

SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY IN KWANYAMA

J. A. ROXBURGH

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I hereby declare that this dissertation is my own
work and that it has not previously been submitted
for a degree at any other university.

J.A. Roxburgh

J.A. ROXBURGH

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PREFACE

Kwanyama is one of the languages spoken in northern Namibia and also in southern Angola between the Cubango and Cunene rivers. The population figures for 1970 give the number of Kwanyama speakers in Namibia as 132,400.^{1/}

The language/dialect status of Kwanyama has not been researched fully, but from preliminary investigation it appears to be closely related to neighbouring languages/dialects. Speakers of Ndonga, Kwambi, Kwanyama, Kwaluuthi etc. all use the blanket term 'Oshiwambo' to refer to their language.

Fieldwork for this study was carried out in 1968 and 1979. Several informants were consulted during these periods. Their ages ranged from ± 20 to ± 60 .

This study is divided into two sections. In the first part, phonology^{2/} is described in terms of processes of generative phonology, however, the conventions of generative notation are not employed here. In the second section, the morphology of the various form classes is dealt with according to a Doke-Cole model.

1/ Tötemeyer (1978).

2/ The suprasegmental component of the language is not dealt with here.

^{1/}
Orthography

The conjunctive word division employed here is a departure from the standard practice which uses disjunctive word division for some form classes. There are also some differences in the representation of underlying phonemes, especially the 'long vowels'.

1/ See Appendix 1 for a discussion of orthographic problems.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

C	Consonant
cf.	Compare
CG	True consonant followed by glide
ct.	Contrast
G	Glide
i	Intransitive
N	Non-syllabic nasal
NC	Non-syllabic nasal followed by consonant
neg.	Negative
OC	Object concord
OP	Object prefix
US	Object suffix
pl.	Plural
pos.	Positive
R	Verbal radical
SP	Subject prefix
Sp ^C	Subject prefix (past tense)
Sp ^P	Subject prefix (participial)
t.	Transitive
V	Vowel
v ^R	Verb suffix (present tense)
VV	Sequence of two vowels

/ /	Phonemic transcription; underlying forms
[]	Phonetic transcription
= =	Representation in official orthography
{ }	Canonical forms; choice of one out of several items
~	Alternative form (phonologically or morphologically conditioned)
~	Free variant
+	Word boundary
-	Morpheme boundary
*	Hypothetical forms
∅	'Zero' morpheme
n	Dental articulation
°	Voicelessness
c ^w	Labio-velar off-glide
c ^y	Palatal off-glide
ṃ	Syllabic nasal
:	Vowel length
#	Juncture

Note on typographical forms

Although morpheme boundaries of underlying structures are represented typographically in two ways, no difference in the interpretation of these structures is indicated.

In some cases conventional notation is used where no spaces occur before or after hyphens, in other cases, spaces occur between hyphens and contiguous morphemes.

1.

PART 1 - PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY1.1 Underlying consonant phonemes

The seventeen underlying consonant phonemes recognized in this analysis are /b, d, dj, f, h, k, l, m, n, ng, ny, p, sh, t, v, w, y/.
/s/ also occurs as a peripheral phoneme in words adopted from other languages.

The phonemes could be represented schematically as follows:

1.1.1 Consonant phonemes

Table 1

p	t		k
b	d	dj	
f	(s)	sh	h
v	l	y	
			w
m	n	ny	
			ng

The four vertical columns are arranged on the basis of general features of place of articulation, viz., labial (bi-labial and labio-dental), alveolar (dental, alveo-dental, alveolar), palatal (alveo-palatal, palatal), back (velar, glottal, labio-velar). The horizontal rows are made on the basis of general manner of articulation, viz., voiceless stops, voiced stops, voiceless fricatives, voiced continuants^{1/} and nasals. Some rows also represent 'natural classes' of phonemes which all undergo a particular phonological or morphophonemic rule, for example, the phonemes /p, t, k/ constitute a natural class in that

^{1/} Phonetically, /l/ is a flap, but it behaves phonemically in the same way as /v, y/.

they undergo the rule of consonant deletion following a non-syllabic nasal (See 1.3.3).

The segment /ny/[ɲ] is treated in this analysis as a unit phoneme not as a sequence of segments */n/ and */j/. /ny/ behaves like the other 'plain' nasals /m/ and /n/ in the rule of nasal harmony where all three segments are followed by a suffix containing nasal /n/ (see 1.3.13); other consonants or NC sequences are followed by a suffix containing non-nasal /l/. Thus /ny/ fits into a natural class of nasals /m, n, ny/.

The phonemic interpretation of /ng/ presents some problems. Phonetically, this is a sequence of a voiced velar nasal [ŋ] and a voiced velar explosive stop [g]. The question that arises is whether /ng/ should be analyzed as a unit segment or a sequence of segments.

In Kwanyama neither */ŋ/ (voiced velar nasal) nor */g/ (voiced velar consonant) occur as independent phonemes in positions of contrast as do the plain nasals /m, n, ny/ and the voiced plosives /b, d, dj/.

The segment [g] occurs only after the nasal [ŋ], and comparison with neighbouring dialects Kwambi and Ndonga suggests that a voiced velar segment (fricative or stop) has disappeared from the phonemic system of Kwanyama. This phenomenon accounts for the 'gap' in the series of voiced plosives (see 1.1.1).

<u>Kwanyama</u>	<u>Kwambi</u>	<u>Ndonga</u>	
-amena		-gamena	"protect"
		[ɣamɛna]	
-diinina	-dhiginina	-dhiginina	"save"
[di:ɲina]	[ɸiɲina]		
-xupaela	-upagera		"gulp"
[xupaɛla]	[upaɣera]		

The behaviour of /ng/ differs from the other nasal-consonant sequences /mb, nd, ndj/. The nasal element of /ng/ does not delete according to rule of nasal deletion in N_2C_2 position as is the case with /mb, nd, ndj/ as /ng/ cannot reduce to a non-existent segment (see 1.3.4) although it does initiate the process of nasal deletion when in N_1C_1 position.

The sequence /ng/ is not produced as the result of a morphophonemic process as are the other nasal consonant sequences where

m + v → mb
n + l → nd
ny + y → ndj

In the light of the foregoing reasons /ng/ is considered to be a unit segment in this analysis of the phonemic structure although it has the same type of phonetic structure as the sequences /mb, nd, ndj/.

Consonant phonemes may occur in NC sequences (nasal-consonant) and (N)CG sequences (nasal-consonant-glide). Geminate sequences of consonants do not occur.

1.1.2 Phonetic realization of underlying consonants

The underlying consonant phonemes are represented by the following allophones if they are not affected by other phonological process:

/p/	[p]	: voiceless bilabial explosive stop	epepe [epepe]	"shoulder"
/t/	[t]	: voiceless dental explosive stop	etemba [etemba]	"wagon"
/k/	[k]	: voiceless velar explosive stop	-puk-a [puka]	"wander"
/b/	[b]	: voiced bilabial explosive stop	ongobe [ongobe]	"cow"
/d/	[d]	: voiced dental explosive stop	oshedi [oʃedi]	"chin"
/dj/	[dʒ]	: alveo-palatal voiced affricated stop	omudjene [omdʒene]	"heat"
/f/	[f]	: voiceless labiodental fricative	okufu [okufu]	"winter"
/s/	[s]	: voiceless alveolar fricative	oskola [oskoɫa]	"school"

/sh/ [š] : voiceless alveopalatal fricative

-shang-a [šanga] "write"

/h/ [h], [x] : The phoneme /h/ is realized by the voiceless velar fricative allophone [x] preceding the high vowel /u/ and before the back glide /w/. [x] also occurs in the words /xe/ "his father" and /xo/ "your father" as an alternative pronunciation to /she/ [še] and /sho/ [šo] respectively.

The voiceless glottal fricative allophone [h] precedes the mid and low vowel phonemes /e, a, o/ and also the high vowel /u/ in the single case of the radical /-humbat-/ [humbat] "carry".

The high front vowel /i/ follows /h/ only in the contracted form of /nghi-/ [ŋi] (1st person negative in copulatives) in its alternative realization [hi]. Except in the few forms given above, [h] and [x]^{1/} are in complementary distribution.

/v/ [v] : voiced labio-dental fricative

ekuva [ekuva] "axe"

/l/ [l] : voiced alveolar-lateral flap

okulanda [okulanda] "to buy"

/y/ [j] : voiced palatal (front) glide

-yel-a [jel-a] "become bright"

/w/ [w] : voiced labio-velar (back) glide

-wan-a [wana] "be worth"

/m/ [m] : voiced bilabial nasal

omona [omona] "child"

/n/ [n] : voiced dental nasal

-nene [nene] "big"

/ny/ [ɲ] : voiced palatal nasal

olunyala [olunya] "nail, claw"

/ng/ [ŋg] : sequence of voiced velar nasal - voiced velar stop

engadu [engadu] "crocodile"

^{1/} The Official Orthography (1973) represents the phoneme /h/ by the symbols for the phonetic realizations, viz. /h/ and /x/ which are likewise used for orthographic purposes in this analysis.

1.2 Underlying vowel phonemes

There are five underlying vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/.

1.2.1 Vowel phonemes

Table 2

i	u
e	o
a	

The schematic representation above is based on articulatory features: there are three levels on the height scale for vowel, viz., high, middle and low. The two columns represent front vowels and back vowels.

/a/ is considered as a front vowel in this analysis as it appears to constitute a natural class of 'front' together with /e/, rather than with the back vowels. This interpretation is made on the basis of underlying VV sequences where /e/ and /a/ exhibit similar behaviour.

Any two vowels may occur in juxtaposition in VV sequences. Sequences of three vowels occur only in verbal structures at morpheme boundaries. They are not dealt with here.

1.2.2 Phonetic realization of vowels

The underlying vowel phonemes are realized phonetically as following if they are not affected by any other process:

/i/ [i] : high front unrounded vowel

-imb-a [imba] "sing"

/e/ [e] : high-mid front unrounded vowel

elenga [eŋga] "headman"

/a/ [a] : low unrounded vowel

-akam-a [akama] "open the mouth"

/o/ [o] : high-mid back rounded vowel

omona [omona] "child"

/u/ [u] : high back rounded vowel

-fud-a [fuda] "breathe"

1.2.3 Vowel sequences

All combinations of two vowels occurring in sequence are permissible.

Identical (short) vowels occurring in sequence are realized phonetically as one long vowel, but are considered in this analysis to be an underlying sequence of two vowels.

