

MORPHOLOGY OF THE
SUBSTANTIVE IN LOZI

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P R E F A C E

Lozi is spoken in Barotseland, Zambia (Northern Rhodesia), by some sixty thousand people¹. Morphologically it is essentially Sotho, but its phonology is not typical of Sotho, and it contains many items of vocabulary derived from Luyana, it being a mixture of Sotho and Luyana.

The field-work for this study was done in July, 1963, at Sefula. The Lozi forms cited are typical of the Mongu dialect, with some divergences here and there. Further research was done in Johannesburg with Lozi informants.

During the course of this study, reference was made to the following:

- A. Jalla, Dictionary of the Lozi Language, Vol 1, Lozi-English, U.S.C.L., London: 1936.
- A. Jalla, Elementary Grammar of the Lozi Language, U.S.C.L., London: 1937.
- W.A.R. Gorman, Simple Silozi, Longmans, London: 1950.
- M. Gluckman, "Prefix Concordance in Lozi, Lingua Franca of Barotseland", African Studies, 1, 2, 105-114, 1942, Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.

As far as possible the standard orthography has been used here, though we use the conjunctive method of word-division. For typographical reasons we have used the symbol /ɔ/ instead of /ṅ/. The marking of tones is not, of course, necessary in the standard orthography.

1. The figure for 1959 was ± 59,700 as cited by G. Fortune in Languages of the Federation - A Preliminary Survey, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka: 1962.

Acknowledgements: I wish to express my indebtedness to the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa, Johannesburg, without whose generous grant-in-aid the fieldwork for this study would not have been possible.

My thanks go also to my informants, Messrs Kacana Mutumba, Akakulubelwa Sishekanu, Sinyinda Siñute, Nelson Sitali and Mubyana Mufalali, whose assistance and patience during hours of research made this study much easier than it might otherwise have been.

I should like to thank Professor D.T. Cole my supervisor, and Miss F.-D. Beuchat for their advice and for their valuable time which they never hesitated to put at my disposal for discussions of linguistic, orthographic and other problems with which I have been faced. Any errors or inconsistencies occurring here are my own.

In Barotseland Mr and Mrs D. Schutte, Mr and Mrs R. Tiercy and Dr and Mrs S. Jaques, all of the Paris Mission Society in Sefula, extended their warm hospitality to me.

Mrs Margaret A. Wilson did a magnificent job of typing this study with all its complications for the typist.

- A gap in a series, not filled by our data, or in the language, Absence of singular or plural form
- > Produces, Becomes
- < Derived from
- + Or longer

- A gap in a series, not filled by our data, or in the language, Absence of singular or plural form
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- < Derived from
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[10]

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

0.1.0. PHONOLOGY

0.1.1. This chapter does not pretend to be a full study of Lozi phonology and it is probable that some of the statements in it could be extensively modified or amplified.

0.1.2. Vowel Phonemes: (See Appendix)

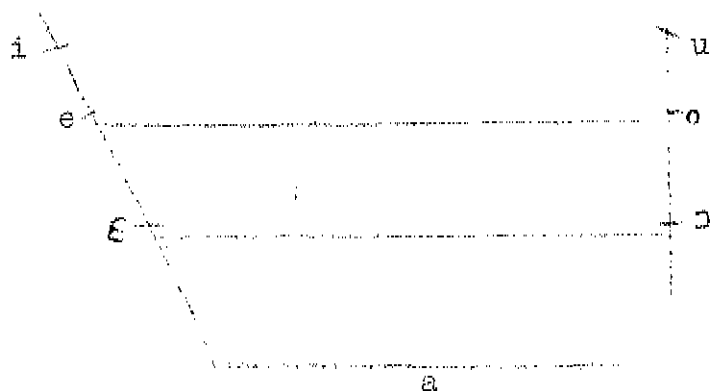
There are five vowel phonemes in Lozi - /a, e, i, o, u/.
/a, i, u/ do not have observable allophones.

/e/ has allophones [ɛ] and [e]. [e] occurs when the following syllable contains the vowel /i/ or [e]. [ɛ] occurs elsewhere.

/o/ has allophones [ɔ] and [o]. [o] occurs when the following syllable contains the vowel /i/ or [o]. [ɔ] occurs elsewhere.

Vowels in word-final position are frequently voiceless. This is a non-significant feature.

0.1.3. The following is a chart of the Lozi vowels:



0.1.4. Consonant Phonemes:

There are nineteen consonant phonemes in Lozi. These are represented here and in the standard orthography (with the exception of /ɸ/¹) by the symbols /b, c, d², f, g, h, j, k, l², m, n, ny³, p, s, sh, t, w, y, z/.

1. The phoneme /ɸ/ is represented by two different symbols, "ɸ" and "n". It is written /n/ immediately before /k/ and /g/, and is written /ɸ/ elsewhere: i.e., before a vowel or /w/. Note that in the standard orthography /ɸ/ is written instead of /ɸ/.
2. The symbols "d" and "l" represent different allophones of the phoneme /l/. "d" represents the allophone [d], and "l" represents the allophones [l] and [ɭ].
3. The palatal nasal [ɲ] is written in two different ways. It is written /n/ when immediately preceding a palatal consonant: i.e., /c, j, ny/. It is written /ny/ elsewhere.

The stops and the fricatives /s/ and /z/ occur in nasal compounds. Nearly all consonants occur in /w/ compounds. All bilabial consonants except /f/ and /w/ occur in /y/ compounds, as does the consonant /l/. Charts of these types of compounds are given in 0.1.6., 0.1.7., and 0.1.8.

0.1.5. Chart of Consonant Phonemes:

p	t	c	k
b	d/l	j	g
f	s	sh	h
///	z	y	w
m	n	ny	ɔ/n

0.1.5.1. /p,t,c,k/ are voiceless stops, respectively bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. They occur either unaspirated or slightly aspirated, but are never ejected.

0.1.5.2. /b/ has two allophones -- a lenis voiced bilabial stop, [b], and a voiced bilabial fricative, [β]. [b] occurs after the nasal /m/. [β] occurs in all other cases.¹

/l/ has three allophones -- a lenis voiced, alveolar stop, [d], a voiced alveolar flap, [ɾ], and a voiced lateral continuant [l]. [d] occurs after the nasal /n/. [ɾ] occurs before the vowel /i/ when word-initial or when preceded by a vowel. [l] occurs in all other cases.

/j/ and /g/ are voiced stops, respectively palatal and velar. They are pronounced very lenis. They occur only when preceded by their homorganic nasals. i.e. They have no independent existence outside of nasal compounds².

0.1.5.3. /f,s,sh,h/ are respectively voiceless labio-dental, alveolar, palatal and glottal fricatives.

0.1.5.4. /z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative.

1. The informant Mufalali, unlike our other informants, has a different distribution for these two allophones. [b] occurs after the nasal /m/, and word- or phrase-initially. [β] occurs elsewhere.

2. This limited occurrence might suggest the fact that these are allophones of some other phonemes. In the case of /j/ there could be an allophonic relationship with /y/, though this does not seem to be very likely. In the case of /g/ there is no other consonant with which it can be in allophonic relationship. The fact that these consonants occur only in nasal compounds might, alternatively, favour the view that these nasal compounds should be considered as unit phonemes and not as clusters as is

0.1.5.5. /m,n,ny,ɲ/ are respectively voiced bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar nasals.

0.1.5.6. /w/ and /y/ are respectively voiced labio-velar and palatal semi-vowels.

0.1.6. Chart of /w/ Compounds:

pw	tw	cw	kw
bw	lw	///	///
fw	sw	shw	hw
///	zw	yw	--
mw	nw	nyw	ɲw

0.1.6.1. A complete series of /w/ compounds occurs except that /w/ does not combine with itself. The voiced stop series is not represented here as these are treated under 0.1.8. in the NCw series.

0.1.7. Chart of Nasal Compounds:

mp	nt	nc	nk
mb	nd	nj	ng
--	ns	--	--
///	nz	--	--

0.1.7.1. A full series of nasal compounds involving the voiced and voiceless stops together with their homorganic nasals occurs. Only two nasal compounds, /ns/ and /nz/, involving continuants have been found.

0.1.8. Chart of NCw Compounds:

mpw	---	nɲw	nkɲw
mbw	ndw	nɲw	ngɲw
///	nsw	///	///
///	nzw	///	///

0.1.8.1. This series matches that of the NC compounds except that /ntw/ does not occur in our data.

0.1.9. Geminate nasal compounds occur in bilabial, alveolar and palatal positions. The velar position is thus far not filled from our data. Thus, /mm/, /nn/ and /nny/ occur.

[Cont. from previous page]

done here. Tonal and syllabic evidence shows that these are in fact clusters, since when nasal compounds occur word-initially, the nasal is syllabic. Note, however, that these nasals may lose their syllabicity, even though word-initial, when they occur phrase-medially.

... the /y/ compound series is restricted to bilabial position except for the alveolar /ly/. Of the bilabial series, /fy/ and /wy/ are missing. The pair of NCy compounds, /mpy/ and /mby/, also occur.

0.2.0. MORPHOPHONEMICS

0.2.1. There is a series of morphophonemic changes associated with the noun prefixes of cl. 9 and 10, /N- \rightarrow \emptyset -/ and /liN- \rightarrow li \emptyset -/ respectively, the adjectival prefixes of cl. 8x and 10, /ze \emptyset -/,¹ and the reflexive prefix /i \emptyset -/.

The phonemes affected by this morphophonemic process are /b [β], f, l, h, w, V/ (other phonemes are not affected). When these phonemes are immediately preceded by any of the above-mentioned morphemes, the following changes take place:

b	>	p
f	>	p
l	>	t
h	>	k
w	>	kw
V	>	kV

These morphophonemic changes appear to be obsolescent (particularly in the case of /f > p/) and do not occur in all cases. Their occurrence is morphologically determined. They rarely, if ever, occur with adoptives.

0.2.1.1. Examples of /b > p/:

(a) With noun prefixes of Cl. 9 and 10:

- pína (song) < \emptyset - + *-bína < -bín- (sing)
- púzo (question) < \emptyset - + *-búzo < -búz- (ask)
- lipúo (languages) < li \emptyset - + *-búo < -bú- (talk)
- lipulélo (statements) < li \emptyset - + *-bulélo < -bulél- (talk)

In the following adoptives the above change has not occurred:

- báki (< Afr. baadjie/Sotho baki) (jacket)
- bénkele (< Afr. winkel) (shop)
- búka (< Afr. boek/Eng. book/Sotho buka) (book)

1. Only two adjectival stems, /-beli/ and /-lálu/ are affected here. Note that these two do not occur with the cl. 9 prefix, and there is, thus, no example of a change in this class.

(b) With adjectival prefixes of cl. 8x and 10:

lipaupau zépele (8x, two baskets) < -bele (two)

likubu zépele (10, two hippos) < -bele (two)

(c) With reflexive prefix /iØ-/:

-ipíz- (call oneself) < -iØ- + -bíz- (call)

-ipuláy- (commit suicide) < -iØ- + -buláy- (kill)

0.2.1.2. Examples of /f > p/:

(a) With noun prefixes of cl. 9 and 10:

mpo (gift) < N- + *-fo < -f- (give)

penyo (victory) < Ø- + *-fenyo < -feny- (vanquish)

In the following cases the morphophonemic change /f > p/ may either take place or not, depending on the speaker.

poso/foso (mistake) < Ø- + *-foso < -fos- (make a mistake)

lipapâno/lifapâno (arguments) < liØ- + *-fapâno < -fapân- (argue)

In the following words the morphophonemic change does not occur:

fulái (Eng. fly) (aeroplane)

folofólo (animal)

fífítele (window)

(b) /-fubélu/ is the only adjective stem commencing in /f/, and this does not undergo any morphophonemic change when it occurs with the adjectival prefixes of cl. 8x, 9 and 10.

litúwa zéfubélu (8x, red roofs)

likúwani zéfubélu (10, red hats)

kubo yéfubélu (9, red blanket)

(c) With reflexive prefix /iØ-/:

-ip- (give oneself) < -iØ- + -f- (give)

-ipétul- (change oneself) < -iØ- + -fetul- (change)

In the following word the morphophonemic change does not occur:

-ifólis- (cure oneself) < -i- + -folis- (cure)

0.2.1.3. Examples of /l > t/:

Note that the nasal prefix /n-/ of cl. 9 brings about the occurrence of the allophone [d] when it is prefixed to the stem /-lwa/. No further change occurs.

ndwa (war, fight) < *-lwa < -lw- (fight)

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In all other cases /l > t/.

(a) With noun prefixes of cl. 9 and 10:

...túto (lesson, education) < ∅- + *-lúto < -lút- (teach)
tekíso (sale) < ∅- + *-lekíso < -lekís- (sell)
litukelo (obligations) < li∅- + *-lukelo < -lukel-
(be obliged)
litatúlo (denials) < li∅- + *-latúlo < -latul- (deny)

(b) With adjectival prefixes of cl. 8 and 10:

lisépe zétálu (8x, three ships) < -lálu (three)
litéko zétálu (10, three purchases) < -lálu (three)

(c) With reflexive prefix /i∅-/:

-itúm- (bite oneself) < -i∅- + -lúm- (bite)
-itúkis- (prepare oneself) < -i∅- + -lukis- (prepare)
-itífel- (pay for oneself) < -i∅- + -lifel- (pay for)

0.2.1.4. Examples of /h > k/:

(a) With noun prefixes of cl. 9 and 10:

káno (denial) < ∅- + *-háno < -hán- (deny)
kátó (step) < ∅- + *-háto < -hát- (step)
likupúlo (thoughts) < li∅- + *-hupúlo < -hupúl-
(think)

(b) /-húlu/ is the only adjective stem commencing in /h/, and this does not undergo any morphophonemic change when it occurs with the adjectival prefixes of cl. 8x, 9 or 10.

likúba zêhúlu (8x, old fools) < -húlu (old)
lingambela zêhúlu (10, old prime ministers) < -húlu (old)

(c) With reflexive prefix /i∅-/:

-ikát- (step on oneself) < -i∅- + -hát- (step on)
-ikupúlis- (remind oneself) < -i∅- + -hupúlis- (remind)

0.2.1.5. Examples of /w > kw/:

Only one example of this change has been found. This is the radical /-wis-/ with reflexive prefix /i-/.

-ikwís- (make oneself fall) < -i- + -wis- (cause

0.2.1.6. Examples of /V > kV/:

[7]

(a) With noun prefixes of cl. 9 and 10:

likezo (actions) < li∅- + *-ezo < -ez- (do)

kalúlo (division) < ∅- + *-alúlo < -alúl- (divide)

katúlo (judgment) < ∅- + *-atúlo < -atúl- (judge)

likalábo (answers) < li∅- + *-alábo < -aláb- (answer)

(b) No adjective stems commencing in a vowel have been noted.

(c) With reflexive prefix /i∅-/:

-ikatúl- (judge oneself) < -i∅- + -atúl- (judge)

-ikaláb- (answer oneself) < -i∅- + -aláb- (answer)

-ikábel- (apportion oneself) < -i∅- + -abel- (apportion)

0.2.2. A word with an initial geminate nasal cluster, loses the first nasal when it is preceded by the prefixes /ní-/, /kí-/, /ká-/, /mwá-/, /kwá-/, /fá-/, /bó-/, or a possessive prefix, or when the word occurs phrase-medially or -finally in rapid speech.

nîme (and Mother) < ní + mme

bôme (mothers) < bó- + mme

kîna (it is me) < kí- + nna

kâmu (about the bream) < ká- + mmu

anilatî-mu (I do not like bream) < anilatí mmu

0.2.3. With some exceptions noted below, when a C, Cw or Cy prefix occurs before a V-commencing stem, the initial vowel of that stem becomes long.

sãpalo (dress)

cf. /siapalo/ (dress) with CV prefix.

kôpéla (to sing)

cf. /kuopéla/ (to sing) with CV prefix.

lôngolo (chameleon)

cf. /luongolo/ (chameleon) with CV prefix.

mwâlafi (doctor)

cf. /mualafi/ (doctor) with CV prefix.

The following noun stems are not affected by this morphophonemic rule, and their initial vowels are always short.

-ana cf. mw.ana (child) b.ana (children)

-anána	mw.anána	(child)	s.anána	(fat, podgy child)
-alyánjo	mw.alyánjo	(girl just past puberty)		
-aha	mw.aha	(year)	my.aha	(years)
-aa	mw.aa	(courage)		
-oya	m.oya	(wind)	by.oya	(vile winds)
-oyo	m.oyo	(life, health, heart)		
-oi	b.oi	(cowardice)		
-oꝓóꝓo	l.oꝓóꝓo	(sp. of bird)		

It is possible that a larger corpus would reveal more of such stems.

0.3.0. LENGTH

The phoneme of length manifests itself in the vowel immediately preceding or following it, as the case may be. No instance of this phoneme being both preceded and followed by a vowel has been noted. Length is only sporadically indicated in the standard orthography. Where it is marked, this is done by means of a macron over the vowel. To accommodate tone marks over vowels, another system is used here. Furthermore, long vowels are indicated wherever they occur. Length is here indicated in two different ways -- by double tone marks over a vowel (see 0.4.0.), or, when length occurs out of context, by the symbol /:/.

0.4.0. TONOLOGY

Lozi has two tonemes - High, /H/, and Low, /L/. Tones are not marked in the standard Lozi orthography. Here, syllables bearing a single low tone are left unmarked¹. Syllables bearing two low tones are marked by a double grave accent, /" /, over the vowel. Syllables bearing a high tone are marked by an acute accent, /' /, over the vowel or nasal, as the case may be. Syllables bearing two high tones are marked by a double acute accent, /^^ /, and those bearing a high-low tone sequence, by a circumflex, /^ / . Short syllables bear a single

1. In a few cases where tonal phenomena are specifically discussed, the grave accent, /" /, is used to indicate a low toneme in order to avoid any confusion.

tone while long syllables bear two tones. Long syllables may bear the toneme combinations, /LL, HL, HM/. The combination /LH/ never occurs (see 0.6.0.)

0.5.0. SYLLABIFICATION

0.5.1. Syllables constitute the tone-bearing units of Lozi. Syllables may be long or short. Short syllables are those bearing a single toneme. Long syllables are those which bear two tonemes.

