I will pass through there [nkhoiza kupitako]
140. They went there [ŵali ileko]
141. I was there [nenzeko]
142. She is a child [ni mwana]
143. He is a farmer [ni mulimi/ni/cikumbe]
144. It is a tongue [ni lulimi]
145. They are farmers [ni ŵalimi/ni/cikumbe]

146. I am the mother [nine nyina]
147. It is food [ni cakula]
148. He is not a farmer [taali mulimi/cikumbe]
149. I am not the mother [nsili nyina]
150. He was a farmer [enze mulimi/cikumbe]
151. It was a tree [cenze citi]
152. They were trees [vyenze viti]
153. They were farmers [wenze walimi/wacikumbe]
154. It was food [cenze c[kulya]
155. He was not a farmer [teenze mulimi/cikumbe]
156. It was not a tree [tecnze citi]
157. It will be a tree [cikoza kuwa citi]
158. It will be food [cikoza kuwa cakulya]
159. They will be farmers [wakoza kuwa walimi/ wakokuwa walimi/wacikumbe]
160. It will not be a tree [tacakawe citi/ tacaize kuwa citi]
161. They will not be farmers [tawakawe walimi/ tawaize kuwa walimi]
162. We will be farmers [tikoza kuwa walimi/wacikumbe]
163. She is well [ali wino/mutende]
164. You are well [uli wino/mutende]
165. You are outside [uli panze]
166. We are not well [tatuli wino/mutende]

167. We are hungry [tili na nzala]
168. We are not hungry [tatukwete nzala]
169. What do you think? [ukoganizando?]
170. You should do (it) like this. [ucite evi]
171. You should not do (it) like this. [utacita evi]
172. Don't do (it) like this. [utacita evi.]
173. I have heard much/ well? [naumvwisha ngako]
174. I have come all the same. [naiza]
175. I will still come. [nkhokuiza”
176. I have come again. [naiza nakambi]
177. I have come like this. [naiza evi”
178. We merely/ only brought the child. [taizileve kuleta mwana]
- 179 How did you come? [m/waizile shani?]
180. You were slightly injured. [waicitileve panini/panyandi]
181. You took a lot/ you stole significantly. [waulile vinji/ waiwile vinji/ngako]
182. We travelled safely/ well. [tayendeleve wino]
183. You left together. [mwaimile pamo]
184. They ate together. [walyele wonse/ pamo]
- 185 He walked in a lazy manner/ lazily. [wayendele mwaulesi]
186. He danced energetically. [wavinile na vizo]
187. She spoke in a rude manner/ rudely. [wasosele namaziwi akuiwumvwa]

188. I spoke with fear. [nasosele na mwezo]
189. He spoke wisely. [wasosele na mano]
190. They walked hurriedly. [wayendele muluwilo/wanguwangu]
191. She spoke in an angry manner. [wasosele na maziwi aukali]
192. She narrated proudly/ in a proud manner/ with pride. [wafotokozele  
Mwakumeka kwake]
193. I want to sleep. [nkhofwaya kulala]
194. I want to eat. [nkhofwaya kulya]
195. I want to sweep. [nkhofwaya kupyanga/kupyela]
196. She eats whilst standing. [akolya wiimilile]
197. She eats whilst sitting. [akolya wiikele]
198. When did you come? [waizile mwakando?]
199. Did you come long ago? [waizile kale?]
200. I have just come. [epo naza]
201. I came today. [naiza lelo]
202. This very day. [lelove]
203. The very/same woman. [oyuve mwanakazi]
204. The very/ same wound. [ciwenga/cilonda cimo na cimo]
205. She came at night. [waizile usiku]
206. She will come during the day. [akoti aize lelo]
207. She will come in the afternoon. [akokuiza cungulo]

208. They will come in the morning. [w̄akokuiza lucelo]
209. We will cultivate in the rainy season. [tikoza kulima m'mainza]
210. We will rest during the dry season. [tikoza kupumula pa mwela]
211. You watched the second time round. [waoneleko kaciw̄ili]
212. You laughed on Tuesday. [wasekele pa ciw̄ili]
213. on the third occasion. [pa nsita ya citatu]
214. on the fourth occasion. [pa nsita ya kan]
215. on the fifth occasion. [pa nsita ya cisano]
216. on the first occasion. "pansita yakuyamba]
217. On the first occasion you danced energetically. [pakuyamba w̄avinile navizo]
218. People who are not Kunda [w̄anthu w̄atali w̄akunda]
219. The dogs ate my food. [imbwa zandyele vyakulya]
220. on the last occasion. [pansita yakusilizya]
221. The child has come [mwana waiza]
222. Mine has come [wanji waiza]
223. All of them have arrived [wonse w̄afika]
224. Mushroom [wowa/ nyonzwe]
225. The tree has fallen [citi capona]
226. The tree that has fallen is big [citi capona ni cikulu]
227. The person who will be coming is Kunda [munthu akoiza ni m'Kunda]
228. The people who are coming [w̄anthu w̄akioza]

