

2.1.22 Noun Class 182.1.22.1 Prefix: /mu-/

/mu-/ is prefixed to all bases; the prefix vowel /u/ is deleted before nouns which have an initial vowel; before other vowel commencing bases, the prefix vowel is retained and the processes of vowel lengthening and glide formation take place.

(1) Noun Base

m-embo	"in the book"
< embo (5)	"book"
m-oshimbale	"in the basket"
< oshimbale (7)	"basket"
m-omundilo	"in the fire"
< omundilo (3)	"fire"
m-oufita	"in the wilderness"
< oufita (14)	"wilderness"

(2) Possessive base

mu-yaye	"inside his (hut)"
< yaye (9)	
mu-yetu	"in our (place)"
< yetu (9)	
muyange	"inside my (room)"
< yange (9)	
mulavo	"to their (homestead)"
< lavo (5)	

(3) Absolute pronoun base

Ileni muoo (omaumbo)	"Enter into them (houses)"
Ila muyo (ondjuo)	"Go into it (room)"
Ila musho (oshilandelo)	"Go into it (shop)"

(4) Demonstrative base

mu-adi	[mwa:di] <sup>1/</sup>	"in these (district)"
< /adi ~ edi/ <sup>2/</sup>	(4)	(1st position)
muako	[mwa:ko]	"in that (winter)"
< /ako ~ oko/	(15)	(2nd position)
mualinya	[mwa:liña]	"in that (dam) yonder"
< /inya ~ linya/	(5)	(3rd position)

2.1.22.2 Number

Class 18 nouns are all neutral in number.

2.1.22.3 Significance

Class 18 indicates location or motion or action 'in, into, within, inside, on' some object or place (or time):

meumbo	"in the homestead"
moshilandelo	"in the shop"
monduda	"in the hut"
momifima	"in the springs"
Ondili <u>mondjuo</u>	"I am inside the house"
Homeka ombele <u>moshipa</u>	"Put the knife in the sheath"
Ye okwaendaenda <u>moilongo</u>	"He travelled through cities"

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

2/ For distribution of allomorphs, see 2.3.2.

Mefiku etitatu okwamona onhele "On the third day he saw the place"

Vo otavakwata eeshi dihapu "They catch many fish in the dam"  
metale olo

## 2.2 Absolute Pronouns

There are absolute pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural as well as for the various classes.

### 2.2.1 Morphological structure

The structure of all absolute pronouns (see Table 4) for classes 2 to 15 is  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \\ G \\ V \end{array} (G) \right\} \circ$

Class 11 has alternative forms /lo- & lwo-/ though the latter is now obsolescent.

### 2.2.2 Absolute pronouns

Table 4

	(a)	(b) (possessive stems)
1st p. sg.	ame	-nge
pl.	fye	-etu
2nd p. sg.	ove	-oye
pl.	nye	-eni
Class 1	ye	-ye
2	vo	-vo
3	wo	-wo
4	do	-do
5	lo	-lo
6	oo	-o
7	sho	-sho
8	yo	-yo
9	yo	-yo
10-9	do	-do
11	lo or lwo	-lo
12	ko	-ko
14 sg.	wo	-wo
pl.	vo	-vo
15	kwo	-kwo
16	po	-po
17	ko	-ko
18	mo	-mo

### 2.2.3 Uninflected pronouns

Absolute pronouns may occur appositionally in a noun phrase with emphatic significance, or they may occur independently to function as subject in a sentence. If the subject is not represented by another substantive (in the case of 1st and 2nd persons especially), the absolute pronoun usually occurs in the subject slot.

Both independent and dependent absolute pronouns always show concordial agreement with the headword of the phrase or sentence whether it appears in the surface structure or not.

#### 2.2.3.1 Examples

Ye okwaendaenda moilonga nomomikunda "He travelled through cities and villages"

Ye omuxunganeki "He is a prophet"

Ame ndinokunangala nokukofa "I must lie down to sleep"

Nye tamupewa eenhono "You will receive strength"

Ame ondamona-yo "I too saw"

(/-yo/ is a verbal enclitic meaning "too")

Ove otoulikile-nge oinima iwa inene "You (will) show me many good things"

### 2.2.4 Inflected pronouns

Absolute pronouns may occur as the base in possessive constructions in which case the forms cited in (b) of Table 4 occur.

The forms cited in list (a) occur as the bases in other inflections such as Agentives, Locatives, Associatives, and Identificative Copulatives. (Absolute pronouns are not normally used as the base for Associative copulatives as object prefixes occur with the auxiliary /na-/, not pronouns (see 5.3)).

2.2.4.1 Examples(1) Agentive base

Oikutu otaikakamwa <u>kuye</u>	"The clothes will be wrung out by her"
Omeva otaatulwa moshitoo <u>kuame</u>	"The water is poured into the pot by me"
Omundilo otwadimwa <u>kuame</u>	"The fire was put out by me"
Ovanhu otavadinwa <u>kuove</u>	"The people are despised by you"
Okakala otakadudwa <u>kuyo</u>	"The cart is pulled by it"

(2) Locative base

Kala <u>puame</u> <sup>1/</sup> [pwa:me] = [pʷa:me]	"Stay with (next to) me"
Vo otaveuya <u>kufye</u>	"They come to us"
Wo otaekeuya <u>kuove</u> [kwo:ve]	"They will come to you"
Kaleni <u>pufye</u>	"Stay with (at) us"

(3) Possessive base

Eli edu <u>letu</u>	"This is our land"
onguo <u>yaye</u>	"her dress"
omaonga <u>avo</u>	"their spears"
omidi <u>dado</u>	"their roots"
okaana <u>kange</u>	"my child"
ounona <u>veni</u>	"your children"

(4) Associative-Instrumental adverb base

Fye ohatuende <u>nasho</u> (oshihauto)	"We will travel by it (car)"
Otavanyola <u>nado</u> (eepena)"	"They write with them (pens)"
Otatete <u>nayo</u> (ombele)	"She cuts with it (knife)"
Ohatushakeneka <u>naye</u>	"We meet with him"
Ohandii <u>navo</u>	"I go with them"

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

(5) Copulative base (Identificative)

Aame	"It is me"
Ovo	"It is they"
Ofye ava	"It is us (these ones)"
Onye	"It is you (pl.)"
Ove	"It is you (sg.)"

### 2.3 Demonstratives

There are three sets of basic Demonstratives which may have a spacial or temporal reference.

The 1st position refers to something relatively near to the speaker, or the something recently mentioned, and it is translated as "this, these":

Ombwa ei oihandunhu "This dog is vicious"

The 2nd position refers to something relatively distant from the speaker, or the person spoken to, or to an event which took place some time ago. It is translated by "that, those":

Otavalimi mepya omo "They are cultivating in that plot"

The 3rd position refers to something fairly far distant, or to some event that took place a long time ago; it is translated by "that, those yonder":

Otavalimi mepya mwinya "They are ploughing in yonder plot"

The 3rd position followed by repetition of the first syllable of the form without /a/ refers to something further distant:

Otavalimi mepya mwinya mwii "They plough in the plot far away"

Demonstratives may occur dependently in which case they follow a noun in a noun phrase:

Ombwa ei oihandunhu "This dog is vicious"

They may occur independently to function as subject or object in a sentence (where they still agree concordially with the noun although it does not appear in the surface structure), or they may be inflected (see 2.3.2.2 p.38).

2.3.1 DemonstrativesTable 5

	<u>1st position</u>	<u>2nd position</u>	<u>3rd position</u>
Class 1	-au ~ ou	-ao ~ oo	(-a)-winya ± wii
2	-ava ~ ava <sup>1/</sup>	-avo ~ ovo	(-a)-venya ± vee
3	-au ~ ou	-ao ~ oo	(-a)-winya ± wii
4	-adi ~ edi	-ado ~ odo	(-a)-dinya ± dii
5	-ali ~ eli	-alo ~ olo	(-a)-linya ± lii
6	-aa ~ aa	-ao ~ oo	(-a)-enya ± ee
7	-ashi ~ eshi	-asho ~ osho	(-a)-shinya ± shii
8	-ai ~ ei	-ayo ~ oyo	(-a)-inya ± ii
9	-ai ~ ei	-ayo ~ oyo	(-a)-inya ± ii
10-9	-adi ~ edi	-ado ~ odo	(-a)-dinya ± dii
11	-ali ~ eli	-alo ~ olo	(-a)-linya ± lii
12	-aka ~ aka	-ako ~ oko	(-a)-kenya ± kee
14 sg.	-au ~ ou	-ao ~ oo	(-a)-winya ± wii
pl.	-ava ~ ava <sup>1/</sup>	-avo ~ ovo	(-a)-venya ± vee
15	-aku ~ oku	-ako ~ oko	(-a)-kwinya ± kwii
16	-apa ~ apa	-apo ~ opo	(-a)-penya ± pee
17	-aku ~ oku	-ako ~ oko	(-a)-kwinya ± kwii
18	-amu ~ omu	-amo ~ omo	(-a)-mwinya ± mwii

1/ See 2.1.17.3, p.66.

2.3.2 Morphology

The underlying form of all three positions is considered here to commence with initial low vowel /a/. This form follows all prefixes.

Immediately following a word boundary, the initial vowel changes in the case of 1st and 2nd positions, or it is deleted in the case of the 3rd position.

After inflectional prefixes containing an underlying high vowel /u/, the phonetic realization process of glide formation and vowel lengthening operates (see p.88 f.).

(1) 1st position demonstratives have underlying structure /a - (C)V/ with initial vowel /a/ followed by a concordial element which is identical to the subject prefix for classes 2 to 18. The underlying form with low-vowel /a/ follows an inflectional prefix. Immediately following a word boundary, the low vowel becomes non-low (front or back) if the vowel in the concordial element is high front or back respectively; /a/ remains low if the vowel in the concord itself is low:

/-a-di/ ~ /+e-di/ (4)

/-a-mu/ ~ /+o-mu/ (18)

/-a-a/ ~ /+a-a/ (6)

(2) 2nd position demonstratives have underlying structure /-a-  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (C) \\ G \end{array} \right\}$  o/. The final vowel of the first position demonstrative becomes mid-back /o/ in all cases. In classes 8 and 9 there is insertion of a glide between the two vowels.

The allomorph with initial low vowel follows a prefix and the allomorph with mid back /o/ follows a word boundary:

/-a-do/ ~ /+o-do/ (4)

/-a-mo/ ~ /+o-mo/ (18)

/-a-o/ ~ /+o-o/ (6)

(3) The underlying form of 3rd position demonstratives following a morpheme boundary has structure /-a-(C)(G)V-nya/.