0.5.2. The syllable in Lozi consists most typically of a consonant and a vowel. It is of CV structure. The second major syllable type is that which consists of a vowel only. Vowels constitute syllables when they are word-initial or are immediately preceded by a vowel. The third type of syllable structure is that which consists of a nasal. Nasals are only syllabic, however, when they occur in a nasal compound, word- or phrase-initially, or in word-final position. In some people's speech, nasals never occur in word-final position. In words where such occur they are replaced by a CV sequence: viz. a nasal followed by a vowel.

0.5.3. The nasals of word-initial nasal compounds are generally syllabic, but in quick speech, when the words containing them occur phrase-medially or when they are prefixally inflected, they lose their syllabicity. When they do so, their tonal capacity is lost, and their tone is then assumed by the previous syllable which acquires an additional toneme and thus becomes a long syllable with a consequent lengthening of the vowel of that syllable.

eg. ní- + n̂,jà > nî,njà¹ (and the dog)

Similarly in quick speech /ânîlâtî n̂jà > ânîlâtî-njà/ (I do not like the dog).

0.5.4. In the case of word-initial geminate nasal clusters, the first nasal is syllabic. When a word containing such a geminate cluster occurs phrase-medially or is prefixally inflected, the first nasal disappears. Its tone is accommodated by the previous syllable by the same process as seen in 0.5.3.

eg. kí- + n̂,mè > kî,mè (it is Mother)

1. The symbol /,/ indicates a syllable boundary.

0.6.0. MORPHOTONEMICS

[10]

Where the tonomorphology requires the sequence /lH/ in a single syllable, a morphotonic change occurs, whereby /lH > HH/. The formation of the infinitive from the verbal radical /-ng-/ (take) illustrates this. The /n/ of the radical is high-toned. This is evidenced by the imperative /ngà/. It is only radicals of HL structure that have HL in the imperative singular.

0.7.0. INFORMANTS

In Barotseland we had three main informants. In order to reflect Lozi as it is spoken at the present time and as it will be spoken for the next generation or two, still realizing, of course, that Lozi will continue to change, we chose young people as our informants. Nevertheless, we did not make exclusive use of these, but checked many items of vocabulary and morphology with other informants, both young and old. In Johannesburg we had two main informants, these being middle-aged men. Use was made of two other informants in Johannesburg, but their contribution was not significant enough to merit giving details concerning them here. The following are the three informants in Barotseland:

1. Mr Kacana Mutumba, born in 1942 at Mongu¹. His mother and father were both Lozi and were both born at Tungi (near Mongu). He lived at home with both parents until his father's death in 1953. He continued to live with his mother until 1955, when, at her death, he went to live with his aunt, a Lozi woman, also born at Tungi. He went to school at Sefula² in 1962 and passed Standard VII at the Sefula Secondary School, in 1963. He speaks only English and Lozi;
2. Mr Akakulubelwa Sishekanu, born in 1941 in Bulawayo. In 1948 he moved to Sefula with his parents and has lived with them since then, though he has been away from home a great deal, often for longish periods, visiting other parts of Barotseland. His parents are both Lozi, his father having been born at Mbulumakanda (near Namushakende) and his mother at Lukwa (near Namushakende). He passed Standard VII at the

1. This is usually pronounced /Mungu/.

2. This is pronounced /Sifúla/.

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[]

Sefula Secondary School. He speaks only English and Lozi;

3. Mr Siñute Sinyinda, born ± 1941 at Mongu. His parents are both Lozi and were born at Mongu. He passed Standard VII at Mongu Secondary School. He speaks only English and Lozi.

The following are our Johannesburg informants:

1. Mr Mubyana Mufalali (alias Anderson Sitali), born in 1921 at Lealui¹. He came to Johannesburg in 1937. He has lived here since then, though he has taken intermittent trips to Barotseland lasting up to a year. He is married to a Sotho woman. He has many contacts among the Lozi people in Johannesburg. He speaks only English and Lozi;
2. Mr Nelson Sitali, born in 1918 at Liunga (Mongu District, formerly Kalabo District). His parents were both Lozi. His father was born at Sesheke², leaving there when he was about seven years old. He grew up in Sola (near Mongu). His mother was born in Libonda (Kalabo District). In 1938 he passed Standard VI at Lukona. He came to Johannesburg in 1939. He has made several trips to Barotseland, one of these being of three years duration and another of eight years. He is married to a Lozi and has extensive contacts with Lozi in Johannesburg. He speaks Lozi, English, Nyanja and some Bemba.

1. This is pronounced /Dialúí/.

2. This is pronounced /Sishéke/.

CHAPTER 2.

THE NOUN CLASSES

1.0. In this chapter, the noun class prefix system is considered. The tonal classes are treated separately in Chapter 3.

Morphologically, nouns in Lozi comprise at least three elements - a prefix, a stem, and a tonomorpheme. By virtue of their varying noun prefixes, nouns in Lozi can be sub-divided into a number of grammatical classes, each with its own distinctive prefix. With a few modifications, the Meinhof numbering system for the classes is used here¹. It is common to find a correlation between a particular pair of classes, the one class containing only or mainly singular nouns, and the other, their corresponding plural forms, where such exist. One particular class, however, may pair with two or more other classes. Thus, nouns of cl. 1, 5, 9, 11 and 14 all have correlated plurals in cl. 6. There are eighteen noun classes in Lozi, with an additional three vestigial ones. The latter are discussed under 2.19.0.

In some cases, cl. 5, 8x and 10, for instance, the noun prefixes of two or more classes are homophonous. Nevertheless, even where the prefix of a noun leaves doubt as to its class, a study of its pronominal and concordial agreements and correlative singular or plural form will enable one to determine to which class it belongs.

1.1. Noun stems may comprise six or more distinct morphemes. This is possible, for example, when a noun is derived from a verbal radical incorporating several extensions, with the additional possibility of it having a reflexive prefix, and then itself having a diminutive suffix. The tonomorphological behaviour of such nouns, however, is the same as for nouns of which the stem is monomorphemic.

1.2. All nouns have a tonomorpheme, and nouns with a diminutive suffix or cl. 2a noun prefix have two. Nevertheless, nouns incorporating a diminutive suffix or cl. 2a

1. Meinhof's prefixes 12 and 13 are reversed. Thus, cl. 12, /ka-/, and cl. 13, /tu-/. Cl. 1a and 2a were first recognized by Doke. Cl. 8x was first recognized by Cole. Cl. 8y (see fn.2,2.11.1) has not been recognized elsewhere.

noun prefix fit into one of the tonal classes and have the same tonomorphological behaviour as nouns of equivalent syllabic structure which do not incorporate one of these affixes. With relatively few exceptions, nouns belonging to the same tonal class behave identically in the same contexts.

2.0.1. Table of noun prefixes

Class

- | | |
|-----|----------------------------|
| 1. | mu- ~ mw- ~ m- ∞ mu:- |
| 2. | ba- ~ b- ∞ ba:- ∞ be- |
| 1a. | ∅- |
| 2a. | bo- |
| 3. | mu- ~ mw- ~ m- ∞ ma- ∞ mo- |
| 4. | mi- ~ my- ~ m- |
| 5. | li- ~ ly- ~ l- ∞ li:- |
| 6. | ma- ~ m- ∞ me:- |
| 7. | si- ~ s- ∞ si:- |
| 8. | bi- ~ by- ~ b- ∞ bi:- |
| 8x | li- ~ z- |
| 9. | ∅- ∞ N- |
| 10. | li∅- ∞ liN- |
| 11. | lu- ~ lw- ~ l- ∞ lu:- |
| 12. | ka- ~ k- ∞ ka:- ∞ ke:- |
| 13. | tu- ~ tw- ~ t- ∞ tu:- |
| 14. | bu- ~ bw- ~ b- ∞ bu:- |
| 15. | ku- ~ kw- ~ k- |

2.1.0. NOUN CLASS 12.1.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/mu- ~ mw- ~ m- ∞ mu:-/

2.1.2. The allomorph /mu:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

má.na ¹	(man)	pl. bá.na	(2) ²
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2.1.3. The allomorph /m-/ occurs with stems commencing in /o,u/.

In at least some cases /mu-/ occurs as a free alternant to /m-/ with such stems (see 2.1.5.).

m.ǝmbela	(quiet person)	pl. mi.ombela	(4)
m.ǝmbocima	(quiet person)	mi.ombocima	(4)
m.ǝmbólelwa	(kind person)	mi.ombólelwa	(4)

-
- The symbol /./ within a word represents a morpheme boundary.
 - In all cases where a form is followed by a figure in brackets, this figure represents the class to which the preceding form belongs.

m.òki	(nurse)	ba.oki	(2)
m.òpéli	(person singing)	ba.opéli	(2)
m.ùngeki	(starter, beginner)	ba.ungeki	(2)
m.ùndunganyi	(troublesome person)	ba.undunganyi	(2)

2.1.4. The allomorph /mw-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a,e,i/. In at least some cases /mu-/ occurs as a free alternant to /mw-/ with such stems (see 2.1.5.). Note, however, that /mu-/ never occurs with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/.

mw.ana	(child)	pl. b.ana	(2)
mw.anána	(child)	b.anána	(2)
mw.alyánjo ¹	(girl just past puberty)	b.alyánjo	(2)
mw.àbi	(distributor)	b.àbi	(2)
mw.àbakati	(ladies' man)	b.àbakati	(2)
mw.àlabani	(one who rolls about)	b.àlabani	(2)
mw.àndalume	(brave man)	mi.andalume	(4)
mw.èlwa	(fool)	my.èlwa	(4)
mw.èli	(first-born child)	ba.eli	(2)
mw.ènyi	(visitor, stranger)	ba.enyi	(2)
mw.èti	(visitor, stranger)	ba.eti	(2)
mw.éti	(sick person)	ba.éti	(2)
mw.èyali	(surprised person)	mi.eyali	(4)
mw.èndaendi	(person always travelling)	ba.endaendi	(2)
mw.èndalutaka	(fabulous being)	my.èndalutaka ²	(4)
mw.èndanjangula	(fabulous being)	my.èndanjangula ³	(4)
mw.ìsi	(sender, transmitter)	ba.isi	(2)

2.1.5. The allomorph /mu-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems except /-na/ and as a free alternant to /m-/ and /mw-/ with several V-commencing stems.

mu.atúli	≈ mw.àtúli	(judge)	pl. ba.atúli	(2)
mu.eti	≈ mw.èti	(visitor)	ba.eti	(2)
mu.oki	≈ m.òki	(nurse)	ba.oki	(2)
mu.oli	≈ m.òli	(chief's wife)	ba.oli	(2)
mu.ungeki	≈ m.ùngeki	(starter, beginner)	ba.ungeki	(2)

1. Variant /mw.alánjo/ also occurs.
2. Plural /bomwèndalutaka/ (2a) also occurs.
3. Plural /bomwèndanjangula/ (2a) also occurs.

mu.tu	(person)	ba.tu	(2)
mu.fu	(deceased person)	ba.fu	(2)
mu.beti	(carpenter)	ba.beti	(2)
mu.kuli	(sick person)	ba.kuli	(2)
mu.nuhi	(diviner)	ba.nuhi	(2)
mu.lúti	(teacher, minister)	ba.lúti	(2)
mu.sáli	(woman)	ba.sáli	(2)
mu.túli	(blacksmith)	ba.túli	(2)
mu.hédeni	(heathen)	ba.hédeni	(2)
mu.shímani	(boy)	ba.shímani	(2)

2.1.6. Number: Cl. 1 nouns are all singular. Correlative plurals are predominantly in cl. 2. For examples see 2.1.5. Most names of tribes, nations, etc., have their plurals in cl. 6. A few, however, have their plurals exclusively or alternatively in cl. 2. Sundry other nouns have their plurals in cl. 4 or 6.

Malozi	(Lozi)	pl. Malozi	(6)
Munkóya	(Nkoya)	Mankóya	(6)
Mutóka	(Toka)	Matóka	(6)
Muíndia	(Indian)	Maíndia	(6)
Mukúwa	(White)	Makúwa = Bakúwa	(6 = 2)
Mushukulumbwe	(Ila)	Mashukulumbwe	
		= Bashukulumbwe	(6 = 2)
Muluyána	(Luyaana)	Baluyána	(2)
Musútu	(Sotho)	Basútu	(2)
mucembele	(old person)	macembele	(6)
mulena	(chief)	malena	
		= balena	(6 = 2)
mukwae	(princess)	mikwae	(4)
mutangána	(youth)	mitangána	
		= batangána	(4 = 2)
mòmbela	(quiet person)	miombela	(4)
mwèlwa	(fool)	myèlwa	(4)
muzwâle	(friend)	mizwâle	(4)

Some cl. 1 nouns have two plurals, one in cl. 2, 4 or 6 depending on the noun, and one in cl. 2a. The plurals in cl. 2, 4 or 6 are numerical plurals, while those in cl. 2a are honorific plurals.

mulúti	(teacher)	balúti	(2) (teachers)
		bóMulúti	(2a) (Honourable Mr Teacher)

mulena	(chief)	balena (2) (chiefs)	[17]
	boMúlena (2a) (Honourable Chief)		
mukwae	(princess)	mikwae (4) (princesses)	
	boMúkwaé (Your Royal Highness)		

2.1.7. Significance: This class contains only personal nouns. Names of tribes, nations, etc., are all in this class.

mutu	(person)	pl. batu	(2)
múna	(man)	bána	(2)
Mubotana	(pauper)	babotana	(2)
mulikani	(friend)	balikani	(2)
mulísani	(herd)	balísani	(2)
mushémi	(parent)	bashémi	(2)
Mubemba	(Bemba)	Mabemba	(6)
Mukololo	(Kololo)	Makololo	(6)
Munyengo	(Nyengo)	Manyengo	(6)

2.2.0. NOUN CLASS 2

2.2.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/ba- ~ b- ∞ ba:- ∞ be-/

2.2.2. The allomorph /be-/ occurs as a dialectal or idiolectal alternant to /ba-/ with the stem /-pi/.

be.pi	∞ ba.pi ¹ (owners)	sg. mu.pi ¹	(1)
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2.2.3. The allomorph /ba:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

bá.na	(men)	sg. mú.na	(1)
-------	-------	-----------	-----

2.2.4. The allomorph /b-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a/. /ba-/ occurs as a free alternant to /b-/ with all such stems except /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/ (see 2.2.5.).

b.ana	(children)	sg. mw.ana	(1)
b.anána	(children)	mw.anána	(1)
b.alyánjo	(girls just past puberty)	mw.alyánjo	(1)

1. This noun is used only in possessive constructions where it occurs as the possessee.

b.àbi	(distributors)	mw.àbi	(1)
b.àlafi	(doctors)	mw.àlafi	(1)
b.àlabani	(people rolling about)	mw.àlabani	(1)

2.2.5. The allomorph /ba-/ occurs with all stems except /-na/, /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/. /b-/ occurs as a free alternant with other stems commencing in /a/.

ba.abi	≈ b.àbi	(distributors)	sg.	mw.àbi	(1)
ba.alafi	≈ b.àlafi	(doctors)		mw.àlafi	(1)
ba.éti		(sick people)		mw.éti	(1)
ba.oli		(chief's wives)		mu.oli	(1)
ba.undunganyi		(troublesome people)		m.ùndunganyi	(1)
ba.tu		(people)		mu.tu	(1)
ba.limi		(farmers)		mu.limi	(1)
ba.laúli		(diviners)		mu.laúli	(1)
ba.póti		(visitors)		mu.póti	(1)
ba.túli		(blacksmiths)		mu.túli	(1)
ba.cóni		(people who have been away from home a long time)		mu.cóni	(1)
ba.fumáhali		(queens)		mu.fumáhali	(1)
ba.húlwani		(elder brothers, elder sisters ¹)		mu.húlwani	(1)

2.2.6. Number: Cl. 2 nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are in cl. 1. For examples see 2.2.5.

2.2.7. Significance: Its significance is as for its correlative singulars.

2.3.0. NOUN CLASS 1a

2.3.1. Morphology of prefix:

/ø-/

2.3.2. All cl. 1a nouns have the prefix /ø-/.

súsu ²	(deaf person)	pl.	bó'súsu	(2a)
ndate	(father)		bóndate	(2a)

1. /bahúlwani/ means "elder siblings of the same sex". i.e. elder brothers of a male and elder sisters of a female.

2. This has variant /shúshu/.

tombwe	(rainbow)	bótembwe	[9] (2a)
nalwange	(cattle egret)	bónalwange	(2a)
sapénga	(mad person)	bósapénga	(2a)
shákame	(hare)	bóshákame	(2a)
Muleta	(woman's name)	boMúleta	(2a)
kayundula	(witchdoctor, person who hoes quickly)	bokáyundula	(2a)
napungeléle	(person who picks up just anything he sees lying on the ground)	bónapungeléle	(2a)
íkandulwa ¹	(very strong man)	boíkandulwa	(2a)
itundubówanga	(sp. of tree)	boítundubówanga	(2a)
Akákulubélwa	(man's name)	bóAkákulubélwa	(2a)

2.3.3. Number: Cl. 1a nouns are mainly singular but include some neutral ones. Correlative plurals are mainly in cl. 2a. For examples see 2.3.2. A few cl. 1a nouns have two plurals, one in cl. 10 and one in cl. 2a. The cl. 10 plurals are numerical plurals, while the cl. 2a plurals are honorific plurals.

ngambela	(prime minister)		
lingambela	(10) (prime ministers)		
bóNgaambela	(2a) (Honourable Mr Prime Minister)		
kaizéli ²	(sister, brother ³)		
likaizéli	(10) (sisters, brothers)		
bóKaizéli	(2a) (Honourable Sister, Brother)		
mbútutu	(baby)		
limbútutu	(10) (babies)		
bôMbútutu	(2a) (dear Baby)		

2.3.4. Significance: Cl. 1a contains several kinship terms, all personal names, a few animal names and personified animal names and a number of miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns.