High vowels preceding other vowels initiate the phonetic realization process of glide formation and vowel lengthening (See 1.3.8 below).

Where the first vowel is non-high, simple catenation of the two vowels occurs:

(a) /aV/sequences

omaano [oma:ɲo] (6) "oaths"

efudaela [efudaɛla] (5) "whirlwind"

omaingido (6) "shouts"

omaonga (6) "spears"

eshinauno (5) "profusion"

(b) /eV/ sequences

eandu [eandu] (5) "frost"
 eendo /e-endo/[e:ndo] (5) "graveyard"
 eido (5) "grass"
 eono (5) "growl"
 -peuk-a "blow over"

(c) /oV/ sequences^{1/}

otoamene [otoamene] "you protect"
 otoendaenda "you travel around"
 o:kutu (8) "clothes"
 oo [o:] (demonstrative) "those"
 oufi (14) "death"

1.2.4 Phonetically long vowels

Long vowels may be attributable to two different underlying structures. Firstly, some phonetically long vowels can be attributed to a sequence of two identical vowels as in /a - a/ [a:] (demonstrative, class 6) "these". Long vowels may be stem-internal, and are also treated in this analysis as being a juxtaposition of two like vowels: /feel-a/ [fe:[a] "smooth, stroke" (see also 1.2.3) ^{2/}

Secondly, in a sequence of two vowels where the first vowel is high, i.e. /i/ or /u/, it is realized as non-syllabic or it is deleted, and the second vowel is realized with phonetic length. These phonetically long vowels are thus treated as having an underlying structure of /i - V/ or /u - V/ (see also 1.3.8).

1/ No instances of stem-internal /oV/ sequences have been noted.

2/ For a discussion of orthographic representation of long vowels see Appendix i.

1.3 Phonological rules

In this study, the various rules that operate are grouped into two types, viz. morphological rules and phonological rules.

The phonological rules are rules of mutation or phonetic realization that deal with variants of a single element and are dealt with in this section.

Morphological rules deal with the distribution of suppletive forms and are described wherever the relevant morpheme is treated in the grammar in Part II.

Some phonological rules require ordering of application and this is noted where necessary, but the presentation of rules in a particular (random) order does not imply that their application is necessarily ordered.

1.3.1 Rule 1

Nasal assimilation

The application of this rule precedes the operation of the mutation rules of stop formation, nasal devoicing -stop deletion and nasal deletion. It also precedes the phonetic realization rules of (N)Cw and (N)Cy sequences.

When a non-syllabic nasal precedes another consonant, it is always homorganic with it. Thus /m/ [m̥] precedes labial consonants, /n/ [n̥] precedes dental consonants, /ny/ [ɲ̥] precedes palatal and

alveo-palatal consonants. Underlying /n/ assimilates to velar [ŋ] preceding velar consonants.

Examples

- (1) /m/ : omhepo (9) "wind" < -pep-a "blow"
 /om-pepo/ : /m/ precedes labial /p/
 [om̥epo] : phonetic realization after nasal
 devoicing and stop deletion ^{1/}
 : ombadwa [ombad̥wa] (9) "dried skin"
- (2) /n/ [ɲ] : onhalelo [on̥aɭeɭo] (9) "mirror" < -tal-a "look"
 ondabo [on̥dabo] (9) "flatness"
 : onho [on̥o] (9) "dried skin"
- (3) /ny/ [ɲ] : -endjelela [eɲɟeleɭa] "hang"
 : onhya [on̥ɣa] (9) "scarification"
- (4) /n/ [ŋ] : onghwiyu (9) "fig fruit" ct. omukwiyu (3) "fig tree"
 /on-kwiyu/ : underlying form
 on̥g-kwiyu : nasal assimilation
 [on̥gwijɯ] ≈ [on̥mwijɯ] : phonetic
 realization after nasal devoicing and stop deletion
 (Rule 3). Alternative realization has optional
 labialization for Cw sequence.

^{1/} Voiceless nasals are considered here to be the surface realization of an underlying sequence of nasal and voiceless stop (see 1.3.3).

1.3.2 Rule 2Stop formation (consonant strengthening)

The underlying voiced continuants /v, l, y/ are realized as stops of the same or of the closest corresponding place of articulation to the continuant when preceded by the underlying nasals /m/, /n/ or /ny/ (see also 1.3.1 for nasal assimilation rule)

ombadje (9) "jackal" cf. okavandje (12) "small jackal"

/om-vandje/ : underlying form

[ombadʒa] : labio-dental continuant
becomes bilabial plosive

ondado (9) "trade" < -land- a "buy"

[ondado] : alveolar-lateral flap
becomes dental plosive

ondjabi (9) "payment, gift" < -yamb-a "give"

[ondʒabi] : palatal continuant
becomes alveo-palatal
affricate

1.3.3 Rule 3Nasal devoicing and stop deletion

In an underlying sequence where a voiceless stop is preceded by a non-syllabic nasal /m/, /n/ or /ny/, the stop is deleted and the nasal is devoiced. Rule 1 of nasal assimilation (1.3.1) operates before this rule.

omhangelo (9) "resolution" < -pangel-a "decide"

/om-pangel-o/ : underlying form

[omangelo] : phonetic realization
after stop deletion and
nasal devoicing

onhondoki (9) "runner" < -tondok-a "run"

[onondoki]

ongholwe (9) "drunkard" < -kolw-a "drink"

[ongholwe] : [n] assimilates to [ŋ] preceding [k]

1.3.4 Rule 4Nasal deletion

If a syllable containing a sequence of an underlying non-syllabic nasal and voiced non-back plosive (abbreviated as /N₂C₂/ is preceded by a syllable having any sequence of non-syllabic nasal and voiced plosive (abbreviated as /N₁C₁/), the nasal of the second (non-back) sequence is deleted. The segment [ŋg] in position

/N₁C₁/ initiates the rule of nasal deletion on non-back /N₂C₂/ sequences, i.e., it operates in the /N₁C₁/ position as do other nasal-consonant sequences. In the /N₂C₂/ position, however, the deletion of the nasal segment of the phonetic sequence [ŋg] cannot take place as there is no underlying velar stop *[g]. The phonetic sequence behaves phonemically as a unit segment (see 1.1.1).

This process of nasal deletion is associated with nouns of classes 9 and 10 - 9 where the non-syllabic nasal of the prefix immediately precedes consonant commencing stems. It has not been established clearly whether this is a productive process^{1/}, but there is a sequence structure condition which does not permit such /NC/ sequences to occur in consecutive syllables within any one stem.

ombadje (9)	"jackal" cf. okavandje (12) "small jackal"
/om-vandje/	: underlying form
ombandje	: stop formation
ombadʒeɪ	: nasal deletion in N ₂ C ₂
ondoda (9)	"step" < -lond-a "step"
/on-lond-a/	: underlying form
ondjabi (9)	"payment" < -yamb-a "give"
/on-yamb-i/	: underlying form

Compare the examples above to :

ondunga (9)	"palm fruit" cf. omulunga (3) "palm tree"
/on-lunga/	: no deletion of the nasal of /N ₂ C ₂ / occurs

1/ The relatively small number of cases of this rule operating suggests it is non-productive.

Compare also the following forms in Kwanyama with those in Ndonga where such nasal deletion does not occur :

<u>Kwanyama</u>	<u>Ndonga</u>	
ongobe	ongombe	"cow"
ombabi	ombambi	"duiker"
ondjaba	ondjamba	"elephant"
ongadu	ongandu	"crocodile"

1.3.5 Rule 5

/Cw/ sequences - phonetic realizations

All underlying consonant phonemes (except /w/ itself) as well as underlying /NC/ sequences^{1/} may precede the glide /w/ in /Cw/ sequences.

(a) After all dental and velar plosives (in isolation or in /NC/ sequences), the glide (w) may be strengthened and labialized optionally to a consonant of the same manner of articulation as the preceding consonant and with the same value for voicing.

The phonetic realization of /w/ in such sequences varies freely and may be a true glide, a strengthened consonant with off-glide, or a strengthened consonant without any glide (i.e. the glide is "absorbed").

Examples

/tw/ : okutwi [okutwi] ~ [okutp^wi] ~ [okutpⁱ] "ear"

/kw/ : okukwata [okukwata] ~ [okukp^wata] ~ [okukpata] "to catch"

1/ See 1.3.3 for the phonemic status of voiceless nasals.

/dw/	: -dwany-a [dwaña] ≈ [db ^w aña] ≈ [d̥baña]	"be irritated"
	ondwi [ondwi] ≈ [ondb ^w i] ≈ [ondbi]	"dust"
/nhw/[ɲw]	: onhwa [ɲwa] ≈ [ɲm ^w a]	"eagle"
/nghw/[ɲw]	: onghwiyu [ɲwiju] ≈ [ɲm ^w iju]	"fig fruit"

(b) After all labials (including /NC/ sequences) the glide /w/ may be strengthened and velarized as a voiced velar continuant (fricative) when the preceding consonant is a non-nasal, or it may appear as a velar nasal if the preceding consonant is a nasal (or voiceless nasal)^{1/} Alternatively, an off-glide [w] may be retained after velarization, or else it may simply be realized phonetically as glide [w] without any strengthening:

/pw/	: -pwalakat-a [pɣa [akata] ≈ [pɣ ^w a [akata] ≈ [pwa [akata]	"thunder"
/bw/	: embwabwa [embɣabɣa] ≈ [embɣ ^w abɣ ^w a] ≈ [embwabwa]	"festivity"
/fw/	: okuhafifwa [okuhafifɣa] ≈ [okuhafifɣ ^w a] ≈ [okuhafifwa]	"be gladdened"
/vw/	: okuvavwa [okuvavɣa] ≈ [okuvavɣ ^w a] ≈ [okuvavwa]	"be roasted"
/mw/	: mwene [mɲene] ≈ [mɲ ^w ene] ≈ [mwene]	
/mhw/[ɲw]: ^{2/}		
/mbw/	: ombwa [ombɣa] ≈ [ombɣ ^w a] ≈ [ombwa]	"dog"

1/ See footnote p.14.

2/ No examples of this sequence have been recorded.

(c) After all palatals (plain consonants or sequences), and after non-labial continuants and nasals, the phonetic realization of glide /w/ is unaffected and appears always as [w].