Historically, this form is probably attributable to a structure which consists of the concordial element of the 1st position followed by the stem <sup>\*</sup>-inya/ with resultant glide formation of vowel /u/, deletion of vowel /i/ and coalescence of vowels /a/ and /i/. In modern Kwanyama, glide formation of back and front glides is followed by vowel lengthening. In the case of these demonstratives, there is no front glide formation or vowel lengthening. Coalescence does not operate as a productive process in the language.

The initial vowel /a/ is deleted after a word boundary:

/-a-winya / ~ /+winya/ (3)

/-a-enya / ~ /+enya / (6)

/-a-kwinya/ ~ /+kwinya / (15)

A third position demonstrative without initial /a/ may be followed by its first syllable (which has lengthened vowel) and which forms a second word:

/+winya + wii/ (3)

/+enya + ee/ (6)

/+kwinya + kwii/ (15)

2.3.2.1 Examples of demonstratives at word boundaries(1) 1st position

Otandikanwa omeva <u>aa</u>	"I will drink this water"
Omukainhu otakalongifa eteme <u>eli</u>	"The woman will use this hoe"
Okuoko <u>oku</u> otakuyahama	"This arm is aching"
Omiti <u>edi</u> odahapa nawa	"These trees have sprouted well"
Ila-mo ukale pomundiilo <u>apa</u>	"Come in and sit here at the fire"
Vo oveli monundile <u>omu</u>	"They are here in this shade"
Ombwa <u>ei</u> oihandunhu	"This dog is vicious"
Ovanhu vawa oveli ponhele	"Nice people are in this place"

(2) 2nd position

Ondihole ovanhu <u>ovo</u>	"I like those people"
Dima-po omindiilo <u>odo</u>	"Put out those fires"
Ohamba oili meumbo <u>olo</u>	"The chief is in that homestead"
Pe-nge olukaku <u>olo</u>	"Give me that shce"
Vo ovaongala mondjuo <u>omo</u>	"They have gathered there in that house"
Ounona otavadanauka pomuti <u>opo</u>	"The children play there at the tree"

(3) 3rd position

Otavalimi mepya <u>mwinya</u>	"They are ploughing in yonder plot"
Tala eenyofi <u>dinya dii</u>	"Look at yonder stars"
Ombwa <u>inya ii</u> otaiweda	"The dog over there (far away) is barking"
Ovatembukila koshilongo <u>kwinya kwii</u>	"They have moved to yonder country"
Meumbo <u>linya</u> omuna oshivilo	"In yonder house there is a feast"
Uwete okamuvelo kanini <u>kenya</u> ?	"Do you see that small doorway over there?"

2.3.2.2 Examples of Demonstratives following morpheme boundaries  
(inflected demonstratives)

(1) Agentive /ku-/

Ovanhu otavadinwa kuau<sup>1/</sup> [kwa:u] (1)

"The people are despised by this one"

Elongekido otalikaningwa kuaa [kwa:] (6)

"A plan will be made by these headmen"

Elilo otalikatungwa kualo [kwa:lo] (5)

"The flat basket will be woven by that one (craftsman)"

Omalongekido otaakaningwa kuao [kwa:o] (6)

"Plans will be made by those (headmen)"

Okakala otakadudwa kuainya [kwa:iña] (9)

"The cart will be pulled by that (horse) yonder"

Oikutu otaikadjalwa kuavenya [kwa:veña] (2)

"The clothes will be worn by those (children) over there"

(2) Locatives {  
pu-  
ku-  
mu-}

Vo oveli<sup>1/</sup> [mwa:di] (10-9)

"They live on these (mountains)"

Kala kuashi [kwa:ʃi] (7)

"Sit down on this (chair)"

Vo oveuya kuau [kwa:u] (3)

"They come to this (district)"

Ame ohandii kuavo [kwa:vo] (2)

"I am going to those (neighbours)"

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1/ See 2.3.2.

Vo oveli muado [mwa:do] (10-9)

"They live on those (mountains)"

Vo ovafikama puayo [pwa:yo] (9)

"They are standing at that (side)"

Vo otavakwata eeshi dihapu mualinya [mwa:fiña] (3)

"They catch many fish in that (dam) yonder"

Vo ovel: muadinya [mwa:diña] (10-9)

"They live on those (mountains) yonder"

(3) Possessive / (C)a- /

Omafo aado [a:do] okwafya

"The leaves of those (trees) are dead"

Omeva aa0 okwapuinina

"The water of those (dams) has dried up"

Oilongo yaavenya oidjuu

"The duties of those (men) yonder are great"

Oilupanda laalinya olakombwa

"The floor of that (courtyard) yonder has been swept"

(4) Associative-Instrumental adverb /na- /

Ye otatete ombelela naai [na:i]

"She cuts the meat with this (knife)"

Ohandii naavo [na:vo]

"I am going with those (neighbours)"

Ovalumenhu otavakundafana naaenya [na:eña]

"The men discuss with those (headmen) yonder"

Ounona voye otavadanauka naadinya [na:diña]

"Your children play with those (siblings)"

(5) Associative Copulative /na/ (Present tense)

Fye katuna ai [kaṭuṇa:i] ≈ katuna ei [kaṭuṇa#ei]

"We do not have those baskets"

Ove kuna ali [kuṇa:li] ≈ kuna eli [kuṇa#eli]

"You do not have this (book)"

Ame ondina aa [oṇḍiṇa:a] ≈ [oṇḍiṇa#aa]

"I have these (books)"

## 2.4 Qualificatives

Four types of qualificatives are described here, viz., adjectives, enumeratives, possessives, and quantitatives. Other items such as invariables, nouns, and relative clauses may also function as qualificatives, but they are not dealt with here.

Qualificatives may occur dependently to function as the qualifier in a substantival phrase where they follow immediately after the headword (usually a noun) in word order. They may also occur independently where they function as the subject or object in a sentence, or they may be inflected. Both dependent and independent qualificatives show concordial agreement with a substantive which may be either stated or implied.

### 2.4.1 Adjectives

#### 2.4.1.1 Morphology

Adjectives consist of two segmental morphemes; a concordial prefix and a stem:

oikombo inini "a few goats"

/i-/ : adjective prefix (class 8)

/-nini/: adjective stem

olufindo lile : "a long spoon"

/li-/ : adjective prefix (class 11)

/-le/: adjective stem

2.4.1.2 Adjective prefixesTable 6

Class 1	mu-
2	va-
3	mu-
4	di- ~ i-
5	li-
6	ma-
7	shi-
8	i-
9	i-
10-9	di-
11	li-
12	ka-
14sg.	u-
pl.	va- <sup>1/</sup>
15	ku-
16	pa-
17	ku-
18	mu-

Adjective prefixes are identical to the basic noun prefixes in all classes except 4, 9 and 10-9 where they are identical to the subject prefix, and class 11 where the vowel of the adjective prefix is /i/ (a form with vowel /u/ is obsolescent).

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<sup>1/</sup> See 2.1.17.3, p.66.

2.4.1.3 Adjective Stems

-kulu	"old"
-pyu	"hot"
-hapu	"much, many"
-nini	"small, little"
-i	"bad, evil"
-xupi	"short"
-talala	"cold"
-pe	"new"
-djuu	"heavy, difficult"
-pu	"light, easy"
-wa	"good, nice"
-le	"tall, long, deep"
-nene	"big, large"
-nyanye	"sweet"
-lula	"bitter"
-kwao	"other, another"

Included among the adjective stems are those which denote some type of quality or quantity.

2.4.1.4 Function

Adjectives may occur dependently as qualifiers in a substantival phrase, or independently as subject or object. They may be inflected in copulative constructions.

2.4.1.5 Examples of dependent adjectives

onghedi ikulu	"an old custom"
oikulya ipyu	"hot food"
oilonga idjuu	"difficult work"
omutengi mupu	"a light load"
omulumenhu mule	"a tall man"
omadiladilo mai	"bad thoughts"
eengoma dihapu	"many drums"
eendunge diwa	"good wisdom"
eongo lile	"a long spear"
ounona vahapu	"many children" (plural nouns in class 14 have class 2 concords)
outa uxupi (14 sg.)	"a short bow"

2.4.1.6 Examples of inflected adjectives

(1) Adjectives may occur as the bases in descriptive copulative constructions:

Umuti <u>omule</u>	"The tree is tall"
/o-/ :	Copulative morpheme (present tense)
/mule/ :	copulative base (adjective)
Ye okwali muwa	"He was good"
Omiti odile	"The trees are tall"
Omu omuwa	"Here inside it is nice"
Apa opai	"Here it is bad"
Oku okuwa	"Hereabouts it is good"

(2) Adjectives themselves do not occur as the morphological base in possessive constructions. In a sentence where an adjective represents the possessor/owner, it is preceded in the surface structure by a demonstrative which is the possessive base:

Oshipeko shaali liwa shapomboka "The cover of the nice (book) is torn"

/shaali/ : demonstrative is possessive base

Omukulukadi waau mule omuwe "The wife of the tall one (man) is nice"

Efo laali lile olatwa "The blade of the long (spear) is sharp"

## 2.4.2 Enumeratives

### 2.4.2.1 Morphology

Enumeratives consist of two segmental morphemes; a concordial prefix and a stem:

Ovalumenhu vatatu "three men"

/va-/ : enumerative prefix

/-tatu/ : enumerative stem

2.4.2.2 Enumerative prefixesTable 7

Class	1	u-
	2	va-
	3	u-
	4	N-
	5	li-
	6	a-
	7	shi-
	8	i-
	9	i-
	10-9	N-
	11	li-
	12	ka-
	14 sg.	u-
	pl.	va- <sup>1/</sup>
	15	ku-

In all classes except 4 and 10-9 which have a nasal prefix, the enumerative prefix is identical in structure to the subject prefix of the Indicative present tense. There are no enumerative prefixes for classes 16, 17 or 18.

2.4.2.3 Prefixes of classes 4 and 10-9

When these prefixes precede enumerative stems commencing in voiceless plosives, the phonological process of stop deletion and nasal devoicing occur after the prefix has assimilated to the initial consonant

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1/ See 2.1.17.3, p.66.

of the stem (see 1.3.1).

eedi nhatu	"three sheep"
/N-tatu/	: underlying structure
n-tatu	: nasal assimilation
ɛn̩at̩u	: phonetic realization after stop deletion and nasal devoicing have taken place

When the nasal prefix of classes 4 and 10-9 precedes stems commencing in a voiced continuant, the phonological process of stop-formation occurs (see 1.3.2).

eembelewa mbali	"two offices"
/N-vali/	: underlying structure
ɛmbaɹi	: phonetic realization after stop formation

The nasal prefix of these classes is deleted before stems commencing in a nasal consonant:

eembelewa ngapi?	"how many offices?"
/N-ngapi/	: underlying structure
∅-ngapi	: nasal prefix deletion
ɛngapi	: phonetic realization

#### 2.4.2.4 Stems

Enumerative stems include those which indicate numbers "one" to "five":

-mwe	"one, certain"
-vali	"two"
-tatu	"three"
-ne	"four"
-tano	"five"
-ngapi?	"how many?"