2.3.4.1. Kinship terms:

mna ⁴	(mother)	pl. bôma	(2a)
kûku	(grandparent)	bókûku	(2a)

1. Variant /íkandúlwa/ also occurs.
2. This has variant /kezéli/.
3. /kaizéli/ means "sibling of the opposite sex". i.e. sister of a male and brother of a female.
4. This has variant /mna/.

ndate	(father)	bóndate	(2a)
malúne	(maternal uncle)	bómalúne	(2a)
kaizéli ¹	(sister, brother)	likaizéli	(10)

2.3.4.2. Personal names:

Mubyána	(man's name)	bóMubyána	(2a)
Lùndambúyu	(woman's name)	bóLùndambúyu	(2a)
Kákusha	(woman's name)	boKákusha	(2a)
Wina	(man's name)	bóWina	(2a)
Simasiku	(woman's name)	bóSimasiku	(2a)
Kancele	(Mr Partridge)	boKánccele	(2a)
cf. kancele	(12) (partridge)	tunccele	(13)
Simbotwe	(Mr Frog)	boSímbotwe	(2a)
cf. simbotwe	(7) (frog)	limbotwe	(8x)
Ngwe	(Mr Leopard)	bôNgwe	(2a)
cf. ngwe	(9) (leopard)	lingwe	(10)

2.3.4.3. Miscellaneous personal:

namukuka	(spinster)	bónamukuka	(2a)
ndui ²	(fisherman)	bóndui	(2a)
ngóte	(what's-his-name)	bóngóte	(2a)
samawawa	(infertile man)	bósamawawa	(2a)
mapi?	(who?)	bómapi?	(2a)

2.3.4.4. Miscellaneous impersonal:

namála	(kind of thick porridge)		
naḡinkwa	(smallpox)		
imúluka	(kaross)	bóimúluka	(2a)
ímungúngu	(fishing spear)	boímungúngu	(2a)
sanasulwe	(hare)	bósanasulwe	(2a)

2.4.0. NOUN CLASS 2a2.4.1. Morphology of prefix:

/bo-/

1. This has variant /kezéli/.

2. This name also occurs in 1. 2.

2.4.2. All cl. 2a nouns have the prefix /bo-/. [27]

bo.tícele	(teachers)	pl. tícele	(1a)
bó.nalitwi	(menses)	nalitwi	(1a)
bó.sahuhúla	(dustmen)	sahuhúla	(1a)
bo.íshee	(princesses' husbands)	íshee	(1a)
bo.měsinja	(messengers)	měsinja ¹	(1a)
bó.sende	(cicadas)	sende	(1a)
bó.safimba	(ugly people)	safimba ²	(1a)
bó.nalielo	(fools)	nalielo	(1a)
bó.Kashwéka	(name given to illegitimate child)	Kashwéka	(1a)

2.4.3. Number: Cl. 2a nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are predominantly in cl. 1a. For examples see 2.4.2. There are sporadic occurrences of correlation with cl. 7, 9 and 11. Cl. 2a also occurs as honorific plural of some cl. 1 nouns and so has correlative singulars in this class.

bósilukólwa ¹	(caterpillars of a particular species)	silukólwa ⁴	(7) ⁵
bósikámpáfwa ⁶	(house-bats)	sikámpáfwa	(7) ⁵
bónalumbwa	(anthills)	nalumbwa	(9) ⁵
bópondwátuya	(fabulous water beasts)	pondwátuya	(9)
bólulíma ⁷	(fruit-bats)	lulíma	(11)
bohákwae	(Honourable Princess)	mukwae	(1)
bóMulúti	(Honourable Mr Teacher)	mulúti	(1)
bohálena	(Honourable Chief)	mulena	(1)

2.4.4. Significance: The significance is the same as for the correlated singulars. This class may indicate honorific as well as numerical plurality. Thus, /boInǒnge/ may refer either to two people called /Inǒnge/, or it may be a polite form of address such as "Miss Inǒnge".

1. This has variant /měsinja/.
2. This has variant /safwímpa/.
3. Plural /bilukólwa/ (8) also occurs
4. This has variant /silukólwe/.
5. This noun also occurs in cl. 1a.
6. Plurals /likámpáfwa/ (8x) and /bikámpáfwa/ (8) also occur.
7. Plural /malíma/ (6) also occurs.

2.5.0. NOUN CLASS 3

[22]

2.5.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/mu- ~ mw- ~ m- ∞ ma- ∞ mo-/.

2.5.2. The allomorphs /ma-/ and /mo-/ occur as idiolectal alternants to /mu-/ with the stem /-sikíto/.

ma.sikíto	̲	(mosquito-net)	pl. mi.sikíto	(4)
mu.sikíto	̲	mo.sikíto		

2.5.3. The allomorph /m-/ occurs with stems commencing in /o,u/. In at least some cases /mu-/ occurs as an alternant to /m-/ with such stems (see 2.5.5.) Note, however, that /mu-/ never occurs with the stems /-oya/ or /-oyo/.

m.oya	(breath, spirit)	pl. mi.oya	(4)
m.oyo	(life, health, heart)	mi.oyo	(4)
m.òko	(marrow)	mi.oko	(4)
m.òkola	(blood from the nose)	mi.okola	(4)
m.òndo	(sound of a drum beaten at chief's house as a sign of rejoicing)	mi.ondo	(4)
m.òngomani	(bent object)	mi.ongomani	(4)
m.òngu	(pumpkin)	mi.ongu	(4)
m.òngwámui	(sp. of tree)	mi.ongwámui	(4)
m.òmo	(root of tree used as ferment)	mi.omo	(4)
m.ùlu	(doctored snake-skin charm)	mi.ulul	(4)
m.ùpa	(weal)	mi.upa	(4)
m.ùtwa	(thorn)	mi.útwa	(4)
m.ùngu	(promontory)	my.ùngu	(4)
m.úso	(government)	my.úso	(4)

2.5.4. The allomorph /mw-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a,e,i/. It is possible that in some cases /mu-/ may occur as an alternant to /mw-/ though no examples of this have been observed. Note, however, that /mw-/ would never occur with the stems /-aa/ or /-aha/.

mw.aa	(courage)	---	[23]
mw.aha	(year)	pl. my.aha	(4)
mw.änge	(sp. of grass)	mi.änge	(4)
mw.ámwa	(type of drum)	mi.amwa	(4)
mw.álo	(hoop)	my.álo	(4)
mw.álu	(puzzling thing)	my.álu	(4)
mw.ámbo	(habit, custom)	my.ámbo	(4)
mw.ánda	(hundred)	my.ánda	(4)
mw.álála	(white river-sand)	mi.alála	(4)
mw.ángálala	(shallow water)	mi.angálala	(4)
mw.ánja	(cassava)	mi.anja	(4)
mw.èle	(knife)	mi.ele	(4)
mw.èli	(border)	my.èli	(4)
mw.éndano	(race by different routes)	mi.endano	(4)
mw.éngelele	(new, high, green grass)	mi.engelele	(4)
mw.ïlo	(taboo)	m.ïlo	(4)

2.5.5. The allomorph /mu-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems and as a free alternant to /m-/ with some stems commencing in /o,u/. It is possible that /mu-/ might occur as an alternant to /mw-/ with some stems commencing in /a,e,i/.

mu.ómbo	(sp. of river bird)	mi.ómbo	(4)
mu.úku = m.úku	(chaff)	mi.úku	(4)
mu.lo	(gravy)	mi.lo	(4)
mu.lomo	(mouth)	mi.lom ^o	(4)
mu.líli	(hair)	mi.líli	(4)
mu.bili	(body)	mi.bili	(4)
mu.kólo	(dugout)	mi.kólo	(4)
mu.kushúko	(breakfast)	mi.kushúko	(4)
mu.ngúnja	(side drain)	mi.ngúnja	(4)
mu.shítu	(bush, forest)	mi.shítu	(4)
mu.sebézi	(work)	mi.sebézi	(4)
mu.leléngwa	(peanut sauce)	---	

2.5.6. Number: Cl. 3 nouns are mainly singular, though a few are neutral. Correlative plurals are in all cases in cl. 4, except in the Kwandi dialect where secondary nouns¹ of cl. 3 have their plurals in cl. 8. For examples of

1. Secondary nouns are nouns which have augmentative, attenuative, diminutive, ameliorative or pejorative significances resulting from substitution of prefixes.

correlation with cl. 4, see 2.5.5. For examples of correlation with cl. 8 see 2.5.5. (24)

2.5.⁷.~~8~~. Significance: Cl. 3 contains the names of a number of parts of the body, many tree and plant names, several animal names and a large number of miscellaneous impersonal nouns. In the Kwandi dialect of Lozi the cl. 3 prefix occurs as an augmentative prefix.¹ In other dialects too, one or two examples of the augmentative significance of cl. 3 nouns have been observed.

2.5.⁷.~~9~~.1: Parts of the body:

mumizo	(throat)	mimizo	(4)
munwana	(finger)	minwana	(4)
mukokoto	(back)	mikokoto	(4)
moyo	(heart)	mioyo	(4)
mulala	(neck)	milala	(4)
mulomo	(mouth)	milomo	(4)

2.5.⁷.~~9~~.2: Trees and plants:

mwänge	(sp. of grass)	miange	(4)
mwände	(sp. of tree : <u>Azelia quanzensis</u>)	miande	(4)
mubúyu	(sp. of tree, baobab: <u>Adansonia digitata</u>)	mibúyu	(4)
munzáuli ²	(sp. of tree : <u>Gui- bourtia coleosperma</u>)	minzáuli	(4)
muzwili	(sp. of tree, lead- wood: <u>Combretum im- berbe</u>)	mizwili	(4)
mwängálala	(sp. of tree: <u>Pa- ropsca brazzeana</u>)	miangálala	(4)

2.5.⁷.~~9~~.3: Animal life:

mukombwe	(cock)	mikombwe	(4)
mùabúna	(kaffir rail)	miumbúna	(4)
mutóbo	(reedbuck)	mitóbo	(4)
munagi	(mosquito)	minagi	(4)
munyópi	(leech)	minyópi	(4)
mukutúlu	(praise-name of a hyena)	mikutúlu	(4)

1. This information was obtained from Mr Nelson Sitali and is not based on personal observation.

2. This has variant /muzáuli/.

2.5.Ø.4. Miscellaneous:

[25]

mulangu	(bell)	milangu	(4)
mulóho	(vegetable)	milóho	(4)
munyako	(doorway)	minyako	(4)
mulao	(law)	milao	(4)
mushabáti	(sand)	mishabáti	(4)
muzilíli ¹	(fresh milk)	----	
mukokólobwa	(water furrow or drain)	mikokólobwa	(4)
muúkwaukwani	(smallpox)	----	

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2.5.Ø.5. Augmentative:

mutáfule	(a large table)	pl. bitáfule	(8)
cf. tafule	(table)	litáfule	(10)
mutóho	(a big head)	bitóho	(8)
cf. tóho (9)	(head)	litóho	(10)
mundu	(large hut)	bindu	(8)
cf. ndu (9)	(hut)	mandu	(6)
mulúndu	(steep hill)	bilúndu	(8)
cf. lilúndu	(hill)	malúndu	(6)

2.6.0. NOUN CLASS 4.

2.6.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/ni- ~ ny- ~ m-/

2.6.2. The allomorph /m-/ occurs with stems commencing in /i/.

It is possible that the allomorph /ni-/ may occur as an alternant to /m-/ with such stems though no cases of this have been observed.

m.ǎlo (taboos) eg. mw.ǎlo (3)

2.6.3. The allomorph /ny-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a, e, o, u/. In at least some cases /ni-/ occurs as an alternant to /ny-/ with such stems. (see 2.6.4.)

ny.ǎmbo	(habits, customs)	eg. mw.ǎmbo	(3)
ny.ǎmbela	(quiet people)	m.ǎmbela	(1)
ny.ǎto	(sinews)	mw.ǎto	(3)
ny.ǎlwa	(fools)	mw.ǎlwa	(1)

1. This has variant /munzilíli/.

my. ñnda	(hundreds)	mw. ñnda	(3)
my. ùlu	(doctored snake- skin charms)	m. ùlu	(3)
my. ðmbocima	(quiet people)	m. ðmbocima	(1)

2.6.4. The allomorph /mi-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems and with most V-commencing stems.

mi. úso	≈ my. úso (governments)	sg. m. úso	(3)
mi. ulu	≈ my. ùlu (doctored snake- skin charms)	m. ùlu	(3)
mi. ombela	≈		
my. ðmbela	(quiet people)	m. ðmbela	(1)
mi. ómbo	(sp. of river bird)	mu. ómbo	(3)
mi. útwa	(thorns)	m. útwa	(3)
mi. shobo	(tribes, nations)	mu. shobo	(3)
mi. mbéta	(beds)	mu. mbéta	(3)
mi. lúti	(shadows)	mu. lúti	(3)
mi. kwakwa	(roads)	mu. kwakwa	(3)
mi. laka	(cattle kraals)	mu. laka	(3)
mi. liáni	(medicines)	mu. liáni	(3)
mi. sanga	(cigarettes)	mu. sanga	(3)

2.6.5. Number: Cl. 4 nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are mainly in cl. 3. For examples see 2.6.3. and 2.6.4. A few instances of correlation with cl. 1 occur.

mitangána ¹	(youths)	sg. mutangána	(1)
mizwâle	(friends)	muzwâle	(1)
mikwae	(princesses)	mukwae	(1)
myðabela	(quiet people)	mðabela	(1)
miombólelwa	(kind people)	mðambólelwa	(1)

2.6.6. Significance: The significance is the same as for its correlative singulars.

2.7.0. NOUN CLASS 5

2.7.1. Morphology of prefixes:
/li- ~ ly- ~ l- ∞ li:-/

1. Plural /batangána/ (2) also occurs.

2.7.2. The allomorph /li-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

li.na (great hulk of a man) pl. bí.na (8) [27]

2.7.3. The allomorph /l-/ occurs with stems commencing in /i/.
In at least some cases /li-/ occurs as a free alternant
to /l-/ with such stems

l.ìba	(dove)	pl. ma.iba	(6)
l.ító ~ li.ító	(eye)	mé.to ¹	(6)
l.íno ~ li.íno	(tooth)	mé.no ²	(6)
l.íso	(hearth, fireplace)	ma.íso ³	(6)

2.7.4. The allomorph /ly-/ occurs with certain stems commencing in /o,u/.

ly.òmba	(type of fishing net)	pl. ma.omba	(6)
ly.òla-mulola	(just developing breast of a girl)	ma.ola-milola ⁴	(6)
ly.ùngu	(sp. of caterpillar)	ma.ungu	(6)
ly.ùndumume	(cool cloudiness)	ma.undumume	(6)
ly.ùlúlu	(desire for salt things after one has drunk a lot of alcohol)	---	

2.7.5. The allomorph /li-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems and with a number of V-commencing stems.

li.enga	(royal kitchen)	pl. ma.enga	(6)
li.oma	(royal drum)	ma.oma	(6)
li.onyéna	(partially dried meat or fish)	ma.onyéna	(6)

1. The stem used here has two allomorphs -- /-ító ∞ -to/. The allomorph /-to/ occurs with the prefix /me:-/. The allomorph /-ító/ occurs in all other cases.
2. The stem used here has two allomorphs -- /-íno ∞ -no/. The allomorph /-no/ occurs with the prefix /me:-/. The allomorph /-íno/ occurs in all other cases.
3. Plural /mésso/ also occurs. Thus the noun stem here has allomorphs /-íso ∞ -so/. The allomorph /-so/ occurs with the prefix /me:-/. The allomorph /-íso/ occurs in all other cases.
4. /lyòla-mulola/ is a compound noun, /mulola/ (ash) being a noun of cl. 3, plural /milola/ (4). In the plural the prefixes of both nouns making up the form change. Thus the form /maola-milola/.

li.ombekelo	(patch of water in which cassava is soaked)	ma.ombekelo	(6)
li.akanyani	(wild dog)	ma.akanyani	(6)
li.abwa	(canal)	ma.abwa	(6)
li.cwe	(stone)	ma.cwe	(6)
li.bitá	(grave)	ma.bitá	(6)
li.konde	(banana)	ma.konde	(6)
li.talo	(skin)	ma.talo	(6)
li.tutwa	(blister)	ma.tutwa	(6)
li.lóm̄ba	(wet-garden furrow)	ma.lóm̄ba	(6)
li.kátulo	(shoe)	ma.kátulo	(6)

2.7.6. Number: Cl. 5 nouns are mainly singular, though a few are neutral. Correlative plurals of primary nouns are all in cl. 6. For examples see 2.7.5. Secondary nouns have their plurals in cl. 8. For examples see 2.7.7.5.

2.7.7. Significance: Cl. 5 contains the names of many parts of the body, especially those that go in pairs, many animal names, and a number of miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns. The cl. 5 prefix also occurs as an augmentative prefix.