/djw/	: -hondjw-a [choñdʒwa]	"be sewn"
/shw/	: -yashw-a [jašwa]	"be wounded"
/yw/	: -teyw-a [tejwa]	"be broken"
/lw/	: okulwa [okuɭwa]	"to fight"
/nw/	: okunwa [okunwa]	"to drink"
/hw/[xw]	: oluxwa [oɭuxwa]	"dense bush"
/nyw/[ñw]	: onywa [oñwa]	"quiver for arrows"
/ndjw/ ^{1/}		

1.3.6 Rule 6

/Cy/ sequences - phonetic realization

The palatal glide may follow labial or dental/alveolar consonants in /Cy/ sequences, but it never follows palatals or back consonants.

(a) After labial stops and fricatives, the glide is usually fricativized as an alveolar fricative which is voiced or voiceless according to the preceding consonant. /y/ may also be retained phonetically as an off-glide to the fricative.

/py/	: okupya [okups ^y a] ≈ [okupsa]	"to burn"
/by/	: ombyu [ombz ^y u] ≈ [ombzu]	"sp. of fruit"
/fy/	: ofye [ofs ^y e] ≈ [ofse]	"it is us"
/vy/	: -vyula-a [vz ^y uɭa] ≈ [vzuɭa]	"to drill into"

1/ No examples of this sequence have been recorded.

(b) After dental plosives, the glide is strengthened to a palatal fricative (voiced or voiceless) and is completely absorbed. The resultant realization is an alveo-palatal affricate.

/ty/ : okutya [okutʃa] "to say"
 /dy/ : okudya [okudʒa] "produce, bring forth"
 = okudja =

(c) The palatal glide remains unchanged following the non-fricative continuant /l/ and voiced or voiceless ^{1/}s.

/ly/ : -lyat-a [lɛjɛtɛ] "to stand on"
 /my/ : emyo [emjo] "slowness"
 /mhy/^{2/} :
 /nhy/ : onhya [onɲa] "scarification"

1.3.7 Rule 7

Deletion of vowel /V₁/

Whenever a grammatical element with structure (C)V is prefixed to a vowel commencing noun or absolute pronoun, the first vowel (i.e. the prefix vowel) of the resultant /VV/ sequence is deleted. This rule operates obligatorily at a morpheme boundary, and it may apply optionally at word boundaries where the final vowel of a word is deleted.

pombinga /pu-ombinga/ "on the side"
 /pu-/ : locative prefix
 /ombinga/ : noun, class 9
 pombinga : realisation after vowel deletion
 mokufu /mu-okufu/ "in the cold season"
 omiti doshilongo /da-oshilongo/ "trees of the country"

1/ See footnote p. 14.

2/ No examples of this sequence have been recorded.

nombele /na-ombe/ "by means of the knife"

1.3.8 Rule 8

Glide formation and vowel lengthening

Except for a sequence of two high-back vowels where there is simple catenation, in all /vV/ sequences where the first vowel is high, it is realized phonetically as a non-syllabic glide, and the second vowel is lengthened. If the palatal glide /y/ immediately follows the palatal fricative /sh/ after glide formation has operated, then it is deleted as it may not follow any palatal consonant in sequence, but the second vowel retains length.^{2/}

(a) /uV/ sequences

omuambi^{1/} (1) "slanderer"
 /omu-ambi/ : underlying form
 ɔmwaɪmbiɪ : phonetic realization
 after glide formation and
 vowel lengthening
 = omwaambi^{1/}

omueheli ɔmwe:heɪiɪ (1) "beggar"
 =omweeheli=
 oluimbo ɔɹwi:mboɪ (11) "song"

okuona ɔkwo:naɪ "to snore"
 =okwoona=

With /uu/ there is simple catenation:

okuumba ɔku:mbaɪ "to shoot"

1/ For a discussion of orthographic problems, see Appendix i.

2/ According to sequence structures, palatals may not follow palatal or velar consonants.

(b) /iV/ sequences

omiala (4) "breast bones"
 /omi - ala/ : underlying form
 [omja:ʎa] : phonetic realization after
 glide formation and
 vowel lengthening

=omyaala=

oiendo [oje:ndo] (8) "journeys"
 =oyeendo=

oiimbo [oji:mbo] (8) "songs"
 =oyiimbo=

oiongalele [ojo:ŋgaʎeʎe] (8) "gatherings"
 =oyoongalele=

omiuhalo [omju:haʎo] (4) "sp. of tree (pl.)"

(c) /iV/ sequences following palatal /sh/

oshiendo (7) "journey" < -end-a "travel"
 * oshye:ndo : glide formation and
 vowel lengthening
 [oʃe:ndo] : phonetic realization after
 glide deletion

oshiongalele [oʃo:ŋgaʎeʎe] (7) "gathering"

1.3.9 Rule 9Vowel Raising

Subject prefixes and all following prefixes with underlying structure /Ca-/ undergo the process of vowel raising in verbs whereby the low vowel /a/ is raised to mid vowel /e/ when preceding the reflexive prefix or an object prefix^{1/}, the radical /-uy-/, and all defective verbs.

This process does not operate on tense prefixes preceding the subject prefix.

Examples

Ovashiinda otavekalungamena /o-ta-ve-ka-..../

/ve-/ < /va-/ : subject prefix with raised vowel, class 2

/ka-/ : object prefix, class 12

"The neighbours are caring for her"

Note that the prefix /ta-/ in the example above does not undergo vowel raising as it precedes the subject prefix.

Otekealesha /o-t-e-ke-a-..../

/e-/ < /a-/ : subject prefix, class 1

/ke-/ < /ka-/ : future tense prefix

/a-/ : object prefix, class 6

"He will read them"

Ondealanda /o-nd-e-a-..../

/e-/ < /a-/ : past tense prefix

"I bought them"

1/ The object suffix /-nge/ (1st person sg.) does not condition vowel raising.

Ye okwevetuulikila / o-kw-e-ve-tu-..../

/ve-/ < /va-/ : object prefix, class 2

/tu-/ : object prefix, 1st person pl.

"He pointed them out to us"

A verb may incorporate two object prefixes as in the example above.

Otaveuya /...ve-uy-a/

"They are coming"

Ovewete /-wet-e/ (defective present stem)

"They see"

The vowel /a/ remains low before radicals other than /-uy-/ and defective radicals, and also in verbs which do not incorporate object or reflexive prefixes:

Examples

Ovashiinda otavalungamena okakadona /o-ta-va-..../

"The neighbours care for the girl"

Otakalesha omambo /o-t-a-ka-..../

"He will read the books"

Ondalanda omambo /o-nd-a-..../

"I bought the books"

1.3.10 Rule 10

Vowel deletion and nasal syllabification

When a prefix with underlying structure /mu/ precedes a consonant commencing stem, the vowel of the prefix is deleted, and

the nasal becomes syllabic. This process applies to the noun and adjective prefixes of classes 1 and 3, and to the object prefixes of class 1 and the second person plural.

Examples

omudiva	(3) "fish trap"
/omu - diva/	underlying form
om - diva	vowel deletion
[om̩diva]	phonetic realization with syllabic nasal

omufatululi [om̩fatuɬuli] (1) "interpreter"

omuti mule [om̩ti #m̩le] (3) "a tall tree"

1.3.11 Rule 11

Vowel harmony (front vowels)

Extensions 1, 3 and 5 have alternating front vowels whose occurrence is determined by the vowel which immediately precedes them.^{1/}
 The high vowel /i/ occurs when the extension follows high vowels {i, u},
 and the non-high vowel /e/ follows non-high vowels {e, a, o}

Examples of /i/

-fik-il-	"achieve"	< -fik-	"reach"
-tuk-il-	"fly towards"	< -tuk-	"fly"

Examples of /e/

-deng-el-	"beat for"	< -deng-	"beat"
-land-el-	"buy for"	< -land-	"buy"
-kosh-el-	"wash for"	< -kosh-	"wash"

^{1/} See p. 121 ff. for verbal extensions

1.3.12 Rule 12Vowel alternation (back vowels)

Extensions 8 and 9 have alternating high back vowel /u/ and mid-back vowel /o/; the latter form occurs when preceded by mid back /o/ only, and /u/ occurs when preceded by /i, e, a, u/ which are either high or non-back.^{1/}

Examples of /u/

-dit-ul-	"untie"	cf.	-dit-ik-	"tie"
-vel-uk-	"recover"	<	-vel-	"be sick"
-vav-uk-	"be charred"	<	-vav-	"roast"
-kuny-uk-	"be grazed bare"	<	-kuny-	"gnaw"

Examples of /o/

-kosh-ok-	"be clean"	<	-kosh-	"wash"
-tok-ok-	"become broken"	cf.	-tok-ol-	"split"

1.3.13 Rule 13Nasal harmony

The underlying non-nasal /l/ of extensions 1 and 8 assimilates to the nasal /n/ when immediately preceded by a plain nasal consonant /m,n,ny/.^{2/}

Examples of /n/

-kum-in	"touch for"	<	-kum-	"touch"
-tom-en-	"slaughter for"	<	-tom-	"slaughter"
-shun-inin-	"return quickly"	<	-shun-	"return"
-ony-onon-	"be unrolled"	<	-ony-	"roll"

1/ See p.132 ff.

2/ See pp 123 and 132.

Examples of /l/

-kong-olol-	"search out"	<	-kong-	"search"
-tuk-il-	"fly towards"	<	-tuk-	"fly"
-tul-il	"pour into"	<	-tul-	"pour"
-long-el-	"work for"	<	-long-	"work"

PART II - MORPHOLOGY

CHAPTER 2

SUBSTANTIVES

2.1 The noun classes

Nouns in Kwanyama are grouped into classes according to their prefixes and related concords.

Noun classes are numbered here according to Meinhof's system (1932:39, 40) with some modifications. Meinhof's classes 10-9 and 13 are labelled here as 10-9^{1/} and 12 respectively; two additional classes, viz., 1a and 2b are recognized here^{2/}.

2.1.1 Morphological structure of nouns

Nouns usually consist of three segmental morphemes: an initial vowel, a basic prefix, and a stem:

oshiwana	/o-shi-wana/	"a nation"
	/o-/	: initial vowel
	/shi-/	: basic prefix, class 7
	/-wana/	: noun stem

Some nouns, such as those of class 1a, may consist of two morphemes:

tate	/Ø-tate/	: "my father"
	/Ø-/	: noun prefix, class 1a ('zero' morpheme)
	/-tato/	: noun stem

1/ Cole (1967).

2/ Cole (Proto-Bantu Noun prefix system: unpublished, n.d.).

