AN OUTLINE OF
KIKAONDE GRAMMAR

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FOREWORD

There has been a lack of up-to-date descriptive grammars of Zambian languages suitable for use, either as teaching or as learning aids, at all levels of the Zambian education system. This lack has been keenly felt by teachers and learners alike. Many of the grammars that are available could be said to be inadequate or inappropriate in several respects. The oldest ones were written at a time when Latin or European languages generally were considered to be the prototype of all grammars, and they thus tended to be patterned in their arrangement, description and the terminology employed on Latin-based grammatical rules. Others were written in a style and language which presented serious problems of comprehension even to teachers. In a good many cases, the actual examples cited were unnatural, forced or not in accord with accepted usage. At the present moment many of these works have long been out of print.

In order to put in the hands of the teachers and learners grammatical descriptions which reflected more nearly the structural facts of their language, during 1970-71, the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Zambia attempted to provide comprehensible grammatical descriptions of the seven Zambian languages officially prescribed for use in education, broadcasting and literacy programmes. The authors who volunteered or were approached to write them were specifically instructed to employ a comprehensible style and to keep technical terminology to the absolute minimum. The general reader was clearly kept in mind. It is hoped that with the publishing now of the grammatical outlines of *iciBemba, siLozi, ciNyanja, chiTonga* and *kiKaonde* the original intention of providing grammatical descriptions of appeal to a wide audience, both lay and professional, will have been achieved.

As originally conceived, seven grammatical sketches representing all the seven officially approved Zambian languages, plus sketches of Town Bemba and Town Tonga, were to have been published as Part One in a projected three-part volume

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of **Language in Zambia**, incorporating the findings of the Zambia Language Survey. In the event, it was found necessary in the interest of reducing bulk and cost to abandon the original plan and to arrange to publish the sketches separately. Indeed, publishing them separately has had the advantage of making them available in a convenient, less bulky size suitable for both teacher and student handling.

The Institute for African Studies (now the Institute of Economic and Social Research), University of Zambia, published in 1977 **Language in Zambia: Grammatical Sketches**, Volume 1, containing grammatical sketches or outlines of *iciBemba* and *kiKaonde* by Michael Mann and J.L. Wright respectively, plus a sketch of the main characteristics of Town Bemba by Mubanga E Kashoki. The plan at the time was to publish subsequently two follow-up volumes: first, Volume 2, to contain sketches of *siLozi* and *Lunda* and *Luvale* and second, Volume 3, to contain sketches of *ciNyanja* and *chiTonga*. In the event this plan was not adhered to. Only one volume was published in accordance with the original plan and this has been out of print for some time now.

It is in part for these reasons that it has been considered necessary to attend to the unfinished business initiated more than two decades ago. Also, and more pertinently, the need for pedagogical and reference grammars of Zambian languages continues to be keenly felt. The matter has now been made more urgent following the 1996 decision of the Zambian Government to revert to the earlier policy of using local (i.e. Zambian) languages plus English as a media of instruction. As now re-arranged, in order to achieve what is felt to be a more logical arrangement, five grammatical sketches of *iciBemba, siLozi, ciNyanja, chiTonga* and *kiKaonde* have so far been published.

Co-sponsored by the Institute for African Studies, (the present Institute of Economic and Social Research, University of Zambia), the main volume, **Language in Zambia**, was published in 1978 by the International African Institute (IAI) partly subsidised by funds from the Ford Foundation. The Institute gratefully acknowledges the permission granted by the Foundation, the sponsors of the language survey of which the material published herein is a partial outcome, to have the sketches published separately. Gratitude is also due to the authors of the sketches for their contribution in a field in which much remains to be done.

Other acknowledgements are due to Bookworld Publishers for publishing the sketches in collaboration with the Institute; to the editors of **Language in Zambia**, Sirarpi Ohannesssian and Mubanga E. Kashoki, for carrying out the bulk of the necessary initial editorial work; to Dr. Tom Goerman who was detailed to bring a general stylistic consistency to the sketches; and to the secretarial Institute staff for preparing the typescript. Above all, the eventual publication of the sketches owes much to the Zambian Government, in particular the Ministry of Education, and to the University of Zambia for their interest and support and for providing a conducive environment in which fruitful research work could take place during the life of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Zambia.

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INTRODUCTION

Kaonde (or more correctly *Kikaonde*) is spoken in the part of the North-Western Province of Zambia to the east of the Kabompo River, in adjacent parts of Mumbwa and Kaoma Districts to the south, and in the Katanga Province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the north. On the Copperbelt the biggest concentration of speakers is in Chingola. They themselves refer to their own ethnic area as *buKaonde*. Speakers of the language are estimated as constituting 1.8 percent of the national population according to the 2000 Census of Population Analytical Report (CSO).

The Kaonde originated in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formally Zaire), so the most closely related languages are found in that country, notably Sanga, Luba-Katanga and Hemba in that order of similarity.

Dialectical variations are comparatively few. A few words are peculiar to Kasempa or Solwezi Districts respectively, as well as a few grammatical forms. On the borders with other languages, there is the natural tendency to favour words used by speakers of those languages, especially Lamba to the east, Lunda to the west and Sanga to the north. On the Copperbelt, Icibemba and English are influencing vocabulary and pronunciation but hardly enough to make a distinct variety of Kikaonde. The very slow drawled speech of the Bena Lubanga around the Jiundu Swamp distinguished them from other speakers of the language; otherwise pronunciation, including intonation, is comparatively uniform.

Very little has been published on this language. A *Dictionary of the Kaonde Language* by Broughall-Woods published in 1924 (now out of print) is useful but unreliable, and in any case is in an orthography no longer used (and not internally consistent). A *Kaonde Notebook* by J.L. Wright and N. Kamukwamba, published by Longman in 1958, contains the equivalent of about 1500 English words, and a

very condensed synopsis of grammar. The only other grammatical material consists of duplicated grammar notes and lessons by the Rev. C.S. Foster (who first analysed the language and is responsible for the present orthography), and preliminary lessons by J.L. Wright and M. Foulkes, but these are not readily available. At the time of writing (in the early 1970s) work was proceeding on a compilation of a larger vocabulary list.

Chapter I
PHONOLOGY (THE SOUND SYSTEM)

Vowels

There are five vowels that distinguish words from each other, represented by the letters a, e, i, o, u as in *kupala* 'to scrape', *kupela* 'to end', *kupila* 'to bale out', *kupola* ' to become cool', *kupula* 'to break through a barrier'.

In Kikaonde *i* is a front close, *e* front mid, *a* central open, *o* back mid, and *u* back close vowel respectively. Before *m* and *n* plus another consonant (e.g. *mp, nt* etc) *i,e,o* and *u* are slightly more open than elsewhere. Front vowels and the central vowel are pronounced with lips spread, and back ones with lips rounded. Kikaonde vowels are more tense than the corresponding English ones and all of them are monophthongs, i.e., the position of lips and tongue does not change while pronouncing a single vowel sound.

Vowel length

Many words and some verb forms are distinguished from each other by the **length of vowels**, i.e., their duration in time,

e.g. *kúbula,* 'to lack', *kúbuula* 'to tell'

  mana 'toes', *máana* 'wisdom'

  baleeta 'they bring', *baaleeta* 'they have brought'.

Unfortunately this difference is not marked in the current spelling of Kikaonde. An attempt will be made in this outline to represent long vowels by a double vowel letter unless the vowel is preceded by a *w* or *y* in which case it is always long.

At the end of a phrase in rapid speech, a final vowel is often *devocalised*, i.e., lips and tongue form the vowel and breath is emitted but the vocal cords do not vibrate. This is especially noticeable with *i* and *u*. Some analysts call this a whispered vowel.

Before a nasal consonant followed by a fricative consonant vowels have more *nasal* quality than elsewhere,

e.g.   *kámfwa* 'mist', *kúnsa* 'at the end', *konsha* 'be able', *úmvwe* 'if', *banza* 'lay a fire', *kínzihilo* 'door'.

When two short vowels come together in a word, or a short vowel is followed by a long vowel (e.g., a prefix or verb formative followed by a stem), they combine to form a single long vowel, e.g., *a*, *i*, or *u*, followed by the same vowel is simply lengthened,

e.g.   ka+ana   =   *káána* 'small child'

ji + ino   =   *jííno* 'tooth'

ku + ulu   =   *kuulu* 'foot'.