2.7.7.1. Parts of the body:

lizóho	(hand)	mazóho	(6)
lihéta	(shoulder)	mahéta	(6)
liláma	(cheek)	maláma	(6)
lihwáfa ¹	(armpit)	mahwáfa	(6)
lizwéle	(breast)	mazwéle	(6)
liutu ²	(foot)	mautu	(6)

2.7.7.2. Animal names:

lizwii	(lechwe)	mazwii	(6)
liywalála	(sp. of crow)	maywalála	(6)
linogu ³	(vulture)	manogu	(6)
libómbolwa	(sp. of black ant)	mabómbolwa	(6)
likondóndo	(centipede)	makondóndo	(6)

1. This has variants /likáfwa/ and /liháfwa/. Note the meta-thesis occurring in /lihwáfa = liháfwa/.

2. This has variant /lihutu/.

3. This has variant /linog/.

2.7.7.3. Miscellaneous personal:

likwambúyu	(councillor)	makwambúyu	(6)
likwasha	(bachelor)	makwasha	(6)
litahwa	(drunkard)	matahwa	(6)
litanya	(mad person)	matanya	(6)

2.7.7.4. Miscellaneous impersonal:

lilasha	(coal)	malasha	(6)
lilúndu	(hill)	malúndu	(6)
lizazi	(sun)	mazazi	(6)
litangu	(folktale)	matangu	(6)
libonóbono	(castor plant)	mabonóbono	(6)

2.7.7.5. Augmentative:

lína	(tall, fat man) pl.	bína	(8)
cf. múna (1)	(man)	bína	(2)
lisáli	(tall, plump woman)	bisáli	(8)
cf. musáli(1)	(woman)	basáli	(2)
lilala	(thick "bull" neck)	bilala	(8)
cf. mulala (3)	(neck)	milala	(4)
lilúkwe	(baggy trousers)	bilúkwe	(8)
cf. bulúkwe (14)	(trousers)	malúkwe	(6)
linwana	(podgy finger)	binwana	(8)
cf. munwana (3)	(finger)	minwana	(4)

2.8.0. NOUN CLASS 62.8.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/ma- ∞ m- ∞ me:-/

2.8.2. The allomorph /me:-/ occurs with the stems /-no/, /-to/, /-zi/ and /-so/.

mé.no	(teeth)	sg. l.íno	(5)
mé.to	(eyes)	l.ító	(5)
mè.zi	(water)	---	
mé.so ¹	(fireplaces)	l.íso	(5)

1. This has variant /maíso/.

2.8.3. The allomorph /ma-/ occurs with most, if not all, stems commencing in /a/. In at least some cases /ma-/ occurs ^{as} as a free alternant to /a-/ with such stems (see 2.8.4.).

m.ño	(type of thorn)	sg.	lw.ño	(11)
m.ñdo	(boys' play fishing nets)		lw.ñdo	(11)
m.ñda	(bundles)		li.anda	(5)
m.ñba	(sp. of grass)		li.amba	(5)
M.ñbwe	(Ambwe people)		Mw.ñbwe	(1)

2.8.4. The allomorph /ma-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems with the exception of /-no/, /-so/, /-to/ and /-zi/, and with all stems commencing in /e,i,o,u/. In at least some cases /ma-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /m-/ with stems commencing in /a/.

ma.anda	≈ m.ñda (bundles)	sg.	li.anda	(5)
ma.akanyani	≈ m.ñkanyani (wild dogs)		li.akanyani	(5)
ma.abwa	(canals)		li.abwa	(5)
ma.endo	(journeys)		lw.ñdo	(11)
ma.ongolo	(chameleons)		l.ñgolo	(11)
ma.undumume	(cool cloudinesses)		ly.ñdumume	(5)
ma.li	(blood, money)		---	
ma.heta	(shoes)		li.heta	(5)
ma.yumbo	(riddles)		li.yumbo	(5)
ma.shala	(charcoal)		li.shala	(5)
ma.halímu	(heavens)		li.halímu	(5)
ma.ténesi	(canvas shoes)		li.ténesi	(5)
ma.tóhonólo	(blessings)		li.tóhonólo	(5)

2.8.5. Number: Cl. 6 nouns are predominantly plural though several are neutral. Correlative singulare are in cl. 5, 14, 11, 1, 1a and 9. Cl. 6 correlates with all primary nouns¹ of cl. 5 and 11, and all nouns of cl. 14 which have a plural. For examples see 2.7.5., 2.14.6., 2.17.4. and 2.17.5. Cl. 6 correlates with most nouns of cl. 1 signifying tribal, national, racial and other ethnic nomenclature, and with sundry other cl. 1 nouns. It correlates with a number of cl. 9 nouns, sometimes as an alternative to cl. 10 and there is at least one instance of correlation with cl. 1a.

1. Primary nouns are nouns which do not have augmentative, attenuative, diminutive, ameliorative or pejorative significances resulting from substitution of prefixes.

Mambunda	(Mbunda)	sg. Mumbunda	(1)
Mucókwe	(Cokwe)	Mucókwe	(1) [3]
Malubále	(Luvale)	Mulubále	(1)
Manyengo	(Nyengo)	Munyengo	(1)
mulena ¹	(chiefs)	mulena	(1)
macembele	(old people)	macembele	(1)
mandúna ²	(headmen)	ndúna	(10)
namámáni	(calves)	namáni	(9)
mandu ³	(houses)	ndu	(9)
masímu	(fields)	símu	(9)
masáka ⁴	(sacks)	sáka	(9)
mabénkele	(shops)	bénkele	(9)
mapampíli	(papers)	pampíli	(9)

2.8.6. Significance: The significance is as for the correlative singulars. This class includes, in addition, a number of neutral nouns, including names of liquids.

meta	(strength)	
mali	(blood)	
mati	(saliva)	
mafi	(sour milk)	
mèzi	(water)	
mabísi	(milk)	
mafúla	(fat)	
mayumbelo	(cemetery)	---
mapandéndila ⁵	(crossroads)	----
matakanyani	(remote country far from the capital)	----

2.9.0. NOUN CLASS 7

2.9.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/si- ~ s- ~ si:-/

2.9.2. The allomorph /si:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

sí.na	(manliness, in a manly way)	----
-------	-----------------------------	------

1. Plural /balena/ (2) also occurs.
2. Plural /lindúna/ (10) also occurs.
3. When the cl. 9 nouns have monosyllabic stems, the cl. 6 prefix is superimposed on the cl. 9 prefix.
4. Plural /lisáka/ (10) also occurs.

2.9.3. The allomorph /s-/ occurs with all V-commencing stems.

In at least some cases /si-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /s-/ with such stems (see 2.9.4.). Note, however, that /si-/ never occurs with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/ and is unlikely to occur with the stem /-oya/.

s.ana	(fat, podgy child)	pl. by.ana	(8)
s.anána	(fat, podgy child)	by.anána	(8)
s.alyánjo	(great, strapping, adolescent girl)	by.alyánjo	(8)
s.oya	(thick, raggedy wool; much wool)	---	
s.ätúli	(bad judge)	by.ätúli	(8)
s.ëli	(wonderful, first-born child)	by.ëli	(8)
s.ëlwa	(fool)	z.ëlwa	(8x)
s.ïsi	(sender)	b.ïsi	(8)
s.ünduma	(amulet)	li.unduma	(8x)
s.úlu	(red warrior ant)	---	
s.ána	(open veld where cattle get fresh grass)	z.ána	(8x)
s.öli	(island)	li.öli	(8x)
s.ömbela	(sp. of lizard)	z.ömbela	(8x)
s.öndo	(iron)	z.öndo	(8x)
s.üba	(bridge)	li.üba	(8x)

2.9.4. The allomorph /si-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems except /-na/ and as a free or idiolectal alternant with several V-commencing stems.

si.ata	(hand)	pl. li.ata	(8x)
si.ombeki \approx s.ömbeki	(person who soaks food in water to soften it)	z.ömbeki	(8x)
si.emba \approx s.ëmba	(frogment)	bi.emba ¹	(8)
si.unduma \approx s.ünduma	(amulet)	li.unduma	(8x)
si.ndu	(ramshackle house)	bi.ndu	(8)
si.nkwa	(bread)	li.nkwa	(8x)
si.bofu	(blind person)	li.bofu	(8x)
si.tupu	(corpse)	li.tupu	(8x)
si.púla	(chair)	li.púla	(8x)

1. Plural /liemba/ (8x) also occurs.

si.lépe	(axe)	li.lépe	(8x) [33]
si.pátela	(hospital)	li.pátela	(8x)
si.pulúmuki	(butterfly)	bi.pulúmuki ¹	(8)
si.kalamunanga	(chicken cage)	li.kalamunanga ²	(8x)

2.9.5. Number: Cl. 7 nouns are predominantly singular but include many neutral nouns. Correlative plurals of primary nouns are mainly in cl. 8x but many are in cl. 8. For examples see 2.9.3. and 2.9.4. Secondary nouns have their correlative plurals in cl. 8. For examples see 2.9.6.4. A few nouns have their correlative plurals in cl. 2a.

silukólwa	(sp. of caterpillar)	pl. bósilukólwa ³	(2a)
sikámpáfwa	(house bat)	bósikámpáfwa	(2a)

2.9.6. Significance: Cl. 7 contains a large number of miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns, and all names of languages. The cl. 7 prefix also occurs as an augmentative/pejorative prefix. These two concepts often coincide.

2.9.6.1. Languages and ways of doing things:

Silozi	(Lozi, Lozi fashion)
Sisubia	(Subia, Subia fashion)
Sinkóya	(Nkoya, à la Nkoya)
Siluyána	(Luyana, the Luyana way)
Sishukulumbwe	(Ila, in the Ila way)
Sicókwe	(Cokwe, à la Cokwe)
sína	(manly ways)
sisáli	(female fashion)
sisízana	(girliness)

2.9.6.2. Miscellaneous impersonal:

sihwána	(calabash)	pl. lihwána	(8x)
sipátela	(hospital)	lipátela	(8x)
sishanjo	(wet-garden)	bishanjo	
		~ lishanjo	(8 ~ 8x)
sifúba	(chest)	lifúba	(8x)

1. Plural /lipulúmuki/ (8x) also occurs.
2. Plural /bikalamunanga/ (8) also occurs.
3. Plural /bilukólwa/ (8) also occurs.

sizuma	(type of basket)	lizuma	
		<u> </u> bizuma	(8x <u> </u> 8)
sibaka	(chance, occasion, place, opportunity)	libaka	(8x)

2.9.6.3. Miscellaneous personal:

sibofu	(blind person)	libofu	(8x)
silundwámanje ¹	(crowd)	---	
sòngiso	(child given no name)	zòngiso	(8x)
sònganyi	(person who comes and bothers one with nonsense)	zònganyi	(8x)
sikuba	(fool)	likuba	(8x)
sòlisi	(kind person)	liolisi	(8x)

2.9.6.4. Augmentative/Pejorative:

sishítu	(big forest)	bishítu	(8)
cf. mushítu	(3) (forest)	mishítu	(4)
sikubo	(tatty, old blanket)	bikubo	(8)
cf. kubo	(9) (blanket)	likubo	(10)
siutu	(mangy leg)	biutu	(8)
cf. liutu	(5) (leg)	mautu	(6)
sizebe	(big ear, as of an elephant)	bizebe	(8)
cf. zebe	(9) (ear)	lizebe	(10)
sàtúli	(bad judge)	byàtúli	(8)
cf. mwàtúli	(1) (judge)	baatúli	(2)
sinwana	(grubby finger)	binwana	(8)
cf. munwana	(3) (finger)	minwana	(4)
sicwe	(big, rough stone)	bicwe	(8)
cf. licwe	(5) (stone)	macwe	(6)

2.10.0. NOUN CLASS 8

2.10.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/bi- ~ by- ~ b- ∞ bi:-/

1. This has variant /silundwámanji/.

2.10.2. The allomorph /bi:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

bí.na (tall, spindly men) sg. sí.na (7)

2.10.3 The allomorph /b-/ occurs with stems commencing in /i/. It is possible that /bi-/ may occur as a free or idiolectal alternant to /b-/ with such stems though no instance of this has been observed.

b.ÿsi (senders) sg. s.ÿsi (7)

b.ÿto (bleary eyes) s.ÿto (7)

b.ÿno (fangs) s.ÿno (7)

2.10.4. The allomorph /by-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a,e,o,u/. In at least some cases /bi-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /by-/ with such stems (see 2.10.5.).

Note, however, that /bi-/ never occurs with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/ and is unlikely to occur with the stem /-oya/.

by.ana (miserable children) sg. s.ana (7)

by.anána (hulking brats) s.anána (7)

by.alyánjo (great, strapping,
adolescent girls) s.alyánjo (7)

by.oya (vile winds) s.oya (7)

by.òngu (bad pumpkins) s.òngu (7)

by.àtúli (bad judges) s.àtúli (7)

by.ùtu (clumsy, great feet) si.utu (7)

by.èli (marvellous first-
born children) s.èli (7)

by.àlafi (quacks) s.àlafi (7)

by.èle (large knives) s.èle (7)

2.10.5. The allomorph /bi-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems except /-na/ and as a free or idiolectal alternant to /by-/, and possibly /b-/, with several V-commencing stems.

bi.eti ≈ by.èti (tall visitors) sg. lu.eti (11)

bi.atúli
≈ by.àtúli (wretched judges) s.àtúli (7)

bi.utu ≈ by.ùtu (spindly legs) si.utu (7)

bi.tu (tall, thin people) lu.tu (11)

si.ndu	(ramenackie houses)	si.ndu	(7)
bi.nwana	(dirty fingers)	si.nwana	(7)
bi.tongwani ¹	(hyenas)	si.tongwani	(7) [36]
bi.táfulu	(badly-made tables)	si.táfulu	(7)
bi.shítu	(big forests)	si.shítu	(7)
bi.zebe	(big ears)	si.zebe	(7)

2.10.6. Number: Cl. 8 nouns are all plural. Cl. 8 correlates with secondary nouns of cl. 3, 5, 7 and 11 and with several primary nouns of cl. 7. For examples see 2.5.7.5., 2.7.7.5., 2.9.3., 2.9.4. and 2.14.6.

2.10.7. Significance: The significance is the same as for the corresponding singulars.

2.11.0. NOUN CLASS 8x

2.11.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/li- = z-/²

2.11.2. The allomorph /z-/ occurs with a number of V-commencing stems. In at least some cases /li-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /z-/ with such stems (see 2.11.3.).

z.òko	(trees on which skulls of shot animals are hung by hunters as an advertisement to attract customers)	sg. s.òko	(7)
z.òka	(iron rings to join blades of knives or spears to the hafts)	s.òka	(7)
z.èmba	(side)	s.èmba	(7)
z.òtiso	(acts of just taking things for oneself)	s.òtiso	(7)
z.óo	(garden baths in which people bathe in medicines)	s.óo	(7)

1. Plural /litongwani/ (8x) also occurs.
2. In the speech of some of our informants, though only sporadically, nouns having the prefix /z-/ govern the subject and object prefix /zi-/ instead of the usual /li-/. They thus have /li- = zi-/ in free alternation. The enumerative prefix, however, agreeing with these nouns apparently does not occur as /zi-/. If some speakers regularly used the subject, object and enumerative prefix /zi-/ in agreement with nouns with prefix /z-/, a cl. 8y could be posited and these forms ascribed to it. In the absence of any observed case of such usage, these nouns are here assigned to cl. 8x.

z.ómc	(condition of women whose children die shortly after birth)	s.ómo	(7)
z.ána	(open veld where cattle get fresh grass)	s.ána	(7)
z.èlwa	(fools)	s.èlwa	(7)

[37]

2.11.3. The allomorph /li-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems, and with at least some V-commencing stems. In at least some cases /z-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /li-/ with such stems.

li.úngo = z.úngo	(promontories, capes) eg.	s.úngo	(7)
li.ala = z.àla	(litters for the dead)	s.àla	(7)
li.onda = z.ònda	(child-price, lobolo)	s.ònda	(7)
li.oli	(islands)	s.òli	(7)
li.olisi	(kind people)	s.òlisi	(7)
li.uba	(bridges, mounds on which houses are built)	s.ùba	(7)
li.emba	(fragments)	si.emba	(7)
li.apalo	(clothes)	s.àpalo	(7)
li.lépe	(axes)	si.lépe	(7)
li.sépe	(ships)	si.sépe	(7)
li.túwa	(roofs)	si.túwa	(7)
li.shéte	(granaries)	si.shéte	(7)
li.kwalo	(deers)	si.kwalo	(7)
li.kuka	(canoe tracks through grass growing above the surface of water)	si.kuka	(7)
li.kóloti	(loans, debts)	si.kóloti	(7)

2.11.4. Number: Cl. 8x nouns are all plural. Correlative singulars are in cl. 7. For examples see 2.11.2. and 2.11.3.

2.11.5. Significance: The significance is as for its correlative singulars.

2.12.0. NOUN CLASS 9

2.12.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/ø- ∞ N- [m- ~ n- ~ ŋ- ~ ɔ-]/¹

1. For the morphophonemic influence of this prefix, see 0.2.1.

2.12.2. The allomorph /N-/ occurs with monosyllabic stems.

2.12.2.1. Nouns having prefix /m-/:

m.mu	(sp. of bread)	pl. li.mu	(10)
m.po	(present, gift)	lim.po	(10)
m.pi	(army)	lim.pi	(10)
m.pye	(ostrich)	lim.pye	(10)
m.ba	(stomach)	lim.ba	(10)
m.bi	(grey hair)	lim.bi	(10)

2.12.2.2. Nouns having prefix /n-/:

n.si	(eyebrow)	lin.si	(10)
n.swe	(sweet cane)	lin.swe	(10)
n.zi	(fly)	lin.zi	(10)
n.to	(thing)	lin.to	(10)
n.da	(louse)	lin.da	(10)
n.du	(house)	lin.du	(10)
n.dwa	(fight, war)	lin.dwa	(10)

2.12.2.3. Nouns having prefix [ɲ-] (written /n-/:)

n.cwa	(leprosy)	---	
n.ja	(dog)	lin.ja	(10)
n.nyo	(vagina)	li.nyo	(10)

2.12.2.4. Nouns having prefix [ŋ-] (written /n-/:)

n.go	(nose, nostril)	lin.go	(10)
n.gu	(sheep)	lin.gu	(10)
n.gwe	(leopard)	lin.gwe	(10)

2.12.3. The allomorph /ø-/ occurs with polysyllabic stems.

inki	(ink)	---	
éngé	(ink)	---	
tou	(elephant)	pl. li.tou	(10)
kwai	(tobacco)	---	
típa	(knife)	li.típa	(10)
túso	(help, aid, use)	li.túso	(10)
páta	(face)	li.páta	(10)
hémbe	(shirt)	li.hémbe	(10)
pálisha	(flower)	li.pálisha	(10)
jékete ¹	(jacket)	li.jékete	(10)

1. This has variant /jéketi/.

naléli	(star)	li.naléli	(10)
fulái	(aeroplane)	li.fulái	(10)

2.12.4. Number: Cl. 9 nouns are predominantly singular but include a number of neutrals. Correlative plurals are mainly in cl. 10, though a few occur in cl. 6 and cl. 2a, and at least one example of correlation with cl. 13 occurs. Some nouns have plurals in either cl. 6 or cl. 10, with no difference of meaning between the two plurals. For examples of correlation with cl. 10 see 2.12.3.

zebe	(ear)	pl. lizebe ≈ mazebe	(10 ≈ 6)
sáka	(sack)	lisáka ≈ masáka	(10 ≈ 6)
níti	(truth)	liníti ≈ maníti	(10 ≈ 6)
ndámíno ¹	(ash-garden)	lindámíno ≈ mandámíno	(10 ≈ 6)
ndu	(house)	mandu ²	(6)
sínu	(field)	masínu	(6)
pata	(bundle)	mapata	(6)
pampíli	(paper)	mapampíli	(6)
bénkele	(shop)	mabénkele	(6)
shélepi	(shilling)	mashélepi	(6)
hémele	(bucket)	mahémele	(6)
nkomwáni	(yearling)	mankomwáni	(6)
fífítele	(window)	mafífítele	(6)
ndui ³	(fisherman)	bóndui	(2a)
nalumbwa ³	(anthill)	bónalumbwa	(2a)
Dondwátuya	(fabulous aquatic beast)	bóndwátuya	(2a)
nundátuti	(dung-beetle)	tunundátuti	(13)

2.12.5. Significance: Cl. 9 is predominantly impersonal but includes a few personal nouns. It contains a large number of animal names, names of several parts of the body, the names of many manufactured objects, and miscellaneous others, which are often abstract.