Nouns may incorporate more than one prefix, as in the derivation of nouns from primary-function^{1/} classes, and they may also incorporate a derivational suffix:

okamuti	/o-ka-mu-ti/	"a small tree"
	/o-/	: initial vowel
	/ka-/	: derivational prefix, class 12
	/mu-/	: basic prefix, class 3
	/-ti/	: stem

2.1.1.1 Noun prefixed

Table 3

<u>Class</u>	<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Example</u>	
1	omu- ~ omw-	omukwaita	"soldier"
2	ova- ~ ov-	ovakwaita	"soldiers"
1a	Ø-	meme	"my mother"
2b	oo-	oomeme	"my mothers"
3	omu- ~ omw- (~om-)	omuti	"tree"
4	omi- ~ omy-	omiti	"trees"
5	eØ-	etanga	"melon"
6	oma- ~ om-	omatanga	"melons"
7	oshi- ~ osh-	oshingulu	"pig"
8	oi- ~ oy-	oingulu	"pigs"
9	oN-	ongobe	"cow"
10	ee-	- -	- -
10-9	eeN-	eengobe	"cows"
11	olu- ~ olw-	olupati	"rib"
12	oka-	okafino	"donkey"
14	ou-	oufiku	"night"
15	oku- ~ okw-	okuulu	"leg"
16	pu-	pomulunga	"at the river"
17	ku-	koma temba	"to the troughs"
18	mu-	meumbo	"in the house"

^{1/} Fortune (1955).

2.1.1.2 Initial vowel

Classes 1a, 16, 17 and 18 do not have an initial vowel. The initial vowel for classes 5 and 10-9 is /e/, and for all other classes it is /o/.

2.1.1.3 Basic prefix

The basic prefix may have one of the following types of morphological structures:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \emptyset \\ CV \\ V \\ C \end{array} \right\}$$

The prefixes of classes 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 15 each have two allomorphs; one of these ends in an underlying vowel /(C)V/, and the other ends in a consonant or true glide / $\begin{Bmatrix} C \\ G \end{Bmatrix}$ /.

Synchronically, these variants are not phonologically conditioned and are regarded here as suppletive forms. Their distribution is dealt with for each particular noun class.

2.1.1.4 Noun stems

A noun stem has the minimum morphological structure V. The final element of all noun stems is V. The maximum sequence of vowels within a stem is VV.

The maximum number of consonants in sequence within a stem is /NC/ or /CG/.

2.1.2 Noun Class 12.1.2.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel: /o-/

Basic prefix: /mu- ~ mw-/

The class 1 prefix has two allomorphs: /omw-/ contains a glide, and /omu-/ contains an underlying vowel (which may appear as a glide in surface structure).

(1) The prefix /omw-/ precedes a few stems commencing in front vowels /e,a/.

Only three such cases have been recorded:

omw-alikadi	"woman"	pl. ov-alikadi (2)
omw-ene	"owner"	ov-ene
omw-ali	"nursing mother"	ova-mw-ali (2-1)
(see footnote 1, p. 30)		

(2) The variant /omu-/ co-occurs with stems commencing in vowels /i,e,a,o,u/ (other than those that occur with /omw-/), and also with consonant commencing stems.

The rule of glide formation and vowel lengthening (1.3.8) operates on stems commencing in vowels other than /u/.

When /omu-/ precedes stems commencing in the high-back vowel /u/ simple catenation of vowels occurs.

When /omu-/ precedes consonant commencing stems, the prefix vowel is deleted and the nasal becomes syllabic (in suprasegmental terms, this process involves transference of the basic prefix tone to the nasal) (see 1.3.10 for a description of the phonological process).

/omu-/ with V-commencing stems:

omuameni ^{1/}	[omwa:men̩i]	"protector"	pl. ovaameni (2)
=omwaameni=			
omuenda	[omwe:n̩da]	"visitor"	ovaenda
=omweenda=			
omuimbuli	[omwi:mbuɽi]	"singer"	ovaimbuli
=omwiimbuli=			
omuongaongi	[omwo:ŋgaongi]	"wanderer"	ovaongaongi
=omwoongaongi=			
omuudi	[omu:ɽi]	"listener"	ovaudi

/omu-/ with C-commencing stems:

omulunde	[omɽun̩de]	"sinner"	pl. ovalunde (2)
omukainhu	[omkaɽnu]	"woman"	ovakainhu
omuhambuli	[omhambuɽi]	"smith"	ovahambuli
omuveledi	[omveɽedi]	"invalid"	ovaveledi

When /omu-/ precedes some stems commencing in the sequence /h/ followed by mid-back vowel /o/ partial phonetic assimilation of the nasal element to the initial consonant of the stem takes place after the process of vowel deletion has applied. Phonetically, this results in the realization of a double nasal:

omuhongi	[omɽoŋgi]	"craftsman"	pl. ovahongi (2)
cf. omuhakuli	[omhakuɽi]	"healer"	ovahakuli

1/ The symbol '=' indicates the form as it is written in the official orthography. See Appendix i for a discussion of orthographic problems concerning the representation of these stems.

2.1.2.2 Number

Class 1 nouns are all singular in number, and their corresponding plurals are all in class 2.

2.1.2.3 Significance

Class 1 contains only personal nouns including names of nationals.

2.1.2.4 Examples(1) Miscellaneous personal nouns

omufita	"herdsman"	pl. ovafita (2)
omufuko	"marriageable girl"	ovafuko
omukongo	"hunter"	ovakongo
omulodi	"witch"	ovalodi
omumati	"youth"	ovamati
omumbada	"coward"	ovambada
omunhu	"person"	ovanhu
omunongo	"sage"	ovanongo
omupofi	"blind person"	ovapofi
omukulukadi	"old woman"	ovakulukadi

(2) Names of nationals

Omukwanyama	"Kwanyama person"	pl. Ovakwanyama (2)
Omundonga	"Ndonga person"	Ovandonga
Omungadjela	"Ngadjera person"	Ovangadjela
Omundowishi	"German"	Ovandowishi
Omuilingilisha	"Englishman"	Ovaingilisha
Omukwambi	"Kwambi person"	Ovakwambi

2.1.3 Noun Class 2

2.1.3.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel: /o/

Basic prefix : /va- ~ v-/

- (1) The allomorph /ov-/ occurs with two vowel-commencing stems:
/-alikasi/ and /-ene/:

ov-alikasi "women"

ov-ene "owners"

- (2) The allomorph /ova-/ occurs with all other stems including vowel commencing stems other than the two stems noted above. For examples see 2.1.2.4. and 2.1.2.1.

2.1.3.2 Number

Class 2 nouns are all plural in number with correlative singulars in class 1.

2.1.3.3 Significance

Class 2 nouns have the same significance as those of class 1, see 2.1.2.3 above.

2.1.4 Noun Class 1a

2.1.4.1 Morphology of the prefix

Basic prefix: /Ø-/

There is no initial vowel in class 1a. The prefix, a 'zero' element, occurs with all stems.

A number of personal nouns commence in the element /ka-/ which is probably attributable to a class 12 (noun) prefix:

kaume	"male friend"	pl. ookaume (2b)
kahewa	"female friend"	ookahewa

In Kwanyama, these nouns govern class 1 concords, except in the case of the possessive concord which is identical with that of class 12 :

kaume kange /ka-nge/	"my (male) friend"
ct. meekulu wange	"my grandmother"
kaume otapopi	"the (male) friend is speaking"
ct. okakadona (12) otakapopi	"the girl is speaking"

2.1.4.2 Number

Class 1a nouns are all singular, and their correlative plurals are in class 2b.

2.1.4.3 Significance

This class contains all kinship terms and proper names, as well as terms for many animals, insects and birds.

(1) Kinship terms and other personal nouns

kaume ^{1/}	"male friend"	pl. ookaume (2b)
kahewa ^{1/}	"female friend"	ookahewa
kadina ^{1/}	"namesake"	ookadina
tate	"my, our father"	ootate
xo ^{2/}	"your father"	ooxo
xe ^{2/}	"his, her, their father"	ooxe
meme	"my mother"	oomeme
nyoko	"your mother"	oonyoko
ina	"his, her, their, mother"	ooina
tatemweno	"my father-in-law"	ootatemweno
meekulu	"my grandmother"	oomeeckulu

(2) Proper names. Note that the plurals may have an associative as well as a numerical significance, thus ooHangula indicates "Hangula and company/friends" as well as more than one person with the name Hangula.

1/ See 2.1.4.1, p.32.

2/ Obsolescent (or dialectal) alternative forms for /xo/ and /xe/ are /sho/ and /she/ respectively.

Male names

Namxwika	"Namxwika"	pl. ooNamxwika (2b)
Hangula	"Hangula" (boy born in the morning)	ooHangula
Naindongo	"Naindongo"	ooNaindongo
Hautolonde	"Hautolonde"	ooHautolonde
Hedimbi	"Hedimbi"	ooHedimbi
Nambalishita	"Nambalishita"	ooNambalishita
Nande	"Nande"	ooNande
Hailwa	"Hailwa" (boy born at time of war)	ooHailwa

Female names

Naufiku	"Naufiku" (girl born at night)	ooNaufiku
Nangula	"Nangula" (girl born at dawn)	ooNangula
Shinomwenyo	"Shinomwenyo" (the one with life)	ooShinomwenyo
Nashilwa	"Nashilwa" (girl born at time of war)	ooNashilwa

It appears that the non-class prefix /na-/ occurs in the formation of both male and female names, while /ha-/ is found only in male names. There are a few pairs of names such as Hangula (male) and Nangula (female) where the prefixes distinguish the sex gender of the name. The non-class prefixes /ha-/ and /na-/ also occur as the initial syllables in many terms for living creatures.

(3) Names of animals, insects, birds

ndikuwete	"small cricket"	pl. oondikuwete (2b)
halilo	"glow-worm"	oohalilo
naitalukunghu	"dragonfly"	oonaitalukunghu

nanghenge	"scrub-hare" pl.	oonanghenge (2b)
nembudu	"large African gerbil"	oonembudu
ndiba	"hare" (gen.)	oondiba
nyamanyama	"antbear"	oonyamanyama
munghima	"monkey"	oomunghima
hanamanama	"galago"	oohanamanama
nanghwe	"grey lourie"	oonanghwe
shimeshaudila	"paradise whydah"	ooshimeshaudila
naukuti	"secretary bird"	oonaukuti

2.1.5 Noun Class 2b

2.1.5.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel: /o-/

Basic prefix : /o-/

The prefix /oo-/ occurs with all stems; see 2.1.4.3 above.

2.1.5.2 Number

Class 2b nouns are plural, and their correlative singulars are in class 1a.