229. I bought the house [nasitile nanda]
230. The house which I bought is beautiful [nanda inasitile niweme]
231. The women are cooking meat [wanakazi wakoipika nama]
232. She hasn't climbed [taakwelele]
233. She doesn't climb [ taakokwela]
234. The meat which/that the women are cooking is goat meat [nama iwakoipika  
wanakazi ni ya mbuzi]
235. After I have bathed, I will go to the market. [nikasilizya kusamba nkhoza  
ku msika]
236. After washing, I went to the market. [pina siliizyile kucapa naile ku msika]
237. You should know him better before you marry him. [ukofwaika kumuiziwa  
wiino pautala tengewa]
238. Before sleeping, I bath. [nkhosamba pinthala lala]
239. Since the weather changed, I have not been going for work. [muya yalukila  
nyengo nsilayako ku nchito.]
240. Beginning from when I arrived, I have been eating fish. [munaizila nkholoyave inswi]
241. He accompanied them to the place where they worship. [waile nawo kuwako  
pemphelela]
242. According to what I think, the elections were free and fair. [munkho ganizila,  
masankho ayendeleve wino]
243. He is eating food as if he doesn't want it. [akolya (kwati) ngati takofwaya]
244. I am resting (in Mambwe) right here. [nkhotwizya/kupumula omunove]

mwa Mambwe]

244. It is those dogs that/which ate my food [ni ezila imbwa zandyele vyakulya]

246. what for/ of what use? [nicando?]

247. Which (one)? [cindo?]

248. How/ in what manner? [m'nzila yando]

250. like that [evyove]

251. like this [evi]

252. It is my father who is coming [ni wata wakoiza]

253. How many/ much? [nivinga?]

254. What did you lose? [nindo mwataile?]

255. Who do you want? [ukofwaya/mkofwaya wani?]

256. How much will it cost? [nizinga?]

257. How many things did you bring? [mwaletele vinthu vinga?]

258. Who is running? [niwani akoutuka?]

259. For whom are you working? (Who is it that you are working for?) [mkosewenzela wani?]

260. Whom did she go with? [waile na wani?]

261. Whose food is this? [ni cakuwani eci cakulya?]

262. What did she eat porridge with? [walile nando nkhoto?]

263. When did you arrive? [wafikile mwakando?]

264. When is he coming? [akoiza mwakando?]

265. Where is the book? [buku ili kwani?]
266. Where do you live? [ukoikala kwani?]
267. How do you make bread? [mkopanga shani cinkwa?]
268. How will I help you? [ninga kuyavye shani?]
269. Why did he do that? [nindo acitile evila?]
270. Why did you go to Malawi? [nindo ukoila ku Malawi?]
271. Why did you want the knife? [nindo wafwaile cimai/cipula?]
272. Did you go to the market? [kansi waliile ku msika?]
273. Yes, I went to the market. [Ee naliile ku msika]
274. Is the child eating nsima? [kansi mwana akolya nsima?]
275. No, he is eating rice. [akolya m'punga.]
276. Did the man go to the market? [kansi mwanalume waliile ku msika?]
277. Yes, he went to the market [Ee waliile ku msika]
278. Did Chali buy beans? [kansi Chali walisitile kayela?]
279. Who broke the pot/ "niŵani watoŵele cinkhombe?]
280. What bit the child? [cindo ca sumile mwana?]
281. Who fell? [niŵani waponele?]
282. Which house fell? [ninandando yaponele?]
283. Which houses fell? [nimananda ndo yaponele?]
284. Who did you see? [niŵani waŵonele?]
285. Who saw you? [niŵani wakuonele?]