1. The initial nasal of this and other nouns with polysyllabic stems is not a prefix synchronically, but is part of the stem.
2. The cl. 6 prefix is here superimposed on the cl. 9 prefix.
3. This noun also occurs in cl. 1a.

2.12.5.1. Animal Names:

[40]

kúhu	(chicken)	pl. likúhu	(10)
nóli	(buffalo)	linóli	(10)
kúfa	(cattle-tick)	likúfa	(10)
njoko	(monkey)	linjoko	(10)
pala	(impala)	lipala	(10)
puti	(duiker)	liputi	(10)
muka	(bee)	limuka	(10)
nóha	(snake)	linóha	(10)
ngweshi	(tiger fish)	lingweshi	(10)
mbúfu	(sp. of bream with red belly)	limbúfu	(10)
njinji	(sp. of bream)	linjinji	(10)

2.12.5.2. Parts of the body:

ngo	(nose, nostril)	lingo	(10)
ngongo	(knuckle)	lingongo	(10)
páta	(face)	lipáta	(10)
tóho	(head)	litóho	(10)
zebe	(ear)	lizebe = mizebe	(10 = 6)
nyindi ¹	(fist)	linyindi	(10)
nuabu	(calf of the leg)	linuabu	(10)

2.12.5.3. Manufactured objects:

móta	(motorcar)	limóta	(10)
njinga	(bicycle)	linjinga	(10)
simbi	(pressing iron)	lisimbi	(10)
kúwani	(hat)	likúwani	(10)
komóki	(cup)	likomóki	(10)
kalani	(high, stepped bridge)	likalani	(10)
piza	(clay cooking pot)	lipiza	(10)
póto	(three-legged iron pot, European pot)	lipóto	(10)
tipa	(knife)	litipa	(10)
bóki	(bush-jacket, khaki jacket)	libóki	(10)

¹. This has variant /nindi/.

2.12.5.4. Miscellaneous:

pálisa	(flower)	lipálisa	(10)
pína	(song)	lipína	(10)
kweli	(moon, month)	likweli	(10)
njimo	(agriculture)	---	
sípi	(iron, metal, metal object)	lisípi	(10)
muka	(river)	linuka	(10)
púla	(rain)	lipúla	(10)
gaka	(doctor)	ligaka	(10)
ngambolo	(conversation)	lingambolo	(10)
zwelopili	(progress)	----	
tumelolano	(agreement)	litumelolano	(10)

2.13.0. NOUN CLASS 102.13.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/liØ- ∞ liN- [lin- ~ lin- ~ lip- ~ lip-]/

2.13.2. The allomorph /liN-/ occurs with monosyllabic stems unless they are of NV structure.

2.13.2.1. Nouns having prefix /lin-/:

lin.po	(presents)	sg. n.po	(9)
lin.pi	(arms)	n.pi	(9)
lin.pyo	(ostriches)	n.pyo	(9)
lin.ba	(stomachs)	n.ba	(9)
lin.bi	(grey hairs)	n.bi	(9)

2.13.2.2. Nouns having prefix /lin-/:

lin.swe	(sweet canes)	n.swe	(9)
lin.si	(eyebrows)	n.si	(9)
lin.zi	(flies)	n.zi	(9)
lin.to	(things)	n.to	(9)
lin.da	(lice)	n.da	(9)
lin.dwa	(wars, fights)	n.dwa	(9)

2.13.2.3. Nouns having prefix [lip-] (written /lin-/:

lin.ja	(dogs)	n.ja	(9)
--------	--------	------	-----

2.13.2.4. Nouns having prefix [lin-] (written /lin-/) :

lin.go	(noses, nostrils)	n.go	(9)
lin.gu	(sheep)	n.gu	(9)
lin.gwe	(leopards)	n.gwe	(9)

2.13.3. The allomorph /liØ-/ occurs with monosyllabic stems of structure NV and with all polysyllabic stems.

li.mu	(broom)	sg. n.mu	(9)
li.nyo	(vaginas)	n.nyo	(9)
li.tolo	(kudus)	tolo	(9)
li.kozi	(accidents)	kozi	(9)
li.kwalata	(sable)	kwalata	(9)
li.tâabáni	(tapsans)	tâabáni	(9)
li.kéyala	(addresses)	kéyala	(9)
li.fulái	(aeroplanes)	fulái	(9)
li.nyunywani	(birds)	nyunywani	(9)
li.folefólo	(animals)	folefólo	(9)
li.nkungulu	(bull elephants)	nkungulu	(9)

2.13.4. Number: Cl. 10 nouns are all plural. Corresponding singulars are mainly in cl. 9. For examples see

2.13.3. A few nouns have their correlated singulars in cl. 1a

li.ngambela	(prime ministers)	sg. ngambela	(1a)
li.abítutu	(babies)	abítutu	(1a)
li.kaizéli	(brothers of a man, sisters of a woman)	kaizéli	(1a)

2.13.5. Significance: The significance is as for the corresponding singulars.

2.14.0. NOUN CLASS 11

2.14.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/lu- ~ lw- ~ l- ∞ lu:-/

2.14.2. The allomorph /lu:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

lú.na	(tall, thin man)	pl. bí.na	(8)
-------	------------------	-----------	-----

2.14.3. The allomorph /l-/ occurs with stems commencing in /o/ and /u/. In at least some cases /lu-/ occurs as a free alternant to /l-/ with such stems (see 2.14.5.). Note,

however, that /lu-/ does not occur with the stems /-oya/, /-oba/, /-oɔ́o/ and /-obolóbo/. [43]

1.oya	(long strand of wool)	pl. by.oya	(8)
1.oba	(iguana meat)	---	
1.oɔ́o	(sp. of bird)	ma.oɔ́o	(6)
1.obolóbo ¹	(sp. of reed)	---	
1.ɔ́li	(kind of string)	ma.oli	(6)
1.ɔ́liso	(kindness)	---	
1.ɔ́ngolo	(chameleon)	ma.ongolo	(6)
1.ɔ́ngola	(spine)	ma.ongola	(6)
1.ókozwani	(red ant)	ma.ókozwani	(6)
1.ɔ́longondo	(sp. of small river bird)	ma.olongondo	(6)
1.ɔ́na	(roar, growl)	ma.ona	(6)
1.ɔ́bu	(chameleon)	ma.ɔ́bu	(6)
1.ɔ́ngo	(type of round house)	ma.ongo	(6)
1.ɔ́nga	(spears planted at the bottom of a game pit)	---	

2.14.4. The allomorph /lw-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a,e,i/. In at least some cases /lu-/ occurs as a free alternant to /lw-/ with such stems (see 2.14.5.) Note, however, that /lu-/ does not occur with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/.

lw.ana	(emaciated child)	pl. by.ana	(8)
lw.anána	(emaciated child)	by.anána	(8)
lw.alyánjo	(tall, thin, adolescent girl)	by.alyánjo	(8)
lw.ɔ́mbu	(sp. of creeper)	---	
lw.ɔ́nda	(sp. of grass)	---	
lw.ɔ́nge	(place where a sp. of grass used for thatch- ing is found)	sg. m.ɔ́nge	(6)
lw.ɔ́o	(sp. of thorn)	m.ɔ́o	(6)
lw.ɔ́ndo	(type of fishing- net used by young boys)	m.ɔ́ndo	(6)
lw.ɔ́ndála	(crack)	m.ɔ́ndála	(6)

1. This is probably a reduplicated form.

lw.àngasi	(habit of a child of being always in the way)	---	
lw.àmbanyáma	(diaphragm)	m.àmbanyáma	(6)
lw.èndo	(journey)	ma.endo	(6)
lw.ènge	(saliva dribbling from the mouth)	ma.enge	(6)
lw.ènye ¹	(part of the kidneys)	---	
lw.íno	(long fang)	b.íno	(8)

2.14.5. The allomorph /lu-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems except /-na/, and as a free alternant to /l-/ or /lw-/ with at least some V-commencing stems.

lu.andála	(crack)	pl. m.àndála	(6)
≈ lw.àndála			
lu.endo	(journey)	ma.endo	(6)
≈ lw.èndo			
lu.ongolo	(chameleon)	ma.ongolo	(6)
≈ l.òngolo			
lu.basi	(family)	ma.basi	(6)
lu.baka	(slap)	ma.baka	(6)
lu.wáwa	(jackal)	ma.wáwa	(6)
lu.bíbi	(cream)	---	
lu.kwákwa	(fence)	ma.kwákwa	(6)
lu.naka	(horn)	ma.naka	(6)
lu.kumbu	(type of basket with a lid)	ma.kumbu	(6)
lu.fula	(small, wedge-shaped fish-trap)	ma.fula	(6)
lu.ndu	(ugly house)	bi.ndu	(8)
lu.cacani	(bush)	---	
lu.lími ²	(tongue)	ma.lími	(6)

2.14.6. Number: Cl. 11 nouns are predominantly singular but include many neutral nouns. Correlative plurals of primary nouns of cl. 11 are in cl. 6. For examples see 2.14.4. and 2.14.5. There is at least one instance of a cl. 11 noun having its correlative plural in cl. 2a as an alternative to Cl. 6.

lulíma	(fruit-bat)	pl. bó'lulíma	
		≈ malíma (2a ≈ 6)	

1. This has variant /lw.ènya/.

2. This has variant /lilími/ (5).

Secondary nouns in cl. 11 have their plurals in cl. 8.

[45]

lutu	(dirty swine)	pl. bitu	(8)
cf. mutu (1)	(person)	batu	(2)
lungo	(sharp, pointed nose)	bingo	(8)
cf. ngo (9)	(nose)	lingo	(10)
luzebe	(long ear, as of a hare)	bizebe	(8)
cf. zebe (9)	(ear)	lizebe	(10)
lukubo	(tatty blanket)	bikubo	(8)
cf. kubo (9)	(blanket)	likubo	(10)
lutáfule	(elongated table)	bitáfule	(8)
cf. táfule (9)	(table)	litáfule	(10)
lwanána	(emaciated child)	byanána	(8)
cf. rwanána(1)	(child)	banána	(2)

2.14.7. Significance: This class contains a number of miscellaneous nouns, including nouns signifying names of animals, abstract concepts, and manufactured objects. Primary nouns in this class are essentially impersonal. Secondary nouns of cl. 11 have an attenuative or pejorative significance. For examples see 2.14.6.

2.15.0. NOUN CLASS 12

2.15.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/ka- ~ k- ∞ ka:- ∞ ke:-/

2.15.2. The allomorph /ke:-/ occurs with the stem /-si/¹.

kè.si (little sender) pl. tw.̀isi (13)

2.15.3. The allomorph /ka:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

ká.na (little man) pl. tú.na (13)

2.15.4. The allomorph /k-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a/ and with the stem /-elwa/. In at least some cases /ka-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /k-/ with such stems (see 2.15.5.). Note, however, that /ka-/ does not occur with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/.

k.ana (young of an animal, pl. tw.ana (13)
small child)

1. This stem has two allomorphs, /-isi ∞ -si/. The allomorph /-si/ occurs with the prefix /ke:-/. /-isi/ occurs elsewhere.

k.anána	(small child)	tw.anána	(13)
k.alyánjo	(small adolescent girl)	tw.alyánjo	(13)
k.èlwa	(little fool)	tw.èlwa	(13)
k.ànja	(little piece of cassava)	tw.ànja	(13)
k.ànda	(little bundle)	tw.ànda	(13)
k.àlafi	(little doctor)	tw.àlafi	(13)
K.àmbwe	(Ambwe trash)	Tw.àmbwe	(13)
k.àtúli	(beastly little judge)	tw.àtúli	(13)

2.15.5. The allomorph /ka-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems except /-si/ and /-na/, with stems commencing in /o,u/, and stems commencing in /e/ with the exception of /-elwa/ where it has not yet been found to occur. In at least some cases /ka-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /k-/ with stems commencing in /a/.

ka.apalo	(baby garment)	pl. tu.apalo	(13)
≈ k.ápalo			
ka.alafi	(play doctor)	tw.àlafi	(13)
≈ k.àlafi			
ka.ongu	(little puapkin)	t.òngu	(13)
ka.abwa	(little canal)	tu.abwa	(13)
ka.bu	(steenbok)	tu.bu	(13)
ka.nja	(little dog)	tu.nja	(13)
ka.lilo	(little fire)	tu.lilo	(13)
ka.púli	(kid)	tu.púli	(13)
ka.lísani	(young herder)	tu.lísani	(13)
ka.tóho	(little head)	tu.tóho	(13)
ka.mbútutu	(infant)	tu.mbútutu	(13)
ka.nanutendele	(bicycle)	tu.nanutendele	(13)

2.15.6. Number: Cl. 12 nouns are essentially singular though it is possible that some are neutral. Correlated plurals are in cl. 13. For examples see 2.15.5.

2.15.7. Significance: Primary nouns of cl. 12 include a number signifying the names of animals, and a number of miscellaneous nouns, mainly impersonal. Secondary nouns of cl. 12 have a diminutive significance which is sometimes associated with a pejorative significance.

2.15.7.1. Names of animals:

kabu	(steenbok)	pl. tubu	(13)
kamunda	(oribi)	tumunda	(13)
kakotombwe	(hartebees)	tukotombwe	(13)
kafuíḡondo ¹	(sp. of insect)	tufuíḡondo	(13)
kakuluyúḡu	(Cape Scops Owl)	tukuluyúḡu	(13)
kancele	(francolin)	tuncele	(13)
kafufu	(tsessebe)	tufufu	(13)

2.15.7.2. Miscellaneous:

kanyanyu	(sp. of tree)	tunyanyu	(13)
kanyányu	(speed)	tunyányu	(13)
katála	(type of altar)	tutála	(13)
katangu	(ill-omen, presage)	tutangu	(13)
kaoi	(chain or string round a dog's neck)	tuoi	(13)
kacimacima	(short-temperedness)	tucimacima	(13)
katendele	(skull)	tutendele	(13)
katanafu	(excrement involuntarily emitted by a person knocked out)	tutanafu	(13)

2.15.7.3. Diminutives:

kanja ²	(pup)	tunja	(13)
cf. nja (9)	(dog)	linja	(10)
kapoho	(little bull)	tupoho	(13)
cf. poho (9)	(bull)	lipoho	(10)
kahwána	(small calabash)	tuhwána	(13)
cf. sihwána (7)	(calabash)	lihwána	(8x)
katáfule	(miniature table)	tutáfule	(13)
cf. táfule (9)	(table)	litáfule	(10)
kacembele	(little old man)	tucembele	(13)
cf. mucembele (1)	(old man)	nacembele	(6)
kanyunywani	(little bird)	tunyunywani	(13)
cf. nyunywani (9)	(bird)	linyunywani	(10)

1. This has variant /kafuíḡondo/.

2. The cl. 13 prefix is here superimposed on the cl. 9 prefix.

2.16.0. NOUN CLASS 132.16.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/tu- ~ tw- ~ t- ~ tu:-/

2.16.2. The allomorph /tu:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

tú.na	(small men)	sg. kǎ.na	(12)
-------	-------------	-----------	------

2.16.3. The allomorph /t-/ occurs with stems commencing in /o,u/.

In at least some cases /tu-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /t-/ with such stems (see 2.16.5.). Note, however, that /tu-/ does not occur with the stems /-oya/ and /-oṅṅo/.

t.oya	(little strands of wool)	sg. ka.oya	(12)
t.oṅṅo	(little /loṅṅo/ birds)	ka.oṅṅo	(12)
t.ṅngu	(undersized pumpkins)	ka.ongu	(12)
t.ṅngolo	(little chameleons)	ka.ongolo	(12)
t.úwa	(little thorns)	ka.úwa	(12)
t.úngu	(small promontories)	ka.úngu	(12)

2.16.4. The allomorph /tw-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a,e,i/. In at least some cases /tu-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /tw-/ with such stems (see 2.16.5.). Note, however, that /tu-/ does not occur with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/.

tw.ana	(small children)	sg. k.ana	(12)
tw.anána	(little brats)	k.anána	(12)
tw.alyánjo	(small, adolescent girls)	k.alyánjo	(12)
tw.èlwa	(silly fools)	k.èlwa	(12)
tw.èle	(miniature knives)	ka.ele	(12)
tw.èsi	(little senders)	kè.si	(12)
tw.àtúli	(wretched, little judges)	k.àtúli	(12)
tw.ènyi	(little visitors)	ka.enyi	(12)
tw.àndála	(little cracks)	k.àndála	(12)

2.16.5. The allomorph /tu-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems except /-na/ and as a free or idiolectal alternant to /t-/ or /tw-/ with a number of V-commencing stems. [49]

tu.atúli	(little judges)	sg. k.àtúli	(12)
= tw.àtúli			
tu.àndála	(little cracks)	k.àndála	(12)
= tw.àndála			
tu.ongolo	(little chameleons)	ka.ongolo	(12)
= t.òngolo			
tu.oi	(chains or strings round dogs' necks)	ka.oi	(12)
tu.mba ¹	(little stomachs)	ka.mba	(12)
tu.tamba	(spiral fences for trapping fish)	ka.tamba	(12)
tu.ómbyo	(hand-pianos)	ka.ómbyo	(12)
tu.munyi	(bee-stings)	ka.munyi	(12)
tu.mbandula	(torture sticks)	ka.mbandula	(12)
tu.kundukundu	(whirlwinds)	ka.kundukundu	(12)

2.16.6. Number: Cl. 13 nouns are predominantly plural but include a few neutral nouns. Correlative singulars are in cl. 12. For examples see 2.16.5.