2.4.2.5 Functions

Enumeratives may occur dependently as qualifiers in a substantival phrase, or they may occur independently. They may also occur as bases in associative adverb construction.

2.4.2.6 Examples(1) Dependent enumeratives

omulumenhu umwe (1)	"another man"
ovanhu vane (2)	"four people"
eke limwe (5)	"one hand"
omalaka angapi? (6)	"how many languages?"
osh'hauto shimwe (7)	"one motor car"
oikuti itano (8)	"five arrows"
okafino kamwe (12)	"one donkey"
outa umwe (14 sg.)	"one bow"
ounona vangapi? (14 pl. = class 2)	"how many children?"

(2) Independent enumeratives

<u>nhee</u> ~ <u>ne</u> <sup>1/</sup> odafya	"Four (sheep) died"
<u>Mbali</u> otadili	"Two (horses) are grazing"
<u>Vane</u> otavatuka pombada	"Four (birds) are flying above"
Owalanda <u>angapi</u> ?	"How many (books) did you buy?"
<u>Nhatu</u> odanangala meni Tomuti	"Three (dogs) are sleeping under the tree"

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1/ Free variants of class 4 and 10-9 are [ne] ≈ [ne:].

(3) Associative adverb base

ounona vatano <u>navatatu</u>	"eight people"
omambo vatano <u>naane</u>	"nine books"

2.4.3 Possessives2.4.3.1 Significance

As the name suggests, the possessive construction indicates possession or ownership. In a noun phrase, the headword (whether stated in surface structure or not) denotes the object that is owned or possessed (the possessee); the possessive word itself follows the headword in order, and denotes the owner or possessor. The prefix of the possessive agrees concordially with the class of the headword (the 'possessee');

Oshilongo shetu	"our country"
/oshilongo/	: noun (possessee) (class 7)
/sh-etu/	: possessive (owner); /sh-/ possessive concord class 7

2.4.3.2 Morphology

Possessives consist of at least two segmental morphemes:  
a prefix and a base:

embo lange	"my book"
/1-a-/	: prefix - possessive vowel
/-nge/	: base (possessive pronominal stem)

2.4.3.3 Possessive prefixes (with underlying particle /a/)Table 8

Class 1	w - a
2	v - a
3	w - a
4	d - a
5	l - a
6	∅ - a
7	sh - a
8	y - a
9	y - a
10-9	d - a
11	l - a
12	k - a
14 sg.	w - a
pl.	v - a l/
15	k - a

2.4 3.4 Possessive concords and possessive vowel

The underlying possessive prefix has structure /(C)a/.

The underlying vowel /a/ precedes all demonstratives and also consonant commencing nouns of class 1a, and all consonant commencing possessive pronominal stems:

embo latate	"father's book"
/la-tate/	: vowel /a/ before noun of class 1a
embo lange	"my book"
/la-nge/	: consonant commencing base

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1/ See 2.1.17.3, p.68.

embo laau "the book of this one"  
 /la-au/ : vowel commencing demonstrative base

The underlying possessive vowel /a/ is raised to the non-low back vowel /p/ preceding derived and non-derived locative bases:

omiti domofuka "trees of (in) the bushveld"  
 /d-o-mofuka/ : vowel /o/ precedes locative base/mofuka/

The possessive prefix vowel is deleted before all vowel commencing nouns and also before possessive pronominal stems (see also 1.3.7):

eenghaku dokakadona "the girl's shoes"  
 /d-oka-kadona/ : base is vowel commencing noun (class 12)  
 eenghaku deni "your shoes"  
 /d-eni/ : base is vowel commencing possessive pronoun

#### 2.4.3.5 Possessive base

Most substantives (nouns, pronouns, demonstratives, and locatives) may function as possessive bases. In the case of absolute pronouns, a possessive pronominal allomorph of the regular form occurs (see 2.2.2).

#### 2.4.3.6 Function

Possessives may occur dependently in a noun phrase following the headword. They may also occur independently without the headword being stated in surface structure, but they still show concordial agreement with it. Possessives may be inflected in Identificative Copulative constructions.

2.4.3.7 Exc(1) Noun base

xe <u>womufita</u>	"the father of the herdsman"
okuulu <u>koshingulu</u>	"the leg of the pig"
olupanda <u>lomumati</u>	"The cheek of the boy"
omhatela <u>yomwalikadi</u>	"the head-dress of the woman"
omufima <u>watate</u>	"the well of my father"
eumbo <u>lakaume</u> kange	"The home of my friend"

(2) Pronominal stems:

omafo awo	"its leaves"
omafo ado	"their leaves"
oluvalo lalo	"its colour"
omaulu asho	"its legs"
etemo loye < /oye/	"your hoe"
omhatela yaye	"her head-dress"
ounona veni < /eni/	"your children"
kaume kange	"my (male) friend"

(3) Demonstrative base

omishila daadi < /a-di/	"tails of these"
eembinga daado < /a-do/	"horns of those"
ovanhu vaapa < /a-pa/	"people of this (place)"
eengobe daawinya < /a-winya/	"cattle of that one yonder"

(4) Locative base (prefix vowel /o/ occurs)

omiti domofuka	"trees of (in) the forest"
eembinga dopediko	"pois of (at) the hearth"
eenyofi dokeulu	"stars of (in) the sky"

eeshi domomulunga	"fish of (in) the river"
omashini omoxupa	"milk in the calabash"
oipundi yopolupale	"seats in the courtyard"
eendjovo dopehovele	"introduction" (lit. "words of the beginning")
ounyuni wonena	"present day world"
omunhu wopopepi	"people of nearby"
ovanhu vokokule	"people from far"

#### 2.4.4 Quantitatives

##### 2.4.4.1 Morphology

Quantitatives consist of three segmental morphemes: an initial vowel /a/, a concordial prefix<sup>1/</sup>, and a stem:

ame andike	"I alone"
/a-ndi-ke/	: underlying structure
/a-/	: initial vowel
/ndi-/	: prefix (1st person singular)
/-ke/	: Quantitative stem "alone, only"

There are prefixes for the first and second persons singular and plural as well as for the various classes. The quantitative prefixes are identical in structure to the SP<sup>D</sup> variants of the subject prefix where the characteristic vowel /a/ of classes 2, 6, 12, 14 and 16 is realized as /e/ (see vowel raising 1.3.9).

<sup>1/</sup> The concordial prefix of the forms termed 'quantitatives' in Kwanyama does not have the structure of typical Bantu Quantitative prefixes with forms \*/C-oo-/ or \*/C-ee-/. Semantically, the two stems can be associated with similar Quantitative stems in other languages.

2.4.4.2 Stems

There are only two quantitative stems: /-she/ "all, every, whole", and /-ke/ "only, alone". The stem /-she/ does not co-occur with the prefixes of the 1st and 2nd persons singular.

2.4.4.3 QuantitativesTable 9

		<u>/-shee/ "all, whole"</u>	<u>/-ke/ "only, alone"</u>	
1st p.	sg.	---	andike	
	pl	atushe	atuke	
2nd p.	sg.	---	auke	
	pl	amushe	amuke	
Class	1	aeshe	aeke	
	2	aveshe	aveke	
	3	aushe	auke	
	4	adishe	adike	
	5	alishe	alike	
	6	aeshe	aeke	
	7	ashishe	ashike	
	8	aishe	aike	
	9	aishe	aike	
	10-9	adishe	adike	
	11	alishe	alike	
	12	akeshe	akeke	
	14 sg.	sg.	aushe	auke
		pl	aveshe	aveke
	15	akushe	akuke	
	16	apeshe	apeke	
	17	akushe	akuke	
	18	amushe	amuke	

2.4.4.4 Function

Quantitatives function dependently in a substantival phrase as do other qualificatives where they follow the head-word of the phrase.

Quantatives may also occur independently as the subject or object in a sentence; they do not occur as bases in any inflected forms.

2.4.4.5 Examples

ovanhu aveshe	"all the people"
omuti aushe	"the whole tree"
edu alishe	"the whole earth"
ame andike	"I alone"
ounona aveshe (14 pl.)	"all the children"
oudjuu aushe (14 n.)	"all the hardship"
olupanda alishe	"the whole floor"
apa apeshe	"all over here"
Fye otwalonga efiku alishe	"We worked all day"
Eembwa adishe odafaduko-po	"All the dogs ran away"
Fye atushe otumuhole	"We all love him"
Ye aeke okwapopya	"He alone spoke"
Okaana akeke okafyala meumbo	"Only the child remains at home"
Omiti adike odapya-po	"Only the trees burnt down"
Aeshe owateka	"All are broken"

PREDICATIVES : VERB MORPHOLOGY

There are two types of predicative in Kwanyama viz., verbs and copulatives. The latter are based on non-verbal forms such as nouns and qualificatives, while verbs are based on verbal radicals.

Verb : Omuvelo otauyeuluka  
 /-yeuluk-/ : verb radical  
 "The door is opening"

Copulative : Omuvelo kemule  
 /-mu-le/ : adjective  
 "The door is not high"

3.1 Morphological structure of verbs

Verbs perform a predicative function in the sentence. They must incorporate at least a radical and a tense suffix, and may also have conjugational prefixes, concordial affixes, pre-suffixal extensions, and post-suffixal enclitics:

Teya omuvelo !  
 -tey-a : verb radical and imperative suffix  
 "Break down the door !"

Ila-mo !  
 -mo : post suffixal enclitic  
 "Come in !"

Ohandikutalele oinima ei "I am minding these things for you"

- o- : tense prefix
- ha- : present tense prefix
- ndi- : subject prefix
- ku- : object prefix
- tal-: verb radical "watch"
- e1 : pre-suffixal extension (applied)
- e : present tense suffix

Conjugational and concordial affixes are dealt with in the section on the verb conjugation.

Extensions and enclitics do not affect the verbal conjugation and are thus included in this section (see 3.3, p.117 and 3.4, p.121).

### 3.2 Radicals

A radical is the lexical item which remains when all grammatical affixes have been removed, for example, /-tal-/ "watch" is the radical in the verb /ohandikutalele/ above.

