

okunwa "to drink"
 okuhayandja /o - ku - ha - .../ "not to give"
 okuhaimba "not to sing"
 okuheaimba /o - ku - he - a - .../ "not to sing them"
 okuhekoshha /o - ku - he - li - .../ "not to wash oneself"

4.2.2. Imperative (positive)

4.2.2.1 Significance

The imperative expresses positive commands; there are forms for singular (i.e. addressed to one person) and plural (i.e. addressed to more than one person) imperatives.

4.2.2.2 Pattern

Without object concord:

positive : sg. (a) R - a
 (b) R - a - a
 pl. R - e - ni

Pattern (b) of the singular occurs with radicals that have $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ Cy \\ CW \end{array} \right\}$ structure in which case the tense suffix is reduplicated as a stabilizer. Pattern (a) is used for all other radicals. There are exceptional forms of the imperative of /-y - a/ "go" and /-uy-a/ "come" :

/- y - a/ : sg. inda "go"
 pl. indeni "go"
 /- u y - a/ : sg. ila "come"
 pl. ileni "come"

4.2.2.3 . PatternWith object concord:

positive: (1) sg. R - e - OS

pl. R - e - ni -OS

(2) sg. OP - R - a

pl. OP - R - e - ni

Pattern (1) is used with the object suffix /-nge/ of the 1st person sg.

Pattern (2) occurs with all object prefixes.

4.2.2.4. Examples:(Without object concord):Singular:

Lyaa !	"Eat !"
Faa !	"Dig !"
Lwaa !	"Fight !"
Kanghama !	"Stand still !"
Endelela !	"Hurry up !"
Dyala !	"Get dressed !"
Eta oinima !	"Bring the things !"

Plural :

Lweni !	"Fight !"
Tweni !	"Pound (the grain)!"
Futeni omulumenhu !	"Pay the man !"
Shingeni eengobe !	"Chase the cattle !"

4.2.2.5

Examples(With object concord) :Singular

Kongele-nge opena ! "Look for a pen for me !"
 Kwafe-nge ! "Help me !"
 Mukwata ! "Catch him !"
 Valeshela ehokololo ! "Read them a story !"
 Mudengeia onodi ! "Call him by telephone !"

Plural:

Vateleni-nge ! "Force them!"
 Valapeni ! "Summon them !"
 Mutuleni ! "Unburden him !"

4.3 Finite forms : indicative mood4.3.1 Present tense4.3.1.1 PrincipalPatternpositive : o - {ta} - SP - R - {V^R}negative : i - {ta} - SP - R - {V^R}= nghi - R - {V^R} (1st person sg. only)4.3.1.2 Significance:

The present tense indicates that something is or is not taking place at the present moment. In the case of inchoative radicals, the present tense indicates that a process or state is being entered into.

4.3.1.3 Examplespositive :Okakadona otakashamine ondjuo nomeva

"The girl is dampening the dress with water"

Otakevauka keembinga neembinga

"He wanders about from place to place"

Otomanga o^hapakete 1/

"You are tying up the parcel"

Ohandiilesa 1/ meumbo lange

"I read them in my book"

1/ /t-/ and /ha-/ are allomorphs of the prefix {ta-}.

Ohatui kenangeko

"We are going to a feast"

Ye otame elova

"She is kneading the dough"

Ovakwaita otavalu

"The soldiers are fighting"

Negative

Ame itandili

"I am not eating"

Oluvadi italiande omiti

"The lightning does not strike the trees"

Fye ihatumenya-mo

/mo/ : verbal enclitic

"We are not smiling"

Ye itapiki komutwe

"She is not shaking her head"

Ove itoshili (oshiimati)

"You are not eating it (the fruit)"

Ovashiinda itavetukwafa

"The neighbours do not help us"

4.3.1.4 Tense prefixes

(1) /i-/ is the initial tense prefix in all negative forms of the present tense (except with the 1st person sg. prefix /nghi-/).

(2) The present tense prefixal morpheme {ta} occurs in both the positive and the negative and has three allomorphs /ta - ~ t - ~ ha-/:

/ha-/ occurs only with the subject prefixes of the 1st person singular and plural:

Ohandipwilikine /o - ha - ndi - .../ eshi tomupopi

/ndi-/ : SP, 1st person sg.

"I am listening to what you are saying"

Ohatukundafana /o - ha - tu - .../ oshinima

"We are discussing the matter"

/t-/ occurs with the subject prefixes for the 2nd person sg.^{1/} and class 1 :

Ito'i /i - t - o - .../ ombelela

/o-/ : subject prefix, 2nd person sg.

"You are not eating the meat"

Ye otelikosho /o - t - e - li - .../

/e-/ : subject prefix, class 1

/li-/ : reflexive prefix

"She washes herself"

1/ Historically, the 2nd person sg. subject prefix may be attributable to a coalescence of the tense prefix vowel of /ta/ with a subject prefix */u/; synchronically however, this type of coalescence is not a regular process in the phonology of kwanyama. The subject prefix /u-/ of the 2nd person sg. still exists in the present subjunctive (see 4.4.1).

Ye otakosho /o - t - a - .../ oikutu

/a-/ : subject prefix, class 1

"She washes the clothes"

/ta-/ occurs in both positive and negative forms in all other cases i.e. preceding subject prefixes other than the 1st person p¹. /tu-/, 2nd person sg. /o-/, and class 1 /a - ~ e-/. It may also occur with the 1st person sg. prefix as an alternative to /ha-/:

Ounona otavapushu /o - ta - va - .../ eenghaku dange

"The children brush my shoes"

Ounona otavedipushu /o - ta - ve - .../

"The children brush them"

Ounona itavedipushu /i - ta - .../

"The children do not brush them"

Otandihafe /o - ta - .../ (= ohandihafe)

"I am rejoicing"

4.3.1.5 Subject Prefixes

A full list of subject prefixes (abbreviated as 'SP') is given in Table 13, p. 155.

(1) 1st Person Singular

This subject prefix has two allomorphs /ndi - ≈ i -/; the latter occurs as a free variant to /ndi-/ co-occurring with the tense prefix /ha-/. (/i-/ does not co-occur with /ta-/) :

Ohandipupu /o - ha - ndi .../
 ≈ Ohaipupu /o - ha - i.../ eshi tamutonga

"I am listening to what you are saying"

The negative of the 1st person sg. has a free variant form /nghi - .../[ŋi] which is apparently a contraction of tense prefix and subject prefix /ta - ndi-/ or /ha - ndi/ :

nghikudende /nghi - .../
 ≈ itandikudenge /i - ta - ndi .../

"I am not hitting you"

In colloquial usage, the voiceless nasal of the contracted form may be replaced by the voiceless glottal fricative [h] :

nghikudenge >[hikudenge]

(2) Class 1

There are at least two possible ways of analyzing forms containing the class 1 subject prefix following tense prefix {ta}.

The subject prefix could be considered as a 'zero' /∅-/ morpheme in which case the tense prefixes would be /ta- ~ te-/. This would, however,

be the only case in the conjugation where a tense prefix preceding a subject prefix undergoes the rule of vowel raising, and for this reason the analysis preferred is that tense prefix /t-/ (which also precedes the second person sg. SP) is followed by class 1 subject prefix /a - ~ e-/ .

otelikosho /o - t - e .../ "he washes himself"
 otalongo /o - t - a - .../ "she is working"

The distribution of the subject prefix allomorphs follows the same rule of vowel raising as those of classes 2, 6, 12 and 16, (see 1.3.9).

(3) The subject prefixes of classes 1, 2, 6, 12 and 16 have structure /(C)e -/ which undergoes vowel raising (see 1.3.9).

/(C)e -/:

Okaana itakelikosho

/ke-/ : subject prefix, class 12

/li-/ : reflexive prefix

"The child does not wash itself"

Otelileshe /o - t - e - li - ... (e m bo)

/e-/ : subject prefix, class 1

/li-/ : object prefix, class 5

"He is reading it (the book)"

Ovashiinda otavetukwafa

/ve-/ : subject prefix, class 2

/tu-/ : object prefix, 1st person plural

"The neighbours help us"

Omalenga itaemukwafa

/e-/ : subject prefix, class 6

/mu-/ : object prefix, class 1

"The headmen are not helping him"

(No examples of the /pe/ allomorph of class 16 preceding an object prefix have been recorded, but the form /pe/ does occur in other tenses such as the Defective present.)

/ (c) a - / :

Otalesha /o - t - a - .../ embo

/a-/ : subject prefix, class 1

"He is reading the book"

Ovashiinda otavakwafa

/va-/ : subject prefix, class 2

"The neighbours are helping"

Okaana otakalili

/ka-/ : subject prefix, class 12

"The child is crying"

Omalenga otaakundafana

/a-/ : subject prefix, class 6

"The headmen are discussing"

All other classes have only one form of the subject prefix which occurs in all cases.

4.3.1.6 Present tense suffix

The allomorphs of the present tense suffix are suppletive forms which are cited with every verb radical in the lexicon.

To a large extent, the distribution of allomorphs is determined by the final vowel of the extended or unextended radical, and some general observations can be made about its occurrence. Consistent statements cannot, however, be made about the distribution of suffixes.