Prefixes and formatives ending in *e* or *o* do not occur before a vowel. *i* followed by any other vowel becomes *y*- and the vowel is long. *u* followed by *a*, *e*, or *i* becomes *w*- and the vowel is long.

e.g.   ki + amba   =   *kyaamba* 'it says'

ku + amba   =   *kwaamba* 'to say'

ki +enda   =   *kyeenda* 'it travels'

ku+enda   =   *kweenda* 'to travel'

ki + oto   =   *kyooto* 'hearth'

ku + imba   =   *kwiimba* 'to sing'

ki + umvwa   =   *kyuumvwa* 'it hears'.

Since as already pointed out, the vowel after *y* or *w* is always long, it is unnecessary to represent it by a double letter. The words above may therefore be spelled: *kyamba*, *kyumvwa*, *kwimba*, etc.

u followed by **o**   =   **oo**

e.g.   ku + ovwa '   =   *koovwa* 'to wash'

a followed by **e** or **i**   =   **ee**

e.g.   ka+enda   =   *keenda* 'it travels'

ka +imba   =   *keemba* 'it sings'

a followed by **o** or **u**   =   **oo**

e.g.   ka +ovwa   =   *koovwa* 'it washes'

ka + umvwa   =   *koomvwa* 'it hears'

Vowel sequences other than those listed remain unchanged and constitute two separate syllables.

Consonants

The consonants used in Kikaonde may be charted as follows using the symbols in current use.

CONSONANT CHART

		Bilabial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar
Stops	Voiceless			t			k
	Voiced	b[1]		d[2]			g
Fricatives (sibilants aspirants)	Voiceless		f	s	š sh[3]		
	Voiced		V	z	ž zh[3]		
Africates	Voiceless				c tš		
	Voiced				J dž		
Lateral				l			
Nasals		m				ny[3]	ŋ (ng')[3]
Glides (semi-vowels, approximately)		w				y	

Notes to the Table

1.   Phonemically, the voiced bilabial stop [b] is actually an allophone of the voiceless bilabial fricative. [B] (see main body of the text for details).

2.   Similarly, phonemically [d] is actually an allophone of /l/ (confer main text)

3.   Othographically, the voiceless and the voiced alveopaletal affricates [tš]

and [dž] are represented by single letters or graphemes namely **c** and **j** respectively.

b represents a stop (as in English) but only after the bilabial nasal **m**. Elsewhere it represents a bilabial fricative (i.e., both lips are put close together but not quite touching and air blown through). This sound is used in many Zambian languages as well as in Spanish and some lesser known European languages, but not in English, (consequently English speakers sometimes have difficulty with it).

d is normally only found after the alveolar nasal **n** and may in fact be considered as a form of the same sound as that represented by *l*, since the latter when preceded by *n* is heard as *d*, e.g., the first person singular present tense of the verb *kulaala* is *ndaala*.

It will be noted that the sound represented by the symbol *l* is described as a voiced flapped lateral. This means that it sounds to English ears like an *r*, but an *r* made by a rapid single up-and-down flap of the blade of the tongue.

g and **k** have a palatal quality before *i* (or *y*) but velar before other vowels. **g** is normally preceded by a voiced *ŋ* (which in the current orthography is written n).

The unvoiced stops **p, t, k** are unaspirated, that is, they have none of the breath (or puff of air) after them that is characteristic of their English equivalents.

The nasals **m, n, ny** and **ŋ** are only in contrast with each other before vowels,
e.g.   *mona* 'see', *noona* 'sharpen', *nyonga* 'throttle', *ŋona* 'I am docile'.
Before consonants the exact quality of a nasal is determined by the nature of the following consonant; or in other words, the nasal is homorganic, i.e., it is formed at the same point of articulation as the following consonant. When the nasal comes

after a pause and before a voiceless consonant it is somewhat voiceless; otherwise it is voiced. These variant forms may be illustrated by the forms of the first person singular of the present habitual tense of different verbs,

e.g.   voiced: *mbula*, 'I lack', *mmona* 'I see', *mvuula* 'I undress', *ndaala* 'I lie down', *nzakama* 'I tremble', *nneemba* 'I write', *nja* 'I eat', *nzha* 'I dance', *ngya* 'I go', *ngowa* 'I wash';

        unvoiced (voiceless): *mpota* 'I buy', *mfika* 'I arrive', *ntenda* 'I cut', *nseenda* 'I carry', *nchiina* 'I fear', *nshiinta* 'I am cruel', *nkila* 'I jump', *nkomba* 'I sweep'.

In actual pronunciation, the **n** before *ch*, *sh* and *k* is *pronounced* **ny** and **ŋ** respectively.

Palatalization

Alveolar consonants do not normally occur before the vowel *i*. For example, if a formative beginning with *i* is added to a root ending in an alveolar consonant, the latter is changed to an alveolar-palatal as follows: *d* or *l* becomes *j*,

e.g.   *wáfunda, wafunjile* 'he learnt'; *wálaala, walaajile* 'he lay down';
        t becomes *ch*,

e.g.   *wafíita, wafiíchile* 'he is (was) dark';
        z becomes *zh*,

e.g.   *wabaanza, wabaanzhile* 'he made a fire';
        s becomes *sh*,

e.g.   *wasaansa, wasaanshile* 'he sprinkled';
        n becomes *ny*,

e.g.   *kutuna* 'to begrudge', *butanyi* 'stinginess'.

Pairs of words can be found that differ only in the contrast of an alveolar with an

alveo-palatal consonant,

e.g. *kusala* 'to choose', *kushala* 'to remain', *kununga* 'to join', *kunyuunga* 'to sieve', *kubaanza* 'to lay a fire', *kubaanzha* 'to delay', *loono* 'destruction', *joono* 'truly', *muteete* 'cut', *mucheeche* 'small'.

This might suggest that these consonants are all quite distinct phonemes. On the other hand it is possible to interpret all the alveo-palatal consonants as alveolars plus *i* or *y*. They could conveniently be represented as *t, l, s, z, n* before an *i* and as *ty, ly, sy, zy, ny* before another vowel.

Consonant clusters

Consonants may form groups or clusters of two or three, of the following types only:

any consonant may be preceded by *m, n, ny* or *n* as already described above;
consonants other than *j, ch, sh* or *n* may be followed by *w;*
consonants other than an alveolar or alveo-palatal may be followed by *y;*
consonants that may be followed by *w* or *y* may also form groups of three by being preceded by a homorganic nasal. Exceptions are **nnw* which does not seem to occur though *nn* and *nw* do occur, and **mvy* which does not occur though *vy* and *mv* occur. The following is a full list of clusters that occur:-

mp	mb	mf	mv	nt	nd	ns	nz	nsh	nj	nch	ng
nk	mm	nn	pw	bw	fw	vw	tw	lw	sw	zw	zhw
								kw	mw	nw	
mpw	mbw	mfw	mvw	ntw	ndw	nsw	nzw	nzwh	ngw	nkw	mmw
py	by	fy	vy					ky	my	ny	
mpy	mby	mfy						ngy	nky	mmy	nny

* In this context * represents non occurrence

There are certain restrictions on the vowels that may follow these clusters:

u and *o* never follow a cluster containing a *w*

i never follows a cluster containing an alveolar consonant.

Syllables

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

Tone

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

The actual musical pitch of the individual syllables may be very varied and complex, but the significant contrasts that affect meaning are only two. We may say that Kikaonde has two tonemes, high (H) and low (L). In this outline high tones will be marked with an accent (´) and low tones left unmarked. The tone is marked on the vowel of the syllable or on the homorganic nasal, if it is syllabic. Long vowels may be considered as a sequence of two short vowels; accordingly they may be recorded as:

level high (HH)

e.g. *báánza mujlo* 'light the fire'

level low (LL)

e.g. *kuulu* 'foot'

rising (LH)

e.g.   *maány*i   'fat'

falling (HL)

e.g.   *léeta nyama*   'bring the meat'.

Tone in Kikaonde may be described as lexical, morphological or syntactic. **Lexical tone** is the basic tonal pattern of a particular word which may distinguish it from other words which differ only in tonal pattern,

e.g.   *jitumba* (LLL) 'mailbag', *jitúmba* (LHL) 'molehill', *jítumba,* (HLL) 'kind of drum';

   kupela (LLL) 'to grind', *kúpela* (HLL) 'to come to an end'.

When words enter into grammatical relationships, e.g., a noun followed by a possesive or a verb used in a particular tense or person, there may be tonal modifications which follow specific analysable rules. For example, the final vowel of an all low noun becomes high before a following low-toned possessive or other connected word,

e.g.   *jitumbá jami*   'my mail bag'.