2.1.5.3 Significance

Class 2b nouns have the same significances as their corresponding singulars. Class 2b may signify an associative as well as a numerical plural in the case of personal nouns. For examples see 2.1.4.3.

2.1.6 Noun Class 32.1.6.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /mu- ~ mw- ~ m-/

The class 3 prefix has three variants:

- (1) /om-/ occurs only with one stem which commences in the back vowel /o/:

om-ongwa [omɔŋgwa] "salt" pl. eemongwa (10-3)
 ≈ omy-ongwa (4)

This allomorph is probably attributable to the allomorph /omw-/ where the underlying back glide is deleted before the back vowel /o/; (see (2) below).

- (2) /omw-/ occurs with a few stems commencing in the front vowels /i, e, a/. Note that these vowels are short, they do not undergo the regular rule of vowel lengthening (see also p.30).

omw-iyo	[omwijo]	^{1/} "trap"	pl. eemw-iyo (10-3)
omw-ifi	[omwifi]	"smoke"	---
omw-isha	[omwiʃa]	"dinnertime"	---
omw-ilwa	[omwiɫwa]	"sound of whistling"	---
omw-iya	[omwija]	"thong"	pl. omi-iya (4)
			≈ eemw-iya (10-3)
omw-enge	[omwenge]	"sweet reed"	omy-enge (4)
			≈ eemw-enge (10-3)

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and also Appendix i.

omw-edi	[omwed̥i]	"moonlight"	---
omw-enyo	[omweñɔ]	"souī, life"	omy-enyo (4)
			≈ eemw-enyo (10-3)
omw-andi	[omwand̥i]	"sp. of tree"	omy-andi (4)
			≈ eemw-andi (10-3)
omw-ai	[omwai]	"gravy"	---

(3) The variant /omu-/ occurs with all vowel commencing stems other than those specified above in which case the rules of glide formation and vowel lengthening operate on the underlying VV sequence (see 1.3.8).

/omu-/ also co-occurs with all consonant commencing stems, where the prefix vowel /u/ deletes and the nasal becomes syllabic (see 1.3.10).

Examples of /omu-/ with vowel commencing stems:

omuidi ^{1/}	[omwi:di]	"grass"	pl. omaidi (6)
=owiidi=			
omua!a	[omwa:!a]	"breastbone"	omia!a (4)
=omwaa!a=			
omuamba	[omwa:mba]	"overcast sunrise"	omiamba (4)
=omiwaamba=			
omuono	[omwo:ɲo]	"snore"	omiono (4)
=omwoono=			
omuongo	[omwo:ɲgo]	"marula tree"	pl. omiongo (4)
=omwoongo=			
omuu!u	[omu:!u]	"thick bush"	omiulu (4)
=omuu!u=			

i/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

Examples of /omu-/ with consonant commencing stems:

omutima	[omɪtɪma]	"heart"	pl. omitima (4)
omupini	[omɪpɪni]	"handle"	omipini
omuti	[omɪti]	"tree"	omiti
omute	[omɪte]	"ash"	---
omukolo	[omkoʎo]	"cough"	---

2.1.6.2 Number

Class 3 nouns are mostly singular in number, with correlative plurals in class 4. A few class 3 nouns, notably those with the /omw-/ allomorph of the prefix, have correlative plurals in class 10-3 (i.e. by superimposition of prefix class 10 on class 3). Several class 3 nouns are neutral in number:

omukota	"nose-bleeding"
omufenu	"smoothness"
omwifi	"smoke"
omundjene	"heat of fire"
omulalavili	"Milky Way"
omuxu	"powder made from tree bark"

2.1.6.3 Significance

Class 3 contains botanical terms including the names of many trees and shrubs, as well as several anatomical terms and many other miscellaneous impersonal nouns. The class 3 prefix may also have a secondary function^{1/} in the derivation of Augmentatives and Pejoratives from other classes by substitution for the primary function^{1/} basic prefix.

(1) Anatomical terms

omutima	"heart"	pl. omitima (4)
omunwe	"finger"	ominwe
omulungu	"lip"	omilungu
omutwe	"head"	omitwe
omufipa	"vein, sinew"	omifipa (4)
omukati	"elephant's trunk"	omikati
omunino	"windpipe"	ominino
omupindi	"thigh, calf"	omipindi

(2) Botanical terms (names of trees and shrubs)

omutundungu	"wild seringa" <u>Burkea africana</u> ^{2/}	pl. omitundungu (4)
omuuva	"Transvaal teak" <u>Pterocarpus angolensis</u>	omiuva
omuongo	"Marula tree" <u>Sclerocarya caffra</u>	omiorogo
omuhongo	"Tambotie tree" <u>Spirostachys africana</u>	omihongo
omuolo	"Yellow-wood tree" <u>Terminalia sericea</u>	omiolo

1/ The terms primary function and secondary function are used as in Fortune (1955).

2/ All Latin names for botanical terms from Turvey et al. (1977).

omufyaati	"Mopane tree"	pl. omifyaati (4)
	<u>Colophospermum mopane</u>	
omukwiyu	"fig tree"	omikwiyi
	<u>Ficus sycamorus</u>	
omukwa	"Baobab"	omikwa
	<u>Adansonia digitata</u>	

(3) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns

omudo	"year"	pl. omido (4)
omufitu	"bushveld"	omifitu
omufya	"crack"	omifya
omukanda	"letter"	omikanda
omundilo	"fire"	omindilo
omungome	"bread"	omingome
omupepo	"bellows"	omipepo
omukala	"passage in an <u>eumbo</u> "	omikala
omulongo	"ten"	omilongo

(4) Augmentatives and pejorative nouns

omungobe	"large, annoying cow"	pl. omingobe (4)
< ongobe (9)	"cow"	
omundjaba	"big, clumsy elephant"	omindjaba
< ondjaba (9)	"elephant"	
omuxuxwa	"ungainly chicken"	omixuxwa
< oxuxwa (9)	"fowl"	
omuhauto	"large motor-car"	omihauto
< ehauto (5)	"motor-car"	
omungulu	"dilapidated house"	omingulu
< ongulu (9)	"house"	

2.1.7 Noun Class 42.1.7.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /mi- ~ my-/

- (1) The variant /omy-/ occurs with a few stems commencing in the front non-high vowels /e,a/:

omy-enge	[omjenge]	^{1/} "sweet reed"	pl. omw-enge (3)
omy-enyo	[omjeño]	"lives, souls"	omw-enyo
omy-andi	[omjandi]	"sp. of tree"	omw-andi

The stem vowel does not undergo lengthening in these cases, (see also Appendix i).

- (2) The allomorph /omi-/ occurs with all vowel commencing stems other than those specified above. The phonetic rule of glide formation and vowel lengthening operates (see 1.3.8).
/omi-/ also precedes all consonant commencing stems (see 2.1.6).

^{1/} See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

Examples of /omi-/ with vowel commencing stems (only stems commencing in the vowels /a, o, u/ have been noted, but it is possible that others do occur, see class 1 (2.1.2)).

omia ¹ la	[omja:ɬa]	"breastbones"	sg. omuala (3)
=omyaala=			
omionde	[omjo:ndo]	"camel thorn trees"	omuonde
=omyoonde=			
omioyo	[omjo:jo]	"seam, rib"	omuoyo
=omyooyo=			
omiulu	[omju:lu]	"thick bush area"	omuulu
=omyuulu=			
omiuni	[omju:ni]	"wild orange trees"	omuuni
=omyuuni=			

2.1.7.2 Number

Class 4 nouns are mostly plural in number with correlative singulars in class 3.

2.1.7.3 Significance

Nouns of class 4 have the same significances as the correlative singulars (see 2.1.6.3).

2.1.8 Noun Class 5

2.1.8.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel: /e-/

Basic prefix: /ø-/

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

The prefix /eθ-/ occurs with all stems:

e-di	"beeswax".	pl. oma-di (6)
e-fo	"leaf"	oma-fo
e-i	"egg"	oma-i
e-nyangwa	"pumpkin"	oma-nyangwa
e-umbo	"homestead"	oma-umbo
e-kondobolo	"cock"	oma-kondobolo

2.1.8.2 Number

Class 5 nouns are mostly singular in number with correlative plurals in class 6. There are also a few neutral nouns in class 5:

efudi	"froth on milk"	
etondo	"hatred" < -tond-a	"hate"

2.1.8.3 Significance

Class 5 contains miscellaneous impersonal nouns and a few personal nouns, anatomical terms and names of animals and also botanical terms (especially those of edible plants). A few nouns of this class which are derived from other classes by substitution of the noun prefix may have a pejorative and/or augmentative significance.

(1) Anatomical terms

eisho	"eye"	pl. omesho ^{1/} (6)
		= omaisho
eke	"hand"	omake
ekasha	"paw"	omakasha
ekipa	"bone"	omakipa

^{1/} See 2.1.9.1 for allomorphy.

ekofi	"nape"	pl.	omakofi (6)
ekolo	"lap"		omakolo
ekoto	"navel"		omakoto
elakusha	"gill"		omalakusha
epunga	"lung"		omapunga
evava	"wing"		omavava

(2) Animal names

embungu	"hyena"	pl.	omambungu (6)
ekundukima	"baboon"		omakundukima
elimalima	"sp. of bat"		omalimalima
efona	"castrated goat"		omafona
euta	"puff-adder"		omauta
exuvi	"owl"		omaxuvi
etotongwe	"cheetah"		omatotongwe
engo	"sp. of beetle"		omango

(3) Botanical terms

edo	"sp. of water-lily"	pl.	omado (6)
ekunde	"bean"		omakunde
enuwa	"water-melon"		omanuwa
epungu	"maize"		omapungu

(4) Miscellaneous personal nouns

elenga	"headman"	pl.	omalenga (6)
elai	"fool"		omalai
epipi	"age mate"		omapiipi
ekeka	"craftsman"		omakeka

(5) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns

edi	"beeswax"	pl. omadi (6)
edu	"soil, country"	omadu
ei	"egg"	omai
etango	"sun, noon"	omatango
eumbo	"homestead"	omaumbo
elaka	"tongue, language"	omalaka
elila	"road, path"	omalila
epata	"women's enclosure in homestead"	omapata
eonga	"assegai, spear"	omaonga

(6) Augmentatives and Pejoratives

enhu	"large, useless person"	pl. omanhu (6)
< omunhu (1)	"person"	
eti	"block of wood"	omati
< omuti (3)	"tree"	
epofi	"stupid blind person"	omapofi
< omupofi(1)	"blind person"	
ekuti	"large arrow"	omakuti
< oshikuti (7)	"arrow"	
ekwena	"lair, den"	omakwena
< omukwena (3)	"hole"	

2.1.9 Noun Class 62.1.9.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel: /o-/

Basic prefix: /ma- ~ me-/

- (1) /ome-/ occurs with the stems /-sho/ and /-va/:

ome-sho^{1/} ≈ omaisho^{2/} "eyes" sg. eisho (5)ome-va^{1/} "water" cf. owiva (14) "a little water"

These two cases may be attributable to a process of vowel coalescence which no longer operates productively in the language:

omesho ct. omaisho

omeva < * /oma-iva/

The stems /-isho/ and /-iva/ both still exist.