The symbol $\{V^R\}$ is used here as an abbreviation for the present tense suffix allomorphs /- a ~ -e ~ -i ~ -o ~ -u ~ -∅/.

(1) Suffix /-∅/

/-∅/ is a 'ze o' morpheme that occurs with radicals having structure /... (C)V/ (see 3.2.2.2, 3.2.2.3 for a complete list of these radicals):

Examples :

Otavafi / ... - fi - ∅/

"They are dying"

Oimati otadipi /... - pi - ∅/

"The fruit is ripening"

Otafe moshikunino /... -fe -∅/

"He is digging in the garden"

Oikulya otadipu /... - pu - ∅/

"The food is becoming finished"

Omutenya otautu /...-tu- ∅/

"The heat is piercing"

Ovakulukadi otavapopi /... - popi - ∅/

"The women are speaking"

(2) Suffix /-e/

/-e/ occurs with many (but not all) radicals that have the phonological structure /C a C/.
The final segment may be a plain consonant, or a sequence of nasal plus consonant:

Ohandilande / ... - land - e/

"I am buying"

Ohatuhafe / ... - haf - e/

"We are rejoicing"

Itandivake /... - vak - e/

"I am not stealing"

/-e/ occurs with all radicals incorporating Extension 1 (Applied) /-e1-/, and also with some radicals incorporating Extension 3 (Neuter-Stative) /- ik - ~ - ek-/, or Extension 5 (Stative-Causative) /-ik - ~ - ek-/:

Ohandikulonge / ... - long - e1 - e/ shike ?

/-e1/ : Extension 1

"Why do I work for you ?"

Otahondjele-nge / ... - hondj - e1 - e/

/-e1/ : Extension 1

"She sews for me"

Otevakaleke /... - kal - ek - e/ omutumba

/-ek/ : Extension 5

"He makes them all sit down"

Otanangeke / ... - nang - ek - e/ ckaana

/-ek/ : Extension 5

"She puts the child to sleep"

/-e/ also occurs with most other radicals ending in the phonological sequences /il, el, in, en, ik, ek/.

These endings may be attributable historically to extensions which no longer function productively:

Ohandipwilikine / ... - pwilikin - e/ ko^wradiyo

"I am listening to the radio"

Ye otatile / ... - til - e/ omashini mekandina

"She pours the milk into the jug"

Okaana otakafifikine / ... - fifikin - e/ omesho

"The child blinks its eyes"

Omeva otaahekele /... - hekel - e/

"The water is turning to ice".

(3) Suffix /-a/

The allomorph /-a/ occurs with radicals incorporating (and ending) in Extension 2 (Passive) /-w-/, Extension 7 (Causative) /-if-/, Extensions 8 and 9 (Reversive) {u1-} and {-uk-}, and Extension 11 (Habitual) /-an-/. /-a/ occurs also with a few verbs ending in Extension 3 (Neuter- Stative) /-ik-/:

Ohandidengwa /... - deng - w - a/

/-w-/ : Extension 2

"I am being hit"

Otalongifa /... long - if - a/ ovafita

/-if-/ : Extension 7

"He makes the servants work"

Otaimangulula /... - mang - u1 - u1 - a/

/-u1 - u1-/ : Extension 8 (reduplicated)

"He unties it"

Omufima otaudindoka / ... dind - ok - a/

/-ok-/ : Extension 9

"The spring is draining dry"

Kaume otafufyana /... - fufy - an - a/

/-an-/ : Extension 11

"The friend is telling lies"

Oudjuu otaukandulwa-po /... - kand - ul - w - a/

/-w -/ : Extension 2

"The difficulty is being solved"

/-a/ occurs with all radicals that have reduplicated structure
(they may be historically or synchronically reduplicated):

Vo otavakongakonga /... - kong - a - a -kong-a/

</-kong-/

"They search everywhere"

Ye otaendaenda pondje

</-end-/

"He wanders around outside"

/-a/ occurs with many other radicals:

Omumati otakokoma /... - kokom - a/

"The young man stutters"

Okahanana otakelikolamoka /... - kolomok - a/

"The child just cries on its own"

Onghoshi otaikokonyota /... - kokonyot - a/

"The lion moves stealthily"

Ye otapakuma /... - pakum - a/

"She blinks her eyes"

Ame ohanditema /... - tem - a/ omundilo

"I am blowing on the fire"

Ounona otavakaama /... - kaam - a/ mongula 1/

"The children are swimming in the river"

Okaana otakakofa /... - kof - a/ paife

"The child is falling asleep now"

(4) Assimilated suffix {VR^R}

The present tense suffix vowel assimilates to the vowel of many radicals (but not all) that have phonological structure /C V C/ where V may be any of the five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/:

Omuwiliki otashivi /... - shiv - i/ ovanhu

"The leader summons the people"

Ye otadenge /... - deng - e/ ombwa

"She beats the dog"

Vo otavakwata /... - kwat - a/ omumbudi

"They are catching the thief"

Vo otavatomo /... - tom - o/ oshingulu

"They are slaughtering the pig"

Omulumenhu otatuku /... - tuk - u/ omushiinda woye

"The man insults his neighbour".

1/ The suffix {VR^R} occurs with CVC radicals, not CVVC radicals such as /-kaam-/.

4.3.2 Present Tense

Participial

Pattern

positive : ' {ta} - SP - R - {V^R}

negative : i - ' {ta} - SP - R - {V^R}

The segmental morphology of the participial mood of the present tense is identical to that of the principal mood except in the positive where the initial /o/ does not occur.

4.3.2.1 Significance

The participial is a subsidiary tense that occurs in subordinate clauses or compound tenses. It depends for its indication of time of action on the verb in the main clause or the auxiliary verb.

4.3.2.2 Function

(1) The present participial usually occurs after the following conjunctions (although a past tense verb may also occur depending on semantic context) :

nde "and, and then"

ngeenge "if"

eshi "when, while"

ndele "when, then"

Ovapita-mo vatale eshi talotoka

"They came out and watched as he ran away"

Ngeenge tamutukwafa, nafye-yo ohatumukwafa

"If you help us, we also (will) help you"

Okwapenduka ongula inene ndele tai konhele oku

"He woke very early and then went to this place"

(2) The present participial positive occurs as the complement following the auxiliary verb /-li/ in the past continuous tense (see also 4.3.6) for examples) :

Ondali handimenya - mo

"I was smiling"

Eembadje ndali tadilili

"The jackals were howling"

Okaana kakali takalili

"The child was not crying"

(3) The present participial occurs in direct relative clauses

Ondiwete ovanhu ava tavalongo

"I see the people who are working"

Ame ondishii ovalumenhu ovo tavapopi

"I know (those) men who spoke"

Ondaholwa eengobe dinya tadili kwinya

"I like those cattle that are grazing over there"

4.3.3 Future Tense

Pattern

positive : o - ' {ta} - SP - ' {ka} - R - a

negative : i - ' {ta} - SP - ' {ka} - R - a

4.3.3.1 Significance

The future tense indicates that an action will or will not take place at some point of time in the future.

4.3.3.2 Examples

Positive

Ohatukanangala

"We will lie down to sleep"

Ohatukanyonauka-po

"We will be completely destroyed"

Otavakafikama

"They will stand up"

Otavakatwa oikulya

"She will pound grain"

Otava:aefera ounona vavo vaye

"They will allow their children to go"

Negative

Itakaka oikuni

"He will not chop wood"

Oshikutu itashikakoshwa

"The garment will not be washed"

Oshili itaikashiivika

"The truth will not be known"

Eedila itadikatuka-po

"The birds will not fly away"

Okambwena itakakaweda

"The small dog will not bark"

4.3.3.3 Subject Prefixes

The subject prefixes are given in Table 13.

4.3.3.4 Examples of tense prefix {ka-} (subject to Rule 9 of vowel raising)

Otokevatilifa /o - t - o - ke - va - .../

"You will scare them away"

/ke-/ : allomorph of future tense prefix

/va-/ : object prefix, class 2

Otokatilifa oudila

"You will scare away the birds"

/ka/ : allomorph of future tense prefix

(no object prefix following)

4.3.3.5 Examples of tense prefix {ta-} ^{1/}

Otokadimbwa /o - t - o - .../ oshileshwa

"You will forget the lesson"

Otakadimina /o - t - a - .../ kepulo letu

"He will agree to our request"

^{1/} See 4.3.1.4 for distribution of allomorphs.

Itekelilesha /i - t - e - ke - li - .../

"He will not read it"

Ohatukahafa /o + ha - tu - .../

"We will rejoice"

Epungu otalikakula /o - ta - li - .../

"The maize will grow well"

4.3.4 Past Tense

Principal

Pattern

positive : o - SP^C - {a} - R - a

negative : i - {na} - SP - R - a

4.3.4.1 Significance

The past tense indicates that an action did or did not take place at some point of time in the past. In the case of inchoative radicals, the past tense indicates that the process has or has not been completed.

The past tense negative has an idiomatic usage to express negative commands (positive commands are expressed by the imperative position).