In many tenses a first or second person concord is high whereas a third person concord is low,

e.g.   *wápélele* (HHLL) 'you ground', *wapélele* (LHLL) 'he ground', *wápelele* (HLLL) 'you came to an end', *wapelele* (LLL) 'he came to an end'. This is **morphological tone**.

Moreover, in the whole flow of speech there are characteristic patterns of whole sentences or clauses; for instance, questions and exclamations are spoken at an all over higher pitch than statements and commands. The final syllable of a sentence will be at a lower pitch than the same syllable ending a clause that is not final in the sentence. This is **syntactic tone**.

Stress

In every Kaonde word at least one syllable is spoken with slightly more force than the others, though this is not so marked as in English. This syllable is said to be stressed. Sometimes a word may also have a secondary stress on another syllable. It is probably true that in the majority of words this stress falls on the next to last syllable, but there are so many exceptions to this that it cannot be stated as a rule. Stress can come on any syllable including the last in contrast with English. Kaonde stress is independent of tone. A stressed syllable may be high or low and a high syllable may be stressed or unstressed. Some random examples follow in which the stressed syllable is underlined and the high tones marked:

m̲u̲untu 'person', kíji̲i̲lo 'feast', kil̲ú̲jo 'right hand', ka̲l̲ómbwana 'little boy', m̲u̲jilo 'fire', pémbe̲l̲a 'wait', l̲á̲nguluka 'think', mula̲n̲guluko 'through', luké̲tekelo 'trust' some say *luketekeelo, jik̲é̲* 'egg', bútem̲w̲e 'love', 'goodness', mul̲o̲ka̲z̲hi 'daughter - in - law'.

Chapter II
NOUNS AND NOUN-LIKE WORDS

Most nouns in Kikaonde are made up of a *prefix* and a *stem*. (There are a few which have no prefix). The stem remains constant and bears the meaning of the word; the prefix can change to show plural or some other modification of the meaning:

e.g.   **mu**-*ntu* 'a person'

   ba-*ntu* 'people'

mu- and **ba**- are variable prefixes, **-ntu** is the invariable stem. Prefixes consist of a nasal consonant (**m, n or ŋ**) or of a consonant plus **a, i,** or **u**. Nouns belong to one or other of eighteen noun classes, mostly distinguished by their prefixes, such as are found in all Bantu languages. Some of the classes are singular and some plural,

in many cases a singular and plural class being associated together in what can be called a "class gender"*. However, some singular classes share a common plural class, and some have no associated plural class at all.

If the prefix is a nasal consonant only, its exact form is determined according to the rules given in the description of consonants. If the stem begins with a vowel and the prefix has a vowel, the two vowels will coalesce according to the usual rules as already described in this outline (see vowels). In this latter case it will be impossible to separate the prefix clearly from the stem. Some examples of each class follow, the prefix being separated from the stem by a hyphen when this is possible.

Class 1

mu-ntu	mú-kúlumpe	mú-zungu	mwana
person	elder	white man	mu-ana
			child

mwenyi	mwipwa
mu-enyi	mu-ipwa
stranger	nephew/niece

Class 2

ba-ntu	bá-kulúmpe	bá-zungu	báana
people	elders	white men	ba-ana
			children

beenyi	béepwa
ba-enyi	ba-ipwa
strangers	nephews/nieces

*Also otherwise more usually referred to as **class pair** (Editor)

Class 3

mý-chi	mu-chima	mu-iba	mu-eo	mu-ona
medicine	heart	horn	life	nostril

Class 4

mi-chi	mi-chima	míiba	myeo	myona
medicines	hearts	mi-iba	mi-eo	mi-ona
		thorns	lives	nose

Class 5

ji-bwé	ji-ké	jáala	jeebele	ju-uba
stone	egg	rock	millet	day/sun

Class 6

ma-bwé	ma-pé	má-ulu	meebele	m-oma	makonde
stones	flatbaskets	feet	millet	drums	nets

Class 7

ki-ntu	kyalo	kyola	kyulu	kyete	kíje
thing	country	bag	anthill	ticket	council

Class 8

bi-ntu	byalo	byola	byulu	byéte	bíje
things	countries	bags	anthills	tickets	councils

Class 9

n-shima	mpóko	ŋoma
mush	knife	drum

Class 10

n-zhíye	*m-pazhi*	*ŋona*	*ng-ala*
locusts	red-ants	stories	fingernails

Class 11

lu-sekéélo	*lwítabilo*	*lweseko*
joy	faith	trial

Class 12

ká-pasa	*ka-putúla*	*káana*
axe	pair of shorts	little child

Class 13

tú-pasa	*tu-putúla*	*twána*
axes	pairs of shorts	little children

Class 14

bú-temwe	*bwema*	*boowa*	*bu-kónde*
love	scent	mushroom	net

Class 15

kú-twi	*kú-boko*	*ku-ulu*	*kwápa*	*kú-temwa*	*kwenda*
ear	arm	foot	armpit	to love	to travel

kóowa

to wash one self

Class 16

pa-ntu	*pá-nshi*	*pá-ngye*	*pa-mu-zhi*	*peulu*
place on	under, on ground	outside	at the village	above

Class 17

ku-ntu	*kú-nshi*	*ku-lútwe*	*ku-mu-zhi*	*kwiúlu*
place at	down stream	head	to the village	upwards

Class 18

mu-ntu	*mú-nshi*	*mú-ngye*	*mu-mu-zhi*	*mwiúlu*
place in	underneath	in the bush	in the village	in heaven

In addition there are the following sub-classes which have different (or no) prefixes but command the same agreements in other words (or noun phrases).

Class 1a

bokwe	*kábwe*	*sendwe*	*ŋndo*	*kíi*	*tébulu*
lion	dog	craftsman	moon	key	table

Class 1b

lu-zhíye	*lu-pazhi*	*lú-kasu*	*lu-pe*
locust	red ant	hoe	flat basket

It will be seen from the examples that the following pairs of classes form class genders (pairs) 1/2, 1a/2, 1a/6, 1b/10, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/6, 12/13, 14/6, 15/6. A few nouns appear to belong to a gender 11/4

e.g. *lúlombelo/mílombelo* 'prayer/s', *lusáshijilo/misashijilo* 'entreat/entreaties'.

Nouns in the same class often, though not always, have something in common in their meaning.

Class pair 1/2 is almost entirely composed of persons. The prefix of class 2 is often an honorific applied to a single person when before a name or title,

e.g.   *BaPupe* 'Mr. Pupe', *Bamfumu* 'the Chief'.

Gender 1a/2 contains names of animals and professions,

e.g.   *bokwe/babokwe* 'lion(s)', *sendwe/basendwe* 'craftsman/men'.

Gender 1a/6 contains many words borrowed from English denoting concrete objects,

e.g.   *tebulu/matebulu* 'table(s)', but *kii/bakii* - 'key(s)'.

Gender 1b/6 contains the names of many indigenous tools,

e.g.   *lukasu/makasu* 'hoe(s)'.

Gender 1b/10 contains the names of many insects,

e.g.   *luzhiye/nzhiye* 'locust(s)', *lupazi/mpazhi* 'red ant(s)'.

Class 1b prefix affixed to nouns of other classes has an augmentative and pejorative sense,

e.g.   *lumuntu,* 'great lout'.

The names of many trees, natural features, animals and body parts are found in **Gender 3/4**.

Class 5 contains a number of expressions to do with time,

e.g. *jíngá* 'how often?' *jibiji* 'again', *jisatu* 'thrice'.

The most numerous **gender** is **7/8** containing the names of many concrete objects, of languages and of customs or characteristics of particular tribes or groups of people. Many adverbs are formed with the prefixes of this class,

e.g.   *kya búkaji* 'angrily', *buépi?* 'how?', *byónkábyo* 'like that'.

Class 7 prefix with a reduplicated verb-stem ending in **-e** denotes worthlessness,

e.g.   *kýambeabe*   'with empty words'.

Prefixed to other noun classes it has a pejorative sense,

e.g.   *kimuntu*   'a rascal'.

Classes 9 and 10 are identical in form and agreements, but are separated because nouns in class 9 are all singular and are linked with plural nouns in class 6

e.g.   *shima/máshima* 'mush(es)',

while nouns in class 10 are all plural and are linked with similar nouns in class 1b,

e.g.   *luzhíye/nzhíye* 'locust(s)'.