- (2) /oma-/ occurs in all other cases.

/oma-isho/ is a free alternative to /ome-sho/.

2.1.9.2 Number

Class 6 nouns are mainly plural with correlative singulars in classes 5, 11, 12, 14 and 15 (see 2.1.8, 2.1.15, 2.1.17, 2.1.18). Many class 6 nouns are neutral in number (see 2.1.9.3).

1/ These stems each have two allomorphs, viz., /-isho ~ -sho/ and /-iva ~ -va/. The second allomorph occurs with class 6 prefix /ome-/, and the first allomorph occurs elsewhere.

2/ There is no apparent difference in meaning between the two forms.

2.1.9.3 Significance

Plural nouns of class 6 have the same significance as their correlative singulars. Neutral nouns in this class include terms for collectives and mass quantities of substances, and for abstract concepts.

(1) Mass quantities

omaadi	"fat"
omakaadi	"meat fat"
omashini	"milk"
omashikwa	"buttermilk"
omeva	"water"
omalodu	"beer"
omaofi	"thick milk"
omaongo	"marula wine"
omate	"saliva"
omaxu	"urine"

(2) Abstract concepts

omashindo	"vexation"
omahopaelela	"imitation"
omakeko	"fear"
omaxwili	"horror"

2.1.10 Noun Class 7.2.1.10.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /shi- ~ sh-/

The variant /osh-/ occurs with a few stems commencing in the front vowels /e,a/:

osh-edī	[oʃedī] ^{1/}	"chin"	pl. oy-edī	[ojedī]	(8)
osh-ana	[oʃana]	"river-bed"	oy-ana	[ojana]	
osh-ama	[oʃamaoʃaŋg]	"lower-jaw"	oy-ama	[ojama]	
osh-anga	[oʃaŋga]	"heat of sun"	---		

/oshi-/ occurs in all other cases. When /oshi-/ precedes vowel commencing stems other than those specified above, the phonetic realization rule of glide formation and vowel lengthening occurs, followed by deletion of the glide as sequence structure conditions do not permit palatal consonants to be followed by the high glide /y^{2/}:

oshi-imbo	[oʃi:mbo] ^{1/}	"song"	pl. oi-imbo	[oji:mbo]	(8)
oshi-inda	[oʃi:nda]	"palm-leaf mat"	oi-inda	[oji:nda]	
oshi-endo	[oʃe:ndo]	"journey"	oi-endo	[oje:ndo]	
=osheendo=					
oshi-ongela	[oʃo:ŋgefa]	"gallantry"	oi-ongela	[oje:ŋgefa]	
=oshoongela=					

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

2/ see 1.3.8 for a full discussion of the problem.

oshi-udifilo [oʃu:ɖifiɭo] "pulpit" pl. oi-udifilo [oɭu:ɖifiɭo]
 =oshuudifilo=
 oshi-unda [oʃu:nda] "cattle enclosure" oi-unda [oɭu:nda]

(No stems commencing in the vowel /a/ have yet been recorded with prefix /oshi-/, but it is possible that they do occur.)

2.1.10.2 Number

Class 7 nouns are mostly singular with corresponding plurals in class 8 (see 2.1.10.3). A few nouns in this class, including all names of languages, are neutral:

oshifima	"millet porridge"
oshidudu	"speed"
oshiyeele	"mockery"
oshilundo	"quickness"
oshikandela	"mixture of sour and fresh milk"

2.1.10.3 Significance

Class 7 contains all names of languages, several animal names, and miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns.

(1) Language names

Oshikwanyama	"Kwanyama language"
Oshishimba	"Herero language"
Oshindonga	"Ndonga language"
Oshinama	"Nama language"
Oshingadjela	"Ngandjera language"
Oshindowishi	"German language"
Oshiingilisha	"English language"

(2) Animal names

oshikombo	"goat"	pl. oikombo (8)
oshingulu	"domestic pig"	oingulu
osiihepepe	"he-goat"	oihepepe
oshihove	"young ox"	oihove
oshinyengele	"lizard"	oinyengele
oshinghili	"bush louse"	oinghili

(3) Personal nouns

oshingudu	"cripple"	pl. oingudu (8)
oshimhumba	"sister's child"	oimhumba
oshiveli	"first-born child"	oiveli
oshikwanambwiyu	"twin"	oikwanambwiyu

(4) Impersonal nouns

oshikangwa	"potsherds"	pl. oikangwa (8)
oshikunino	"garden"	oikunino
oshikuti	"arrow"	oikuti
oshivanda	"anthheap"	oivanda
oshimwati	"rod"	oimwati
oshihauto	"motor-car"	oihauto
oshilanda	"beads"	oilanda
oshilonga	"work, affair"	oilonga
oshihati	"reed"	oihati
oshipala	"face"	oipala

2.1.11 Noun Class 8

2.1.11.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /i- ~ y-/

(1) The variant /oy-/ occurs only with a few stems commencing in the front vowels /e,a/, (see 2.1.10.1).

(2) /oi-/ occurs with all other stems, for examples, see 2.1.10.1. When this prefix precedes vowel commencing stems, the phonetic realization process of glide formation and vowel lengthening takes place, see 1.3.8.

2.1.11.2 Number

Class 8 nouns are mainly plural, and their correlative singulars are in class 7 (see 2.1.10.3). A number of class 8 nouns are neutral:

oilya	"sorghum"
oiti	"weapons"
oipindi	"trade"
oihelele	"untrustworthiness"
oikonene	"revenge"
oixuna	"trouble"

2.1.11.3 Significance

Plural nouns in class 8 have the same significance as the correlative singulars, and neutral nouns include collectives and terms for abstract concepts, see above.

2.1.12 Noun Class 92.1.12.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel: /o-/

Basic prefix: /N-/

The basic prefix of class 9 is a non-syllabic nasal which is subject to Rule 1 of nasal assimilation (1.3.1), before stems commencing in voiceless stops and voiced continuants (see (1) and (2) below). The prefix is deleted in other cases (see (3) below).

(1) When this prefix occurs before stems commencing in an underlying voiceless stop, the phonological process of stop deletion and nasal devoicing takes place (see 1.3.3):

omhepo	[omepo]	"wind, spirit"	pl. eemhepo (10-9)
< /-pep-a/		"blow"	
omhundja	[omundʒa]	"steenbok"	eemhundja
cf. /oka-pundja/	(12)	"small steenbok"	
omhatela	[omatefa]	"traditional headdress"	eemhatela
< /-patel-a/		"dress the hair"	
onhana	[ogana]	"calf"	eenhana
cf. /oka-tana/	(12)	"small calf"	
onghwiyu	[onwiju]	"fig fruit"	eenghwiyu
cf. /omu-kwiyu/	(3)	"fig tree"	

(2) If the nasal precedes stems commencing in a voiced non-nasal continuant, stop formation takes place (see 1.3.2).

ombadje	[ombadʒe]	"jackal"	pl. eembadje (10-9)
cf.	/okavandʒe/	(12) "small jackal"	
ombe	[ombe]	"fruit of bird plum"	eembe
cf.	/omu-ve/	(3) "bird-plum tree"	
ondado	[ondado]	"trade"	---
< /-land-a/		"buy"	
ondunga	[ondunga]	"palm-apple fruit"	eendunga
cf.	/omu-lunga/	(3) "fan palm tree"	
ondjabi	[ondʒabi]	"payment"	eendjabi
< /-yamb-a/		"give"	

(3) The nasal prefix is deleted before all other consonants.

ofino	/om-fino/	"gemsbuck"	pl. eefino (10-9)
ofeleisho		"eyebrow"	eefeleisho
oskola		"school"	eeskola
oshima		"turtle"	eeshima
oshokoto		"whip"	eeshokoto
ohamba		"chief"	eehamba
oholongo		"kudu"	eeholongo
oxumba		"hartebees"	eexumba
obof'i		"thick milk"	---
odi		"fly"	eedi
odimbo		"stick"	eedimbo
odula		"rain"	---
odjulifi		"longing"	---
omenye		"springbok"	eemenye
omwe		"mosquito"	eemwe
oneka		"enamel mug"	eeneka
onyamanyama		"antbear"	eenyamanyama
ona		"louse"	eena
ongadu		"crocodile"	eengadu

2.1.12.2 Number

Class 9 nouns are mostly singular with correlative plurals in class 10-9. Several class 9 nouns are neutral:

ondjala	"hunger"
ondjawi	"water in which grain is soaked"
omhindangolo	"knock knees"
ondado	"trade"

2.1.12.3 Significance

Class 9 contains many names of animals and fruits, as well as a great number of miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns.

(1)	<u>Animal names</u>		
	odi	"sheep"	pl. eedi (10-9)
	odila	"large bird"	(gen.) eedila
	ombwa	"dog"	eembwa
	omhuku	"mouse"	eemhuku
	ondje	"scorpion"	eendje
	onhoka	"mamba"	eenhoka
	ondjabameva	"hippopotamus"	eendjabameva
	onghambe	"horse"	eenghambe
	ongwe	"leopard"	eengwe
	omhanda	"rhinoceros"	eemhanda
	ongolo	"zebra"	eengolo
	onghima	"monkey"	eenghima
	onghala	"mongoose"	eenghala
	ondjela	"squirrel"	eendjela
	onghili	"tortoise"	eenghili

(2) Names of fruits

ombe	"bird plum"	pl. eembe (10-9)
ondunga	"palm-apple"	eendunga
onghwiyu	"fig"	eenghwiyu
ongeshwa	"edible bulb"	eengeshwa
ongongo	"fruit of <u>omuongo</u> "	eengongo

(3) Miscellaneous personal nouns

onghwate	"prisoner"	pl. eenghwate (10-9)
ondudu	"diviner"	eendudu
omhote	"good-for nothing"	eemhote
ombuvi	"chain-smoker"	eembuvi
onhondoki	"runner"	eenhondoki
onhoni	"one who has killed an enemy in war"	eenhoni

(4) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns

odimbo	"stick"	pl. eedimbo (10-9)
ombiya	"cooking-pot"	eembiya
ombungu	"reed"	eembungu
omhya	"chalk"	eemhya
odindo	"swelling"	eedindo
ofingo	"neck"	eefingo
omhafu	"eyelash"	eemhafu
omhando	"ankle"	eemhando
omhako	"beer strainer"	eemhako
omhindo	"calabash water scoop"	eemhindo
ombehe	"knife"	eembehe

2.1.13 Noun Class 10

2.1.13.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /e-/

Basic prefix : /e-/

This prefix is superimposed as a plural prefix to the prefixes of class 3 (2.1.6) and class 9 (2.1.12). The class 10 prefix does not occur on its own in Kwanyama.