286. Who did the woman see? [ni wani mwanakazi waonele?]
287. What did the boy buy? [wasitile ndo mlumbwana?]
288. What is the girl doing? [akocitando msimbi?]
289. What did the woman give the children? [nivindo mwanakazi wapele wana?]
290. What did the woman give them? [mwanakazi wawapelendo?]
291. Who did the woman give the money? [mwanakazi wapele wani ndalama?]
292. To whom did the teacher give the book? [msambizi/mwalimu wapele wani buku]
293. For whom did the woman cook nsima? [mwanakazi waipikile wani nsima?]
294. Where have the people danced? [wanthu wavinila kwani?]
295. What did the child eat nsima with? [walyele munani ndo mwana?]
296. Where am I? [nili kwani?]
297. Where did he hide the money? [wafisile kwani ndalama?]
298. Where did the children see the dog? [wana wayionele kwani imbwa?]
299. Where did they go? [wayile kwani?]
300. Where did the child go? [mwana wayile kwani?]
301. Where is the food from? [cakulya cafuma kwani]
302. What time did the children eat/ bath? [wana walyele/ wasambile nsitando?]
303. What time did you travel/arrived? [mwayendele/ mwafikile nsitando?]
304. What year did he die? [ni mwakando wafwile?]
305. How did they prepare it? [waipikile shani?]
306. How did you cook the beans? [mwaipikile shani kayela?]

307. How did you kill the animal? [mwaipayile shani cinama?]
308. How much did the children eat? [ninga wana walyeleko shani?]
309. How much food was there? [vyakulya vyenzeko vinji shani?]
310. How many people were present? [wanthu wenzeko wanga?]
311. Why does the child cry? [mwana akolilila shani?]
312. Whose child is this? [nimwana wakuwani oyu?]
313. Whose house is this? nNinanda yakuwani eyi?]
314. I don't know if Chapa arrived. [nsikoiziwa kano Chapa walifikile]
315. I don't know how they killed the cow. [nsikoiziwa muwaipaile ng'ombe]
316. I don't know how they left. [nikoiziwa muwaimilepo.]
317. Did you tell me who hit him? [wali mbwizizye muwa mupumile?]
318. Did you tell me who he hit? [mwali mbwizizye uwamupumile?]
319. Who did you say (that) they saw? [mwatile niwani uwaonele?]
320. What did they say (that) I bought? [wayewele ati nasitilendo?]
321. I know who danced. [nkhomuiziwa wavinile]
322. The child has gone. [mwana waya]
323. The girl has eaten. [msimbi walya]
324. The girl will bath. [msimbi akoza ku samba/akoti asambe]
325. This thing (near speaker and addressee) [eci cinthu]
326. This thing (near speaker far from addressee) [eci cinthu]
327. That thing (near addressee far from speaker) [ecila cinthu]

328. That thing (far from both speaker and addressee) [ecila cinthu]
329. A teacher's wife. [amka mwalimu/msambizi]
330. A teacher's child. mwana waka mwalimu/msambizi]
331. A chief's vehicle. [galimoto yaka mfumu]
332. Mothers wealth. [cuma caku wama]
333. Our house. [nanda yesu]
334. Your fields. [minda yenu]
335. Their children. [wana wawo]
336. My father. [wata waji]
337. My children. [wana waji]
338. Their children. [wana wawo]
339. His children. [wana wake]
340. Our father. [awisifwe]
341. My child. [mwana waji/wata]
342. That one is my child. [ola mwana niwaji/ mwana waji ola/ ola ni mwana waji]
343. That one is their child. [ola nimwana wawo/ mwana wawo ola]
344. They ate all of it. [walilile vyonse]
345. She visited all of us. [waizile kutitandalila wonse]
346. She visited all of you [waizile kumutandalileni wonse]
347. The whole chicken. [nkhoko yonse]
348. All the people. [wanthu wonse]

349. Going round everywhere. [kuzungazunga paliponse]
350. I have come alone. [naiza neka]
351. We have come alone. [taiza seka]
352. You have come alone. [waiza weka]
353. Only the head. [mutwe weka]
354. Only the heads. [mitwe yeka]
355. I will pay all of ours. [nkhoti nilipile vyesu vyonse]
356. Those shoes of mine are like his. [nsapato zanzi zapalana na nsapato zake]
357. What is it? [nicindo eci?]
358. What is it for? [ni cando?]
359. What is the child for? [mwana ni wando]
360. What is the field for? [munda ni wando?]
361. What am I for? [nine wando]
362. What is the broom for? [cipyango ni cando?]
363. What are the eggs for? [masumbi ni ando?]
364. What are you for? [Niwe wando?]
365. What are we for? [tili wando?]
366. What are the brooms for? [vipyango/vipyelelo ni vyando?]
367. Which one? [nicindo?]
372. A tall person. [munthu mutali]
373. Small branch. [msambo unini]