Class 11 nouns are almost exclusively abstract. Exceptions are *lúya* 'steam', *luvúla* 'wind', and *lúkungu* 'dust'.

Gender 12/13 contains many small things and prefix replacing or added to another prefix denotes a diminutive,

e.g.   *mwána* 'child', *káana* 'small child'.

Class 12 prefix with a mass noun denotes a small quantity,

e.g.   *tumúkeele* 'a little salt', *tuméma* 'a little (amount of) water'.

Many words denoting abstract qualities are found in **class 14**. Such words have no plural. **Class 15** contains all the infinitives of verbs and the four names of body parts listed. These latter use class 6 for their plural.

Class 16, 17 and 18, known as the locative classes, are peculiar in that all nouns in them are formed from nouns of other classes by **preprefixes,**

e.g.   *mu-muzhi*   'in the village'.

Locative nouns use locative concords

e.g.   *mu-mu-zhi mwawáma*   'in the village is good';

however in a locative phrase the noun to which the locative prefix is added may itself be qualified by an adjective; this adjective will be joined by the concord of the original noun,

e.g.   *mu-mu-zhi wa-ba-Tata mu-ji ŋunga* 'in my fathers's village there is a
        doctor', ***wa-*** agreeing with *mu-zhi* and ***mu*** agreeing with *mu-mu-zhi*.

A number of nouns only occur with a locative preprefix but command the concord of their own class

e.g.   *(a) pa-ngye ya-mu-zhi* 'outside the village', (*ya-* agreeing with class 9
        ngye),

        (b) pa-kachi ka-mu-zhi 'in the middle of the village' *(ka-* agreeing with
        kachi, class 12).

The derivation of nouns

Many nouns are formed of primary roots common to many Bantu languages,

e.g.   *-ntu* 'person, human being'.

But many others are formed from verbal roots by a number of regular processes. For example:-

class 1 nouns from causative stems with final *-i* denote people who characteristically or professionally do something.

e.g.   *mu-funjishi-i* ' a teacher' from *ku-funjisha* 'to teach'
        mu-pulush-o 'a saviour' from *ku-pulusha* 'to save';

class 1a nouns with *ka-* affixed to the stem and class 1a nouns with a nasal prefix before a verb root and final *-i* denote people who do things,

e.g.   *ka-lama* 'a keeper' from *ku-lama* 'to keep'
        ka-sopa 'a guard' from *ku-sopa* 'to guard'
        m-bumb-i 'a potter' from *ku-bumba* 'to fashion'
        n-jim-i 'a gardener' from *ku-jima* 'to dig'
        ŋamb-i 'a spokesman' from *kwamba* 'to speak';

class 7 or 11 nouns of the pattern 'prefix plus root plus o' denote objects of a verb.

e.g.   *ku-lot-a ki-lot-o*   'to dream a dream'
        kwend-a lwend-o   'to go on a journey';

class 7 nouns of the pattern 'prefix plus roots plus applied extension plus *o* 'have the meaning 'place at which something is done' or 'result of an act'.

e.g.   *ki-pu-il-o* 'threshing floor' from *ku-pul-a* 'to thresh'
        ki-ji-il-o 'feast' from *ku-j-a* 'to eat'
        ki-nemb-el-o 'writing' from *ku-nemba* 'to write'

A few nouns are formed by the reduplication of a verb root (or in the case of a single consonant root by a triplication of it).

e.g.   *bu-lal-e-lal-e* 'fornication' from *ku-lal-a* 'to sleep'
        ki-j-e-j-e-j-e 'gluttony' from *ku-j-a* 'to eat'.

The tonal behaviour of nouns

Very little can be said on this subject because no detailed study has yet been made (to the knowledge of the present writer) of how the tonal patterns of Kikaonde nouns vary according to where they occur in the sentence. However nouns can be sorted into lists which have the same basic tonal pattern when said in isolation or at the end of a sentence. It is believed that nouns in any one list will behave the same tonally under the same circumstances.

Since there are two tonemes in Kikaonde (high and low) and nouns (including the prefix) can consist of from two to five syllables, there are sixty theoretical possibilities of tonal combination in different words. However, in practice, the present writer has so far only been able to discover nouns with twenty two different patterns as follows:

Pattern	Example	Meaning	Pattern	Example	Meaning
L-L	*mu-ntu*	person	H-L	*ká-jo*	food
L-LL	*mu-jilo*	fire	H-LL	*kí-jiilo*	feast
L-LLL	*mu-lokazhi*	daughter-in law	H-LLL	*mú-kambizho*	command
L-LLLL	*mu-languluko*	thought	H-LLLL	*mú-jimbijimbi*	deceiver
L-LHL	*lusekéélo*	joy	H-LHL	*mú-kulúmpe*	elder
L-HL	*ki-lújo*	right hand	H-HL	*mú-mpémpe*	flute
L-HHL	*ki-púpúúlwa*	butterfly	H-HHL	*ká-yébéla*	hobgoblin
L-HLL	*ka+lómbwana*	little boy	H-HLL	*ká-fúloolo*	foam
H-HLHL	*ká-ínyaínya*	racing	H-HLHL	*kí-kúngubéele*	flute
L-H	*ji-ké*	egg	H-LH	*bú-temwé*	love
L-HH	*bu-wámé*	goodness	H-HHLL	*ká-njíkúnjiku*	hiccough

Any final syllable bearing a high tone is stressed. Otherwise tone is independent of stress. In the table above stressed syllables are underlined.

Tonal patterns of derived nouns

The tonal patterns of nouns derived from verbs are related to the tonal patterns of the associated verb. Verbs whose infinitive prefix *ku-* is high produce nouns with a high syllable before the root syllable,

e.g. *kú-ja* ' produces'   *ká-jo,* 'food'   *kí-ji* 'glutton'
    ki-jiilo 'feast'   *kilújo* 'right hand'.

Verbs with a low infinitive prefix *ku-* produce nouns with all low tones, or with a high tone on the first syllable of the root, or with a high tone on the next to last (i.e. penultimate) syllable of the word (especially when the noun is derived from an extended root)

e.g. *ku-languluka* 'to think' gives *mu-languluko* 'thought'
    ku-wama 'to be good' gives *bu-wámé* 'goodness'
    (contrast *bú-temwé* from *kú-temwa*)
    ku-sekela 'to rejoice' gives *lu-sekéelo* 'joy'

Noun concords

Nouns may be represented in a sentence by a number of concordial elements which are identical with or related to the noun prefix. For each class there are forms for subject, for adjective agreement, for object, for possesor and for being possessed. The general character of these concords may be described as follows:

Subject concords

If the prefix consists of nasal consonant plus vowel, the concord is the vowel alone; if the prefix consists of a nasal consonant only the concord is *i-;* all other concords are identical with the prefix. Certain adjectives known as **enumeratives** take the same concord as the subject-concord.

Other **adjectives** take the same concords in all classes other than class 1, 1a, 1b and 3, in which it is the same as the noun prefix.

There are two **object-concords:** the **first** is the same as the subject-concord preceded by **i-;** except for classes 1, 1a, 1b and 3 in which it is the same as the

noun prefix; the **second-object-concord** is the subject-concord plus **-o**, again except for classes 1, 1a, 1b and 3.

Identical with the second-object-concord except for classes 1, 1a, 1b and 3 is the **possessor stem**. The subject-concord plus **-a** forms the concord of the *possessed*. The following chart sets these concords out in full.

Class	SC	EC	PCI	AC	OCI	OC2	PC2
1	u/a	u	wa	mu	mu	ye	nji
2	ba	ba	ba	ba	iba	bo	bo
3	u/a	u	wa	mu	mu	ye	nji
4	i	i	ya	i	yo	yo	yo
5	ji	ji	ja	ji	iji	jo	
6	a	a	aa	a	ia	oo	oo
7	ki	ki	kya	ki	iki	kyo	kyo
8	bi	bi	bya	bi	ibi	byo	byo
9	i	i	ya	i	ii	yo	yo
10	i	i	ya	i	ii	yo	yo
11	lu	lu	lwa	lu	ilu	lo	lo
12	ka	ka	ka	ka	ika	ko	ko
13	tu	tu	twa	tu	itu	to	to
14	bu	bu	bwa	bu	ibu	bo	
15	ku	ku	kwa	ku	iku	ko	ko
16	pa	pa	pa	pa	ipa	po	po
17	ku	ku	kwa	ku	iku	ko	ko
18	mu	mu	mwa	mu	imu	mo	mo

(SC = subject-concord, EC = enumerative-concord, PC1 = possessed concord, AC = adjective concord OC1 = first-object-concord, OC2 = second-object-concord, PC2 = possessor concord).