2.1.14 Noun Class 10-9

2.1.14.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /e-/

Basic prefix : /e-/ (class 10) + /N-/ (class 9)

The noun prefix /eeN-/ of class 10-9 is a composite prefix consisting of the basic prefix of class 10 /e-/ superimposed on the class 9 prefix^{1/}. Phonological processes associated with the class 10-9 prefix are identical with those of class 9 (see 2.1.12.1)

2.1.14.2 Number

Class 10-9 nouns are mainly plural with correlative singulars in classes 9, 11 and 3 (see 2.1.2; 2.1.15 and 2.1.6). A few class 10-9 nouns are neutral in number:

^{1/} Cole (1967).

eemhandu	"handclapping"
eemhata	"argument"
eemhawe	"hail"
eememo	"sharpness"
eendima	"cultivation"
eenghono	"strength"
eemhwengu	"madness"
eemhofi	"sleep"

2.1.14.3 Significance

Class 10-9 nouns have the same significances as their correlative singulars; for examples, see 2.1.12; 2.1.15 and 2.1.6. Class 10-9 also contains a few miscellaneous impersonal nouns and terms for abstract concepts; see above.

2.1.15 Noun Class 11

2.1.15.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /lu- ~ lw-/

The allomorph /olw-/ occurs with a few stems commencing in the front vowels /i,e,a/:

olw-ishi	[olwiʃi]	"rice"	pl. omalwishi (6-11)
olw-iyó	[olwiyo]	"earthenware pot"	omalwiyo
olw-enya	[olweña]	"feather"	omalwenya
olw-ani	[olwani]	"fermentation"	---

No lengthening of the stem vowel takes place in these cases.
 /olu-/ occurs with all other vowel and consonant commencing stems.
 There is catenation of vowels with /u/ commencing stems, and in the
 case of other vowel commencing stems, the rule of glide formation and
 vowel lengthening operates (see 1.3.8):

olu-imbo ^{1/}	[oɽwi:mbo]	"song"	pl. omaluimbo (6-11)
=olwiimbo=			
olu-ikilidi	[oɽwi:kiɽidi]	"familiarity"	---
=olwiikilidi=			
olu-endo	[oɽwe:ndo]	"journey"	omaluendo
=olweendo=			
olu-amhati	[oɽwa:mati]	"side"	omaluamhati
=olwaamhati=			
olu-odi	[oɽwo:di]	"battle"	omaluodi
=olwoodi=			
olu-ondje	[oɽwo:ndʒe]	"walking-stick"	omaluondje
=olwoondje=			
olu-uli	[oɽu:ɽi]	"wooden bit of harness"	omaluuli
olu-umbo	[oɽu:mbo]	"round of ammunition"	omaluumbo

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix 1.

/olu-/ with consonant commencing stems:

olusheno	"electric light/current"	---
olunguto	"spoon"	pl. omalunguto (6-11)
olumbungu	"reed"	omalumbungu
oluhoni	"grass"	eehoni (10-9)
		≈ omaluhoni (6-11)
olukaku	"shoe"	eenghaku (10-9)

2.1.15.2 Number

Nouns of class 11 are mainly singular with correlative plurals in classes 10-9 or 6-11.

Several class 11 nouns are neutral in number:

oluvandje	"whey"
olundibo	"beads used in <u>omupitakano</u> necklace"
olumbololo	"type of porridge"
oluhodi	"sadness"
olungu	"chaff"

2.1.15.3 Significance

Class 11 contains terms for abstract concepts, several anatomical terms, and other miscellaneous impersonal nouns.

(1) Anatomical terms

olududi	"body hair"	pl. omalududi (6-11)
olutu	"body"	omalutu
oluwewe	"fontanelle"	omaluwewe
olunyala	"nail, claw"	eenyala (10-9)
olupati	"rib"	eemhati

oluhamama	"jaw"	pl.	eemhamama (10-9)
olufipa	"sinew"		eefipa
olupanda	"cheek"		eemhanda (10-9)
			≈ omalupanda (6-11)

(2) Abstract concepts

olupe	"appearance"
olukakelo	"tendency to be dirty"
olungoneno	"tendency to be weak or thin"
olushekunino	"tendency to miss easily in shooting"

(3) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns

olupanda	"floor"	pl. omalupanda (6-11)
oluvala	"colour"	omaluvata
olukoolo	"rake"	omalukoolo
olupale	"courtyard"	omalupale
olukala	"passage"	omalukala
olufindo	"ladle"	omalufindo
olutala	"bed"	omalutala
olungano	"folktale"	eengano (10-9)
olungodo	"copper ankle ring"	eengodo

2.1.16 Noun Class 12

2.1.16.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/.

Basic prefix : /ka-/

/oka-/ occurs with all stems:

oka-anda	"grain basket"	pl. oma-anda (6)
oka-onga	"javelin"	oma-onga
oka-ulu	"small bone"	oma-ulu
oka-uta	"stringed instrument" (lit. "small bow")	ou-uta (14)
oka-tana	"young calf"	ou-tana
oka-shandje	"finger piano"	ou-shandje
oka-mbishi	"cat"	ou-mbishi
oka-kungungu	"small work party"	ou-kungungu

2.1.16.2 Derivation of nouns from other classes

The class 12 noun prefix may be used in secondary function^{1/} to derive nouns from other classes by the substitution for, or superimposition on the primary-function class prefix. (The correlative plural prefixes have the same secondary function as class 12.)

(1) /oka-/ is superimposed on the primary-function prefix of class 3 and of some class 9 nouns (which occur without initial vowel):

oka-mw-isha (12-3)	"small meal"	pl. ou-mw-isha (14-3)
< omw-isha (3)	"meal"	
oka-mu-ti (12-3)	"small tree"	ou-mu-ti
< omu-ti (3)	"tree"	
oka-mu-pini (12-3)	"small handle"	ou-mu-pini
< omu-pini (3)	"handle"	
oka-mu-konda (12-3)	"small knife"	ou-mu-konda
< omu-konda (3)	"knife"	

^{1/} Fortune (1955).

oka-mu-ndilo (12-3)	"small fire"	pl. ou-mu-ndilo (14-3)
< omundilo	"fire"	
oka-ndunga (12-9)	"small palm apple"	ou-ndunga (14-9)
< ondunga (9)	"palm apple"	cf. omu-lunga (3)
oka-ndjaba (12-9)	"small elephant"	ou-ndjaba (14-9)
< ondjaba (9)	"elephant"	
oka-mhadi (12-9)	"small foot"	ou-mhadi (14-9)
< omhadi (9)	"foot"	

(2) /oka-/ is substituted for the primary-function prefix of other classes (including some class 9 nouns):

oka-vandje	"small jackal"	pl. ou-vandje (14)
< ombadje (9)	"jackal"	
oka-tana	"small calf"	ou-tana
< onhana (9)	"calf"	
oka-kombo (12)	"small goat, kid"	ou-kombo
< oshi-kombo (7)	"goat"	
oka-fo (12)	"small leaf"	ou-fo
< e-fo (5)	"leaf"	
oka-lengwena	"sub-headman"	ou-lengwena

/oka - leng - wena/ includes the diminutive suffix /-wena/

< e-lenga (5)	"headman"
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2.1.16.3 Number

Class 12 nouns are mostly singular in number with correlative plurals in class 14. A few class 12 nouns have their plurals in class 6 (see 2.15.1 above).

A few nouns are neutral in number:

okayambu	"quickness"
okakoko	"eye disease"

2.1.16.4 Significance

Class 12 (where the prefix is in primary function) contains several terms for animals, insects and birds, and also many miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns.

Nouns derived from other classes by the secondary function of /oka-/ have a diminutive significance. Derived nouns indicating animals or persons may signify young, immature, small size, or lesser status (in the case of persons). For examples of diminutives see 2.1.16.2 above.

(1) Animal names

okafifi	"sp. of bird"	pl. oufifi (14)
okanikifa	"hedgehog"	ounikifa
okafilengonyo	"sp. of small beetle"	oufilengonyo
okandilili	"sp. of bat"	oundilili
okapuka	"insect" (gen.)	oupuka
okapundja	"small steenbok"	oupundja

(2) Miscellaneous personal and impersonal nouns

okaana	"child"	pl. ounona ^{1/} (14)
okadina	"namesake"	oudina
okakadona	"maiden"	oukadona

1/ This stem has two allomorphs /-ana ~ -nona/ which occur with the prefixes of classes 12 and 14 respectively.

okahanana	"small baby"	pl.	ouhanana (14)
okalinga	"finger ring"		oulinga
okambale	"small basket"		oumbale
okaanda	"grain basket"		omaanda (6)
okasholopati	"lower rib"		ousholopati
okani	"pestle"		ouni
okanipula	"fish hook"		ounipula

2.1.17 Noun Class 14

2.1.17.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /u- ~ w-/

- (1) The allomorph /ow-/ with underlying glide occurs with some stems commencing in the front vowels /i,e,a/:

ow-iva	[owiva] ^{1/}	"a little water"	cf. omeva (6) "water"
ow-engo	[owengo]	"nicotine liquid"	pl. omawengo (6-14)
ow-ato	[owato]	"bark canoe"	omawato (5-14)

The stem vowel does not undergo lengthening.