4.3.4.2 Examples

positive:

Omatale okwapwiinina

"The water-pans have dried up"

Omwalesha omambo

"You read the books"

Eembadje odalila

"The jackals howled"

Ye okwalya

"He ate"

Otwafya ondjala

"We are hungry (lit. "we died of hunger")"

Apa opwakukuta

"Here it is dry"

Negative :

Inandilya olumbololo

"I have not eaten the porridge"

Ounona inavakofa nawa

"The children did not sleep well"

Inatumuhanga keumbo

"We did not reach him at home"

Examples

Inamupopya oshinima osho

"Do not talk about these matters"

Inotuningila vali otee

"Do not make tea for us again"

Inodimbwa okumufuta

"Do not forget to pay him"

4.3.4.3 Subject Prefixes

The subject prefix /SP^C/ occurs in the positive, while /SP/ occurs in the negative

The subject prefix /SP^C/ of classes 1 and 6 have two allomorphs /kw- ~ Ø-/; the latter, a 'zero' morpheme, occurs in the past participial, and /kw-/ occurs in the past principal:

Fye otwatumbaleka omapenda oo alwa /Ø- a - .../ noupenda (participial)

"We honoured the heroes who fought bravely"

Omapenda okwalwa /o - kw - a - .../ noupenda (principal)

"The heroes fought bravely"

The subject prefix that occurs in the past tense negative follows the tense prefix {na} and is identical to the subject prefix /SP/ of the present tense (indicative)^{1/}:

Elenga inalipopya /i - na - li - .../

"The headman did not speak"

Inandilonga /i - na - ndi - .../

"I did not work"

Inemudenga /i - n - e - mu - .../

"He did not hit him"

Inashiiva /i - n - a - .../ ondjila

"He did not know the road"

Ondjila inaitutwala /i - na - i - tu - .../ komukunda

"The road did not take us to (your) area"

^{1/} /na-/ is subject to Rule 9 of vowel raising.

4.3.4.4 Tense Prefixes(1) Examples of prefix {a} (subject to Rule 9 of vowel raising)

Okwevashingifa /o - kw - e - va - .../ eengobe

"He made them chase away the cattle"

Oudio owevafifa /o - w - e - va - .../

"The poison causes them to die"

Oveanwa /o - v - e - a - .../

"They drank it"

/a-/:

Okwafya /o - kw - a - .../

"He died"

Oshikombo oshanhuka /o - sh - a - .../

"The goat jumped"

(2) Tense prefix {na}

The past tense negative prefix {na} has two allomorphs /na - ~ n-/; the latter precedes the subject prefixes of the 2nd person singular and of class 1, and the former occurs elsewhere :

Inelikelela /i - n - e - li - .../ nawa

/e/ : subject prefix, class 1

"He did not take good care of it"

Inashanga /i - n - a - .../ omukanda

/a-/: subject prefix, class 1

"He did not write a letter"

Inopopila-nge-ko /i - n - o - .../
 /o/ : subject prefix, 2nd person sg.

"You did not speak for me"

Inandishanga /i - na - ndi - .../ omukanda

"I did not write a letter"

This analysis of the allomorphs /na - ~ n-/ is analogous to that of the present tense prefix /ta - ~ t-/; (see 4.3.1.4).

4.3.5 Past tense

Participial

Pattern

Positive : sp^C - {a} - R - a

Negative : i - {na} - SP - R - a

The past participial is segmentally the same as the principal in all respects except that the initial /o/ of the latter sub-mood does not occur in the participial.

4.3.5.1 Significance

The past participial is a subsidiary mood which occurs in subordinate clauses and as the complement in compound tenses.

4.3.5.2 Function

(1) The past participial may occur after the conjunctions /eshi/ "when, if" and /nde/ "then" if the verb in the main clause is in the past principal or past continuous tense^{1/}

Meme okwayofa ombelela eshi twaaluka

"Mother roasted the meat when we returned"

^{1/} It is not clear from the data whether there is free variation between principal and participial in this situation, or whether their usage is grammatically or semantically conditioned.

Okwali hatudya la meme eshi aifana

"We were dressing when mother called"

Okanona okali takalili eshi ndekamona

"The child was crying when I saw it"

(2) The past participial occurs after the auxiliary verb /-li/ in the past perfect tense (see also 4.3.7).

Ondali ndapanda

"I was pleased" (lit. "had become pleased")

(3) The past participial occurs in relative clauses:

Ame ondishii ovalumenhu ovo vapopya

"I know the men who spoke"

Fye otwatumbaleka . omapenda oo alwa noupenda

"We admired the heroes who fought bravely"

Okwamanga okuoko oko okwali kwayahamekwa

"He bandaged the arm which was wounded"

4.3.6

Past continuous

Pattern

Positive : o - SP ^G - a - li	}	+ {ta} - SP - R - {VR}
Negative : ka - SP ^G - a - li		

The past continuous tense is a compound form consisting of two parts: the auxiliary verb /-li/ occurs in the first part, and the complement of both the positive and the negative is in the present participial, positive.

4.3.6.1 Significance

The past continuous tense indicates that the action expressed by the verb was or was not in progress at some time in the past.

4.3.6.2 ExamplesPositive

Otwali hatulilesha

"We were reading it"

Ovali tavadyala

"They were dressing"

Okwali talifa eengobe

"He was taking the cattle to graze"

Oufila owali taunakwa nawa

"The meal was being well sifted"

Omwali tamuteke omeva

"You were drawing water"

Negative

katwali hatuteke omeva

"We were not drawing water"

kakwali taxupu omufima

"He was not digging a well"

kavali tavatate eemhako

"They were not weaving baskets"

katwali tolilesa

"You were not reading it"

Subject Prefixes

The subject prefix /SP^C/ of both positive and negative of the auxiliary verb is identical to that of the past tense (see Table 13).

Tense Prefixes

The initial prefixes /o/ and /ka/ occur in the positive and negative forms respectively:

Okanona okali takalili

"The child was crying"

Okanona kakali takalili

"The child was not crying"

4.3.7 Past perfect tensePattern

Positive :	o - SP ^C - a - li	}	+ SP ^C - {a} - R - a
Negative :	ka - SP ^C - a - li		

The past perfect tense is a compound form. The first part contains the auxiliary /-li/ and is identical to that of the past continuous; the complement is in the past participial, positive.

4.3.7.1 Significance

The past perfect tense indicates that an action had or had not been completed at some point of time in the past.

4.3.7.2 ExamplesPositive

Odula eshi yeuya, ondali ndalima

"When the rains came, I had finished cultivating"

Ondali ndayofa ombelela

"I had roasted the meat"

Otwali twatema omundilo

"We had kindled the fire"

Ohonde oyali yaoka

"The blood had stopped flowing"

Negative

Kandali ndatuma okaana

"I had not sent the child"

Katwali twayotela momutenya

"We had not warmed ourselves in the sun"

Onghambe kayali yemunipa

"The horse had not thrown him off"

4.4 Finite forms : Subjunctive mood ^{1/}

4.4.1 Present tense

Pattern

Positive : SP - R - e

Negative : SP - {ha} - R - e

4.4.1.1 Significance

The present subjunctive is a subsidiary tense that occurs in subordinate clauses which usually express wish, necessity, etc. (Questions and statements expressing deliberative action or purpose are usually expressed by constructions in the associative copulative, not by the subjunctive (see 5.3)

^{1/} There is only one tense in the subjunctive mood; there is no 'past subjunctive' in Kwanyama.

4.4.1.2 Function

(1) The present subjunctive occurs in subordinate clauses expressing wish, purpose, desire or necessity:

Ovahovela okumingila aaluke

"They began to shout at him that he should return"

Vaifana vetukwafe

"Call them that they should help us"

Ondinokuninga shike ndixupifwe ?

"What should I do in order to be saved ?"

Muefa aye

"Let him go"

Ohatuxupu omufima mule tumone omeva

"We are digging a deep well in order to find water"

(2) The present subjunctive occurs after the hortative prefix {na} which indicates "should, must, ought".

The distribution of allomorphs /na - ~ n-/ is identical to that of the past tense negative prefix, see 4.3.4.

Nandilonge

"I must work"

Nafute /n - a - .../

"He must pay"

Etemba nalive

"The way : go"

(3) The present subjunctive occurs in the second and subsequent verbs in a sequence of commands :

Eta ekopi upe okaana omashini

/eta/ : imperative

/upe/ : subjunctive

"Bring the cup and give the child milk"

Inda komulonga ulikoshe

"Go to the river and wash yourself"

Indeni paife mulonge

"Go now and work"

4.4.1.3 Subject Prefixes

The allomorph /u-/ of the subject prefix of the second person singular occurs in this tense; all other subject prefixes are identical to the SP of the present indicative :

Lungama opo uhanyateke /u - ha - .../ omambo

/u-/ : subject prefix, second person singular

"Take care that you don't spoil the books"

Lombwela اونونا kutya vehelikoshe /ve - he - li - .../

/ve-/ : subject prefix, class 2 (preceding reflexive prefix)

"Tell the children that they should not wash themselves"

Vakwafa opo vahanyengwe / va - ha - .../

"Help them so that they do not fail"

4.4.1.4 Tense Prefixes

The subjunctive negative prefix {ha} is subject to Rule 9 of vowel raising, (see 1.3.9).