The uses of these different concords will be explained at appropriate places in succeeding sections of this outline.

Stabilisation

This name is given to a device for defining a noun as in English: 'It is a ....', 'They are.......s',or 'it is the ....' 'They are the ....s'.

In Kikaonde there are two ways of expressing the indefinite form 'it is a ....' One way is by the use of the second-object-concord of the appropriate class:

e.g.   *ye muntu*   'it is a person'
        kyo kíchi   'it is a stick'
        jo jíshinda   'it is a path'

The other way is by the use of the invariable particle *ke*. This particle is especially used when there is a change implied,

e.g.   after the verb *kwaluka* 'to become', as in *waaluka ke muntu* 'he has become a person',
        or after a time word, as in *pano ke mufunjishi* 'now he is a teacher'.

First and second person forms are composed of the subject-concord plus formative -*i*:-

e.g.   na+ i = *né Kaonde*   'I am a Kaonde';
        tu+i = *twi báKaonde*   'we are Kaondes';
        u+i = *wi mwányike*   'you are a youngster';
        mu + i = *mwi bányike*   'you are youngsters'

The definite form is expressed by the use of the second object-concord preceded by the formative *i*:-

e.g.   *i yé muntu*   'it is the person';
        i bó bantu   'they are the people';

| *i kýo kíchi* | 'it is the stick; |
| *i jó jíshinda* | 'it is the path'. |

First and second person forms are composed of the posssesive stems preceded by *i-* (which becomes *y-* before a vowel):-

e.g.　*yámi Kaonde* 'I am the Kaonde'　*yétu báfunjíshi* 'we are the teachers';

　　　yóbe ngivi 'you are the thief'　*yénu basapwíshi* 'you are the preachers'.

Adjectives

Specific adjective stems in Kikaonde (as in other Bantu languages) are very few. They may be divided into three groups on the basis of the concords that they require.

Enumerative stems

These are the numerals 1 to 5 viz *-mó, biji, -satu, -ná, tanu,* and the words *-ngi* 'different', *-epi* 'which? or where?', *-ngá?* 'how many?'. These take the enumerative concord (EC in the table on page 20).

e.g.　*muntú umó* 'one person'　　　　*kányense usatu* 'three onions'

　　　mambo ángi 'a different matter',　*Muntu úngá? Umó.* 'How many people? One'.

　　　Bantu bángá? Bibiji. 'How many people? two'.

Adjective stems

The following is believed to be a full list: *-ána* 'young', *-bi* 'bad', *-bíshi* 'unripe', *-chéche* 'small', *-enyi* 'strange', *-ine* 'self, the very', *-íngi* 'many',*- ípi* 'short', *káji* 'angry', *katámpe* 'big', *kázhi* 'female', *kúlúmpe* 'elder', *kwábo* 'other, additional', *lúme* 'male', *-nchá* 'worthless', *-pyá* 'new', *-tánshi* 'first', *-tuntúlu* 'whole', *-úmi* 'live', *-yá* 'beautiful', *-yámpe* 'beautiful'. These take the adjective concords,

e.g.　*muntu múkwabo*　　　　'another person'.

The stems *'-nka* 'only' and *'-nse* 'all, every' take the second-object-concord, e.g.　*bantu bónká* 'only the people', *bintu byónsé* 'everything'.

When qualifying a noun adjectives normally follow it, as in the examples above. They may stand alone and act as noun either as subject or object of a sentence, e.g.　*bónsé bayá* 'all have gone', *násaka múkwabo* 'I want another one'.

There are other ways of making adjectives than by the use of these few stems. The commonest is the use of a verb in a relative tense,

e.g.　*muntu wawama*　　　'a man who is good, i.e., a good man'.

Another is by the use of a noun connected to the head noun by a possesive concord,

e.g.　*muntu wa-ngovu*　　　'a man of strength', i.e., 'a strong man'.

These last two types of adjectives may function as nouns in the same way as other adjective stems by the simple omission of the noun they qualify,

e.g.　*wawámá wayá*　　　'the good one has gone';

　　　nasaka wa-ngovu　　　'I want the strong one'.

Noun phrases of this type formed of class 7 concord governing an infinitive are particularly common,

e.g.　*bya- kú-wala*　　　'things to wear i.e. clothes'

　　　kya-ku-sokelapo bitapisho 'thing on which to burn sacrifices i.e. altar'.

Numerals

Numbers 1 to 5 are adjectives formed of a stem preceded by an enumerative concord as noted previously. They follow the noun they modify,

e.g.　*muntú u-mó* 'one person'　　　*bantu ba-bi-ji* 'two people'

　　　bintú bi-satu 'three things',　　*tútemo tu-na* 'four axes'

mázubo a-tanu   'five houses'.

Numbers 6 to 9 are expressed as 'five with one' 'five with two' etc.

e.g.   *mikwakwá i-tanu na u-mo*   'six roads'

       nzhiye i-tanu ná i-biji   'seven locusts'.

Ten, hundred and thousand are nouns which stand in apposition to a preceding noun and may themselves be modified by another numeral. They are respectively: *jikumi (plural mákumi), kitóta (bitota), kiúmbi (biúmbi)*

e.g.   *bantu jikumiu*   'ten people'

      mikoko makumi asatu   'thirty sheep'

      ba ŋombe kitóta kimó   'a hundred head of cattle'

      tubangabanga kiúmbi kimó   '1000 stars'

      bamalaika biúmbi jíkumi   'ten thousand angels'.

These numbers may also be followed by another numeral joined with **na**

e.g.   *bantu kitota ná umó*   'one hundred and one people',

      bantu kitóta kimó na batanu ná babiji   'one hundred and seven people'.

In the last example some speakers would use **ne** instead of **na** before the final numeral. In practice today adaptations of English numbers are widely used.

Ordinals are formed with possessive concords followed by a numeral with a class 14 prefix,

e.g.   *muntu wá-bu-biji*   'second person'

      kintu kyá-bu-tanu   'fifth thing'

      júba já-bu-mákumi abiji   'twentieth day'

'First' is expressed by the adjective stem - *tanshi,*

e.g.   *muntu mu-tanshi*   'first person'.

The days of the week, Monday to Friday, are expressed by the numeral stems one to five preceded by the locative preprefix **pa-** (sometimes **mu-**) and the class 7 prefix **ki-,**

e.g.   *pá-ki-mó* 'Monday', *pá-ki-biji* 'Tuesday', etc.

'Times' are expressed by a numeral with the class 5 prefix **ji-,**

e.g.   *jimó* 'once', *jibiji* 'twice, again', *jitanu ná jiná* 'nine times'.

      Similarly *jingá?* 'how often?'

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are words which indicate where an object is in time, space or thought in relation to the person referring to it. In Kikaonde they may be used either in apposition to a noun as adjectives or in place of it as pronouns.

There are four sets for each noun class according to the position of the object with regard to speaker or person spoken to, and each of these sets has two forms seemingly determined by the position of the demonstrative in the phrase.

The object position may be defined as:-

1)   close contact with the speaker

2)   proximity to the speaker

3)   proximity to the person spoken to

4)   distance from speaker and person spoken to.

The sentence position may be defined as initial in a phrase or non-initial. The forms may be derived from the concord series on the following pattern:

Position	1	2		3		4
Initial	SC+no	a+	SC+e	a +	SC + o	a + SC + a
Non-initial	SC +no	SC+	SC+e	OC2 +SC + o		OC2 +SC +a

(SC = subject concord; OC 2 = second-object-concord)

Perhaps some examples will make this chart clear.

Let us think of a demonstrative meaning 'this I am touching' agreeing with a class 1 noun. The pattern whether initial or non-initial is SC + *nó*; in class 1, the SC is *u-*, so the demonstrative is u-nó

e.g. **initial**: *unó búku wawáma* 'this book is good'.

   non initial: *násaka unó búku* 'I want this book'.

With a class 7 noun the SC is *ki-* so the demonstrative will be *ki-nó,*

e.g. **initial**: *kinó kíchi kyaléepa* 'this stick is long'.

   non- initial: *násaka kinó kíchi* 'I want this stick'.