374. Unripe pumpkin. [kapanda wambula kupya]
375. She has seen the tall one. [waona citali]
376. A hungry person. [munthu wanzala]
377. A sick person [munthu mulwele]
378. A leaking plate [mbale ya tulika]
379. An intelligent person. [munthu wamano/wanzelu]
380. A strong child. [mwana wavizo]
381. An idle girl. [msimbi watepwa]
382. My child is tall/ short. [mwana wanji ni mutali/mwipi]
383. My child is small/ big. [mwana wanji ni munini/ mukulu]
384. Their house is beautiful. [nanda yawo niweme]
385. The wise child is gone. [mwana wamano waya]
386. The wise one has gone. [wamano waya]
387. 562. He who eats maize [wamene akolya vitonga]
389. It is rice which mother cooked for visitors [wama wa waipikile m'punga waluendo]
390. He who danced [wavinile/wamene wa vinile]
391. He who ate maize [walyele vitonga/ Wamene walyele vitonga]
392. This is my house [eyi nanda yanji]
393. A white house [nanda ya uta]
394. Come here. [iza okuno]
397. Ask the teacher. [konsha msambizi]

398. Cousin [muvyalwa]
399. She will cook nsima [akoza kuipika/kunaya nsima]
400. She will cook Nsima in the pot/ on the brazier [akoza kuipikila/kunaila nsima pa mbaula]
401. She will once again cook nsima on the brazier [nakambi akoza kunaila nsima mbaula]
402. He will not cook nsima on the brazier [taaze kuipikila/ kunaila nsima pa mbaula]
403. This is the story that he wrote [eci ecisimi walembele]
405. The dog that bit the child died [mbwa yasumile mwana yalifwile]
406. He eats maize [akolya vitonga]
407. He who cultivates [akolima/wamene akolima]
408. One person [munthu umo]
409. Two people [ŵanthu ŵawili]
410. Three children [ŵana ŵatatu”
411. Four people [ŵanthu wane]
412. Five people [ŵanthu ŵasano]
- 413 Six people [ŵanthu ŵasano na umo]
414. Seven people [ŵanthu ŵasano na wawili]
415. Eight people [wanthu wasano na ŵatatu/cine konsekonse]
416. Nine people [ŵanthu ŵasano na wane]
417. Ten people [ŵanthu kumi]

418. Eleven people [ŵanthu kumi na umo]
419. Twelve people [ŵanthu kumi na ŵaŵili]
420. One hundred people [ŵanthu makumi kumi]
421. Two thousand people [ŵantu myanda iŵili]
422. One million people [ŵanthu myanda kumi]
423. Two hundred and one child [ŵana makumi kumi aŵili na umo]
432. The first thing [cakuyamba]
433. The second day [usiku wa ciŵili]
434. The eighth day [usiku wa cisano na katatu]
435. The tenth thing [ca kumi]
436. All the grass [yonse zani/ zani yonse]
437. The whole leaf [citepo conse]
438. Few animals [zinini nama/ nama zinini]
439. Many farmers [ŵalimi/ŵacikumbe ŵenji]
440. The hunter and the lion met in the bush [ciŵinda na nkhalamo ŵalikumanile mu conde]
441. It talks about the farmer and the fisherman [Ikososa pa ŵalimi/ŵacikumbe na ŵakoipaya inswi]
442. It talks about Jesus and the lepers [Ikososa pali Yesu na ŵamakhate/wama mbombo.]
443. I had fallen ill (and) then he gave me medication [Nalilwalile epo ŵamphele muti.]

444. The chief grabbed him a goat plus salt [mfumu yamupokele mbuzi na mucele]
445. I go to my father's house with a child on my back plus food on my head [nkhoya kunanda kuli wata namwana kunuma navya kulya pamutwe]
446. One plus one equals [kamo kusanzyapo kamo nivinga]
447. The woman came and gave me nsima [mwanakazi waliizile nakumpha nsima]
448. Maybe I will send a child [limbi nkoza kutuma mwana]
449. You will go there if you want [ukafwaya ukoti uyeko]
450. I will sing or (maybe) I will dance [nkhoza kuimba panake ukoza kuvina]
451. So she will not go home [tayeko kumunzi]
452. You were saying you are at work yet you are at the bar [wenze kuti uli ku nchito kansi uli kunanda ya walwa]
453. I am not feeling well but I will go for work [nsikoumvwa wino koma nkhoti niye ku nchito]
454. I will not go until you pay me [shaye m'paka undipile]
455. I will not pay you until you dance [shakulipile m'paka uvine]
456. I am not sure whether/ if he went [Nsikoiziwa kano waliile]
457. I cooked and ate nsima [naipikile nsima na kulya]
458. You went and came back [waliile na kuwelako]
459. He danced but I did not dance [Wali vinile koma newo nshavinileko]
460. He did not pay rentals. Therefore, he was evicted. [Taalipile ndalama zananda akolalamo eco wamufumyilemo].