4.5 Defective verbs

There are a number of radicals termed here 'defective verbs'.^{1/} These radicals do not occur throughout the full range of verb tenses as do other radicals; the stem /-wet-e/ "see", for example, occurs only in the present tense, the radical /mon -a/ "see, find" being used in other tenses.

The defective verbs differ most notably from 'regular' radicals in the morphological structure of the present tense.

4.5.1 Defective verb^{2/} stemsTable 14

<u>Present stem</u>	<u>Stem in other tenses</u>	
-fik-e	-fik-a	"be equal to"
-wet-e	---	"see"
-udit-e	-udit-a	"feel, hear, understand"
-hol-e	-hol-a	"like"
-dul-e	-dul-a	"surpass"
-yad-i	-yad-a	"become full"
-kwet-e	-kwat-a	"catch hold of"
-shii-	-shiiiv-a	"know"

The defective present suffix is /-e/ in most cases, but is a suppletive form as in the 'regular' present.

^{1/} This term is used by Tonjes (1910:125-127) and others, and is likewise used here.

^{2/} This is not a complete list of defective radicals, though there are probably not very many more.

In the case of radicals /-kwet- ~ -kwat-/ and /-shii- ~ shiiv-/, the first allomorph occurs in the defective present, and the second elsewhere:

Defective present

Omalenga okushii /-shii- \emptyset / eemhango

"The headmen know the laws"

Ame kandikwete /-kwet-e / embo

"I am not holding the book"

Infinitive

okushiiva /-shiiv-a/ "to know"

okukwata /-kwat-a/ "to catch"

4.5.2 Defective Present

Principal

Pattern

Positive : $o - SP^P - R - \{V^R\}$

Negative : $\{ka\} - SP^P - R - \{V^R\}$

\approx nghi $- R - \{V^R\}$ (1st person sg. only)

4.5.2.1 Significance

(a) The defective present of non-inchoative radicals indicates that an action is or is not taking place in the present time, and that a process has been completed in the case of inchoative radicals.

4.5.2.2 Examples

Positive

Omalenga okufike pamwe

"The headmen are equal to one another"

Otuwete oshitawa

"We see the road"

Ovanandunge oveshii oinima ihapu

"The wise men know many things"

Ondiwete eendudu

"I see the hills"

Otuudite ndjala

"We feel hungry"

Metale omuyadi eeshi

"(In) the dam is full of fish"

Negative

Fye katuwete onunora

"We do not see the children"

Ame kandishii oshitya

"I do not know the word"

Ovafita kavewete oshikombo

"The herdsmen do not see the goat"

Oluhodi laye kalidule letu

"His grief does not surpass ours"

Ye kewete ondjila

"He does not see the path"

4.5.2.3

Tense Prefixes

(1) The defective present does not contain the present tense

prefix {ta}:

Ame ondifike /o - ndi - .../ kove (defective present)
 "I am equal to you"

ct. Ame ohandii /o - ha - ndi - .../ kutate (present)
 "I am going to my father"

(2) The defective present negative prefix is {ka} (not /i-/
 as in the present negative)

Ovafita kavewete /ka - ve - .../ oikombo (defective present)
 "The herdsmen do not see the goats"

ct. Ovafita itavapopi /i - ta - va - .../ paife
 "The herdsmen are not talking now"

{ka} has two allomorphs /ka - ~ k-/; the latter precedes the
 subject prefix /e-/ of class 1, and the former occurs elsewhere

4.5.2.4 Subject Prefixes

The subject prefix /SP^P/ occurs in the defective present,
 (see Table 13).

The subject prefixes of class 1 and class 6 have allomorphs
 /ku - ~ e-/; the latter occurs in the negative, the former in the positive:

Ye okuwete ondjila "he sees the road"
 /ku-/ : subject prefix, SP^P, class 1

Ye kewete ondjila "he does not see the road"
 /k-/ : negative prefix
 /e-/ : subject prefix SP^P, class 1

Omalenga okufike pamwe

/ku/ : subject prefix, class 6

"The headmen are equal to one another"

Omalenga kaeshii omuenda

/e/ : subject prefix, class 6

"The headmen do not know the visitor"

The 1st person sg. subject prefix has only the form /ndi-/ (without alternative /i-/); the contracted form of the 1st person sg. negative also occurs as an alternative form as it does in the regular present.

In classes 2, 12 and 16, the vowel of the subject prefix SP^P is /ɛ/ in all cases (i.e. whether the verb incorporates an object/reflexive prefix or not).

All other subject prefixes are identical to those of the /SP/ (Table 13).

4.6.3 Defective Present

Participial

Pattern

Positive : SP^P - R - {V^R}

Negative : '{ka} - SP^P - R - {V^R}

The participial is morphologically identical to the principal except in the positive where /o/ does not occur as the initial tense prefix.

4.5.3.1 Function

The defective present participial occurs in the same situations as does the present participial (see 4.3.2.2).

4.5.3.2 Examples(1) Complement in past continuous :

Ounona ovali veshii oitya idjuu

"The children knew the difficult words"

Nale-nale epya letu olali lifike puali

"Long ago our land equalled (to) this"

Omumati okwali ehole kaume kaye

"The young boy liked his friend"

(2) Relative Clauses

Otope-nge ombelela ifike apa ?

"Will you give me a piece of meat as big as
(lit. "which reaches") this?"

Ohandikwafa onunona owo veshii oshilongwa

"I help the children who know the lesson"

Omulumenu ou eshii oitya otakwafa-nge

"The man who knows the words helps me"

(3) Subordinate clauses following conjunctions

Ngeenge okushii oshileshwa, otandikahafa

"If he knows the lesson, I will be pleased"

Ngeenge keshii oitya, ohatuhanduka

"If he doesn't know the words, we will be angry"

4.5.4. Occurrence of defective radicals in other tenses

Some defective radicals may occur in tenses other than the present. Their occurrence is summarized in the table below :

Symbols used in table:

- ✓ = radical occurs
- x = radical does not occur
- ? = has not been recorded
- + = positive
- = negative

4.5.4.1 Summary of defective verbs in conjugationTable 15

Defective Present Stem	Infinitive		Imperative		Future		Past Contin.	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
-hol-e	✓	✓	?	?	x	x	✓	✓
-fik-e	✓	✓	✓	?	?	?	✓	✓
-dul-e	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
-wet-e	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
-udit-e	✓	✓	?	?	x	x	✓	✓
{-kwet-e) {-kwat-a)	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?	?	?
{-shii) {-shiiiv-a)	✓	✓	x	x	✓	✓	x	x
{-yad-i) {-yad-a)	✓	✓	x	x	?	?	✓	✓

The morphological structures of all tenses incorporating defective radicals other than the present appear to be identical with tenses incorporating 'regular' radicals.

It appears from the data that no defective radicals may occur in the past tense or in the present subjunctive.

4.5.4.2 Examples of defective radicals in other tenses

(1)

InfinitivePositive

okuhola "to like"
 okufika pamwe "to be equal"
 okudula "to surpass"
 okukwata "to take hold of"
 okushiiva "to know"

Negative

okuhahola "not to like"
 okuhafika pamwe "not to be equal"
 okuhadula "not to surpass"
 okuhakwata "not to take hold"
 okuhashiiva "not to know"

(2)

ImperativePositive

sg.		pl.	
Fika !	/	Fikeni !	"Reach !"
Dula !	/	Duleni !	"Surpass !"
Kwata !	/	Kwateni !	"Hold !"

Negative

Inouya nena komatango
 "Do not come this afternoon"

(3)

Future Tense

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Ounona otaveketudula

"The children will surpass us"

Ame ohandikashiiva oshileshwa

"I will know the lesson"

Fye ohatukeashiiva (omanyamukulo)

"We will know them (the answers)"

Itoketudula

"You will not surpass us"

Fye ihatukashiiva omanyamukulo

"We will not know the answers"

(4)

Past Continuous (complement is defective present participial)

Ounona ovali veshii oitya idjuu

"The children knew the difficult words"

Ondali ndivawete onghela komatango

"I saw them yesterday afternoon"

Okwali ehole okulesha

"He used to like to read"

Ame kandali ndishii nale ehokololo olo

"I did not know that story before"

Oikunino kayali ifike puai

"The gardens did not equal (these) here"

Elenga kalali lishii eemhango

"The headman did not know the laws"

Ounona kavali vevadule

"The children were not surpassing them"

CHAPTER 5

PREDICATIVES : COPULATIVE CONJUGATION

Three types of copulatives are recognized in this study, viz., Identificative copulatives, Descriptive copulatives and Associative copulatives.

Copulatives function as predicatives in a sentence. They occur in some tenses in the Indicative mood only. All copulatives must contain at least a base which is a non-verbal form such as a noun or pronoun. They may also incorporate subject prefixes and verbal conjugational prefixes as well as the characteristic copulative prefixes.

The morphology of Identificative copulatives and Descriptive copulatives differs only in some forms of the present tense. In other tenses where the morphology is apparently identical these two forms are treated together and are termed 'Identificative/Descriptive' in this section.^{1/} These forms never incorporate any verbal suffix or extension.