Radicals may be grouped into two categories, viz., (a) simple radicals which do not incorporate any recognizable extensions, and (b) extended radicals which incorporate one or more of the verbal extensions. Simple radicals may be reduplicated (see below) :

- kong- (simple) "search"
- kong-e1- (extended) "search for"
- kong-a-a-kong- (reduplicated) "search everywhere"

### 3.2.1 Structure of simple radicals

The minimum structure of the underlying form of a simple radical is V. Radicals may commence in any of the five vowels, while only the vowels /i,e,u/ occur as final vowels.

Radicals are grouped here into two categories, viz., those with underlying final vowel which have allomorphs ending in a glide or consonant, and those with one form only which ends in a consonant.

	<u>Phonological structure</u>	<u>Example</u>
(a)	V ~ G	: -u- ~ -w- "fall"
	CV ~ CG	: -li- ~ -ly- "eat"
	CVCV ~ CVCG	: -popi- ~ -popy- "speak"
	CVV ~ CVG	: -kuu- ~ -kuw- "shout"
(b)	VC	: -ef- "allow"
	CVC	: -din- "despise"

It appears that most radicals with structure longer than CVC(V) such as /-kaam-/ "swim" or /-ambuk-/ "faint" incorporate a recognizable productive or non-productive extension or verbalizer.

### 3.2.2 Radicals with underlying structure /...V/

All radicals whose underlying form ends in a vowel have a second allomorph whose final segment is a non-vocalic glide or a consonant.<sup>1/</sup>

<sup>1/</sup> The forms with final vowel are considered to be the underlying forms as it is from them that the other allomorphs can be predicted; the reverse process cannot provide correct prediction for all radicals.

3.2.2.1 Radicals with underlying final vowelTable 10

/...i/ :		
-i-	~ -y-	"go"
-di-	~ -dy-	"go, come"
-fi-	~ -fy-	"die"
-li-	~ -ly-	"eat"
-pi-	~ -py-	"become ripe, cooked"
-shi-	~ -sh- <sup>1/</sup>	"burn"
-ti-	~ -ty-	"say"
-popi-	~ -popy-	"speak"
/...e/ :		
-fe-	~ -f-	1. "dig", 2. "resemble"
-ke-	~ -k-	"chop"
-pe-	~ -p-	"give"
-te-	~ -t-	"chase"
-me-	~ -m-	"mould"
/...u/ :		
-u-	~ -w-	"fall"
-lu-	~ -lw-	"fight, rob"
-nu-	~ -nw-	"drink"
-pu-	~ -pw-	"be ended"
-tu-	~ -tw-	"stab, pound"
-kuu-	~ -kuw-	"shout"

This list includes all /(C)V/ radicals, but there are possibly other /...CVCV/ forms than those noted here.

---

1/ See 1.3.6 for explanation of phonological processes.

### 3.2.2.2 Radicals with final front vowel

The underlying form of radicals with structure /...i/ or /...e/ immediately precedes the present tense suffix and also extensions 1,2 and 7.

With all other tense suffixes and extensions, the final high vowel /i/ becomes non-vocalic palatal glide /y/ (or is deleted in the case of radical /-shi- ~ -sh-/), and final mid vowel /e/ is always deleted. Examples of the C(G) allomorphs are given below in 3.2.2.4.

#### (1) With present tense suffix<sup>1/</sup>

Ohandii /...-i-∅/

"I am going"

Otakushi /...-shi-∅/

"It is dawning"

Vo otavafi

"They are dying"

Ame ohaidi keumbo

"I am going home"

Okaana otakame edu

"The child moulds the clay"

Ihandishikupe /...-pe-∅/

"I am not giving it to you"

Ihatute-mo ombwa

"We are not chasing the dog away"

---

1/ See 4.3.1.6 for the distribution of present tense suffix allomorphs.

(2) with extension 1 (applied)

Olielie alila-nge /...-li-l-/ ombelela ?

"Who has eaten my meat ?"

Ovakwaita ovafifi oshilongo shavo

"The soldiers are dying for their country"

(3) with extension 2 (passive)

Ounona otavapewa /...-pe-w-/ oimaliwa

"The children are given money"

Oikulya otakuliwa

"The food is eaten"

Itapadiwa nena

"No one is going today" (lit. "It is not being gone")

Omiti otaikewa-mo

"The trees are being chopped down"

Edu inalimewa nawa

"The clay is not well kneaded"

Omidi odafewa-mo

"The roots have been dug out"

(4) with extension 7 (causative)

Omufita otalifa /...-li-f-/ eengobe

"The herdsman takes the cattle to graze"

Oudio owevafifa /...-fi-f-/

"The poison caused them to die"

In all other cases (with all other tense suffixes and extensions), the final high vowel /i/ becomes non-vocalic palatal glide /y/, and final mid-vowel /e/ is deleted.

Examples are given below in 3.2.2.4.

### 3.2.2.3 Radicals with final back vowel

The underlying form of radicals with final high back vowel /u/ immediately precedes the present tense suffix and also extension 2. Note that the radical /-u-/ "fall" precedes extension 7 and the present tense suffix /-ø/ (but not extension 2).

The high vowel /u/ becomes back glide /w/ preceding all other suffixes and extensions. In the case of radical /-u-/, the allomorph /-w-/ precedes extension 2. Examples of (C)G allomorphs are given below in 3.2.2.4.

(1) with present tense suffix

Ye itakalu /...-lu-ø/

"She is not fighting"

Otamunu shike ?

"What are you drinking ?"

(2) with extensions 2 (and 7)

Dinima otailuwa /...-lu-w-a/

"The things are being plundered"

Omeva otaanuwa kounona

"The water is being drunk by the children"

Okwaufa-ko /...-u-f-/ oshitoo

"She let the pot fall down"

In all other cases the high vowel /u/ becomes back glide /w/; examples are given below.

3.2.2.4 Examples of the /...(C)(G)/ allomorphs of /...V/ radicals(1) Imperative

Lyaa ! < /-li-/	"Eat!"
Faa ! < /-fe-/	"Dig!"
Ta-po ombwa!	"Chase away the dog"

(2) Future

Ohandikama edu < /-me-/	"I will mould the clay"
Otavakata eengobe	"They will chase the cattle"
Ohandikadya keumbo	"I will go home"

(3) Past tense

Etango olasha < /-shi-/	"The sun was hot"
Okwafya	"He died"
Oiimati inaipyia	"The fruit is not ripe"
Otwapopya	"We spoke"

---

1/ Note that the sequence \*/shy/ is not permissible according to sequence structure rules; see 1.3.6.

(4) Preceding extensions

Ombwa otailyana /-ly-an-/ (11)

"The dog is vicious"

Itamufaneka /-f-an-ek-/ omafano (11+5)

"You are not comparing the drawings"

Ondawila-po (1) &lt;/-u- ~ -w-/

"I fell down"

Otanwinine (!+1)

"He drinks very fast"

Ohamba otavalwifa (7)

"The chief causes them to fight"

3.2.3 Radicals with structure /...C/

Simple radicals whose final segment is a consonant do not have any variant forms :

oku-land-a	"to buy"
Ohandilande/...-land-e/ (present tense)	"I am buying"
Ohandimlandele /...-land-el-e/ (extension 1)	"I am buying for her"
Ondalanda /...-land-a/ (past tense)	"I bought"

3.2.4 Reduplicated radicals3.2.4.1 Significance

Reduplicated radicals indicate that the action expressed by the simple radical is carried out repetitively, intensively, or extensively.

Some radicals with reduplicated structure no longer have corresponding simple forms..

Examples

ʒndakongaa konga	"I searched around all over"
Vo ovavakaavaka	"They stole everything"
Vo ovaponyaapopya	"They spoke and spoke"
Ounona otavatongaatonga	"The children are chattering"
Ye otakalaakala	"She is lingering around"
·Ye otafaafa	"He is digging around all over"

3.2.4.2 Morphology of reduplicatives

Radicals are reduplicated with either long or short vowel /a/ occurring between the two forms depending on their phonological structure.

The reduplicated forms of vowel commencing radicals are separated by the short vowel [a] :

-end-a-end- [ɛndaɛnd]	"wander around"
< -end-	"travel"
-ong-a-ong-	"prevaricate"
-el-a-el-	"be aimless"

Consonant commencing radicals are separated by a reduplication of vowel /a/ which is realized phonetically as a long vowel. In the case of radicals with underlying structure which ends in a vowel /...(C)V/, the /...(C)(G)/ allomorph ending in a consonant or glide occurs in reduplications :

-ly-a-a-ly- [lja:lʃj]	"eat around all over"
< -lj- - ~-ly-	"eat"

-t-a-a-t-	"chase away"
< -te-     ~   -t-	"chase"
-lw-a-a-lw-	"fight extensively"
< -lu-     ~   -lw-	"fight"
-kong-a-a-kong- [kongga:kong]	"search around"
< -kong-	"search"
-nyang-a-a-nyang-	"scrounge around"
< -nyang-	"forage"
-dung-a-a-dung-	"brew repeatedly"
< -dung-	"brew"

### 3.3 Verbal enclitics

There are a number of post-suffixal enclitics in Kwanyama including /-po/, /-ko/, /-mo/, /-yo/ and /-sha/. These enclitics appear to have an adverbial function. They follow the conjugational suffix but do not affect the morphology of the verb in any way. A verb may incorporate extensions and an enclitic simultaneously.

The enclitics /-po/, /-ko/ and /-mo/ are obviously related to classes 16, 17, and 18 respectively, and may still retain a locative significance typical of these classes.

#### 3.3.1 Enclitic /-po/

##### Significance

This enclitic may indicate a completed action; when it co-occurs with verbs whose simple form indicates motion, it may denote movement or direction away from something:

-lya-po	"eat up"
< -ly-	"eat"
-ka-po	"chop down"
< -ke-	"chop"
-tuma-po	"send away"
< -tum-	"send"
-dya-po	"go away"
< -dy-	"go"

Ohandinate-po omunhu

"I throw the person down"

Okulombo okwapwa-po

"The rainy season is quite finished"

Ohatumona efimbo lokufuda-po

"We still have time to rest"

Ounona ovafyaala-po

"The children have stayed behind"

Ovemupula alele-po

"They asked him how he slept"

### 3.3.2 Enclitic /-ko/

#### Significance

Verbs incorporating /-ko/ may incorporate movement towards or away from something. This enclitic may co-occur with or without extension 7 (causative) to indicate that an action is carried out with the help of something; and with extension 1 (applied) it indicates that the action occurs "in place of" :

-longifa-ko	"work with the aid of something
< -long-if-	(extension 7)
-fififa-ko	"sieve with the aid of"
< -fif-	"sieve"
-ehena-ko	"shift nearer"
< -ehen-	"approach"
-natuka-ko	"fall away from"
< -natuk-	"become detached"
-nyema-ko	"shake off"
< -nyem-	"shake"

Ohandilimi-ko

"I help to hoe"

Ohatukuleshele-ko

"We read instead of you"

Ome:la okuyadi-ko

"The water is plentiful"

### 3.3.3 Enclitic /-mo/

#### Significance

This enclitic usually indicates movement into or out of something :

-alula-mo	"leave off"
< -alul-	"deter"
-menya-mo	"smile"
< -meny-	"smile"
-dindoka-mo	"become emptied out"
< -dindok-	"drain"
-finyuka-mo	"fall head-first into"
< -finyuk-	"plunge"

Ondavaekela-mo meumbo

"I threw them out of the house"

Ohandife-mo omidi.