2.16.7. Significance: The significance is the same as for the correlated singulars. In addition there occur a few neutral nouns indicating the names of liquids.

tulinyána ²	(a little blood)	---
tumèzinyána ³	(a drop or two of water)	---

2.17.0. NOUN CLASS 14

2.17.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/bu- ~ bw- ~ b- ~ bu:-/

2.17.2. The allomorph /bu:-/ occurs with the stem /-na/.

bú.na (manhood, manliness)

-
1. The cl. 13 prefix is here superimposed on the cl. 9 prefix.
 2. This noun incorporates a diminutive suffix.
 3. The cl. 13 prefix is here superimposed on the cl. 6 prefix. This noun incorporates a diminutive suffix.

2.17.3. The allomorph /b-/ occurs with stems commencing in /o,u/.

In at least some cases /bu-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /b-/ with such stems (see 2.17.5.). Note, however, that /bu-/ does not occur with the stems /-oya/, /-oyo/ and /-oi/.

b.oi	(cowardice)
b.oya	(wool, fur)
b.òko	(brain)
b.òmu	(purpose, deliberateness)
b.òpéli	(singing profession)
b.òngolo	(state of being a chameleon)
b.ùngúlulwa	(crumb[s])

2.17.4. The allomorph /bw-/ occurs with stems commencing in /a,e,i/. In at least some cases /bu-/ occurs as a free or idiolectal alternant to /bw-/ with such stems (see 2.17.5.). Note, however, that /bu-/ does not occur with the stems /-ana/, /-anána/ and /-alyánjo/.

bw.ana	(childhood)		
bw.anána	(childhood)		
bw.alyánjo	(adolescence of a girl)		
bw.èlwa	(foolishness)		
bw.èli	(state of being a first-born child)		
bw.èmbo	(body hair)		
bw.èli	(liquified fish)		
bw.ànda	(cotton)		
bw.ànyu	(luck in spearing fish)		
bw.àlélo	(earth walls for trapping fish)	sg.	m.àlélo (6)
bw.àndílala	(twigs for firewood)	---	
bw.àlango	(wooden platform on which some object is supported)		m.àlango (6)
bw.àndi	(part of a gathering)	---	
bw.àla	(taboo)	---	
bw.àziníko	(pride)		

2.17.5. The allomorph /bu-/ occurs with all C-commencing stems,
and as a free or idiolectal alternant with a number of [51]
V-commencing stems.

bu.atúli	(judgeship)		
= bw.àtúli			
bu.ungúfulwa	(crumb[s])		
= b.ùngúfulwa			
bu.tu	(humanity)		
bu.twa	(white ant[s])		
bu.nyemi	(anger)		
bu.háli	(fierceness)		
bu.febi	(adultery)		
bu.lúkwe	(trousers)	pl.	ma.lúkwe (6)
bu.cwala	(beer)		ma.cwala (6)
bu.mete	(cooked blood)		
bu.lútu	(boredom, loneliness)		
bu.sízana	(girlhood)		

2.17.6. Number: Cl. 14 nouns are predominantly neutral but include a few singular ones. Correlative plurals are in cl. 6. For examples see 2.17.4. and 2.17.5.

2.17.7. Significance: Cl. 14 nouns are all impersonal and are predominantly abstract. This class includes a number of nouns signifying the names of liquids, or semi-liquids or objects occurring in the mass, collective nouns, locative nouns signifying the names of countries, districts, etc. There are a number of miscellaneous nouns.

2.17.7.1. Abstract nouns:

bunde	(beauty)
boi	(cowardice)
buhúle	(adultery)
busáli	(womanhood)
bukúba	(stupidity)
bumaswe	(badness)
butélele	(length)
bunakuywe	(ungratefulness)
buílilí-sufu	(state of not crying at the death of another)

2.17.7.2. Collectives:

[50]

butwa	(white ants)
bucwadi	(grass)
bulálu	(pus)
bòko	(brain)
bwànda	(cotton)
bùngúlulwa	(crumbs)
buhóbe	(stiff porridge)
bukokwáni	(ants)

2.17.7.3. Locative nouns:

Bulozi	(Barotseland)
Eushukulumbwe	(Ilaland)
Butóka	(Tokaland)
Bukúwa	(European towns)
Butoya	(Toyaland)

2.17.7.4. Miscellaneous:

bulúkwe	(trousers)	pl. malúkwe	(6)
buta	(arrow)	---	
bulumba	(ghost)	---	
buisíni	(gums)	---	
bulílo	(floor)	---	
bwàlélo	(earth walls for trapping fish)	màlélo	(6)

2.18.0. NOUN CLASS 15

2.18.1. Morphology of prefixes:

/ku- ~ kw- ~ k-/

2.18.2. The allomorph /k-/ occurs as a rare alternant to /ku-/ with stems commencing in /o/.

k.ònda	(to pay lobolo)
k.òpéla	(to sing)

2.18.3. The allomorph /kw-/ occurs as a rare alternant to /ku-/ with stems commencing in /a, e, i/

kw.ànda	(to freeze)
kw.àlába	(to answer)

kw.èza	(to do, to make)
kw.èta	(to visit)
kw.ïla	(to be taboo)

[83]

2.18.4. The allomorph /ku-/ occurs with all C-commencing radicals, and as the usual form, /k-/ and /kw-/ being rare alternatives, with V-commencing radicals.

ku.yéma	(to stand up)
ku.yepa	(to dig)
ku.onda	(to pay lobolo)
ku.tubéta	(to kiss)
ku.fa	(to give)
ku.ca	(to eat)
kubóna	(to see)
kupaílela	(to spit water on a sick child while asking the ancestral spirits to cure it)
ku.nbwembweta	(to fear)
ku.pwakamana	(to sit any old how)
ku.úwa	(to hear)
ku.eza	(to do, to make)

2.18.5. Number: Cl. 15 nouns are all neutral.

2.18.6. Significance: Cl. 15 contains only verb infinitives.

2.19.0. LOCATIVES

2.19.1. Locatives are of two types -- derived and non-derived. Non-derived locatives or locative nouns function syntactically in the same way as other nouns, but they do not have a readily recognizable noun prefix. Some of these locative nouns can be shown to have a noun prefix by comparative evidence, but synchronically nothing is gained by recognition of these.

2.19.2. The following are examples of locative nouns:

hule	(far)
kaufi	(near)
halímu	(above)
mulaho	(behind)

tasi	(underneath)
hali	(inside)
nde	(outside)

[54]

2.19.3. Locatives may be derived from nouns by prefixation of one of the prefixes /ku-/, /fá-/, /kwá-/ or /mwá-/. The last three are locative prefixes relatable to cl. 16, 17 and 18 respectively.

2.19.4. /ku-/ occurs with singular personal nouns, and with absolute pronouns of other than cl. 16, 17 and 18¹, to indicate direction to, from, in, on, etc., the person concerned.

kamflena	(to the chief)
kúpaka	(to the doctor)
kubóndate ²	(to father)
kuLítunga	(from the Paramount Chief)
kusíbofu	(towards the blind person)
kúsina	(to you [pl.])
kúyena	(to him)
kúbona	(to them)

2.19.5. The prefixes /fá-/, /kwá-/ and /mwá-/ occur with impersonal noun, plural personal nouns and locative nouns and indicate the following:

- (a) /fá-/, location on,
- (b) /kwá-/, location near, beside or about, or direction to or from, with respect to relative distance,
- (c) /mwá-/, location within, or direction into or out of some persons, object(s) or place.

(a) fátáfule	(on the table)
fându	(on the house)
fánuka	(on the surface of the river)
fábabotana	(on the paupers)
fákaufi	(nearby)
fáhalímu	(on top)
(b) kwáMungu	(to Mongu)
kwându	(to the house)
kwálibofu	(to the blind people)

1. Note that these absolute pronouns have a locative significance and are not inflected by any locative prefixes.
2. Note the occurrence of /ku-/ with an honorific plural noun. It has yet to be established whether this is a regular feature or not.

	kwábasáli	(to the women)
	kwáhule	(far away)
	kwânde	(outside)
(c)	mwápóto	(in the pot)
	mwábúka	(in the book)
	mwásikéngé	(from seclusion during initiation)
	mwându	(in the house)
	mwáhalímu	(on top)

CHAPTER 3

TONOMORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS

3.0. Every noun, as well as having a prefix and a stem at the substrate level, incorporates a suprafix comprising a tonomorpheme, and cl. 2a nouns accommodate two tonomorphemes. The noun may accommodate different tonomorphs in different syntactic and morphological contexts. In at least some cases there is an emic distinction between these different tonomorphs, but in others there is no evidence, thus far, to suggest whether they constitute allomorphs or morphemes. Only in those cases, therefore, where such evidence does exist, are the terms "tonomorpheme" and "allotonomorph" used. The term "tonomorph" is used elsewhere.

3.1. The tonomorph accommodated by a noun is of necessity partially determined by the syllabic structure of that noun. A disyllabic noun, for instance, cannot accommodate more than four tonemes, and in practice never bears more than three. If both syllables are short, it can accommodate only two tonemes, and if the first syllable is long and the second short, it can accommodate only three tonemes.

3.2. A sequence of two tonemes may have four different tonemic shapes -- LL, LH, HL, HH. A sequence of three tonemes may have eight different tonemic shapes -- LLL, LLH, LHH, HLL, HLL, HLL, HLL, LHL. A sequence of four tonemes may have in theory sixteen different tonemic shapes. Only twelve of these possibilities are exemplified in our data but it is possible that a larger corpus of material would exemplify the four missing sequences.

We have restricted ourselves in this study to nouns accommodating four tonemes or less. Nevertheless, the same principles set out here appear to apply to nouns accommodating five or more tonemes.

3.3. Each noun has a base tonomorph from which all other tonomorphs may be predicted. Except in the case of cl. 15 nouns, the tonomorph of the

noun in quotation form can be taken as the base form. Since, however, the final L of LL and LL+ nouns, sometimes appears to have a slightly higher allotone when the noun is given in quotation form, it might be preferable to take the noun as object with no adjunct, as the base form.

In the case of cl. 15 nouns, the base form is obtained when the noun is followed, without an intervening juncture, by adverbs with an initial low tone.

3.4. A table of the tonomorphs accommodated by nouns in different contexts follows hereunder. The left-hand column read from top to bottom gives the base forms, called tonomorph A, for the different tonal classes. The columns from left to right give the tonomorphological behaviour of these classes in different contextual situations. These situations are described in 3.5., 3.6., 3.7., 3.8., 3.9., 3.10. and 3.11.

Table of tonomorphs:

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>F</u>
1.	LL	LL HL	LH	LH HH	LL	LL
2.	LH	LL	LH	LH	--	LL
3.	HL	HL	NL HH	HL HH	HL LH	///
4.	LJL	LLL HLL	LLH	LLH HLH	LJL	LJL
5.	HLL	HLL	HJH	HJH	HLL	///
6.	HJL	HJL	HJL HHH	HJL HHH	HJL	///
7.	LHL	LHL	LHL LHH	LHL LHH	LHL LHH	///
8.	LLH	LHL	--	--	---	LHL
9.	LJLL	LJLL HJLL	LLJH	LLJH HLLH	LJLL	LJLL

10.	HLLL	HLLL	HLLH	HLLH	HLLL	///
11.	HHLL	HHLL	HHLH	HHLH	HHLL	///
12.	HLHL	HLHL	*HLHL	*HLHL	*HLHL	///
			HLHH	HLHH	*HLLH	
13.	LHLL	LHLL	LHLH	LHLH	LHLL	///
14.	LLHL	LLHL	*LLHL	*LLHL	LLHL	///
		HLHL	LLHH	LLHH	LLHL	
				HLHH		
15.	LLH	HLHL	---	--	--	LLHL

3.5. The tonomorph B occurs with nouns functioning as the base to an associative adverb, a possessive, a locative with prefix /ku-/, or as a noun stem with the prefix /bo-/. In those cases where there are two allotonomorphs -- those where the tonomorph A has an initial /LL/ -- the second allotonomorph, with initial /H/, occurs as follows:

- (a) With nouns based on the stem /-tu/ or /-ntu/, in which case the allotonomorph /HL/ occurs as a dialectal or idiolectal alternant to /LL/,

eg. mütú¹ (person) nímütú ≈ nímütú (and the person)
kántú (little person) kúkántú ≈ kúkántú (to the
little person)
bitú (great slob) zábítú ≈ zábítú (of the great
slob);

- (b) With LL+ nouns having a CV noun prefix,

eg. mülèná (chief) nímülèná (and the chief)
bábòtànà (paupers) bwábábòtànà (of the paupers)
síbòfù (blind person) kùsíbòfù (to the blind
person)
bálímí (farmers) ábálímí (of the farmers)
lítàhwà (drunkard) kúlítàhwà (to the drunkard)
múkwàè (princess) bòMúkwàè (Honourable Princess)
mülèná (chief) bòMülèná (Honourable Chief)
mánàkà (horns) nímánàkà (and the horns);

- (c) With several LL+ nouns of cl. 1a or 9 having an initial CV sequence that is homophonous with one of the noun prefixes, [59]

eg. káyùndùlá (witchdoctor) bòkáyùndùlá (witchdoctors)
Mùlètá (Muleta [woman's name]) nìMùlèta (and Muleta)
málùmbì (sp. of duck) bòmálùmbì (ducks)
Sítàlì (Sitali [man's name]) kùSítàlì (to Sitali)
Lùkùlù (Lukulu, name of a place) nìLùkùlù (and
Lukulu)
Kálàbò (Kalabo, name of a place) nìKálàbò (and
Kalabo);

- (d) With LL+ nouns having an initial syllabic nasal (Note that the initial tone of the noun is accommodated by the prefix since the nasal is no longer syllabic.),

eg. ndòmbè (barbel) nìndòmbè (and the barbel)
ngàmbòlá (prime minister) bòNgàmbòlá (Honourable Mr
Prime Minister)
ndàtè (father) bòndàtè (fathers)
nkùngùlù (bull elephant) nìnkùngùlù (and the bull
elephant)
ndùì (fisherman) kùndùì (to the fisherman)
nbùmbì (the hot season) kwámbùmbì (of the hot
season)
njínjì (bream) wánjínjì (of the bream);

- (e) With nouns having an initial long syllable,

eg. Lùndàmbúyù (Lundambuyu [woman's name]) kùLùndàmbúyù
(to Lundambuyu)
mwánjà (cassava) nìmwánjà (and cassava)
Mòndè (Monde [woman's name]) bòMòndè (Miss Monde)
bwànda (cotton) nìbwànda (and cotton)
mwàtùlì (judge) yàmwàtùlì (of the judge)
byèlwa (beastly fools) twàbyèlwa (of the beastly
fools)
mòkì (nurse) kùmòkì (to the nurse).

The first allotonomorph, with initial /L/, occurs in all other cases,

eg. nàlwàngè (cattle egret) nìnàlwàngè (and the cattle
egret)

nàlìèlò (fool) kúnàlìèlò (to the fool)
 sàmàwàwà (infertile man) bósàmàwàwà (infertile men) [60]
 fòlòfòlò (animal) nífòlòfòlò (and the animal)
 pòm̀bwènyánà (baby baboon) nípòm̀bwènyánà (and the
 baby baboon)
 kàìzélì (brother, sister) kúkàìzélì (to the brother,
 sister)
 Sìmàsìkù (Simasiku) bóSìmàsìkù (Simasiku)
 màc̀wè (stones) nímàc̀wè (and stones)
 Wìná (Wina, [man's name]) bóWìná (for Wina)
 mùfù (dead person) kúmùfù (to the dead person).

3.6. The tonomorph C occurs with nouns followed by:

- (a) An enumerative with initial low tone,
 eg. mùtù (person) mùtù úfì? (which person?)
 ngàm̀bòlò (conversation) ngàm̀bòlò ífì? (which con-
 versation?)
 púlì (goat) púlì ífì? púlì ífì?¹ (which goat?)
 mwàná (child) mwàná mùfì? (a child of what sex?)
 lítàh̀wà (drunkard) lítàh̀wà mùfì? (a drunkard of what
 sex?)
- (b) A negative predicative other than in the present subjunctive,
 eg. mùtù (person) mùtù k̀c̀ì (the person is not eating)
 mùtù àná k̀ǹwà (the person will not
 drink)
 sìbòfù (blind person) sìbòfù hàsìsìkàsh̀wà (the blind
 person has not died)
 màlèná (chiefs) màlèná àkìlìkùbà (the chiefs are
 not fools)
 mùshìmànì (boy) mùshìmànì áyò mwátè̀fì (the boy is
 not there)
- (c) A predicative in the participial mood,
 eg. mùsàlì (woman) mùsàlì ǹwìlè (the woman had fallen)
 tòù (elephant) tòù ǹwìlè (the elephant had fallen)
 tàù (lion) tàù ìlì-uwì
 b̀ndàtè (father) b̀ndàtè ǹbámàtè (father was
 running)
 mùtù (person) mùtù àlì mùgwì (one person)

1. Note that in the case of nouns with final HL sequence, the forms with final HH and HL appear to be dialectal or idiolectal alternants.

3.7. The tonomorph D/^{occurs} when the noun occurs at the same time in the situations described in 3.5. and 3.6. D is thus a combination of tonomorphs B and C.

- eg. mabòtànà (pauper) nímabòtàná úfí (and which pauper?)
- ndúí (fisherman) bòndúí báfí? (which fisherman?)
- ndátè (father) bòndáté báí bágwí (father alone)
- Lúbíndà (Lubinda [woman's name]) bòLúbíndá ábáí (Miss Lubinda is not eating¹)
- máshòbò (nation) wámúshòbó úfí? (of which nation?)
- lúwáwà (jackal) nílúwáwá lùlú lùgwí (and one jackal)
- mùlùúfí (diviner) kùmùlùúfí úfí? (to which diviner?)