Similarly 'this nearby' with a class 7 noun will give *a + ki + é*, or *ki + ki + é*

e.g. **initial**: *akyé kíchi kyáipipa* 'this stick is short'

   non-initial: *bamúpuma na kikye kíchi* 'they beat him with this stick'.

'That near you' with a class 5 noun, which has SC *ji-* will be *ajo or jojo*:

e.g. **initial**: *ajo jíshinda jiya ku Kasempa* 'That path goes to Kasempa'

   non-initial: *yáinga mujojo jíshinda* 'go in that path'

'That over there' with a class 17 noun, SC *ku*, will be *ákwa or kókwa,*

e.g. **initial**: *ákwa kwaléepa* 'it is a long way to that place'

   non-initial: *yáinga kókwa* 'go over there'.

Emphatic demonstratives

Intensified forms of all the above demonstratives may be formed by prefixing to them the second-object-concord (OC2) plus the adjective stems **-nka** or **-nse**, thereby resulting in **emphatic demonstratives.** In this case initial and non-initial forms are identical. For example:

position	1:	*yénkáunó*	class	8	*byónkábinó*
class	1	*yénséuno*			*byónsébinó*
position	2:	*ónkaé*	class	9	*yónkayé*
class	6	*ónseé*			*yónseé*
position	3:	*tónkáto*	class	16	*pónkápo*
class	13	*tónséto*			*pónsépo*
position	4:	*bónkábo*	class	4	*yónkáya*
class	2	*bónséba*			*yónséya*

There is another emphatic form for the first position only; it has the following pattern: initial **á** + SC + **nó**; non-initial: OC2 + SC + **nó.**

e.g. class 1 initial *áunó* non-initial: *yéunó*

   class 7 initial: *ákinó* non-initial *kyókinó.*

Thus: *Mwásaka ŋányi búku? Aúnó. Or: Násaka yéunó.*

   'Which book do you want? This very one' 'I want this very one'.

Pronouns

When a noun has already been used in a context, it may be replaced by a pronoun. Usually this is a concord infixed within the verb. If there is only one object in the sentence, it is of the form OC1 in the list of concords on p 20. This can be either

a direct or indirect object. If there are two objects the indirect object is of the form OC1 immediately before the verb root and the direct object is of the form OC2 after the root and any formative elements.

e.g.   single object in class 1: *namusaka* 'I want him'.
   Indirect object class one, direct object class 8: *namupabyo* 'I have given him them'.

When the object concord begins with *i-* this *i-* always coalesces with a preceding vowel.

e.g.   Class 2 na+iba+saka   =   *nébásaka* 'I want them'
   Class 7 na+iki+saka   =   *nékísaka* 'I want it'.

Separable (unbound) pronouns for each class may be formed by prefixing a high-toned formative *á* to the appropriate second-object-concord.

e.g.   class 1 *áye*; class 8 *ábyo* etc.

There are also separable pronouns for 1st and 2nd person singular and plural, as follows:

	Singular		Plural	
1st person	*amiwa*	'I'	*atweba*	'we'
2nd person	*obewa*	'you'	*anweba*	'you'

Shortened forms of these 1st and 2nd person pronouns lacking the final *-wa* or *-ba* are also used, especially in apposition to a noun.

e.g.   *amí muntu* 'I, a person'   *ánwé bantu* 'you people'

These pronouns may be intensified in the same way as demonstratives by prefixing the appropriate second-object-concord and the stem *-nka*.

e.g.   *yénkamíwa, yénkánwéba, byónkábyo, ónkáo* etc.

Possessives of these pronouns are formed by prefixing the possessive concord of the thing possessed to the possessor stem of the possessor. There are possessor stems also for the 1st. and 2nd. person as follows:

	Singular		Plural	
1st person	-ami	'my'	-itu	'our'
2nd person	-obe	'your'	-inu	'your'

These stems coalesce with the *-a* of the possessive concord to give, for example, the class 1 forms: **wami, wobe, wetu, wenu**.

The following examples will illustrate some of these possessives.

Class 5 object, class 1 possessor: *jiláya janji* 'his shirt' (*muntu*-'person')

Class 3 object, class 12 possessor: *múpinyi wako* 'its handle' (*kapasa*-'axe')

Class 6 object, class 8 possessor: *mabúla abyo* 'their leaves' (*bichi*-'trees')

Class 14 object, 1st person possessor: *bukónde bwami* 'my net'

Class 11 object, 2nd person plural possessor: *lusekéélo lwenu* 'your joy'.

Chapter III
VERBS

Kaonde verbs consist of a root preceded and/or followed by one or more affixes, in a fixed order. A particular verbal form may consist of anything from one to fourteen syllables.

The majority of simple **roots** consist of a consonant plus a long or short vowel plus a consonant (this can be symbolised CVC),

e.g.   *leet-* 'bring';

a few consist of a single consonant,

e.g.   *-j-* 'eat';

another small group has the pattern: vowel plus consonant (VC),

e.g.　*-it-*　'call';

comparatively more complex roots are of the pattern CVCVC,

e.g.　*-tatul-* 'begin',

or VCVC,

e.g.　*-itab-*　'answer'.

A consonant slot in any position may be occupied by a consonant plus a semi-vowel (w or y),

e.g.　*-pw-* 'finish', *-py-* 'be hot', *-temw-* 'love', *-kany-* 'forbid'.

Any consonant slot after a vowel may be filled by a nasal cluster,

e.g.　*-ambi-* 'speak', *-end-* 'travel', *-kenkent-* 'look around'.

The **simple stem** consists of the root plus *a,*

e.g.　*leeta* 'bring', *-ja* 'eat' etc.

Other stems will be considered later.

The **imperative** singular is identical in form with the simple stem, but with characteristic tone and stress. The plural is formed by the addition of *-i.*

e.g.　*léetai*　　　　　'bring (plural)'.

The **infinitive** consists of the simple stem preceded by the noun prefix *ku-*. This is in fact a class 15 noun. It can be used as the subject or object of a sentence,

e.g.　*kúfwenka kwawáma*　　　'swimming is good'

　　　nátemwa kúfwenka　　　'I like swimming'.

Indicative tenses are formed by putting subject concords before either the verb stem or the infinitive and various tense markers. Subject concord plus stem alone makes the habitual tense,

e.g.　*uleeta* (*u-leeta*)　　　　'he brings'.

Insertion of *-a-* after the subject concord forms the **perfect tense**,

e.g.　*wáleeta* (u-a-leeta)　　'he has brought' (bearing in mind that **u+a = wa**).

The perfect tense has no precise time reference; it indicates rather a present state of affairs resulting from an action sometime in the past. It is frequently used with the particle *kala* 'already'. There is a considerable group of verbs with the basic meaning of 'to begin to do something' or 'to become something' in which the perfect tense is equivalent to an English present tense,

e.g.　*kúlaala* 'to lie down, to fall asleep', in the perfect tense *wálaala* 'he has lain down', i.e., 'he is asleep'

　　　kuwama 'to become good', perfect tense *wawáma* 'he has become good', i.e., 'he is good'.

Three basic tenses are formed with the infinitive as follows:-

SC+ bena or jine +　infinitive = **present continuous**:

　　　　　　　　　ubenakúja ' he is eating'

SC+ sa +　　　　　infinitive = **near future**:

　　　　　　　　　usakúleeta 'he will bring'

SC+ aji+　　　　　infinitive = **near past**:

　　　　　　　　　wajikúleeta 'he brought'.

The near future expresses what will happen today or in a present period of time (e.g., this week, this month), and the near past what happened earlier today or in a present period of time.

Insertion of *-ka-* between the subject concord and the stem gives the **remote future tense**,

e.g.　*ukáleeta*　　'he will bring' (tomorrow).

Inserted after other tense markers *-ka-* has the meaning **'at a distance'**, often

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equivalent to English 'go and do something'

e.g.   *wakáleeta buta*   'he went and brought the gun',

        usakukáleeta mupando   'he will go and bring the chair'.

The addition of the particle -*ki*- in any tense in the position after -*ka*- gives the idea of **'still doing'** or **'of doing first before anything else'**.

e.g.   *ukiya ku sukúlu*   'he still goes to school'

        wakákileeta buta ku muzhi, apá bino usakuya mungye

        'he has first gone to get his gun from the village, then he will go hunting'.

If a **pronoun object** is needed in the sentence, it comes immediately before the stem, after all the elements that have already been described. The following sentence can be said with or without any or all the elements in brackets: *u(saku) (ka) (ki) (ibu) leeta* 'he (will) (first) (go and) bring it' (**buta** understood). Further modifications may be made by additions after the stem.