- (2) The prefix /ou-/ occurs with all vowel commencing stems,^{1/} and with all consonant commencing stems. The phonetic realization rule

^{1/} See footnote 1, p.30.

of glide formation and vowel lengthening operates with vowel commencing stem (see 1.3.8) (only stems commencing in /i,e/ have been recorded, but others may possibly occur):

Examples of /ou-/ with vowel commencing stems

ou-i	[owi:]	"evil"	pl. omaui [omawi:] (6-14)
=owii=			
ou-inga	[owi:ŋga]	"poverty"	---
=owiinga=			
ou-enda	[owe:nda]	"journey"	omauenda [omawe:nda]
=oweenda=			

Examples of /ou-/ with consonant commencing stems

ou-dio	"poison"	pl. omaudio (6-14)
ou-nyenye	"sweetness"	---
ou-ladi	"courage"	---

2.1.17.2 Number

Class 14 contains a few singular nouns with correlative plurals in class 6-14, and also plural nouns whose correlative singulars are in class 12, see 2.1.16. Many neutral nouns including terms for abstract concepts and collectives also occur in this class.

2.1.17.3 Concordial agreement of class 14

Singular and neutral nouns of class 14 govern class 14 concordial agreements. Plural nouns with a class 14 noun prefix have concordial agreements of class 2 in all cases which in effect

means that these nouns are a sub-class of class 2. These plurals are designated separately in the various tables as 'cl. 14 pl.' although they are identical with those of class 2. Singular and neutral noun agreements are 'cl. 14 sg.':

Singular/neutral

ouladi	<u>w</u> ange	/wa-/	"my courage"
oudjuu	<u>a</u> she	/u-/	"all the difficulty"
Oudjuu	ota <u>u</u> kakala	unene /u-/	"The difficulty will be great"

Plural

ounona	<u>v</u> ange	/va-/	"my children"
ounona	<u>a</u> veshe	/ve-/	"all the children"
Ounona	ota <u>v</u> adjala	/va-/	"The children are dressing"

2.1.17.4 Significance

Class 14 contains terms for abstract concepts, collectives, and a few miscellaneous impersonal nouns. The class 14 prefix also occurs as a secondary-function prefix in the derivation of diminutives from other classes where it is the plural of class 12 forms (see 2.1.16).

(1) Abstract concepts and collective terms

outalala	"cold weather"
oufiye	"sadness"
oufiona	"poverty"
oukaume	"friendship"
oukukutu	"st ss"
oufila	"grain"
oufiku	"night"

oululu	"bitterness"	
oulungu	"thievery"	
oudu	"sickness"	pl. omaudu (6-14)

(2) Miscellaneous impersonal nouns

outa	"bow"	pl. omauta (6-14)
ouhamba	"palace"	omauhamba
owato	"canoe"	omawato

2.1.18 Noun Class 15

2.1.18.1 Morphology of the prefix

Initial vowel : /o-/

Basic prefix : /ku- ~ kw-/

- (1) The allomorph /okw-/ occurs only with one stem commencing in the front non-high vowel:

okw-enye ^{1/}	"dry season"	pl. oma-kw-enye (6-15)
------------------------	--------------	------------------------

- (2) /oku-/ occurs with all other vowel and consonant commencing stems. The phonetic rule of glide formation and vowel lengthening operates when stems commence in vowels other than /u / in which case there is simple catenation of vowels (see 1.3.8):

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

oku-ingida ^{1/}	[okwi:ngida]	"to shout"
=okwiingida=		
oku-ima	[okwi:ma]	"to bear fruit"
=okwiima=		
oku-efa	[okwe:fa]	"to allow"
=okweefa=		
oku-ehela	[okwe:he[la]	"to beseech"
=okweehela=		
oku-amena	[okwa:mena]	"to protect"
=okwaamena=		
oku-anya	[okwa:ña]	"to refuse"
=okwaanya=		
oku-ona	[okwo:na]	"to growl, snore"
=okwoona=		
oku-ondoka	[okwo:ndoka]	"to become fat"
=okwoondoka=		
oku-uda	[oku:da]	"to hear"
oku-umba	[oku:mba]	"to shoot"

2.1.18.2 Number

Class 15 nouns are mainly neutral in number, but there are also a few singular nouns with corresponding plurals in class 6.

2.1.18.3 Significance

Class 15 contains all positive and negative verbal infinitives, and also a few anatomical terms and names of seasons :

1/ See footnote 1, p.30 and Appendix i.

(1) Anatomical terms

okutwi	"ear"	pl. omakutwi (6-15)
okuoko	"arm"	omaoko (6)
okuulu	"leg"	omaulu (6)
okulombo	"rainy season (December - April)"	
okufu	"winter" (May - August)	
okwenye	"dry season" (September - December)	

(2) Verbal Infinitives (all neutral)

okutunga	"to construct, sew"
okukolola	"to cough"
okupindika	"to barter"
okutaafina	"to chew"
okutanguna	"to scold"
okulya	"to eat"
okulwa	"to fight"
okulonga	"to work"
okuekama	"to open the mouth"
okualuka	"to return"

2.1.19 Locatives : Noun Classes 16, 17 and 18

Prefixes of classes 16, 17 and 18 indicate location at, or in, or motion to, into or from something or someone.

There are no locative stems as such, but most substantives (nouns, absolute pronouns, demonstratives, independent qualificatives) may occur as locative bases.

2.1.19.1 Morphological structure of locative prefixes

The vowel of the locative prefix is deleted when it precedes noun prefixes that have an initial vowel, but the locative prefix vowel is not deleted before consonant commencing bases, or before vowel commencing absolute pronouns and demonstratives. The phonetic realization rule of glide formation and vowel lengthening operates at the boundaries of locative prefix and these latter vowel commencing bases:

komuti /ku - o - mu-ti/ "to the tree"

cf. okamuti /o-ka-mu-ti/ "small tree"

(the initial vowel of the noun prefix is deleted, and the vowel of prefix /ka-/ is retained)

kuove [kwo:ve] "to you"

(prefix vowel is retained with glide formation and lengthening)

kutate /ku-tate/ "to my father"

(consonant commencing base).

2.1.19.2 Grammatical agreement of locative classes

Locatives govern a set of grammatical agreements as do other noun classes; locatives do not function as objects in a sentence, therefore there are no object prefixes for these classes. There are no possessive concords for these classes either.

2.1.20 Noun Class 16

2.1.20.1 Prefix /pu-/

In Kwanyama (as also in Ndonga and Kwambi), the prefix vowel for class 16 is /u/, unlike most other Bantu languages where the

prefix vowel is /a/. The vowel /a/ appears in the grammatical agreement concords.

/pu-/ is prefixed to all bases, with deletion of the prefix vowel before the initial vowel of noun bases; before other vowel commencing bases, vowel lengthening and glide formation takes place.

(1) Noun base

pu-tate	"near father"
< tate (1a)	"father"
pu-kaume	"nearby the friend"
< kaume (1a)	"friend"
pu-Hainghono	"to Hainghono"
< Hainghono (1a)	
p-omuti < /pu-omuti/	"at the tree"
< omuti (3)	"tree"
p-omukulunhu < /pu-omukulunhu/	"with the big person"
< omukulunhu (1)	"big person"

(2) Possessive base

pu-yaye	"at his (home)"
< yaye	

(3) Absolute pronoun base

puame [pwa:me] ≈ [pɣa:me] ^{1/}	"with (at) me"
< ame (1st person singular)	

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

puove [pwo:ve] "with (at) you"
 < ove (2nd person singular)
 pufye "with us"
 < fye (1st person plural)
 puvo "with (at) them"
 < vo (class 2)

(4) Demonstrative base

puai [pwa:i] ≈ [pɾa:i] (9) "at this (side)"^{1/}
 < /a ~ ei/ (1st position)
 puao [pwa:o] (9) "at that (side)"
 < /ao ~ oo/ (9) (2nd position)
 puaenya [pwa:ɛña] "at these (dams)"
 < /aenya ~ enya/ (16) (3rd position)

2.1.20.2 Number

Class 16 nouns are neutral in number.

2.1.20.3 Significance

Class 16 indicates location, action or motion 'at, near, nearby, to, from, on' the object denoted by the locative base:

pefimbo eli	"at that time"
ponghele	"at that place"
pomeva	"at the water"
Oikuni oili <u>pediko</u>	"The wood is on the hearth"
Eedi otadiuya <u>petemba</u>	"The sheep come to (near) the trough"
Okwafiila omate <u>pedu</u>	"He spat on the ground"
Vo ovafikama <u>pombinga</u> ei	"They are standing on this side"

1/ See 2.3.2 for a description of the demonstrative allomorphs.

2.1.21 Noun Class 172.1.21.1 Prefix /ku-/

/ku-/ is prefixed to all bases; the vowel of the prefix is deleted before vowel commencing nouns; before other vowel-commencing bases, glide formation and vowel lengthening take place.

(1) Noun base

ku-tate	"to my father"
< tate (1a)	"father"
ku-Elia	"to Elia"
< Elia (1a)	
k-omatamba	"to the water troughs"
< omatamba (6)	"water troughs"
k-ovanhu	"towards the people"
< ovanhu (2)	"people"
k-ombelewa	"to the ofrice"
< ombelewa (9)	"office"
k-omatango	"at midday"
< omatango (6)	"noon, suns"

(2) Independent qualificative (Possessive) base

ku-yetu	"towards our (office)"
< yetu (possessive)	
ku-letu	"to our (homestead)"
< letu	
kufye	"to us"
< fye	"us"
kuove [kwo:ve]	"to you" (sg.)
< ove	"you"

(3) Absolute pronoun base

ku-ame [kwa:me]^{1/} "to me"
 < ame (1st person singular)
 ku-ye "to ..."
 < ye (1)

(4) Demonstrative base

kuau [kwa:u]^{1/} "to this one (district)"
 < /au ~ ou/ (3) (1st position)^{2/}
 kuao [kwa:o] "to that one"
 < /ao ~ oo/ (3) (2nd position)
 kuawinya [kwa:wiña] "to that one yonder"
 < /awinya ~ winya/ (3) (3rd position)

2.1.21.2 Number

Class 17 nouns are all neutral.

2.1.21.3 Significance

Class 17 indicates location, action, or movement "at, in, into, from" something which is relatively distant.

keumbo	"to the homestead"
kuvo	"to them"
kohamba	"to the chief"
Eengobe otadii <u>komatamba</u>	"The cattle go to the troughs"
Ovadya <u>keembinga</u> adishe	"They came from all sides"
Ookaume otavayandje oinima ihapu <u>kutate</u>	"The friends give many things to my father"
Vo otaveuya <u>komukunda</u> oo	"They are going to that district"

1/ See footnote 1, p. 30 and Appendix i.

2/ See 2.3.2 for the distribution of allomorpha.

Author Rosburgh J A

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