3.8. The tonomorph E occurs when the noun incorporates a LL diminutive suffix.

- eg. sífúbà (chest) sífúbányàná (little chest)
- máfúlà (fat) máfúlányàná (a little fat)
- mùsálí (woman) mùsálínyàná = mùsálínyàná (little woman)
- m̀b̀il̀í̀c̀í̀ (bridge) m̀b̀il̀í̀c̀í̀nyàná = m̀b̀il̀í̀c̀í̀nyàná (little bridge)
- kúfà (cattle tick) kúfányàná = kúfányàná (little cattle tick)
- lígwálólá (crow) lígwálólányàná = lígwálólányàná (little crow)

3.9. Tonomorph A occurs with nouns of cl. 15 when they are followed by:

(a) An object,

- eg. kùcà (to eat) kùcá lícò (to eat food)
- kùbónà (to see) kùbóná nòhá (to see a snake)
- kùlátà (to like) kùlátá mùlíkàní (to like a friend)
- kùlèkísà (to sell) kùlèkísá mùlóhò (to sell vegetables);

(b) An adverb with initial low tone,

- kùcà (to eat) kùcá m̀áswè (to eat piggishly)
- kùbónà (to see) kùbóná hábélí (to see twice)
- kùútwà (to hear) kùútwá hányínyàní (to hear a little)
- kùsèbèzá (to work) kùsèbèzá àhúlù (to work a lot)
- kùòpèlá (to sing) kùòpèlá kácénd (to sing today)

1. This is an honorific plural.

3.10. Tonomorph F occurs with nouns of cl. 15 in all situations except those described in 3.5., 3.6. and 3.7.¹ No instance of a cl. 15 noun occurring with tonomorph E occurs in our data.

3.11. Tonomorph A occurs with nouns of other than cl. 15 in all other cases.

3.12. Nouns of cl. 2a carry two tonomorphemes, one on the prefix and one on the stem. Note that the tonomorph of a noun may change after prefixation of a cl. 2a noun prefix. The tonomorpheme on the prefix has two allotonomorphs, /L ~ H/, whose distribution is dependant on the tonomorph carried by the noun stem.

The allotonomorph /H/ occurs when followed by a low tone.

eg.	bótèmbwè	(rainbows)
	bômé ²	(mother)
	bómàṅí	(who?)
	bónàmílàzà	(people fond of stale food)
	bósàkàhwemà	(well-built people)
	bónòkùshímbà	(transportations from village to village)
	bôngéte ²	(so-and-so)
	bómálúmè	(my maternal uncles)
	bósìkàmpáíwà	(house-bats)

The allotonomorph /L/ occurs when the initial tone on the noun is high.

eg.	bòSítàlì	(Mr Sitali)
	bòMàsílíso	(Masiliso [person's name])
	bòInǒngè	(Miss Inonge)
	bòkúkú	(grandparents)
	bòmálùmbì	(ducks)
	bòLùndàmbúyù	(Miss Lundambúyu)
	bòsâmbâmbì	(talkative people)

1. Note that in tonal cl. 8 and 15, tonomorphs C and D are not exemplified in our data.

2. Note that the initial tone of the stem is accommodated by the noun prefix here.

3.13. Derived locatives accommodate at least two tonomorphemes, one on the prefix and at least one on the base. [43]
 The prefixes /fá-/ , /kwá-/ and /mwé-/ accommodate the tonomorpheme /H/. The tonomorph(s) of the base do not change after the prefixation of these morphemes.

fátáfule	(on the table)
fálibyana	(one the furniture)
kwásishanjo	(to the wet-garden)
kwámakwambúyu	(to the councillors)
mwámisanga	(in cigarettes)
mwápóto	(in the pot)

The tonomorpheme accommodated by the prefix /ku-/ has two allotonomorphs, /H ~ L/. The allomorph /L/ occurs when followed by a high tone.

eg.	kumúlena ¹	(to the chief)
	kumúatúli	(to the judge)
	kuLíanapu	(to Lianapu [person's] name)
	kusíbofu	(to the blind man)
	kukúku	(to my grandparent)

The allomorph /H/ occurs when followed by a low tone.

eg.	kúausáli	(to the women)
	kúndúna ²	(to the headman)
	kúAkákulubéIwa	(to Akakulubelwa [person's name])
	kúngéte ²	(to so-and-so)
	kúmalúme	(to my maternal uncle)

1. Note that the tonomorph of a noun may change after prefixation of /ku-/

2. Note that the initial tone of the stem is accommodated by the prefix /ku-/

Review of Tonomorphology

On review it appears that it might be preferable to take some tonomorph other than A as the base form. All tonomorphs could equally well be predicted by taking C as base form. Evidence from reduplicated nouns points to the fact that our present base form is unacceptable since it does not enable one to determine the tonomorphological behaviour of reduplicated nouns.

It is, of course, possible that other tonomorphs than those occurring in our data exist in the language, and further, that one of these might provide the most acceptable base form.

At this stage it appears as if tonomorphs A and E could be allomorphs. It is also possible that C might be an allomorph of A, though this does not seem to be quite as likely.

CHAPTER ⁴

NOUN DERIVATION

⁴
B.O. We did not make a particular point of studying noun derivation and thus do not have a great deal of information on this topic. Nevertheless it was felt that it would be useful to include such information as we have.

Nominal derivation is of various types -- derivation from other parts of speech, derivation from nouns by suffixing, and derivation by compounding. The latter type of derivation is not described here.

⁴
B.1.O. Derivation from other parts of speech:

⁴
B.1.1. From adjective stems:

Abstract nouns of cl. 14 are commonly derived from adjective stems by prefixing /bu-/, the cl. 14 noun prefix, to the adjective stem.

bunde	(goodness, beauty)	< -nde (good, beautiful)
bubeli	(half)	< -beli (two)
bukálu	(third)	< -lálu (three)
bukima	(stoutness)	< -kima (stout)
butélele	(height, length)	< -télele (long, tall)
bugata	(large quantity)	< -gata (many)

⁴
B.1.2. From verbal radicals:

Nouns are derived from verbal radicals by affixing one of the noun prefixes, and one of a number of suffixes, of which /-i/, /-o/ and /-a/ are the most common.

To some extent the choice of prefix is dependent on the significance of the noun to be derived. Thus, prefixes of cl. 1 <-> 2 occur only in personal nouns. Prefixes of cl. 5 <-> 6, 7 <-> 8 ∞ 8x, 11, and 12 <-> 13, also occur in personal nouns, the NP of cl. 11 in nouns having an attenuative significance, the NPs of cl. 12 <-> 13 with those having a diminutive significance, etc. In the formation of impersonal nouns, the most commonly occurring prefixes are those of cl. 9 <-> 10 and

14, though there are numerous instances of the occurrence of the NPs of cl. 3 <-> 4, 5 <-> 6, 7 <-> 8 ∞ 8x, 11, and 12 <-> 13. [66]

Personal nouns indicate the performers of the action denoted by the verbal radical from which they are derived. Nouns of cl. 9 <-> 10 tend to indicate the thing done or achieved by the performance of the action denoted by the radical. Nouns of cl. 14 indicate some abstract concept associated with the radical.

The suffix /-i/ is associated mainly with personal nouns and impersonal nouns of cl. 14, though there are instances of its occurrence in the formation of other impersonal nouns. The suffix /-a/ is associated mainly with nouns derived from a verbal radical incorporating a passive extension. The suffix /-o/ is associated mainly, if not exclusively, with impersonal nouns.

3.1.3. Examples with suffix /-i/:

Cl. 1 <-> 2	muatúli <-> bätúli (judge) ¹	< -atúl-	(judge)
	nulimi <-> balimi (farmer)	< -lim-	(cultivate)
	mupóti <-> bapóti (visitor)	< -pót-	(visit)
	mukuli <-> bakuli (sick person)	< -kul-	(be sick)
	mulúti <-> balúti (teacher)	< -lút-	(teach)
	mubeti <-> babeti (carpenter)	< -bet-	(carve wood)
	mulaúli <-> balaúli (diviner)	< -laúli-	(divine)
Cl. 3 <-> 4	musebézi <-> misébezi (work)	< -sebéz-	(work)
Cl. 7 <-> 8	sipulúúuki <-> bipulúúuki (butterfly)	< -pulúúuk-	(go mad)
Cl. 11 <-> 8	lupóti <-> bipóti (tall, thin visitor)	< -pót-	(visit)
	lulúti <-> bilúti (tall, thin teacher)	< -lút-	(teach)
Cl. 12 <-> 13	kätúli <-> twätúli (beastly little judge)	< -atúl-	(judge)
Cl. 14	bwätúli (judgeship)	< -atúl-	(judge)
	bòpéli (singing profession)	< -opél-	(sing)

1. The translation is of the singular form in each case.

bufebi (adultery) < -feb- (commit adultery)
 bupulúrukí (madness) < -pulúruk- (go mad) [67]

4

3.1.4. Examples with suffix /-o/:

- Cl. 3 <-> 4 mulumo <-> milumo (rumbling) < -lum- (rumble)
 munko <-> minko (odours) < -nk- (smell)
- Cl. 5 <-> 6 lipólo <-> mapólo (letter) < -pól- (write)
- Cl. 7 <-> 8x sàpalo <-> liapalo (garment) < -apal- (dress)
 sikwalo <-> likwalo (door) < -kwal- (close)
 sitóyo (hatred) < -tóy- (hate)
- Cl. 9 <-> 10 túso <-> litúso (help) < -túe- (help)
 tekísc <-> litekíso (sale) < -lekís- (sell)
 kezo <-> likezc (act) < -ez- (do)
 tukiso <-> litukiso (preparation)
 < -lukis- (prepare)
 kupúlo <-> likupúlo (thought) < -hupúl- (think)
 tabo (happiness) < -tab- (become happy)
- Cl. 14 bupilo (life, health) < -pil- (live, be healthy)

4

3.1.5. Examples with suffix /-a/:

- Cl. 1 <-> 2 mulútiwa <-> balútiwa (student) < -lutíw- (be taught)
 mulátiwa <-> balátiwa (beloved) < -latíw- (be loved)
 muhápiwa <-> bahápiwa (prisoner) < -hapíw- (be seized)
- Cl. 5 <-> 6 litahwa <-> matahwa (drunkard) < -tahw- (become
 intoxicated)
 linyólwa (thirst) < -nyólw- (become
 thirsty)

4

3.2.0. Derivation from nouns by suffixing:

There are at least two suffixes that occur with nouns, the diminutive suffix /-nyana/ and the augmentative suffix /-tota/. The latter is not described here for lack of data.

The diminutive suffix may be suffixed to practically any noun. Note, however, that no examples of a diminutive suffix occurring with a noun of cl. 15 occur in our data. When /-nyana/ is affixed to a noun of other than cl. 12 or 13, the NP of that

noun is frequently substituted by the NP of cl. 12 or 13 depending on whether it is singular or plural.

The tonomorph on the suffix /-nyana/ has two allomorphs /LL ~ HL/ occurring with the noun in its base form. The allomorph /HL/ occurs as a dialectal or idiolectal, or possibly free, alternant to /LL/ when immediately preceded by the sequence /LL/. The allomorph /LL/ occurs in all other cases.

ngunyána		(little sheep)	< ngu	(sheep)
taunyána	=	taunyana	(little lion)	< tau (lion)
kalilonyána	=	kalilonyana	(little fire)	< mulilo (fire)
kantunyána	=	kentunyana	(little person)	< mutu (person)
silepényana	=	silépenyana ¹	(little axe)	< silépe (axe)
síunyana		(little field)	< símu	(field)
kalúkwenyana		(little trousers)	< bulúkwe	(trousers)

1. For the tonomorphological influence of the diminutive suffix on the noun, see 3.8.

CHAPTER 5THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

5.0. The absolute pronoun differs from the qualificatives (excluding the invariable) in that it has forms for the first and second persons. Secondly, in the series as a whole, there is no clear morphological boundary between prefix and stem. Pronouns occur independently of the noun to which they refer and in apposition to such nouns. The allomorphs /-aka, -ka, -hác, -ho, -hác, -he/ occur exclusively in possessive constructions, or as possessive suffixes. The other absolutes have the same syntactic occurrence as nouns.

5.1. The following is a table of absolute pronouns:

1st p. s.	nna ∞ -aka ∞ -ka
pl.	luna
2nd p. s.	wena ∞ -hác ∞ -ho
pl.	mina
Class 1.	yena ∞ -hác ∞ -he
2.	bona
3.	wona
4.	yona
5.	lona
6.	ona
7.	sona
8.	byona
8x.	zona
9.	yona
10.	zona
11.	lona
12.	kona
13.	tona
14.	bona
15.	kona
16.	fona
17.	kona
18.	sona

5.2. The allomorphs /-ho/ and /-he/ for the second person singular and class 1 respectively, occur as possessive suffixes to /ndatá-/ and /má-/. The allomorph /-ka/ for the 1st person singular occurs as a possessive suffix to /mwána-/. [70]

máhe (his/her mother)
máho¹ (your mother)
ndatáho¹ (your father)
ndatáhe (his/her father)
mwánaka² (my child)

5.3. The allomorphs /-aka/, /-háó/ and /-háé/ for the 1st and 2nd p. s. and cl. 1 occur only in pronominal possessive constructions, other than in the cases mentioned above.

komu yáka (my cow)
bulúkwe bwaháo (your trousers)
lico zaháo (your food)
mukólo waháo (his dugout)
lizóho laháo (her hand)

5.4. The allomorphs /nna/, /wena/ and /yena/ occur in all other cases.

Nná naca (As for me, I am eating)
Yená, akísikúba (He is not a fool)
Niboná wena (I see you)
kîna (it is me)
kúyena (to him)
níwena (and you)

5.5. Significance: The absolute pronoun is emphatic in significance when it occurs independently or appositionally. Elsewhere, i.e. when inflected, it does not have emphatic significance.³

Zona zâca (They are eating)
Luná lwàca, konó boná habáci. (We are eating, but as for them they are not eating)

1. This form is impolite. The corresponding plural forms in cl.2a should be used in order to be polite.

2. Note the tonal metathesis occurring here -- /mwánaka/ instead of the expected /mwanáka/.

3. An exception to this is when an absolute as an associative adverb base precedes a predicative of which it is subject, in which case it is emphatic.

eg. níyena wábuléla (He too is talking)

Mukalekela yona ifi, yaka? (for which one are you
buying -- doctor, I mean?)

Mulena yena wabulela . (As for the chief, he is talking)

Habasaca sinkwa sona (They no longer eat bread)

Nenisayi kwafungu niyena (I was not going to Mongu
with him)

Lubabati ka yona (We looked for them with it)

Balicange kazona (They should always eat with them)

likomu zamina (your cattle)

lico zaka (my food)

mali asona (its blood)

5.6. Tonomorphology:

The allomorphs /-ka/, /-ho/ and /-he/ are basically low-toned. /-hæ/ and /-hæ/ have a HL sequence basically. All other forms have a LL sequence basically. The base forms from which the other tonomorphs may be predicted are best obtained when the absolute occurs as object of a sentence, with no adjunct. The following are the tonomorphs that may be accommodated by absolute pronouns:

<u>A</u>	<u>C</u>
L	H
HL	HH
LL	LH

5.6.1. The tonomorph C occurs as follows:

(a) When immediately followed by a noun.

yona kubo (it, the blanket)

ana, mutu (me, a person)

yena, mulena (he, the chief)

sona, silépe (it, the axe)

ndatahéndate (my grandfather)

(b) When immediately followed by an enumerative with a low-toned prefix.

yona ifi? (which one?)

luna bafi? (which of us?)

tona tufi? (which of them?)

yaka ifi? (which one of mine?)

zazona lifi? (which ones of theirs?)

- (c) When immediately followed by a negative predicative other than the present subjunctive negative of pattern SP*-si-ke + SĊ²-a-R-a.

Míná hámálikúba (You are not fools)
 Koná akámáti (As for it, it does not run)
 Yená háwi (As for him, he does not fall)
 Nná aníbátí sinkwa (As for me, I do not want bread)

- (d) When immediately followed by a verb in the participial mood.

Yená náwile (He had fallen)
 Boná balí bagwi (Him alone¹)
 Luná nelucíle buhóbe (As for us, we had eaten bread)

- (e) In the case of the absolutes for first and second persons, when followed by a principal positive predicative.

Luná lwaopéla (As for us, we are singing)
 Nná náca (As for me, I am eating)
 Wená wáca (You always eat)

- 5.6.2. The base form occurs in all other situations.

kúluna (to us)
 kábona (about them)
 Bona báopéla (As for them, they are singing)
 Anilatí zona (I do not like them)
 Bulayá yena (Kill him)
 Aniboní ndatáho (I do not see your father)

1. The absolute pronoun here refers to an honorific plural noun of cl. 2a, and is thus translated by "him."

CHAPTER 6

QUALIFICATIVES

6.0. There are six different types of qualificatives, each type being morphologically unique. All qualificatives with the exception of the demonstrative and the invariable, consist of a class prefix and a stem¹, a particular series of prefixes matching with a particular range of stems. Except for one or two stems, such as the enumerative stem /-ɔwi/ (one), there is almost complete mobility of the stems within a particular series of prefixes. Thus, for instance, the adjectival stem /-nsu/ (black) occurs with all adjectival prefixes, and the enumerative stem /-fi?/ (which?) occurs with all the enumerative prefixes.

Qualificatives occur predominantly in a modifying capacity to an antecedent substantive, either noun or pronoun. When functioning thus, they follow the substantive modified, in word order, and are here termed "dependent". Qualificatives also occur without antecedents, either substantivally, as subject or object of a sentence, or as possessive, locative, copulative or adverb bases. They are then termed "independent". Independent qualificatives may, in turn, be modified by other qualificatives, or by appositional nouns or pronouns.

6.1.0. THE ADJECTIVE

An adjective may be defined as a word which has any one of the list of prefixes given hereunder, together with a stem, which stem may co-occur with most, if not all, of these prefixes.

6.1.1. Table of adjectival prefixes:

Class 1.	yomu-
2.	baba-
3.	omu-
4.	yemi-

1. The demonstrative is included here since it fills the same syntactic slots as the other qualificatives.

5. leli-
6. ama-
7. sesi-
8. byebi- _~ babi-
- 8x. ze∅-
9. ye∅-
10. ze∅-
11. lolu-
12. kaka-
13. totu-
14. bobu-
15. koku-
16. foku-
17. koku-
18. moku-

[74]

6.1.2. The adjective prefixes are of two main structural types. The majority are of structure $C^C V^S C^C V^P$ - (Cl. 3 has /∅-/ as its class consonant here). The prefixes of cl. 8x, 9 and 10 are of structure $C^C V^S -∅-$. Cl. 8 has two allomorphs. These are idiolectal or dialectal alternants. Note that the second allomorph has /b-/ as an irregular class consonant. The class 16 prefix is of structure $C^C -o-ku-$ and that of cl. 18, of structure $C^C V^S -ku-$.