The idea of continuity of action may be made to any tense (or to the imperative) by the addition of -*nga* to the stem,

e.g.   *bajikúleetanga ŋkunyi*   'they kept on bringing firewood'

        léetainga bya búpe!   'go on bringing gifts!'.

When **two object pronouns** are required in a sentence the extra direct object is an appropriate noun-class in the position after -*nga* as noted in the chapter on pronouns,

e.g.   *namupangabyo*   'I used to give them to him',

        nkamupabyo   'I shall give him'.

Two other optional elements may be added which are not peculiar to verbs. They are the restrictive or intensive particle -*tu* which can be attached to any word to

emphasize it, and the question marker -*nyi* which is attached to the last word of a question sentence or clause,

e.g.   *léetangatu méma!*   'just go on bringing water!

        mwíaleetányi?   'have you brought it?'

Modifications to the stem

Remote past.

So far we have only considered forms using the stem formed of root +*a*. But this stem can be modified. For example -*a* may be replaced by one of the remote past formatives. For convenience, we may refer to this as the *ILE* form, but in practice its exact form depends on the final vowel and the final consonant of the verb root. If the vowel of the root is *e or o* the past formative begins with *e;* if the vowel is *i, u or a* the first vowel of the formative is *i;* if the final consonant of the root is *m or n* the consonant of the formative is *n;* if the consonant of the root is *sh, zh or ny* the formative has the same consonant; in all other cases the consonant of the formative is *l*. This ending is always associated with the past formative -*a*- in the tense marker slot but it may be combined with any of the other formative elements before or after the stem. Its basic meaning is 'before today or before the present period'. In some Bantu languages this formative is called the 'perfect suffix', but this term does not seem to fit its use in KiKaonde.

Examples of root plus past formative are:

-*pot-ele*	'bought'
-*fum-ine*	'came from'
-*pon-ene*	'fell'
-*konsh-eshe*	'could'
-*banzh-izhe*	'delayed'
-*kany-inye*	'forbade'
sak-ile	'wanted'

e.g.   *nebisakile*   'I wanted them'

       nakebipotelengako   'I was going and buying them there'.

Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood is used to express ideas which contain a subjective element such as desire, wish, uncertainity, doubt, rather than straightforward statements of fact. In KiKaonde such tenses are made with a stem ending in *-e*. They may be with or without the future formative *-ka-*, the 'still' or 'first' affix *-ki*, the 'continous' suffix *-nga* and any of the object infixes or suffixes. In the first class the subject concord is *a-* instead of *u-*,

e.g.   *aléete* 'let him bring', *akéetupengábyo* 'let him go on in future giving them to us' (a + ka + itu + pe + nga + byo).

Two other tenses are formed with the subjunctive stem:-

ke (or *ka*) + subjunctive in a present context indicates an **immediate intention** and in a past context **something that immediately followed something else**.

e.g.   *kétuye*   'we are about to go right now';

       betupele máli, kétuyé   'they gave us money, whereupon we went'.

       na (or *namba*) + subjunctive = as soon as, e.g., *nábafike bamwene muntu* 'as soon as they arrived they saw a man'.

Compound Tenses with subjunctive

Other tenses are made with the main verb in the subjunctive.

The defective stems *-sa* and *shi*, followed by present or future subjunctive, both mean 'almost', 'be on the point of' in a past context. The present subjunctive is used for a near past and the future subjunctive for a remote past.

e.g.   *nása ngyénga ku muzhi byo namúmoná* 'I was about to go the village when I saw him'.

       byo naénda pamatéshi náshi mpóne 'when I walked on the mud I almost fell over'

       byo náéndelé pamatéshi náshi nkápone 'when I walked on the mud I almost fell over' (yesterday or before).

The present tense of *-ya* followed by subjunctive indicates imminent future,

e.g.   *bayá bafíke kumuzhi* 'they are about to arrive at the village any moment'.

Relative Mood

A verb in a relative clause is distinguished from one in an indicative clause by special rules of tone and stress. Either the last or the next to last syllable is stressed and has a high tone. If the subject in the main clause and the relative clause is the same there is no special relative pronoun in the relative clause.

e.g.   *awá muntú wal**ee**tele búpe*   'that man brought a gift'

                                but

       Muntú waleetelé búpe wayá   'the man who brought a gift has gone'

       (The vowel underlined in each case is stressed).

When there is an object relative in the sentence it is represented by a second-object concord (the form in *-o*),

e.g.   *búpe bo aleetelé* 'the gift which he brought'.

Note that after such an object concord the first or third class subject concord is *a-* rather than *u-*. No other subject concords are changed.

Extensions of the root

The meaning of a verb root may be modified in various ways by the addition of what are called **root extensions**. This new root is then the nucleus of a new verb which can be built up into all the forms that have already been described for the simple verb. Some of the commenest extensions are the following:-

From the SIMPLE e.g., *-kasa* 'tie', *-lala* 'break'

Passive:	-kaswe	'be tied'
Neuter:	-kashika	'become tied'
Applied:	-kashila	'tie for' (a person or a reason)
Perfective:	-kashijila	'tie completely, once and for all'
Intensive:	-kashisha	'tie securely'
Causative:	-kashisha	'cause to tie'
Associative:	-kasankana	'be tied together'
Reversive transitive:	-kasuluka	'become untied'
Repetitive:	-lalulula	'break again'
Extensive transitive:	-lalaula	'break all over'
Extensive intransitive:	-lalaika	'be broken in pieces'
Essive:	-sumana	'be a bitter' (from -suma bite)

Several of these extensions can be combined in one verb.

e.g.   simple, -kúpita 'to pass', extensive, kúipitaila 'go beyond', causative of extensive, kúpitaizha 'to take beyond', applied of causative of extensive, kúpitaizhizha 'to take beyond' for (a person or reason);

simple, kuzhiika 'to bury', reversive transitive kuzhiikula 'to disinter', applied or reversive, similarly; kuzhiikwila 'to disinter for', passive of applied of reversive, kuzhiikwilwa 'to be disinterred for'.

Tone patterns in verbs

All Kaonde verbs fall into two main groups with regard to tonal patterns. All the verbs in one group have the same patterns in each tense, which are different from those of the other group. The difference is seen in the usual form of the infinitive. In all the verbs the stem, however long, is low toned, but in one group the prefix -ku- bears a low tone and in the other a high tone. These groups may be called the low group and the high group respectively.

Space is too short to give all the rules but some indications may be given. Three elements interact: the subject concord, the verb stem and any infixes.

The commonest pattern for subject concord is for 1st and 2nd person (singular and plural) to be high and 3rd person (of any class singular or plural) to be low, both with high verbs and low verbs. For example, the three tenses formed with the infinitive follow this pattern, the difference being seen in the infinitive. Let us contrast the high verb kulóba 'to catch fish' with the low verb kuloba 'to report a person'. We will tabulate two of the three tenses with the three persons singular:-

HIGH	LOW
mbenakúloba mulombe	mbenakuloba muntu'
'I am catching a barbell'	I am reporting a man'
úbenakúloba mulombe	úbenakuloba muntu
'you are catching a barbell'	'you are reporting a man'
nsakúloba mulombe	nsakuloba muntu
'I shall catch a barbell'	'I shall report a man'
úsakúloba mulombe	úsakuloba muntu
'you will catch a barbell'	'you will report a man'
úsakúloba mulombe	úsakuloba muntu
'he will catch a barbell'	'he will report a man'

The remote past tense has the same concord pattern; but the stem of a high verb is all low, and that of a low verb high on the first syllable. For example:-

HIGH

nálobele mulombe
'I caught a barbell'

wálobele mulombe
'you caught a barbell'

walobele mulombe
'he caught a barbell'

LOW

nálóbele muntu
'I reported a man'

walóbele muntu
'you reported a man'

walóbele muntu
'he reported a man'

The perfect tense has a different concord pattern. All persons are high with a high verb and low with a low verb, and the stem has the same pattern as the remote past tense. For example:-

HIGH

náloba mulumbe
'I have caught a barbell'

wáloba mulumbe
'you have caught a barbell'

wáloba mulumbe
'he has caught a barbell'

LOW

nalóba muntu
'I have reported a man'

walóba muntu
'you have reported a man'

walóba muntu
'he has reported a man'

Infixes fall into two groups, monosyllabic and disyllabic. The monosyllabic are *n* 'me', *ku* 'you singular' and *mu* 'him, her, it classes 1 and 3' and the remote future formative *-ka-*. The disyllabic are *itu* 'us', *'imu'* 'you plural', and all the first object concords listed in the table on p20.