Some aspects of the morphology and syntactic behaviour of forms that are termed here 'Associative copulatives' indicate that they should be treated as defective verbs with a restrictive occurrence. They may incorporate an object concord and verbal extensions:

Ondishina	"I have it"
/shi-/	: object prefix, class 7
< Ondina oshikutu	"I have the dress"

Ovenenafane oikonene	"They have a grudge against one another"
/...-n-en-afan -e/	
/-en/	: extension 1
/-afan/	: extension 11a

^{1/} Elsewhere, they are termed as 'Identificative' copulatives.

5.1 Identificative/descriptive copulatives

As the names suggest, the Identificative copulative identifies someone or something, and the Descriptive copulative describes some quality.

5.1.1 Summary of tense patterns

Table 16

Present tense

1. Identificative copulative

(Base : vowel commencing nouns)

pos: noun

neg:	{ka} - SP ^P - fi	+	{	Noun (specific)
				ⁿ Noun (general)
	≡ nghi - fi	+	{	Noun (1st p.sg. only)
				ⁿ Noun

2. Identificative copulative

(Base : noun class 1a, absolute pronoun, adverb)

pos: o - Base

neg: ha - Base

3. Descriptive copulative

(Base : adjectives)

pos: (a) o - SP^P - Base (1st, 2nd p.)

(b) o - Base (3rd p.)

neg: (c) {ka} - SP^P - fi + SP^P - Base (1st, 2nd p.)

(d) {ka} - SP^P - fi + Base (1st, 2nd, 3rd p.)

(e) {ka} - SP^P - Base (1st, 2nd, 3rd p.)

≡ nghi - Base (1st p. only)

(f) /ka ≡ ke/ - Base (3rd p. only)

4. Identificative/Descriptive

(Base: locatives, enumeratives)

pos:	o - SP ^P - li	+	Base
neg:	{ka} - SP ^P - li	+	Base
	≈nghi - li	+	Base

Future tense : Identificative/Descriptive copulatives

pos:	o - {ta} - SP - (ka) - kala	+	Base
neg:	i - {ta} - SP - (ka) - kala	+	Base

Past tense : Identificative/Descriptive copulatives

pos:	o - SP ^C - a - li	+	Base
neg:	ka - SP ^C - a - li	+	Base
	≈kw - a - li	+	Base (2nd p. sg. only)
	≈ngh - a - li	+	Base (1st p. sg. only)

5.1.2 Bases

Identificative copulatives may be based on nouns, pronouns, adverbs and locatives. Demonstratives do not commonly occur as Identificative copulative bases. The form preferred is the absolute pronoun occurring as copulative base followed by the relevant demonstrative.

Descriptive copulatives are based on qualificatives (adjectives and enumeratives). Possessives do not occur as copulative bases. No examples of quantitatives have been recorded in these constructions.

5.1.3 Auxiliary elements

No single auxiliary element characteristic of the Identificative copulative or of the Descriptive copulative occurs in all forms. Some forms do not contain an auxiliary at all.

Auxiliaries that occur in various tenses are:

- /-li/ : Descriptive copulative, present
Identificative/Descriptive, past
- /-fi/ : Identificative/Descriptive, present
negative
- /-kala/ : Identificative/Descriptive, future

5.1.4 Subject prefixes

The various types of subject prefixes that occur in copulatives are identical to those of the verb conjugation. They are listed and described in 4.1.6 and 4.1.7.

5.1.5 Conjugational prefixes

Conjugational prefixes that occur only in copulative forms are described for each relevant tense below.

5.2 Copulative tenses

5.2.1 Present tense

There are various patterns for the present tense of Identificative and Descriptive copulatives depending on the base of the construction.

5.2.1.1 Significance

The present tense identifies or describes someone or something in the present time.

5.2.1.2 Subject prefixes

The subject prefix in all present tense forms is SP^P (see Table 13, 4.1.6).

5.2.1.3 Prefix {ka-}

In pattern (1) of the Descriptive copulative the two forms /ka- ≈ ke-/ occur in free variation.

5.2.1.4 Pattern 1 : Identificative copulative

positive : Noun

negative : {ka} - SP^P - fi + { Noun (specific)
ⁿNoun (general)
 ≈nghi - fi + { Noun
ⁿNoun (1st p. sg. only)

This pattern occurs when the base is a vowel commencing noun^{1/} (i.e. all classes except 1a, 16, 17 and 18).

The use of a subject (usually the absolute pronoun) is obligatory in a sentence where the subject of the copulative is the 1st or 2nd person. The subject may appear optionally in the case of 3rd person subjects.

In the negative, the symbol 'ⁿNoun' indicates that nouns occur without initial vowel /o/; it signifies a general complement. A specific complement is indicated by the noun together with its initial vowel symbolized in the patterns as 'Noun'^{2/}

Nye kamufi valongwa "You are not students"
 < ovalongwa : class 2
 cf Nye kamufi ovalongwa "You are not the students"

-
- 1/ The suprasegmental morphology of copulative bases is not dealt with in this study, but there are specific tonal patterns of substantives functioning as copulative bases. The tonal configuration of the noun in pattern (1) positive is different from a noun in subject or object position in a sentence.
- 2/ It appears that this distinction between specific and general significance does not apply to the /e/ commencing nouns of classes 5 and 10-9 or to consonant commencing nouns.

A contracted form of the 1st person sg. occurs as a free variant to the regular negative form:

Ame kandifi Muwambo ≈ Nghifi Muwambo

"I am not a Wambo person"

5.2.1.5

ExamplesPositive

Ame omulongi wofikola

"I am a school teacher"

Fye ovaenda

"We are visitors"

Ove omulongwa

"You are a student"

Omulumenhu omukwaita

"The man is a soldier"

Xo elenga

"Your father is a headman"

Okakadona omupangi

"The girl is a nurse"

Oshinamwenyo ombadje

"The animal is a jackal"

Ohamba

"He is a chief"

Ovakwaita

"They are soldiers"

Paife ye omulumenhu

"He is now a man"

Negative (general)

Tate kefi munafalaama

"My father is not a farmer"

Omulumenhu kefi mukwaita

"The man is not a soldier"

Xo kefi elenga

"Your father is not a headman"

Nye kamufi valongwa

"You are not students"

Ame kandifi Muwambo

"I am not a Wambo person"

Fye katufi vapangi

"We are not nurses"

(Oshinima) kashifi embo

"It (the thing) is not a book"

Kefi mudimbwanhu

"He is not a forgetful person"

Nghifi muveledi

"I am not an invalid"

Nghifi mumbada

"I am not a coward"

Negative (specific)

Ove kufi okanona

"You are not the child"

Ove kufi elenga

"You are not the headman"

"Ove kufi oshiveli

"You are not the first-born child"

Ame kandifi omupangi

"I am not the nurse"

Ame kandifi omuveledi

"I am not the invalid"

Fye kamufi ovapangi

"You are not the nurses"

Omulumenhu kefi omukwaita

"The man is not the soldier"

Okakadona kakefi omupangi

"The girl is not the nurse"

Kashifi Oshikwanyama

"It is not Kwanyama"

Kaifi oiwengedje

"It is not the metal"

Kalifi embo

"It is not the book"

5.2.1.6 Pattern 2 : Identificative copulative

positive : o - Base

negative : ha - Base

This pattern occurs when the base of the copulative is a class 1a noun, an absolute pronoun, or an adverb.

The pattern for the positive is identical to that of pattern 3(b) with adjective base but is given here as well since the negative differs to that of 3.

The mid-vowel /o/ of the positive prefix assimilates to the initial low vowel of the pronoun /ame/ of the 1st person sg., and is realized phonetically as a long vowel:

Aame </o-ame/ [a:me]

"It is me"

In the negative, the initial low vowel /o/ of the pronoun /ove/ of the 2nd person sg. assimilates to the low vowel of the negative prefix with phonetic realization as a long vowel):

Haave </ha-ove/ [ha:ve]

"It is not you"

5.2.1.7 Examples

Positive

(1) Class 1a noun base

Otate	"It is my father"
< tate	"father"
Okaume kange	"It is my friend"
Omeme	"It is my mother"
Ye oHangula	"It is Hangula"

(2) Absolute pronoun base

Aame ou	"It is me, this one"
Ofye ava	"It is us, these (people)"
Onye av:	"It is you, these ones"
Ove ou	"It is you (sg.), this one"

(3) Adverb base

Oena	"It is today"
Opaife	"It is now"
Oneudo	"It is this year"
Omolwashike wahanduka ?	"Why are you cross ?" (lit. "It is for what ...")

Negative(1) Class 1a noun base

Ou haElia	"This one is not Elia"
Hameme handikongo	"It's not mother whom I want"
Hakaume koye	"It's not your friend"

(2) Absolute pronoun base

Haame	"It's not me"
Haave /ha-ove/ auke	"It is not you alone"
Haye aeke	"It is not him alone"

(3) Adverb base

Hanena	"It is not today"
Hapaife	"It is not now"
Hanghelinya	"It's not the day before yesterday"

5.2.1.8 Pattern 3 : Descriptive copulative

- positive : (a) o - SP^P - Base (1st, 2nd persons)
 (b) o - Base (3rd person)
- negative : (c) {ka} - SP^P - fi + SP^P - Base (1st, 2nd persons)
 (d) {ka} - SP^P - fi + Base (1st, 2nd, 3rd persons)
 (e) {ka} - SP^P - Base (1st, 2nd, 3rd persons)
 =nghi - Base (1st person only)
 (f) /ka ≈ ke/ - Base (3rd person only)

These patterns occur when the base is an adjective.