6.1.3. Adjective stems:

The following is a list of adjective stems. It is probable that there are a few other stems not listed here.

Numerals:

-beli	(two)
-lálú	(three)
-ne	(four)

Colour adjectives:

-fubélu	(red)
-kunógu	(reddish brown)
-kwǎba	(with white face and underside)
-kwebu	(white-tailed and -legged)
-nala	(white-bellied with white spots on the sides)

-nsu	(black)	[75]
-paswa	(black, with white stripes on the belly)	
-puzwa	(blueish grey)	
-sasa	(white, with small brown spots)	
-seta	(greyish)	
-sóto	(dark brown)	
-sumu	(with white face and throat)	
-sweu	(white)	
-tába	(red or black, with very small white spots)	
-tala	(blue, green)	
-tukwa	(red, with black or white stripes on the face)	
-tulúli	(red or black, with several big patches of white on the back)	

Miscellaneous:

-cupya	(hornless)
-húlu	(old, adult, grown-up)
-kai?	(how many, how much?)
-kana	(so many)
-kima	(stout, thick, thick-set)
-kúswani	(short)
-nea	(new, young, fresh)
-nde	(good, nice, beautiful)
-nyínyani	(small, little, tiny)
-pata	(much, many)
-sihéli	(female)
-sísani	(thin, slender, lean)
-télele	(tall, long)
-túna	(big, large)

6.1.4. The following are examples of adjectives, most of them modifying a noun.

múna yómunca	(a young man)
bana bábanca	(young children)
mushabáti omúsweu	(white sand)
nyaha yemí, pata	(many years)
lilónba lélitélele	(a long wet-garden canal)
matéma ámande	(good cassava gardens)
sipulúmuki sesífubélu	(a red butterfly)

bitongwani byebilálu (three hyenas)
 likwalo zéfubélu (red doors)
 ngu yésweu (a white sheep)
 lingu zénsu (black sheep)
 luwáwa lolúkúnógu (a reddish brown jackal)
 kahwána kákanyínyani (a little calabash)
 tupúli totúne (four kids)
 bucwaji bobútala (green grass)
 kuzamaya kokúpata (much travelling)
 fokúnsu (on top, where it is black)
 kókunde (there, where it is pleasant)
 mokúfubélu (inside, where it is red)

6.1.5. Tonomorphology.

The base tonomorphs of adjectives occur in the same situations as tonomorph A of the noun. Tonomorph C, with a final /H/ in each case, occurs in the same situations as C of the noun (See 3.6.). For examples of the base form see 6.1.4. The following examples illustrate tonomorph C.¹

babákiná bafi?	(which stout ones?)
zétélelé lifi?	(which tall ones?)
yóáundé háyo	(the pretty one is not there)
babásweú nebánata	(the white ones were running)

An enumerative may be defined as a word which has any one of the list of prefixes given hereunder, together with a stem, which stem may occur with most, if not all, of these prefixes.

6.2.1. Table of enumerative prefixes:

Class 1.	mu- ∞ u-
2.	ba-
3.	mu- ∞ u-
4.	mi- ∞ i-
5.	li-
6.	ma- ∞ a-
7.	si-
8.	bi-
8x.	li-
9.	o- ∞ i-
10.	li-
11.	lu-
12.	ka-
13.	tu-
14.	bu-
15.	ku-
16.	--
17.	ku-
18.	--

6.2.2. The following is a list of enumerative stems:

- fi? (which, which one?)
- owi¹ (one)
- oi?² (of what sex?)
- sili (different)

-
1. With the exception of cl. 2, this stem does not occur with concords of the plural classes. It occurs with a cl. 2 prefix when qualifying an honorific plural noun of cl. 2a
eg. bõndaté balí baḡwi (father alone)
 2. Many people use this stem only with prefixes of cl. 1 and 6. They use the form /maḡi?/ in heteroconcordial agreement with nouns of other than cl. 1.
eg. batu maḡi? (people of what sex?)
litahwá maḡi (a drunkard of what sex?)

6.2.3. In those classes where there are two allomorphs of the enumerative prefix, the second allomorph occurs with the stems /-fi?/ and /-sili/, and in the case of cl. 9, also with the stem /-pi?/. The first allomorph occurs with the stems /-pi?/ (except for cl. 9) and /-pwi/.

mutá ufi? (which person)
 mwaná mugi? (a child of what sex?)
 mukólo úsili (a different canoe)
 mukóló ulí mupwi¹ (one canoe)
 mitóbó ifi? (which reedbuck?)
 mitóbó mipi? (reedbuck of what sex?)
 matahwa ásili (other drunkards)
 matahwá magi? (drunkards of which sex?)
 njá ifi? (which dog?)
 njá iDi? (a dog of what sex?)
 njá ilí-pwi² (one dog) < njá *ilí pwi

6.2.4. Apart from having a prefix and a stem at the substrate level, the enumerative accommodates two tonomorphemes, one on the prefix and one on the stem. The tonomorpheme over the prefix has two allotonomorphs, /L/ and /H/. The allomorph /H/ occurs before the stem /-sili/, and the allomorph /L/ with all other stems.

mulena úsili (a different chief)
 batu básili (different people)
 bucwala búsili (different beer)
 mulená ufi? (which chief?)
 bipi? (of what sex?)
 lupwi (one)

6.2.5. The stems /-fi?/, /-pi?/ and /-pwi/ are basically low-toned though our one informant uses a high tone on /-fi?/. The stem /-fi?/ carries a tonomorph /H/ when followed by a noun.

ifí gaka? (which one? doctor, that is?)
 sifí sisépe? (which one? ship, that is?)

No examples of /-pi?/ or /-pwi/ followed by a noun occur in our data.

1. Enumeratives based on the stem /pwi/ occur only in this participial copulative construction.
2. The enumerative concord here is presumably /p-/ . The syllabic /p/ disappears in this phrase-medial situation, and its tone is assumed by the preceding syllable (see 0.5.4.)

6.2.6. The stem /-sili/ has the basic tonomorph /LL/. The tonomorph C, /LH/, occurs in the same situations as the tonomorph C of the noun. C also occurs when followed by a noun. For examples of the base tonomorph see 6.2.4.

úsilí ufi?	(which other one?)
básilí bafi?	(which other ones?)
ísilí ŋaka	(a different one, doctor, that is)
ísilí-nja	(a different dog)

6.3.0. THE RELATIVE

The relative is of two types -- direct and indirect. These two types are distinguished by both their prefixes and their stems.

6.3.1. The Direct Relative

A direct relative may be defined as a word which has any one of the list of prefixes given hereunder, together with a stem, which stem may occur with most if not all these prefixes.

6.3.2. Table of direct relative prefixes:

Class 1.	yâ-
2.	bába-
3.	ô-
4.	ê-
5.	léli-
6.	â-
7.	sési-
8.	byébi-
9.	ê-
10.	zê-
11.	lólú-
12.	káka-
13.	tótú-
14.	bóbu-
15.	kóku-
16.	--
17.	kóku-
18.	--

The prefixes of cl. 1, 8x and 10 are of structure C^cV . The vowel associated with the cl. 1 prefix is /a/. The vowel associated with the prefixes of cl. 8x and 10 is the secondary vowel of those classes, i.e. /e/. The prefixes of cl. 3, 4, 6 and 9 are of structure V^s . All other prefixes are of structure $C^cV^sC^cV^p$. These prefixes bear a tonomorph /HL/.

6.3.3. Direct relative stems are of two types -- predicative and non-predicative. The predicative stems are not considered here. The following is a very incomplete

list of non-predicative relative stems¹ occurring in direct relative constructions.

-boi	(cowardly)
-búkiti	(heavy)
-bunólo	(soft, easy)
-butáli	(clever)
-butúku	(sore, painful)
-buzwa	(lazy)
-cwálo	(like that)
-didi ²	(blunt)
-fúfu	(warm)
-jójo ²	(sharp, piercing - of eyes)
-kópo	(crooked, dishonest)
-makúna	(perverse in refusing food proffered and changing one's mind afterwards)
-mápunu	(naked)
-mâta	(strong)
-mezi	(wet)
-múlimo	(good, kind)
-munáti	(delicious, nice, tasty)
-musa	(good, kind, charitable, merciful)
-sípala	(broad)
-táha	(wild)
-táta	(hard, difficult)

6.3.4. The Indirect Relative

The various types of indirect relative construction have not been studied in detail, and are, thus, not included here. We include, nevertheless, a list of indirect relative prefixes and examples of their occurrence.

1. Many of these stems are derived from nouns or adverbs. Certain tonomorphological substitutions occur in deriving relative stems from nouns. Nouns assume tonomorph B when functioning as relative stems.
2. Note that these two items collected at a late date are in conflict with the statements in O.1.5.2. In view of this, a new phonemicization might be necessary.

6.3.5.

The following is a list of indirect relative prefixes:

[82]

Class	1.	ye-	~	yo-	~	y-
	2.	be-	~	bo-	~	b-
	3.	o-			~	w-
	4.	ye-	~	yo-	~	y-
	5.	le-	~	*lo-	~	l-
	6.	a-	~	o-	~	∅-
	7.	se-	~	so-	~	s-
	8.	bye-	~	*byo-	~	by-
	8x.	ze-	~	zo-	~	z-
	9.	ye-	~	yo-	~	y-
	10.	ze-	~	zo-	~	z-
	11.	lo-			~	lw-
	12.	ke-	~	ko-	~	k-
	13.	to-			~	tw-
	14.	bo-			~	bw-
	15.	ko-			~	kw-
	16.	fo-			~	f-
	17.	ko-			~	kw-
	18.	mo-			~	mw-

6.3.6.

The last allomorph in each case occurs before the subject prefix /a-/ of cl. 1 or 6.

batu¹ báǎbóna (the people whom he [cl. 1] sees)
 mikolo yǎbóna (the canoes which they [cl. 6] saw)
 luacani lwǎséha (the bush which he [cl.1] cut)

6.3.7.

In those classes having three allomorphs, the second allomorph occurs as a dialectal or idiolectal, and in at least some cases free, alternant to the first allomorph, before subject prefixes having the vowel /u/.

likomu zólúbóna ≈ zélúbóna (the cattle which we see)
 malena óbóna ≈ áúbóna (the chiefs whom you [sg.] see)
 mutu yómúbóna (the person whom you [pl.] see)
 silepe sólúséha ≈ sélúséha kásona (the axe with which
 he [cl. 11] cuts)

1. The antecedents are not tone-marked.

6.3.8. The first allomorph occurs in all other cases.

buka yénéníḡola	(the book which I was writing)
nama yéíca	(the meat which it [cl. 9] is eating)
lizoho léśíséha	(the hand which she [cl. 7] cut)
bindu byébáyáha	(the ramshackle houses which they [cl. 2] are building)
kókátáha	(where it [cl. 13] comes)
mókáfítíle	(where it [cl. 13] has passed)

6.3.9. The indirect relative prefix accommodates a tonomorph /H/ in all our examples.

6.4.0. THE POSSESSIVE

A possessive may be defined as a word which has any one of the prefixes listed hereunder, together with a possessive particle and a stem. [94]

6.4.1. The following is a list of possessive prefixes:

Class 1.	w-
2.	b-
3.	w-
4.	y-
5.	l-
6.	∅-
7.	s-
8.	by-
8x.	z-
9.	y-
10.	z-
11.	lw-
12.	k-
13.	tw-
14.	bw-
15.	kw-
16.	--
17.	kw-
18.	--

6.4.2. The possessive particle has two allomorphs, /-a- ∞ -∅-/. The allomorph /-∅-/ occurs before the absolute pronominal stem /-aka/. The allomorph /-a-/ occurs in all other cases. The possessive particle always comes between the possessive prefix and the stem.

likomu zàka ¹	(my cattle)
mukólo wâka	(my dugout)
mizwâle yâka	(my friends)
busunso bwaháe	(his relish)
mali amúlena	(the chief's blood)
likomu zaháe	(your cattle)

1. Note that a C or ∅ prefix results in the initial /a/ of stem /-aka/ being lengthened. (See 0.2.3.)

6.4.3. All substantives and certain adverbs may function as possessive stems. Note that distinctive allomorphs of the absolute pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons singular and cl. 1 occur with possessive prefixes (see 5.3.)

ngu yámina	(your sheep)
sikólo saháo	(your school)
nja yámusízana	(the girl's dog)
bóndate bábasáli	(my paternal aunts)
lulími lânja	(the tongue of the dog)
kubúsa kwamúlena	(the rule of the chief)
lizóho lawâka	(the hand of my one)
lingu zábaháé	(the sheep of his ones)
búka yayómutélele	(the tall one's book)
bucwala bwákakásweu	(the white one's beer)
mubála wáúfi?	(which one's colour?)
manaka azâni'	(the horns of those over there)
tunwana twabyé	(these one's little fingers)
batu bákacénu	(the people of today)
lika zákamúso	(the things of tomorrow)
musebézi wakámita	(everyday work)

6.4.4. Significance: Possessives may indicate ownership, or some attribute, function, use, locality, time reference or order of the antecedent.

6.4.5. Tonomorphology: The tonomorphology of possessive stems is treated under the sections dealing with the tonomorphology of the other substantives. The possessive particle has two allotonomorphs, /H ~ L/. The allomorph /H/ occurs before stems with an initial low tone. The allomorph /L/ occurs before stems with an initial high tone. For examples see 6.4.4.

There are four series of demonstratives, as tabulated below:

	<u>1st Position</u>	<u>2nd Position</u>	<u>3rd Position A</u>	<u>3rd Position B</u>
Class 1.	yó	yóo	yâlé	yâní
2.	bá	báo	bâlé	bâní
3.	wó	wóo	wâlé	wâní
4.	yé	yéo	yâlé	yâní
5.	lé	léo	lâlé	lâní
6.	á	áo	âlé	âní
7.	sé	séo	sâlé	sâní
8.	byé	byéo	byâlé	byâní
8x.	zé	zéo	zâlé	zâní
9.	yé	yéo	yâlé	yâní
10.	zé	zéo	zâlé	zâní
11.	ló	lóo	lwâlé	lwâní
12.	ká	káo	kâlé	kâní
13.	tó	tóo	twâlé	twâní
14.	bó	bóo	bwâlé	bwâní
15.	kó	kóo	kwâlé	kwâní
16.	fá	fáo	fâlé	fâní
17.	kwána	kóo	kwâlé	kwâní
18.	mó	móo	mwâlé	mwâní

6.5.1. The demonstrative pronouns of the first position are of structure C^cV^s , except in cl. 17 where it is of structure $/C^c\text{-ána}/$. Second position demonstratives are of structure $/C^cV^s\text{-o}/$, except in cl. 16 where it is of structure $/C^c\text{-óo}/$. Third position demonstratives have two alternative structures -- $/C^c\text{-âlé}/$ and $/C^c\text{-âní}/$.

In the case of the second position series it would be possible to segment between the final /o/ and the preceding vowel, and then to posit $/\text{-o}/$ as a stem. In the third position series one could segment between the initial consonant and the vowel /a/, positing stems $/\text{-âlé}/$ and $/\text{-âní}/$. Further segmentation could occur between the /a/ and the $/\text{-lé}/$ or $/\text{-ní}/$, with the latter two posited as stems, and the $/\text{-a-}/$ set up as a particle of some kind. In series of this type, however, there is nothing to be gained by such analysis. Therefore in this

study we do no more than note the structure of the demonstratives and do not attempt to segment them into morphemes.

6.5.2. Tonomorphology: The 1st position demonstrative accommodates a high tone except in cl. 17 where it accommodates a tonomorph /HL/. The second position accommodates two possible tonomorphs -- /HL/ and /HH/. The tonomorph /HH/ occurs in the same situations as tonomorph C of the noun (see 3.6.). The 3rd position series accommodates a tonomorph /HLH/.

6.5.3. Significance: The first position demonstrative indicates an object near the speaker. The second position demonstrative indicates an object near the person addressed or equidistant from speaker and hearer though not very far. The third position demonstrative indicates an object relatively far from both the speaker and the person addressed. There appears to be no difference of significance between the two series for the third position.

6.6.0. THE INVARIABLE

At this stage we have only one example of this type of qualificative. This is the form /káuféla/. Invariable qualificatives may qualify any substantive and do not reveal any concordial agreement with that substantive.

batu káuféla	(all the people)
likoma káuféla	(all the cattle)
minzi káuféla	(all the villages)
bucwala káuféla	(all the beer)

6.6.1. Tonomorphology: /kaufela/ accommodates the tonomorph /HLHL/ as its base form. For examples see 6.6.0. Tonomorph C, /HLHH/, occurs when followed by a substantive.

káuféla lona	(all of us)
káuféla mabísi	(all the milk)
káuféla buhóbe	(all the stiff porridge)

APPENDIX

Lozi vowels are here treated as being both short and long. The question as to whether the so-called long vowels are to be treated as a separate series of long vowels occurring side-by-side with the short vowels, or as geminate clusters of vowels, is still doubtful.

At this stage we do not conceive of long vowels as being geminate clusters but as being distinctive phonemes. We thus have five short vowels and five long vowels.

At the same time we recognize that geminate vowel clusters do occur. One point of difference between long vowels and geminate vowel clusters is the toneme sequences which they can accommodate. Both long vowels and geminate vowel clusters may accommodate the sequences /LL/ and /HL/. The sequence /LH/ occurs on geminate vowel clusters but not on long vowels. (See 0.6.0.) Thus far in our data, the sequence /HH/ occurs only with long vowels.

There is an apparent inconsistency in the recognition of the sequences /LL/ and /HL/ occurring with both long vowels and geminate vowel clusters, and it has frequently proved difficult to decide how these sequences are to be treated. In practice we have treated of geminate vowel clusters where there has been some observable break between the two vowels. Where there has been no observable break, we have treated of a long vowel.