The monosyllabic concords are normally high with high verbs and low with low verbs.

HIGH

mbenakumúlomba
'I am catching it'

námúlobele
'I caught it'

wamúlobele
'he caught it'

namúloba
'I have caught it'

wamúloba
'he has caught it'

LOW

mbenakumulomba
'I am reporting him'

námulóbele
'I reported him'

wamulóbele
'he reported him'

namulóba
'I have reported him'

wamulóba
'he has reported him'

The first syllable (*l-*) of disyllabic infixes is usually high in all verbs and the second syllable high with high verbs and low with low verbs. For example:-

HIGH

nájikwiáloba
'I caught them'
(masabi - fish)

LOW

nájikwíbaloba
'I reported them'
(bantu-people)

nkéáloba | nkébaloba
'I shall catch them' | 'I shall report them'
néáloba | nébalóbá
'I have caught them' | 'I have reported them'

In the remote past tense however, disyllabic infixes are low on both syllables in all verbs after a low toned third person subject concord. For example:-

HIGH	LOW
bebalobele	*bebalóbele*
'they caught them'	'they reported them'

Some tenses are distinguished from others by tonal patterns. The perfect tense, for example, as we have seen, has all three persons the same tone, whereas the present conditional tense, though spelt alike, has the pattern 1st, and 2nd person high, 3rd person low. Compare the first and third person in the following:-

Perfect	*Conditional*
náloba mulombe	*ínge náloba mulombe*
'I have caught a barbell'	'if I catch a barbell'
wáloba mulombe	*ínge waloba mulombe*
'he has caught a barbell'	'if he catches a barbell'
nalóbe muntu	*ínge náloba muntu*
'I have reported a man'	'if I report a man'
walóbe muntu	*ínge waloba muntu*
'he has reported a man'	'if he reports a man'

For example, the **ka** tense, meaning 'lest', is distinguished in this way from the **ka** tense meaning 'have done at a distance',

e.g   *nákáloba mulombe* '   lest I catch a barbell',

but   *nakáloba mulombe*   'I have gone and caught a barbell'.

(where in the first sentence the high tone is on **na** while in the second it is on **ka** editor)

Relative (or participal)
Relative Tenses

Tenses are distinguished from indicative tenses by means of tone and stress. There are two possibilties. In most tenses of all verbs a stressed high tone is put on the last syllable of the verb stem which leaves unaltered the other tones and stresses of the corresponding indicative tense. In compound tenses formed with an auxilliary and an infinitive this stressed high tone comes both on the auxilliary and on the last syllable of the infinitive. The following sentences may be compared with some of those above:-

HIGH	LOW
*mulombe yé nálobá**	*muntu ye nalóbá*
'the barbell which I have caught'	'the man whom I have reported'
mulombe yé nálobelé	*muntu ye nálobélé*
'the barbell which I caught'	'the man whom I reported'
mulombe yé sákúlobá	*muntu yé sákulobá*
'the barbell which I shall catch'	'the man whom I shall report'

The other possibility is for the stressed high tone to be placed on the next to last syllable of a verb stem. This is the case with the habitual present tense of all verbs

*Note that underlining below a syllable represents stress (Editor)

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and with the remote future tense of all verbs except high verbs of only two syllables of which the first is short.

e.g.   *muntu ye ndóba*   'the man I report'

      milombe yó ndóba   'the barbell (plural) which I catch'

      muntu ye nkalóba   'the man whom I shall report'

but   *mulombe ye nkálobá*   'the barbell which I shall catch' (with stressed high tone on the last syllable).

Examples of the remote future tense of a high verb with a long first vowel or of more than two syllables are: *mulombe ye nkálééta* 'the barbell I shall bring', *mulombe ye nkátambúla* 'the barbell I shall receive'. The case with the high verb of two syllables of which the first is short is even more complicated. If a monosyllabic infix is added the stress and high tone still come on the last syllable, but if a disyllabic infix is added the stress and high tone shift to the next to last syllable.

e.g.   *byo nkamúlobá*   'when I shall catch it'

but   *byo nkéílóba*   'when I shall catch them'.

Defective verbs

There are a number of verb stems which are only used in a limited number of forms. As we have already seen *-sa* is a formative for the near future tense of regular verbs, and an auxiliary verb which may be referred to as the 'about to' past tense. Whereas *-ba-* is used in the formative of two tenses based on the subjunctive stem, thus;

i)   when used with a stative verb it expresses a state that is true now but was not a little while ago,

e.g.   *u-ba-nune*   'now he is fat'.

ii)   (with any verb the same form with *-nga-* suffixed conveys the sense of a recent past continuous,

e.g.   *u-ba-léetenga nsóno*   'he has been bringing grass'.

-ji- exists in two tenses, present and past,

e.g.   *u-ji* and *wa-ji,*

the latter often appearing in the longer continous form *wa-ji-nga.*

This verb corresponds to some of the uses of the English 'to be': it is used before adverbial expressions,

e.g.   *waji (nga) kunó kesha* '   'he was here yesterday'

      uji kunó   'he is here'.

In the past, but not in the present, it can be used with nouns,

e.g.   *nájinga musapwíshi*   'I was a preacher',

but **nji musapwishi* is not allowed.

Followed by *na* 'with' it represents the English 'to have',

e.g.,   *baji na báana*   'they have children'.

This form followed by the infinitive of a verb is one form of the present continous tense, as we have already seen,

e.g.   *túji na kúleeta nyama* 'we are bringing meat'.

Chapter IV
PARTICLES

A particle is a word that keeps the same form, neither agreeing with another word like a verb or an adjective, nor causing other words to change to agree with it, like

a noun. There are several kinds of these words in KiKaonde, too many to list them. Some can be used to introduce sentences:-

kámpé	'perhaps'	*ínge*	if, 'be that'	*úmvwe*	'if'
kaná	'can it'	*nánchi*	'do you mean to say that..?'		

Some are exclamations:-

ée	'yes'		*oló (ye)*	'surprise'
ámwi	'really? isn't that so?'		*éyo*	'is that so?'
ála	expression of annoyance		*áshai*	'shut up!'
iné	'no'		*éle*	'derision
mámá	'oh dear'			

Some look like nouns or verbs or adjectives, but do not agree with anything:-

binó	'but'	*ábyo*	'in that case'	*kíngi*	'very much'
lélo	'but'	*mambo*	'because'	*bíngí*	'very much'
pakuba	'but'	*kwápwa*	'that's all, only'		

A special kind of particle is called an **ideophone**. Ideophones are used with particular verbs to emphasize them. They are very numerous. When they are used the verb normally has the intensive *-tu* at the end,

e.g.	*fitátu bwii*	'pitch black'
	chilátu ngee	'bright red'
	lambátu myaa	'smooth as glass'

Many are formed from the same root as the verb they go with. It seems likely that the verb has been formed from the ideophone; a great number of three-syllable verbs are like this, frequently with a transitive and instransitive form,

e.g.	*-tookátu*	'too brilliant; white'
	-tabukátu tábu	'be torn right down'

-tabulátu tábu	'tear right down'
-chimukátu chímu	'be snapped in two'
-chimunátu chímu	'snap in two'

In narrative ideophones are often used alone without a verb to give a graphic effect,

e.g.   *Kyóvwe see!* 'Suddenly the hippo came to the surface'.

Chapter V
PUTTING WORDS TOGETHER

When a sentence consists of a subject and a verb, if the verb is emphasized, the subject comes first,

e.g.   *báana baíya*   'the children <u>have come</u>'

but if the subject is emphasized the verb comes first,

e.g.   *baíya báana*   '<u>the children</u> have come'.

Even more stress is put on the subject when a relative sentence is used,

e.g.   *báana bó baíya*   'the children are the ones who have come'

When a noun object is present the normal order is

subject   verb   object.

bányika   *bámona*   *múkulúmpe* 'the youngster has seen an elder'.

An Outline of Kikaonde Grammar was first published as a chapter in Language in 'Zambia: Grammatical Sketches in 1977. This new edition is the fifth in a series which includes studies of Icibemba, Chitonga, Silozi and Cinyanja. The languages have been divided into separate publications to facilitate their use by students and teachers of Zambian languages.

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