461. I would buy sweet potatoes but I have no money. [Sembe nasitile mbwasi lombansa nsenze na ndalama]

462. You may read my book, but (you must) return (it) tomorrow. [unga w̄elengemo buku yanji, koma ukawezye mailo.]

463. The child is beautiful but arrogant “mwana nimuweme lombansa akozitukumusha.]

464. When I was small before I started school, mother used to sell clothes [Pinenze mwaice nitala yamba (school) w̄ama w̄enze kusitisha vyakuvwala]

465. I have never seen things which I have never seen since I was born [nsilaonapo vinthu evyo nsila onapo civyalukilo]

466. When I arrived he rejected me [pinafikile wali nkhanile]

467. When they have grown, I take them for initiation [nga w̄akula nkhoŵatwala ku kulangiwa]

468. She came from your village where you came from [wafumile kumunzi kuwafumile]

469. We put it in the house where we sleep [taciikile mnanda mutikolala]

470. We went to Kakumbi to build a church [taile kwa Kakumbi mukumanga chalichi]

470. She leaves her parents so that they may continue with their discussions [akosiya wavyazi w̄ake kuti w̄apitilizye makani]

471. Now teachers do not teach like they taught a long time ago [lelo w̄a mwalimu / w̄asambizi taŵakosambizya ngati nikale]

472. These days, because we are in town, we don't have grain bins [ano masiku pakuti tili mu walale tetukoŵa na matala]

473. All our children we raise because God gave us [w̄ana w̄esu wonse utikokuzya pakuti Mlungu walitupele]

474. If it rains today, I will go to the field [ikalokwa lelo nkhekuya ku munda]

475. If you refuse, I will beat you. [kano ukoti ukane , nkhoti nikupume]
476. I will let you know if she comes tomorrow. [nkhoza kukuwizya kano akokuiza mailo]
477. If she comes tomorrow, I will let you know “kati akokuiza mailo, nkhoza kukuiziŵisha”
478. I would come if you were to ask/ invite me “kuti naiiza nga mwanjita”
479. If it had rained yesterday, I would have stayed home [kuti mvula yali lokwele mailo sembe naikalile ku nanda]
480. If the child had lost the goats, his father would have hit him [kuti mwana waluvyile mbuzi, awisi sembe wáli mupumile]
481. Even though she did study for the exam, she wrote well [angula waliŵelengele, walembele wino mayeso]
482. Even though their house is far away I always go to visit them [angula nanda ilipatali nkhoza muku wátandalila masiku onse]
483. Even though I was really tired, I couldn't sleep [angula nalikasikile,calikangile kulala]
484. I didn't get the job although I had all the necessary qualifications [shasangile nchito angula nenze na masambililo yalinga]
485. People will come today [wantu wakoiza lelo]
486. The children eat porridge [wana wakolya nkhoto]
487. Grandmother pounds groundnuts [ambuya wákotwa ntwilo zya kapansha /nshaŵa]
488. Groundnuts porridge makes the children health [nkhoto yaku kapansha /nshaŵa ikopa wana vizo]
489. The child is walking [mwana akoyenda]
490. The child kicked the ball [mwana wachaile mpila]

491. She sang because I danced [waliimbile pakuti nali vinile]
492. She sang because she was happy [waliimbile pakuti enze watemwa]
493. I ate rice without sugar [nalyele mpunga wambula sugar]
494. I am leaving because I am feeling tired [nkhoya pakuti naumvwa kukasika]
495. A tall child [mwana mtali]
496. A long thing [cinthu citali]
497. That child [ola mwana]
498. My child [mwana wanji]
499. The tall one has gone/ come [mutali waya / waiza]
500. The tall child has come [mwana mutali waiza]
501. After I had gone to church, he did it again. [pinaile ku chalichi waliwelezyelepo]