- (1) If the subject of the copulative is the 1st or 2nd person (singular or plural) as in patterns (a), (c), (d) and (e) above, then the adjectives of class 1 (singular) and of class 2 (plural) occur as the base:

Ame ondimule (a) "I am tall"
 /ndi-/ : subject prefix, 1st p. sg.
 /mu-/ : adjective prefix, class 1

Fye katuvaxupi (e) "We are not short"
 /tu-/ : subject prefix, 1st p. pl.
 /va-/ : adjective prefix, class 2

- (2) Pattern (a) occurs only with 1st and 2nd person subjects, and (b) with 3rd person subjects:

Nye omuvale (a) "You are tall"
 Ye omule (b) "He is tall"

- (3) Pattern (c) occurs only with 1st and 2nd person subjects and pattern (f) only with 3rd person subjects. The other patterns may have 1st, 2nd or 3rd person subjects.

5.2.1.9

ExamplesPositive

(a) (1st, 2nd persons):

Fye otuvale	"We are tall"
Ove oumuxupi	"You are short"
Fye otuvawa	"We are good"
Nye omuvale	"You are tall"

(b) (3rd person):

Efimbo olixupi	"The time is short"
Ongula oinini	"The room is small"
Oshihauto oshipe	"The car is new"
Ondjila oile	"The path is long"
Xe omuwa	"His father is good"

Negative

(c) (1st, 2nd persons only):

Nye kamufi muvale	"You (pl.) are not tall"
Kufi umui /k-u-fi.../	"You (sg.) are not bad"
Fye katufi tuvai	"We are not bad"
Ame kandifi ndimuxupi	"I am not short"

(d) (1st, 2nd, 3rd person):

Eumbo leni kalifi linene	"Your home is not large"
Ondjila ei kaifi ile	"This road is not long"
Ame kandifi mule	"I am not tall"
Kufi muxupi	"You are not short"
Ounona kavafi vale	"The children are not tall"

(e) (1st, 2nd, 3rd person):

Ame kandimuxupi

"I am not short"

Vo kavevale

"They are not tall"

Ove kumuxupi

"You are not short"

Omutengi kaumupu

"The load is not light"

(f) (3rd person only):

Omapya avo kamawa \approx kemawa

"Their gardens are not good"

Omiti kadile \approx kedile

"The trees are not tall"

Omadiladilo aye kamai \approx kemai

"His thoughts are not bad"

Omufima kamule \approx kemule

"The well is not deep"

5.2.1.10 Pattern 4 : Identificative/Descriptive copulative

positive : o - SP^P - li + Base

negative : {ka} - SP^P - li + Base

\approx nghi - li + Base (1st person sg.)

Pattern 4 occurs when the copulative base is a locative based on a noun or demonstrative, a locative adverb, or an enumerative.

With an enumerative base, 1st and 2nd person subject prefixes are based on forms with enumerative prefixes of classes 1 and 2 singular and plural respectively.

The 1st person singular has a contracted form as a free variant

Ame kandili kokule \approx nghili kokule

"I am not far away"

5.2.1.11 ExamplesPositive(1) Locative base

Ame ondili meumbo

"I am inside the house"

Fye otuli moixwa

"We are in the bushveld"

Ouli pepata

"You are in the cooking area"

Otuli metungo linene

"You are in the large building"

Omachini okuli mombiya inya

"The milk is in that pot"

Okakadona okeli mepya linya

"The girl is in that plot"

Omuli meni

"You are inside"

Nye omuli muashi (oshikandjo)

"You are in this (district)"

Okuli puainya (omuti)

"He is at that tree"

Vo oveli mualinya (embo)

"They are in that (house)"

(2) Enumerative base

Fye otuli vatatu < /vatatu/(class 2)

"We are three"

Ny . omuli vavali

"You are two"

Otuli vangapi ?

"How many are we?"

Oukadona oveli vatano

"The girls are five"

Omatuwa okuli angapi ?

"The cars are how many ?"

Omambo okuli ane

"The books are four"

Negative(1) Locative base

Ovakonga kaveli momufita

"The hunters are not in the forest"

Ounona kaveli peumbo

"The children are not at home"

Omahauto kaeli moshitawa

"The cars are not on the road"

Ove kuli moshikandjo shinya

"You are not in that district"

Fye katuli meni
 "We are not inside"

Vo kaveli apa
 "They are not here"

(2) Enumerative base

(Fye) katuli vatatu	"We are not three"
(Nye) kamuli vavali	"You are not two"
(Fye) katuli vatano	"We are not five"
Oukadona kaveli vatano	"The girls are not five"
Omambo kaeli ane	"The books are not four"
Ounona kaveli vatatu	"The children are not three"

Fye katuli meni

"We are not inside"

Vo kaveli apa

"They are not here"

(2) Enumerative base

(Fye) katuli vatatu

"We are not three"

(Nye) kamuli vavali

"You are not two"

(Fye) katuli vatano

"We are not five"

Oukadona kaveli vatano

"The girls are not five"

Omambo kaeli ane

"The books are not four"

Ounona kaveli vatatu

"The children are not three"

5.2.2 Future tense : Identificative/Descriptive copulative5.2.2.1 Pattern

positive : o - {ta} - SP - (ka) -kala + Base
 negative : i - {ta} -SP - (ka) - kala + Base

The identificative future is a compound form. The verbal component contains the auxiliary /-kala/ "continue to be, remain" :

Moudwali otakakala omulongi wofikola
 "Next year he will be a teacher"

5.2.2.2 Significance

The future tense describes or identifies someone or something as it will be or will not be at some time in the future.^{1/}

5.2.2.3 Subject prefixes

The subject prefix in the future is identical to that occurring in the present indicative of verbs, see 4.1.6.

5.2.2.4 Tense prefix /ka-/

The use of the future tense prefix /ka-/ is optional in both positive and negative (this is symbolized in the patterns by parentheses) :

Okaana itakakala kai ≈ Okaana itakakakala kai
 "The child will not be ugly"

1/ The verb /-ning-/ "do, become" may also be used in the present tense to indicate the future identificative concept :

Otoningi /o-t-o-ning-i/ omuluwa "You will be a miser"

5.2.2.5 Tense prefix {ta-}

This prefix has three allomorphs /ta- ~ t- ~ ha-/ with identical distribution to that occurring in the present tense of verbs (see 4.3.1.4).

Ohandikakala keumbo

/o-ha-ndi .../

"I will be at home"

Otokakala meumbo

/o-t-o.../

"You will be inside the house"

Otakakala omulongi wofikola

/o-t-a.../

"He will be a school teacher"

Otavakakala ovalongwa moudwali

/o-ta-va.../

"They will be students next year"

5.2.2.6 Examples

Omiti otadikala ~ otadikakala dile

"The trees will be tall"

Ye otakakala omukwaita

"He will be a soldier"

Ovakwaita otavakakala nouladi

"The soldiers will be brave"

Ovanyasha otavakakala omapenda

"The youths will be heroes"

Oufiye otaukakala unene

"(His) sadness will be great"

Otandikakala omushiinda woye

"I will be your neighbour"

Ounona otavakakala peumbo

"The children will be at home"

Okamatyona otakakala apa diva

"The small boy will be here soon"

Keumbo otakakakala kuwa

"At your home it will be nice"

Mondjuo otamukala mupya

"In the room it will be warm"

Otokakala apa oshivike shiuya

"You (sg.) will be here next week"

Vo atavakakala ovaulikili

"They will be guides"

Nye otamkakala ovalongwa

"You will be students"

Negative

Itakakala omuwiliki muwa

"He will not be a good leader"

Itokakala omuveledi

"You will not be an invalid"

Ye itavakakala omushinauni

"She will not be a spendthrift"

Omifima itadikakala dile

"The water holes will not be deep"

Oshihenda itashikakala shinyenye

"The melon-slice will not be sweet"

Omuti itaukala mule

"The tree will not be tall"

Olufuwo letu italikakala liwa

"Our holiday will not be nice"

5.2.4 Past tense : Identificative/Descriptive copulative5.2.4.1 Pattern

positive :	o - SP ^C - a - li	+ Base
negative :	ka - SP ^C - a - li	+ Base
	≈ ngh - a - li	+ Base (1st person sg. only)
	≈ kw - a - li	+ Base (2nd person sg. only)

The 1st person singular and 2nd person singular both have contracted forms that occur as free alternatives to the regular form; the contracted form of the 2nd person singular /kw - a - li.../ is probably attributable to deletion of the vowel of prefix /ka-/:

Ame nghali nawa ≈ Ame kandili nawa

"I was not well"

Ove kwali kaume kaye ≈ kawali kaume ...

"You were not his friend"

5.2.4.2 Significance

The past tense of the identificative describes or identifies someone or something as at some point of time in the past.

5.2.4.3 Subject prefixes

The SP^C is identical to that which occurs in the past tense of verbs (see Table 13, 4.1.6).