"I am digging the weeds out"

Otafetelele-mo ombosha

"He drives in the screw"

Ovashiinda ovapita-mo

"The neighbours came outside"

Ileni-mo !

"Come in !"

Otamududa-mo omiti

"You pull out the poles"

Omiti odadudwa-mo

"The poles have been uprooted"

3.3.4 Enclitic /-yo/Significance

/-yo/ usually signifies that the action is carried out "in addition to":

Omano oamena-yo

"The thorns also grew"

Ame ondamona-yo

"I too saw" or "I also saw"

Vo ovemupula-yo

"They also asked him"

3.3.5 Enclitic /-sha/Significance

This enclitic functions as an object to transitive verbs which cannot take another object if /-sha/ occurs in the sentence. It has the significance "something, anything":

Otamulonga ile itamupewa-sha

"You (will) work or else you do not receive anything"

Owamona-sha ?

"Did you find anything ?"

Aye, inandimona-sha

"No, I didn't find anything"

Inandilonga-sha

"I have not done any work"

### 3.4 Verbal extensions

Radicals may incorporate suffixal morphemes termed verbal extensions. These extensions always precede the tense suffix. They do not affect the conjugation of the verb in any way except in the case of the present tense suffix allomorph which is determined by the vowel of the radical or extension which precedes it.

Some extensions may alter the transitive nature of the verb, while others have no such effect.

Extensions are numbered here according to the system used by Cole (n.d.); They are also labelled with terms, some of which are used by Tönjes (1910) and Gowlett (1970), according to their general significance.

Extensions are grouped here into productive and non-productive categories, the latter being included as a point of historical interest (see Table 11)

Most extensions have phonological structure /VC/; those with structure /VCVC/ such as extension 11 /-afan/ are probably attributable to a combination of extensions. A few extensions may be reduplicated in form, and a verb may incorporate a combination of at least two extensions.

3.4.1 List of extensionsTable 11(1) Productive extensions

<u>Extension</u>		
1	(applied)	/-il ~ -el ~ -in ~ -en ~ -l/
1+1	(perfective)	/-ilil~ -elel ~ -inin ~ -enen/
2	(passive)	/-w/
3	(neuter-stative i.)	/-ik ~ -ek/
3+3	(intensive-perfective)	/-ikik ~ -ekek/
5	(causative-stative t.)	/-ik ~ -ek/
7	(causative)	/-if ~ -f/
7+7	(assistative-causative)	/-ifif/ ~ -fif/
8	(reversive t.)	/-ul ~ -ol ~ -un ~ -on/
8+8	(reversive repetitive t.)	/-ulul ~ -olol ~ -unun ~ -onon/
9	(reversive i.)	/-uk ~ -ok/
8+9	(reversive repetitive i.)	/-uluk ~ -olok/
11	(reciprocal)	/-afan/

(2) Non-productive extensions

<u>Extension</u>		
4	(stative)	*/-a1/;    */-p-a1/
10	(stative-potential)	*/-am/
11	(habitual)	*/-an/
3a+11	(stative-intensive)	*/-akan/
13	(contactive)	*/-at/
16+8	(intensive t.)	*/-au1/
16+9	(intensive i.)	*/-auk/
17	(intensive)	*/-id/

3.4.2 Extension 1 (applied)3.4.2.1 Significance

Extension 1 indicates that the action expressed by the verb is carried out "for, on behalf of, to the detriment of, to, into, from" someone or something.

The applied extension itself may have an object, therefore the number of possible objects that an extended radical can take can be increased.

3.4.2.2 Morphology

/-i1 ~ -e1 ~ -in ~ -en ~ -1/

- (1) The allomorph /-1/ occurs with radicals that have underlying structure /...i/ or /...e/ (i.e. the vowel of the extension is deleted after front vowels) :

-i-1-	"go to"	<	-i-	"go"
-fi-1-	"die for"	<	-fi-	"die"
-li-1-	"eat out of"	<	-li-	"eat"
-ke-1-	"chop for"	<	-ke-	"chop"
-fe-1-	"dig for"	<	-fe-	"dig"
-te-1-	"chase for"	<	-te-	"chase"

- (2) /-i1/ occurs with radicals having underlying structure /...u/ in which case the /...w/ allomorph occurs:

-nw-i1-	"drink out of"	<	-nu-	"drink"
-lw-i1-	"fight for"	<	-lu-	"fight"
-w-i1-	"fall down"	<	-u-	"fall"
-tw-i1-	"stab for"	<	-tu-	"stab"

- (3) With all other radicals, the distribution of allomorphs is determined simultaneously by Rule 11 of Vowel harmony (1.3.11) and Rule 13 of Nasal harmony (1.3.13).

### 3.4.2.3 Examples

#### (1) Examples of /-il/

-shing-il-	"urge on for"
-ning-il-	"do for"
-tung-il-	"weave for"
-tembuk-il-	"move to"

#### (2) Examples of /-el/

-deng-el-	"beat for"
-fet-el-	"wipe for"
-land-el-	"buy for"
-kwat-el-	"catch for"
-yof-el-	"roast for"
-long-el-	"work for"

#### (3) Examples of /-in/

-lim-in-	"cultivate for"
-dim-in-	"extinguish for"
-kun-in-	"sow for"
-tum-in-	"send for"

#### (4) Examples of /-en/

-tem-en-	"kindle for"
-kam-en-	"wring out for"
-mon-en-	"find for"
-kon-en-	"pick for"

3.4.3 Extensions 1 + 1(perfective)3.4.3.1 Significance

Extension 1 + 1 indicates that the action expressed by the radical is carried out perfectly, completely, intensively, excessively or hastily.

3.4.3.2 Morphology

/-ilil ~ -elel ~ -inin ~ -enen ~ -lil/

The structure of this extension is a reduplication of extension 1, although significance and syntactic behaviour are not related to it. The distribution of allomorphs is governed by the same factors as for extension 1(see 3.4.2.2.).

The extension may be triplicated with the radical /-i-/ "go":

-i-l-il-il- "hurry"

3.4.3.3 Examples(1) Examples of /-ilil/

-ning-ilil-	"do speedily"	< -ning-	"do"
-ding-ilil-	"surround"	< -ding-	"wind"
-kuw-ilil-	"jubilate"	< -kuw-	"shout"

(2) Examples of /-elel/

-end-elel-	"hasten"	< -end-	"go, walk"
-land-elel-	"buy to excess"	< -land-	"buy"
-mang-elel-	"bind tightly"	< -mang-	"bind"
-kof-elel-	"oversleep"	< -kof-	"sleep"
-kong-elel-	"look everywhere"	-kong-	"search"

(3) Examples of /-inin/

-tum-inin-	"send specifically"	<	-tum-	"send"
-xum-inin-	"plant firmly"	<	-xum-	"raise up a post"
-shun-inin	"return quickly"	<	-shun-	"return"
-nun-inin-	"be very patient"	<	-nun-	"have patience"

(4) Examples of /-enen/

-nyem-enen-	"shake vigorously"	<	-nyem-	"shake"
-kem-enen-	"sigh greatly"	<	-kem-	"sigh"
-nan-enen-	"stretch to limits"	<	-nan-	"stretch"
-kan-enen-	"stray everywhere"	<	-kan-	"stray"

(5) Example of /-lil/

-i-lil- "hurry"

3.4.4 Extension 2 (passive)3.4.4.1 Significance

Extension 2 indicates that the subject of the verb is acted upon or affected by an agent which is always implied even although it may not be expressed.

In the underlying sentence, the subject of the passive verb is the object, and the agent is the subject:

Omeva (subject) otanuwa (passive verb) kounona (agent)

"The water is being drunk by the children"

cf. Ounona (subject) otavanu omeva (object)

"The children drink the water"

3.4.4.2 Morphology

/-w/ occurs with all radicals including those with underlying structure /...V/.

3.4.4.3 Examples

-li-w-	"be eaten"
-lu-w-	"be fought"
-tu-w-	"be stabbed"
-ke-w-	"be chopped"
-pe-w-	"be given"
-deng-w-	"be beaten"
-yof-w-	"be roasted"
-kam-w-	"be wrung out"
-tum-w-	"be sent"
-yash-w-	"be wounded"
-kwat-w-	"be caught"

3.4.4.4 Agent of passive verbs

The agent of passive verbs is expressed by the agentive adverb which has prefix {ku-} (see also 6.1.2.3).

Ovamati ovatuminwa kohamba

"The boys were sent by the chief"

Ounona ovadengwa kuina

"The children were hit by their mother"

Eumbo linya olaxwikwa kovamati

"That house was set on fire by the boys"

3.4.5 Extension 3 (neuter-stative)3.4.5.1 Significance

This extension indicates that an action has been entered into or that there is a possibility or potentiality for the action to take place, except in one

case when this extension may have a passive significance in which case it may also be followed by the agentive adverb as with extension 2. This extension may also have an additional perfective or ameliorative significance.

Verbs incorporating extension 3 are always intransitive.

#### 3.4.5.2 Morphology

/-ik ~ -ek/

The allomorph /-ik/ occurs with the radicals /-mon-/ "see" and /-hang-/ "reach". With all other radicals, the distribution of allomorphs is determined by Rule 11 of Vowel harmony (1.3.11).