5.2.4.4 ExamplesPositive

Otwali kwinya oshivike shaya

"We were there last week"

Owali okanona

"You were a child"

Nande okwali omumwaina waWeyulu

"Nande was the brother of Weyulu"

Vo ovali apa onghela

"They were here yesterday"

Omifinda oyali apa mondjila

"The tracks were in the road"

Omufya owali mule

"The crack was deep"

Oluendo olali lile

"The journey was long"

Oluhepo lavo olali lii

"Their need was great (bad)"

Eli olali edu letu

"This was our land"

Vo ovali ovakwafeli vetu

"They were our supporters"

Ye okwali omushongoli

"She was a cripple"

Negative

Kandali oka onghela

"I was not there yesterday"

Ye kali-po peumbo ongula yonena

"She was not at home this morning"

Vo kavali-ko kwinya onghela

"They were not there yesterday"

Nye kamwali apa oshivike shadya-ko

"You were not here last week"

Okaana kakali kofikola onghela

"The child was not at school yesterday"

Eexuxwa kadali moshikunino

"The chickens were not in the garden"

Ove kwali omushiinda wange

"You were not my neighbour"

Nye kamwali ovaneumbo

"You were not householders"

Ove kamwali omulandi

"You were not the buyer"

Elenga kalali omunyamba

"The headman was not a rich person"

5.3 associative copulative

Associative copulatives may have various significances:

- (1) They indicate the idea of possession or ownership (usually translated by some form of the verb "to have"):

Ame ondina omambo mahapu "I have many books"

- (2) The presence or absence of something is indicated when subject prefixes of the locative classes occur :

Apa kapena omeva

/pe-/ : subject prefix (SP^P) class 16 "Here there is no water"

- (3) Necessity of action is conveyed when the base is an infinitive:

Fye otuna okushiiva oilongwa yetu

/okushiiva/ : infinitive "We must know our lessons"

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/okushiiva/ : infinitive "We must know our lessons"

5.3.1 Summary of tense patternsTable 17PresentPrincipal

pos :	o - SP ^P - n(a)	+ Base
neg :	{ka} - SP ^P - n(a)	+ Base
	<u>ng</u> hi - n(a)	+ Base (1st p.sg.)

PresentParticipial

pos :	SP ^P - n(a)	+ Base
neg :	SP ^P - he - n(a)	+ Base

Future

pos :	o - {ta} - SP - ka - kala	} SP ^P - n(a)	+ Base
neg :	i - {ta} - SP - ka - kala		

Past

pos :	o - SP ^C - a - li + SP ^P - n(a)	+ Base
neg :	ka - SP ^C - a - li + SP ^P - n(a)	+ Base

5.3.2 Bases

Most substantives (nouns, pronouns and independent qualificatives) may occur as bases in this construction.

5.3.3 Auxiliary elements

The auxiliary element /-na/ occurs in all forms of the Associative copulative.

Constructions with the auxiliary /-na/ may incorporate object prefixes. This phenomenon suggests that the base in an associative construction functions as an object rather than as a complement, and that /-na/ has characteristics

of a defective radical (other auxiliary elements such as /-li/ or /-kala/ cannot incorporate object prefixes) :

Ame ondishina /o-ndi-shi-na/ (oshinima)

/shi-/ : object prefix, class 7 . "I have it (the thing)"

cf. Ondina oshinima "I have the thing"

Ove ouana /o-u-a-na/ (omambo) "You have them (books)"

The auxiliary elements /-kala/ and /-li/ occur in the future and past tense respectively as in the Identificative copulative.

5.3.4 . Vowel deletion

Before vowel commencing noun bases, the vowel of the auxiliary /-na/ may delete optionally in normal conversational speech (see Rule 7 . of vowel deletion (1.3.7)) resulting in liaison between the verbal component and the base (this process is represented in the tense patterns as 'n(a)').

Fye otuna oimbale [otuna#oimba]e [otunoimba]e

"We have the baskets"

Deletion of the vowel of the auxiliary does not take place before any other bases:

Nye omuna ihapu [omunaihapu] "You have much grain"

In the case of demonstratives, the allomorph commencing in the low vowel /a/ occurs as associative copulative base (see 2.3).

5.4.1 Present tensePrincipal5.4.1.1 Pattern

positive : o - SP^P - n(a) + Base
 negative : {ka-} - SP^P - n(a) + Base
 nghi - n(a) + Base (1st person sg.)

There is an alternative form to the regular pattern for the 1st person sg. in the negative:

Ame kandina oimbale nghina oimbale iwa
 "I do not have nice baskets"

5.4.1.2 Significance

The present tense conveys the significance of the Associative occurring at the present time.

5.4.1.3 Subject prefixes

The subject prefixes SP^P are given in Table 13.

5.4.1.4 Tense prefix {ka-}

The negative prefix {ka-} has the same allomorphs as in the identificative (see 5.2.1.3)

Ove kuna /k-u-.../ omambo
 "You do not have the books"

Ye kena /k-e-.../ embo
 "He does not have the book"

Ame kandina /ka-ndi-.../ oshihauto

"I do not have a car"

5.4.1.5 Examples

Positive

Okaana okena omambo^{1/} ange

"The child has my books"

Meme okuna oikutu^{1/} yokaana

"Mother has the child's clothes"

Ye okuna olukateko

"She has a broom"

Ondina embo

"I have a book"

Peumbo loye opena ovanhu

"At your home there are people"

Fye otuna okulonga

"We have to work"

Otuna okuya

"You have to go"

Otuna likulu

"We have an old one (house)"

^{1/} See vowel deletion (1.3.7).

Ondina kanini

"I have a small one (child)"

Otuna vawa

"We have good ones (friends)"

Ovena lange

"They have mine"

Ondina ai

"I have this one"

Negative

Kandina ondjala ~ Nghina ondjala

"I am not hungry" (lit. "I have no hunger")

Ove kuna omambo

"You do not have baskets"

Nye kamuna eengobe dihapu

"You do not have many cattle"

Vo kavena eumbo liwa

"They do not have a nice home"

Okatana kakena omavala

"The calf does not have spots"

Fye katuna ihapu

"We do not have many"

Ye kena vanini

"He does not have small ones (children)"

Kandina ai

"We do not have those (baskets)"

Ye kena dinya

"She does not have those (chickens)"

Ove kuna ali

"You do not have this (book)"

5.4.2 Present tense

Participial

5.4.2.1 Pattern

positive : SP^P - n(a) + Base

negative : SP^P - he - n(a) + Base

The positive participial is identical to the principal except that initial /o/ does not occur in the participial :

Ondikakala ndina /ndi - na - .../ omambo mahapu (participial complement)

"I will have many books"

cf. Ondina /o-ndi- .../ omambo (principal)

"I have books"

The participial negative is different to the principal in that the negative prefix /he/ follows the subject prefix in the participial, whereas prefix /ka/ precedes the subject prefix in the principal :

Itaidula okulesha ngeenge ndihena /- ndi - he- .../ embo (participial complement)

"I cannot read if I do not have books"

cf. Kandina /ka -ndi-.../ embo (principal)

"I do not have a book"

5.4.2.2 Function

- (1) The participial positive occurs as the complement in the compound structures of the Associative copulative future and past (see 5.4.3 and 5.4.4).
- (2) After certain conjunctions such as /ngeenge/ "if":

Ihatudula okulesha ngeenge tuhena omambo

"We cannot read if we do not have books"

5.4.3 Future tense5.4.3.1 Pattern

positive: o - {ta} - SP - ka-kala + SP^P - n(a) + Base

negative: i - {ta} - SP - ka-kala + SP^P - n(a) + Base

The future tense is a compound form. The first part contains the auxiliary /-kala/ and the second part the present participial, positive.

5.4.3.2 Significance

The future tense of the Associative indicates that something will or will not be possessed or owned at some time in the future, or that there will be a presence or absence of something.

5.4.3.3 Tense prefixes

The tense prefix {ta} has the same allomorphs as those which occur in the present indicative (see 4.3.1.4).

Ohandikakala ndina odiploma yange

"I will have my diploma"

Otokakala una aa

"You will have these"

Otavakakala vena omukumo

"They will have courage"

5.4.3.1 Examples

Positive

Omukwaita otakakala ena omukumo

"The soldier will have courage"

Ounona otavakakala vena oikutu iwa

"The children will have nice clothes"

Omufima otaukakala una omeva

"The spring will have water"

Oshivana otashikakala shina omuwiliki muwa

"The nation will have a good leader"

Embo otalikakala lina omapandja mahapu

"The book will have many chapters"

Otokakala una ai (ondjuo)

"You will have this one (room)"

Vo otavakakala vena adinya

"They will have these"

Nye otamukakala muna shii

"You will have a bad one (debt)"

Ohatukakala tuna diwa

"We will have nice once (rooms)"

Negative

Omambo mape itaakala ena eendjuo dinene

"The new houses will not have large rooms"

Itokakala una odiploma yoye modula taiya

"You will not have your diploma next year"

Itokakala una oudjuu mokupita ekonakona loye

"You will not have any difficulty in passing your examination"

Nye itamukakala muna iwa

"You will not have nice ones (clothes)"

Ye itakakala ena aenya

"She will not have these"

Itakakakala kena ao

"She will not have that one (radio)"

5.4.4 Past tense5.4.4.1 Pattern

positive : o - SP^C -a -li + (SP^P) - n(a) + Base

negative : ka - SP^C -a -li + (SP^P) - n(a) + Base

The past tense is a compound form as is the future. The first part contains the past tense auxiliary /-li/, and the second part is the present participial positive.

5.4.4.2 Significance

The past tense of the Associative indicates that something was or was not owned or possessed at some point of time in the past, or that there was a presence or absence of something.

5.4.4.3 Subject prefixes

The subject prefixes are identical to those which occur in the past tense of verbs. The occurrence of the SP^P before /na-/ is optional.

5.4.4.4 ExamplesPositive

Ovanhu ovali vena omuwiliki muwa

"The people had (were having) a good leader"

Tate okwali ena eengobe dihapu

"My father had many cattle"

Fye otwali tuna ookaume vawa modoolopa oyo

"We had good friends in that town"

Omifima odali dina omeva mahapu

"The springs had a lot of water"

Ye okwali ena oihanyo

"He was surly" (lit. "had harshness")

Apa opwali pena dihapu

"Here there were many (lions)"

Fye otwali tuna ali

"We used to have this (land)"

Negative

Omatale kakwali ena omeva

"The dams did not have water"

Tate kakwali ena oshihauto fimbo ali omunyasha

"My father did not have a car at the time when he was young"

Okakadona kakali kena eepena

"The girl did not have the pens"

Fye kakwali tuna omambo oo

"We did not have those books"

Vo kavali vena eteyo liwa

"They did not have a good harvest"

Oshiwana kashali shina ohamba iyuuki

"The nation did not have a just chief"

Omulumenhu kakwali ena oshilwifo

"The man did not have a weapon"

Ame kandali ndina emona lihapu

"I did not have many possessions"

Apa kapwali pena ihapu

"Here there was not much (place)"

Fye katwali tuna mawa

"We did not have nice ones (books)"

Ye kakwali ena shinene

"He did not have a large one (motor-car)"

Okakadona kakali kena ashi

"The girl did not have this one"

Ounona kuvali vena dinya

"The children did not have those"

CHAPTER 6

ADVERBS AND IDEOPHONES

There are two structural types of adverb in Kwanyama, viz., those which are derived productively from non-adverbial bases by means of a recognizable adverb prefix, and those which are apparently not derived from other form classes although they may incorporate a prefix which is historically identifiable as adverbial.

6.1 Derived adverbs

Derived adverbs, particularly the associative-instrumental and the agentive, usually follow immediately after the verb in word order. The applied adverb and some non-derived adverbs may precede or follow the verb in the sentence depending on semantic possibilities.

6.1.1 Associative-instrumental adverb

6.1.1.1 Significance

The adverbial prefix {na-} may indicate

- (1) association with someone or something (translated as "and, with, together with")
- (2) it may indicate the instrument of an action (translated as "by means of, with, by"), and
- (3) with adjective-stem bases, the adverb has a significance of manner.

6.1.1.2 Bases

All nouns, absolute pronouns, demonstratives and also some enumeratives may occur as adverb bases. Two adjective stems, viz., /-i/ "bad" and /-wa/ "good" also occur as adverb base.

6.1.1.3 Prefix {na-}

The low-vowel /a/ of the prefix is deleted before vowel-commencing noun bases according to rule 7 of vowel deletion (see 1.3.7)

nombele /na-ombele/ (noun, cl. 9)

"with a knife"

neepena /na-eepepa/ (noun, cl. 10-9)

"with pens"

The low-vowel /a/ is raised to mid back vowel /o/ preceding nouns of classes 16,17 and 18:

Ye okwaendaenda moilonga nomomikunda

</na-momikunda/ (noun, cl. 18)

"He travelled through cities and villages"

The prefix appears as /na-/ before all other bases.

Where the base of the adverb is the absolute pronoun of the 2nd person sg., the initial vowel of the pronoun assimilates to the vowel of the prefix:

naave [na:ve]

"and you"

< /na - ove/

6.1.1.4 Examples(1) Noun base

Ohatui noshihautu

"We travel by car"

Ohandidanauka nounona

"I play with the children"

Ohavali neembele noutwifo

"They eat with knives and forks."

Ohamba otaikundafana nomalenga

"The chief is talking with the headmen"

Otakombo nolukateko "She sweeps with a broom"

(2) Absolute pronoun base

Fye nanye ohatulongo "We and you work"
 Onye navo "It is you and they"
 Onye naame "It is you and I"
 Ohatukundafana naove [na:ve] "We are discussing with you (sg.)"
 Ohatuende nasho "We travel by it"

(3) Demonstrative base

In the case of demonstratives, the allomorph commencing in low vowel /a/ occurs in this construction

Ohandii naao /oo ~ -ao/ (class 1)

"I am going with that one (neighbour)"

Ohandii naavenya /venya ~ -avenya/ (class 2)

"I am going with those (men)"

Otatete ombelela naayo

"She cuts up the meat with that one"

Ovalumenhu otavakundafuna naaenya

"The men discuss with them (headmen)"

(4) Enumerative base

Omatemo atano naane /ane/ "nine hoes" (lit. "five and four")

Ovanhu vatano navatatu "eight people"

(5) Adjective-stem base

Ondalele-po nawa "I slept well"

Owaninga nai "You have done wrong (badly)"

6.1.2 Agentive adverb6.1.2.1 Significance

Agentive adverbs with prefix {ku-} indicate the agent of a passive verb (i.e. a verb incorporating extension 2 and in one case, extension 3) in which case they follow immediately after the verb in word order.

6.1.2.2 Base

Substantives such as nouns, absolute pronouns, and demonstratives occur as agentive bases. It is possible that independent qualificatives occur as bases in these constructions but they have not been recorded.

The allomorphs of demonstratives that commence in the low vowel /a/ occur as adverb bases.

6.1.2.3 Prefix {ku-}

The vowel of the prefix is deleted before vowel commencing nouns (see 1.6.3, p.127).

Oshimbale otashitungwa kokakadona /ku - okakadona/

"A basket is woven by the girl"

The prefix appears as /ku-/ elsewhere.

Before other vowel commencing bases, the prefix vowel is not deleted, but the phonetic rules of glide formation and vowel lengthening apply :

Omundilo otaudimwa kuove [kwo:ve]

"The fire is put out by you"

6.1.2.4 Examples(1) Noun base

Ombelala otaiyofwa kumeme

"The meat is roasted by mother"

Oikutu otaikakamwa komukulukadi

"The clothes will be wrung out by the woman"

Otadishingwa komunyasha

"They are chased by the young man"

Ongobe otaikatomwa kutate

"An ox will be slaughtered by father"

Ame nghikwetiwe kondjala

"I am not hungry" (lit. "have not been caught by hunger")

(2) Absolute pronoun base

Omundilo otaudimwa kuame

"The fire is being put out by me"

Oikutu otaikakamwa kuye

"The clothes will be wrung out by her"

Ovanhu otavadinwa kuvo

"The people are despised by them"

Odashingwa kufye

"They were chased by us"

Oshimbale otashitungwa kuko

"The basket is woven by her"

(3) Demonstrative base

Ovanhu otavadinwa kuau [kwa:u]

"The people are despised by this one"

Ovanhu otavadinwa kuawinya [kwa:wĩña]

"The people are despised by that one yonder"

Oikutu oyadjalwa kuava [kwa:va]

"The clothes are worn by these"

Elongekido otalikuningwa kuaa [kwa:]

"A plan will be made by these"

Okalala otakadudwa kuainya [kwa:iña]

"A cart will be pulled by that one yonder"

6.1.4 Applied adverb6.1.4.1 Significance

The applied adverb with prefix {molwa-} indicates that the action expressed in the verb is carried out for, because of, on behalf of, or instead of the base of the adverb.

6.1.4.2 Bases

Nouns, absolute pronouns and demonstratives occur as bases in these constructions; in the case of demonstratives, the allomorph commencing in low-vowel /a/ occurs after the prefix {molwa-}.

In the case of absolute pronouns, the possessive pronominal allomorph occurs.

6.1.4.3 Prefix {molwa-}^{1/}

The vowel of the prefix is deleted before vowel-commencing nouns, and also before the vowel-commencing pronominal stems /-etu/ and /-eni/:

Ye okwapopya molwetu /molwa - etu/
 "He spoke instead of us"

6.1.4.4. Examples(1) Noun base

Okwaenda noudjuu molwomutengi komapepe
 "He travelled with difficulty because of the load on his shoulders"

(2) Absolute pronoun base

Oteshiningi molweni
 "He is doing it for you"

(3) Demonstrative base

Molwaashi ovanhu otavadiinine omadiladilo mai
 "Because of this people think bad thoughts"

Elongekido otalikaninywa molwaaau
 "A plan is being made on behalf of this one"

Omukanda otaushangwa molwaainya
 "A letter is being written on behalf of that one yonder"

(4) Other bases

Omolwashike tolili
 "Why do you cry?" (lit. "It is because of what?")

^{1/} Historically, this prefix is probably a composite of a locative prefix of class 18 /mu-/ and a possessive prefix of class 11 /lwa-/.

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