#### 3.4.5.3 Examples

##### (1) Examples of /-ik/

-dik-ik-	"be planted"	< -dik-	"plant"
-ud-ik-	"be audible"	< -ud-	"hear"

##### (2) Examples of /-ek/

-lesh-ek-	"be readable"	< -lesh-	"read"
-nak-ek-	"be finely sieved"	< -nak-	"sieve"
-komb-ek-	"become clean"	< -komb-	"sweep"

#### 3.4.5.4 Example with passive significance

Eemhunda otadimonika /-mon-ik-/ kuame "The hills are seen by me"

#### 3.4.5.5 Examples with stative-potential significance

-hang-ik-	"be reached"	< -hang-	"reach"
-din-ik-	"be despised"	< -din-	"despise"
-dik-ik-	"be planted"	< -dik-	"plant"
-dud-ik-	"be pulled out"	< -dud-	"pull"

3.4.5.6 Examples with perfective significance

-imb-ik-	"be beautifully sung"	<	-imb-	"sing"
-dal-ek-	"come of good stock"	<	-dal-	"bear"
-shang-ek-	"be ornately written"	<	-shang-	"write"
-nak-ek-	"be finely sieved"	<	-nak-	"sieve"

3.4.6 Extension 3+3 (intensive-perfective)3.4.6.1 Significance

This extension indicates that something is carried out intensively or is done to perfection.

Extension 3+3 does not change the transitive nature of the base radical.

3.4.6.2 Morphology

/-ikik ~ -ekek/

Structurally, this is a reduplication of extension 3; Rule 11 of Vowel harmony also applies to the distribution of allomorphs (see 1.3.11).

3.4.6.3 Examples

-imb-ikik-	"be beautifully sung"	<	-imb-	"sing"
-kupuł-ikik-	"hit accurately"	<	-kupuł-	"throw"
-telek-ekek-	"be cooked to perfection"	<	-telek-	"cook"
-long-ekek-	"be well done"	<	-long-	"work"

3.4.7 Extension 5 (causative)3.4.7.1 Significance

This extension indicates the causing or bringing about of a state.

3.4.7.2 Morphology

/-ek ~ -ik/

The allomorphs are distributed according to Rule 11 of Vowel harmony (see 1.3.11). Structurally, extensions 3 and 5 are the same, but all radicals incorporating extension 5 are transitive, whereas those incorporating extension 3 are intransitive.

3.4.7.3 Examples

-fimh-ik-	"make blunt"	<	-fimh-	"be blunt"
-nang-ek-	"lay down to sleep"	cf.	-nang-al-	"lie down to sleep"
-nyat-ek-	"soil"	<	-nyat-	"be dirty"
-hom-ek-	"insert"	cf.	-hom-at-	"be inserted"
-mot-ek-	"moisten"	<	-mot-	"be damp"

3.4.8 Extension 7 (causative)3.4.8.1 Significance

Extension 7 has a general causative significance indicating that the primary object of the verb is caused or made to do something. When this extension is followed by the enclitic /-ko/ (see 3.4.8.3), it signifies that the action is carried out with the help of something or by means of something.

Radicals incorporating this extension are all transitive.

3.4.8.2 Morphology

/-if ~ -f/

The vowel of the underlying form /-if/ is deleted after radicals which have underlying structure /...i-/ and /...e/, and also after the radical /-u-/"fall".

/-if/ occurs after all other radicals including the /...CG/ allomorph of /Cu/ radicals.

### 3.4.8.3 Examples

#### (1) Examples of /-f/

-u-f-	"cause to fall"	<	-u-	"fall"
-i-f-	"cause to go"	<	-i-	"go"
-fi-f-	"cause to die"	<	-fi-	"die"
-li-f-	"cause to eat"	<	-li-	"eat"
-popi-f	"cause to speak"	<	-popi-	"speak"
-ke-f-	"cause to chop"	<	-ke-	"chop"
-te-f-	"cause to chase"	<	-te-	"chase"

#### (2) Examples of /-if/

-lw-if-	"cause to fight"	<	-lu-	"fight"
-tw-if-	"make stab"	<	-tu-	"stab"
-hondj-if-	"cause to sew"	<	-hondj-	"sew"
-yad-if-	"cause to fill"	<	-yad-	"fill up"
-kolw-if-	"make drunk"	<	-kolw-	"become drunk"
-long-if-	"make work"	<	-long	"work"

#### (3) Examples with enclitic /-ko/

Ohandihondjifa-ko

"I am sewing with the aid (of a needle)"

Ohandishangifa-ko

"I write with (a borrowed pencil)"

Ohandilimifa-ko

"I am hoeing (with your hoe)"

3.4.9 Extension 7+73.4.9.1 Significance

The reduplicated form of extension 7 has a polite or respectful causative significance. It implies that the action is being carried out as a result of a polite request or suggestion.

3.4.9.2 Morphology

/-ifif ~ -fif/

The distribution of allomorphs follows the same rules as those for extension 7 (see 3.4.8).

3.4.9.3 Examples

Kaume otatomififa tate eengobe

"The friend caused (requested) father to slaughter an ox"

Ohanditumi fifa meme omunyasha

"I asked (cause) mother to send the young man"

Okwevapitififa-mo meumbo

"He makes them go out of the house"

Ohandikamififa meme oikutu

"I help mother to wring out the clothes"

Otashingififa ovafita eengobe

"He requests the herdsmen to chase the cattle"

Okwevakefifa-po omuti

"He makes them chop down the tree"

3.4.10 Extension 8 (reversive transitive)3.4.10.1 Significance

This extension has a reversive or inersive significance indicating

that the action expressed by the simple radical is undone or reversed.  
In some cases this extension has an intensive or 'specifying' significance.

Many radicals which incorporate extension 8 no longer have corresponding simple forms. Nevertheless, this still appears to be a productive extension.

Radicals that incorporate extension 8 all appear to be transitive.

### 3.4.10.2 Morphology

/-u| ~ -o| ~ -un ~ -on/

The distribution of allomorphs is determined simultaneously by Rule 12 of Vowel alternation (1.3.12) and Rule 13 of Nasal harmony (1.3.13).

### 3.4.10.3 Examples

#### (1) Examples of /-u|/

-dik-u -	"uproot"	<	-dik-	"plant"
-pit-u -	"pass by somewhere"	<	-pit-	"appear"
-vel-u -	"heal"	<	-vel-	"be sick"
-tend-u -	"hatch out"	<	-tend-	"break out"
-vak-u -	"take by force"	<	-vak-	"steal"
-kut-u -	"outspan"	cf.	-kut-il-	"inspan"

#### (2) Examples of /-o|/

-komb-o -	"sweep out"	<	-komb-	"sweep"
-shok-o -	"remove a thorn"	<	-shok-	"plug, block"
-pond-o -	"make possible"	cf.	-pond-ok-	"be possible"
-tong-o -	"sort out, separate"	cf.	-tong-ok-	"get separated"
-tok-o -	"cut across"	cf.	-tok-ok-	"be divided"

(3) Examples of /-un/

-pen-un-	"undress"	cf. -pen-uk-	"get undressed"
-nyam-un-	"shake off"	cf. -nyam-uk-	"fall off"
-yuun-un-	"peel off"	< -yuun-	"peel"
-nyum-un-	"wake up, bring round"	cf. -nyum-uk-	"come round"

(4) Examples of /-on/

-ton-on-	"pluck, pick off"	< -ton-	"pick fruit"
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3.4.11 Extension 9 (reversive intransitive)3.4.11.1 Significance

Extension 9 is the intransitive counterpart of extension 8; extension 9 often has a reversive-intransitive significance indicating that the action expressed by the verb is in the process or state of being undone; it may also have an intensive connotation. In some cases the corresponding unextended radical no longer exists; in this case the specific "reversive" significance of the extension is not always apparent.

3.4.11.2 Morphology

/-uk ~ -ok/

Rule 12 of Vowel alternation (see 1.3.12) determines the distribution of allomorphs in nearly all cases, but there is at least one case where the suffix allomorph is not phonologically determined:

-dind-ok- "drain out, leak" < -dind- "strain"

3.4.11.3 Examples(1) Examples of /-uk/

-man-uk-	"get finished"	< -man-	"finish"
-nat-uk-	"work loose"	< -nat-	"throw down"

-dik-uk-	"get uprooted"	<	-dik-	"plant"
-dit-uk-	"come loose"	cf.	-dit-ik-	"knot"
-nyaum-uk-	"fall down"	cf.	-nyaum-un-	"shed, cast down"

(2) Examples of /-ok/

-pond-ok-	"be possible"	cf.	-pond-ol-	"make possible"
-ond-ok	"become fat"	cf.	-ond-ol-	"fatten"
-pomb-ok-	"become torn"	cf.	-pomb-ol-	"tear"
-hol-ok-	"come to light"	cf.	-hol-ek-	"conceal"
-tong-ok-	"become sorted out"	cf.	-tong-ol-	"sort out"

3.4.12 Extension 8+8 reversive-repetitive transitive3.4.12.1 Significance

This extension has an intensive or repetitive significance usually indicating that a reversive process is being carried out repeatedly. Verbs incorporating this extension are transitive.

3.4.12.2 Morphology

/-ulul ~ -olol ~ -unun ~ -onon/

Structurally this is a reduplication of extension 8, and the distribution of allomorphs is determined by the same rules, but at least one radical has freely alternating forms :

-fet-ulul- ~ -fet-unun- "wipe out thoroughly" < -fet- "wipe"

3.4.12.3 Examples(1) Examples of /-ulul/

-ding-ulul-	"unravel"	<	-ding-	"coil"
-dit-ulul-	"untie again"	<	-dit-	"tie"
-ning-ulul-	"re-do, make again"	<	-ning-	"do"
-mang-ulul-	"untie again"	<	-mang-	"bind"

(2) Examples of /-olo/

-kong-olo-	"search, seek out"	< -kong-	"search"
-komb-olo-	"sweep out once more"	< -komb-	"sweep"
-hondj-olo-	"re-sew"	< -hondj-	"sew"

(3) Examples of /-unun/

-kweny-unun-	"scrape out thoroughly"	< -kweny-	"scrape out"
-shun-unun-	"go further back"	< -shun-	"return"

(4) Examples of /-onon/

-ony-onon-	"be unrolled again"	-ony-	"roll"
-hom-onon-	"remove sticks from burning fire"	cf. -hom-ek-	"place burning sticks in fire"

3.4.13 Extension 8+9 (reversive-repetitive intransitive)3.4.13.1 Significance

This compound extension is the intransitive counterpart of extension 8+8. It indicates that a process is reversed or undone, or is being repeated.

3.4.13.2 Morphology

/-uluk ~ -olok ~ -unuk ~ -onok/

Structurally, this is a compound extension formed from extension 8+9 :  
{u} + {uk} .

The distribution of allomorphs appears to be identical to that for extension 8+8 with at least two exceptions where /-olok/ follows high vowel /i/:

-dind-olok-	"be drained out"	< -dind-	"strain, drain"
-fing-onok-	"be twisted"	< -fing-	"twist, wrench"

3.4.13.3 Examples(1) Examples of /-uluk/

-kut-uluk-	"grow hungry again"	<	-kut-	"be replete"
-dind-uluk-	"subside"	<	-dind-	"swell" <sup>1/</sup>
-fet-uluk-	"be thoroughly wiped"	<	-fet-	"wipe"
-mang-uluk-	"become free"	<	-mang-	"tie up"
-kung-uluk-	"flow out"	cf.	-ulul-	"wash away"

(2) Examples of /-olok/

-hondj-olok-	"become unravelled"	<	-hondj-	"sew"
-omb-olok-	"rise after a nap"	<	-omb-	"take a nap"
-long-olok-	"be unburdened of work"	<	-long-	"work"
-yomb-olok-	"sneak away from"	<	-yomb-	"sneak off"

(3) Examples of /-unuk/

-shun-unuk-	"be placed further back"	<	-shun-	"go back"
-winy-unuk-	"withdraw again"	cf.	-winy-uk-	"recoil"

(4) Examples of /-onok/

-ony-onok-	"be unrolled again"	<	-ony-	"roll"
-tony-onok-	"be unfolded"	<	-tony-	"roll up"
-pony-onok-	"slip off"	<	-pony-	"miss"

3.4.14 Extension 11 (reciprocal)<sup>2/</sup>3.4.14.1 Significance

This extension has a reciprocal significance indicating that something is carried out mutually between two parties or individuals.

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- 1/ Radicals /-dind-/ 1. "swell" and 2. "drain" are segmentally homophonous.  
 2/ This extension is termed here by one number (11) although historically it is most probably a compound of at least two extensions.

All radicals incorporating extension 11 are intransitive.

#### 3.4.14.2 Morphology

/-afan/<sup>1/</sup> occurs with all radicals. It appears to be a compound form composed of \*/-af/ (?) and \*/-an/ (11). It cannot be stated with any certainty to what \*/-af/ is attributable although the only existing extension to which it bears resemblance in structure (but not significance) is /-if/ (extension 7); the element \*/-an/ is comparable with extension 11 (reciprocal) in other languages.

#### 3.4.14.3 Examples

-deng-afan-	"hit one another"	< -deng-	"hit"
-end-afan-	"have mutual dealings"	< -end-	"go"
-fufy-afan-	"deceive one another"	< -fufy-	"lie"
-pul-afan-	"ask one another"	< -pul-	"ask"
-minik-afan-	"greet one another"	< -minik-	"greet"
-ik-afan-	"be on intimate terms"	< -ik-	"acquaint"
-tond-afan-	"hate one another"	< -tond-	"hate"

#### 3.4.15 Non-productive extensions

A number of elements are still recognizable as extensions from their morphology and from their significance although they do not appear to be productive in the language any longer. In most cases, the simple radical corresponding to the (historically) extended form no longer exists.

#### 3.4.16 Extension 4 (stative)

##### 3.4.16.1 Significance

This extension is still recognizable in a number of radicals which no longer have corresponding simple forms. Most of these radicals indicate

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<sup>1/</sup> See footnote 2, p. 140.

some kind of bodily position or state, or a physical condition. Radicals incorporating this extension are all intransitive.

Extension 4 co-occurs with the verbalizer \*/-p/ in the derivation of verbal radicals from adjective stems and also from a few nouns; it would seem that this process of derivation is now non-productive.

#### 3.4.16.2 Morphology

\*/-al/ occurs in all cases.

#### 3.4.16.3 Examples

(1) Examples with \*/-al/:

-dong-al-	"be muddy"	
-kumb-al-	"be thin"	
-nang-al-	"lie down to sleep"	cf. -nang-ek- "lay down to sleep"
-shasi-al-	"dance"	
-tal-al-	"be cool"	

#### 3.4.16.4 Verbalizer \*/-p/

The suffixal verbalizer /-p/ which is no longer productive in the language is still recognizable in verbal radicals derived from nouns and adjectives.

(1) Example of verbalizer \*/-p/; and /-al/

-dyuu-p-al-	"become heavy"	<	-dyuu (adj.)	"heavy"
-hapu-p-al-	"increase"	<	-hapu (adj.)	"many"
-i-p-al-	"be ugly"	<	-i (adj.)	"bad"
-nene-p-al-	"grow big"	<	-nene (adj.)	"big"
-lai-p-al-	"become stupid"	<	elai. (noun)	"fool"

3.4.17 Extension 10 (stative-positional)3.4.17.1 Significance

Most radicals incorporating extension 10 indicate a bodily position, state or action. Simple radicals corresponding to those incorporating extension 10 no longer exist. Verbs incorporating this extension are all intransitive.

3.4.17.2 Morphology

\*-/am/ occurs in all cases.

2.4.17.3 Examples

-ak-am-	-ek-am-	"open the mouth"
-hond-am-		"hide oneself"
-ya-am-		"shelter from rain"
-fik-am-		"rise, stand"
-fud-am-		"be buried"      cf. -fud-ik-      "bury"
-kak-am		"tremble"
-yeh-am-		"feel pain"
-kangh-am-		"wait, stand still"
-pil-am-		"be upside down"
-kuny-am-		"be quiet"

3.4.18 Extension 11a<sup>1/</sup> (habitual-intensive)3.4.18.1 Significance

Extension 11a co-occurs with some radicals to indicate habitual or intensified action. Although the corresponding simple radicals do still

1/ This non-productive extension is termed here 11a in order to distinguish it from the productive extension 11 /-afan/. Historically, however, 11a \*/-an/ is comparable with extension 11 which still occurs productively in other languages.

occur, this extension is no longer productive.

A few radicals incorporating extension 11a have a reciprocal significance, but this usage of the extension is now non-productive (reciprocal action is indicated by the compound form /-af-an/) (see 3.4.14).

### 3.4.18.2 Morphology

\*-/an/ occurs in all cases.

### 3.4.18.3 Examples

-fufy-an-	"be mendacious"	-fufy-	"lie"
-ly-an-	"be vicious"	-li-	"bite, eat"
-lil-an-	"be petulant"	-lil-	"cry"
-tw-an-	"be inclined to butt"	-tu-	"butt"
-fim-an-	"be honourable"	-fim-	"honour"
-heng-an-	"divorce (of a woman)"		
-kum-an	"barter, exchange"		

### 3.4.19 Extension 3a+11 (stative-intensive)

#### 3.4.19.1 Significance

This compound extension has a stative significance indicating a physical state or position.

Verbs incorporating \*/-akan/ are all intransitive.

#### 3.4.19.2 Morphology

\*/-akan/ is a compound extension most probably consisting of an element /-ak/ (?) and \*/-an/ (ext.11).

3.4.19.3 Examples

-dong-akan-	"be muddled"
-find-akan-	"be crowded together"
-hov-akan-	"be mixed"
-yel-akan-	"be smooth"
-kangal-akan-	"bar a road, lie across"
-kit-akan-	"be entangled"
-koy-akan-	"be of uneven height"
-kund-akan-	"block, bar"

3.4.20 Extension 13 (contactive)3.4.20.1 Significance

Radicals incorporating this extension generally indicate bodily contact, movement, or state.

Verbs incorporating extension 13 may be transitive or intransitive.

3.4.20.2 Morphology

\*-/at/ occurs in all cases.

3.4.20.3 Examples

-humb-at-	"carry"
-hom-at-	"insert"
-yong-at	"be loaded up"
-kw-at-	"catch, seize"
-ly-at-	"tramp on"
-lyak-at-	"jerk, twitch"
-ngony-at-	"be crumpled, folded together"

3.4.21 Extension 16+8'(intensive-transitive)3.4.21.1 Significance

Extension 16+8 indicates that something is carried out intensively or extensively. Verbs incorporating this extension are always transitive.

3.4.21.2 Morphology

/-aui ~ -aun/

The allomorphs /-aui ~ -aun/ are distributed according to Rule 13. Nasal harmony (1.3.13).

This extension is probably a compound form having two elements \*/-a/ (16?) and /-ui ~ -un/ (8). \*/-a/ is possibly attributable to a Proto-Bantu form \*/-a / which no longer exists on its own in Kwanyama, but may be recognized in Ndonga (and/or Kwambi).

3.4.21.3 Examples(1) Examples of \*/-aui/

-lyat-aui-	"trample"	< -lyat-	"tramp on"
-tey-aui-	"shatter"	< -tey-	"break"
-tat-aui-	"smash"	cf. -tat-ui-	"break"
-shik-aui-	"follow relentlessly"	cf. -shik-ui-	"follow"

(2) Examples of \*/-aun/

-ngum-aun-	"push over"	< -ngum-	"push, nudge"
-nyon-aun-	"destroy"	< -nyon-	"spoil"

3.4.22 Extension 16+9 (intensive-intransitive)3.4.22.1 Significance

This extension has the same general significance as 16+8, but all verbs

in this case are intransitive. In many cases, a corresponding simple radical no longer exists.

#### 3.4.22.2 Morphology

This extension has a parallel structure to extension 16+8, that is, it is most probably a compound form consisting of \*/-a/ (16?) and /-uk/ (9).

#### 3.4.22.3 Examples

-hal-auk-	"be terrified"		
-nuk-auk-	"throb, jump"	<	-nuk- "jump"
-nyany-auk-	"be torn to shreds"	cf.	-nyany-aul- "rip"
-nyon-auk	"be ruined"	<	-nyon- "spoil"
-pund-auk-	"reel, wobble"	cf.	-pund-uk- "stumble"
-tey-auk-	"be smashed"	<	-tey- "break"
-yol-auk-	"laugh loudly"		
-finy-auk-	"writhe"		

#### 3.4.23 Extension 17 (intensive)

##### 3.4.23.1 Significance

Radicals incorporating the extension \*/-id/ appear to have a general intensive or exaggerated connotation in addition to the basic significance. Only one example of a corresponding simple radical has been noted.

Verbs incorporating this ending may be transitive or intransitive.

##### 3.4.23.2 Morphology

\*/-id/ occurs in all cases.

3.4.23.3 Examples

-pul-id-	"interrogate"	<	-pul-	"ask"
-fif-id-	"move slowly"			
-hash-id	"cut into small pieces"			
-ing-id-	"shout"			
-kuma-id-	"admonish"			
-naang-id-	"interrogate"			
-kwamb-id-	"follow relentlessly"			
-papak-id-	"be overloaded"			

CHAPTER 4

PREDICATIVES : VERB CONJUGATION

4.1 Sub-divisions of the conjugation

The verb conjugation may be sub-divided into two major categories, viz., finite and non-finite forms.

Non-finite forms do not incorporate a subject prefix, though they may incorporate object concords or the reflexive prefix.

There are two types of non-finite forms : infinitive (positive and negative), and imperative (positive only).<sup>1/</sup>

Finite forms always incorporate a subject prefix, and they may also contain object concords or a reflexive prefix.

Finite forms may be sub-divided into two moods. The Indicative mood contains a number of tenses which all indicate action at a specific time; the Subjunctive mood has only one tense which does not have a time reference.

Some tenses of the Indicative mood have principal and participial sub-moods whose occurrence is determined by syntactic function.<sup>2/</sup>

All finite verbs have both positive and negative forms.

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- 1/ The term 'imperative' does not imply any semantic classification here, it merely refers to a verb form.
- 2/ It is probable that there may be suprasegmental differences between principal and participial forms, but these are not dealt with here.

4.1.1 Diagrammatic representation of conjugationTable 12

Non-Finite	Finite	
	Indicative	Subjunctive
	(pos. and neg.)	
Infinitive (pos. and neg.)	Present	Present (pos. and neg.)
Imperative (pos. only)	Defective Present	
	Past	
	Past Continuous	
	Past Perfect	
	Future	

The underlying morphological structures of verbs are given here in formulae or "patterns" in order to facilitate description.

Symbols used in the patterns:

- SP : subject prefix
- SP<sup>C</sup> : subject prefix (past)
- SP<sup>P</sup> : subject prefix (participial)
- OC : object concord
- OP : object prefix
- OS : object suffix
- R : verb radical
- V<sup>R</sup> : present tense suffix
- neg. : negative
- pos. : positive

4.1.2 Summary of tense patterns

## (1) Non-finite forms :

Infinitive

pos. o - ku - R - a

neg. o - ku - {ha} - R - a

Imperative

pos. A. sg. (a) R - a

(b) R - a - a

pl. R - e - ni

B. sg. R - e - OS

pl. R - e - ni - OS

OP - R - a

OP - R - e - ni

## (2) Finite forms :

Indicative MoodPresent (principal)pos. o - {ta} - SP - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}neg. i - {ta} - SP - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}Present (participial)pos. {ta} - SP - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}neg. i - {ta} - SP - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}Defective present (principal)pos. o - SP<sup>P</sup> - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}neg. {ka} - SP<sup>P</sup> - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}Defective present (participial)pos. SP<sup>P</sup> - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}neg. {ka} - SP<sup>P</sup> - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}

Future

pos. o - ' {ta} - SP - ' {ka} - R - a

neg. i - ' {ta} - SP - ' {ka} - R - a

Past (principal)pos. o - SP<sup>C</sup> - ' {a} - R - a

neg. i - ' {na} - SP - R - a

Past (participial)pos. SP<sup>C</sup> - ' {a} - R - a

neg. i - ' {na} - SP - R - a

Past Continuouspos. o - SP<sup>C</sup> - a - li } + {ta} - SP - R - {V<sup>R</sup>}neg. ka - SP<sup>C</sup> - a - li }Past Perfectpos. o - SP<sup>C</sup> - a - li } + SP<sup>C</sup> - ' {a} - R - aneg. ka - SP<sup>C</sup> - a - li }Subjunctive MoodPresent

pos. SP - R - e

neg. SP - ' {ha} - R - e

4.1.3 Conjugational affixes

Conjugational prefixes serve to indicate whether a verb is positive or negative and also function as markers of mood, sub-mood and tense.

Conjugational prefixes that follow the subject prefix and that have low vowel /a/ are subject to rule 9 of vowel raising (see 1.3.9), whereas no conjugational prefixes undergo this rule if they precede this subject prefix.

Conjugational suffixes characterize tense but do not mark the difference between positive or negative.

4.1.4 Summary of conjugational affixes<sup>1/</sup>4.1.4.1 Conjugational prefixes preceding the subject prefix

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Occurrence in tenses</u>
/o-/	: (1) infinitive, pos. and neg. (2) present indicative, principal (3) defective present, principal (4) future (5) past principal (6) past continuous (7) past perfect
	} pos. only
/i-/	: neg. only (1) present indicative, principal and participial (2) future (3) past
/ka-/	: neg. only (1) past continuous (2) past perfect

<sup>1/</sup> Allomorphs are exemplified in the relevant tenses, not in the summaries.

- {ta} /ta~t~ha-/ : (1) present indicative, principal, participial,  
pos. and neg.  
(2) future pos. and neg.

Distribution of allomorphs

- (1)/ha-/ precedes subject prefixes of 1st person sg. and pl.  
(2)/t-/ precedes subject prefixes of 2nd person sg. and class 1  
(3)/ta-/ occurs elsewhere and also precedes prefix of 1st  
person sg. as alternative to /ha-/

- {ka-}/ka~k-/ : (1) defective present, neg., principal and participial

Distribution of allomorphs

- (1) /k-/ : precedes subject prefix class 1  
(2) /ka-/ : occurs elsewhere

- {na-}/na~n-/ : (1) past, neg., principal and participial

Distribution of allomorphs

- (1) /n-/ : precedes subject prefixes of 2nd person sg. and class 1  
(2) /na-/ : occurs elsewhere

4.1.4.2 Conjugational prefixes following the subject prefix (all undergo  
rule of vowel raising)

<u>Prefix</u>	<u>Occurrence in tenses</u>
{/ka-}/ka~ke-/	: (1) future, pos. and neg.
{a-}/a~e-/	: (1) past, pos. and neg., principal and participial
{ha-}/ha~he-/	: (1) subjunctive, neg. : (2) infinitive, neg.

Distribution of allomorphs

These prefixes are all subject to Rule 9 of vowel raising, see 1.3.9, p.20.

4.1.4.3 Conjugational suffixes

<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Occurrence in tenses</u>
/-a/	: (1) infinitive : (2) imperative sg. without object suffix : (3) future : (4) past, principal and participial
/-e/	: (1) imperative pl. : (2) imperative sg. with object suffix : (3) subjunctive
{V <sup>R</sup> }/-a~-e~-i~-o~-u~-∅/	: (1) present indicative, principal and participial : (2) defective present (For distribution of allomorphs see 4.3.1.6, p.168).

4.1.5 Concordial affixes(1) Subject prefixes

All finite verbs contain a subject prefix which agrees concordially with the subject of the sentence which may or may not be stated, though there appears to be a preference in Kwanyama for a noun or pronoun to function as subject rather than to have an 'empty subject slot'.

Three categories of subject prefix are recognized here. The forms symbolized as 'SP<sup>C</sup>' all have structure /C(G)/ or /G/; they precede the past tense prefix /a- ~ e-/. The other prefix categories are symbolized as 'SP' and 'SP<sup>P</sup>'. These are treated here as separate forms in order to simplify description, but they could be subsumed in one form.

(2) Object concords

Object concords may represent the object of the sentence in the verb.

A verb may incorporate two object concords. The first object prefix represents the secondary object<sup>1/</sup> of the verb, and the object prefix immediately preceding the radical represents the primary object:<sup>1/</sup>

Ye okwapela ina okaanda<sup>2/</sup>

"She gave her mother the basket"

> Ye okwekemupela<sup>2/</sup>

/ke/ : object prefix class 12 (secondary obj.)

/mu/ : object prefix class 1 (primary obj.)

"She gave her it"

1/ The primary and secondary objects are first and second in word order respectively.

2/ /kw-/ is the SP<sup>C</sup>; /a- ~ e-/ is the past tense prefix.

There are object concords for the 1st and 2nd persons singular and plural as well as for the various classes; that of the 1st person sg. is a suffix, and all others are prefixes.

No object prefixes have been recorded for classes 16, 17 and 18 as these locative classes apparently do not function as objects in a sentence.

Object prefixes with structure /(C)a-/ undergo Rule 9 of vowel raising (1.3.9).

The object prefix /mu-/ of class 1 (but not of the 2nd person pl.) undergoes Rule 10 of vowel deletion and nasal syllabification preceding consonant commencing radicals (1.3.10).

(3) The reflexive prefix

The prefix /li-/ occurs in all cases. A verb may not incorporate this prefix and an object concord simultaneously.

The reflexive prefix indicates reflexive action by the subject of the verb:

Okaana itakelikosho "The child is not washing itself"

Verbs incorporating both the reflexive prefix and extension 1 (applied) may indicate incidental action by the subject:

Okuhole okulikalela /... - li - ka l - e l - /

"He likes merely to stay by himself"

4.1.6 Concordial AffixesTable 13

		Subject Prefixes			Object Concord
		SP	SP <sup>P</sup>	SP <sup>C</sup>	OP
1st p.	sg.	ndi ~ i-	ndi-	nd-	-nge
	pl.	tu-		tw-	tu-
2nd p.	sg.	o - ~ u-		kw-	ku-
	pl.	mu-		mw-	mu-
Class	1	a - ~ e-	ku- ~ e-	kw- ~ Ø-	mu-
	2	va- ~ ve-	ve-	v-	va- ~ ve-
	3	u-		w-	u-
	4	di-		d-	di-
	5	li-		l-	li-
	6	a- ~ e-	ku- ~ e-	kw- ~ Ø-	a- ~ e-
	7	shi-		sh-	shi-
	8	i-		y-	i-
	9	i-		y-	i-
	10-9	di-		d-	di-
	11	li-		l-	li-
	12	ka- ~ ke-	ke-	k-	ka- ~ ke-
	14sg.	u-		w-	u-
	pl.	va- ~ ve-	ve-	v-	va- ~ ve-
	15	ku-		kw-	ku-
	16	pa- ~ pe-	pe-	pw- 1/	-
	17	ku-		kw-	-
	18	mu-		mw-	-

1/ This form for class 16 has structure /Cw/ even though the SP form is /pa-/ (i.e. it does not have vowel /u/).

4.1.7 Summary of concordial affixes4.1.7.1 Subject prefixes

(a)	<u>Prefix /SP/</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>
		: (1) present indicative, principal and participial, pos. and neg.
		: (2) future, pos. and neg. (indicative)
		: (3) past neg., principal and participial (indicative)
		: (4) present subjunctive, pos. and neg.

Distribution of allomorphs

- (1) /C)a-/ structure : prefixes of classes 1, 2, 6, 12 and 16 all undergo Rule 9 of vowel raising (1.3.9).
- (2) 1st person sg. : the allomorphs /ndi- ≈ i-/ are in free variation of i in the present tense (4.3.1). /ndi-/ occurs in all other tenses.
- (3) 2nd person sg.: the allomorph /u-/ occurs in the present subjunctive; /o-/ occurs in all other cases:

Lungama opo uhanyateke /u- ha- .../ omambo (subjunctive)

"Take care that you do not spoil the books"

Itonyateke /i - t - o-/ omambo (indicative)

"You do not spoil the books"

(b)	<u>Prefix /SP<sup>P</sup>/</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>
		: (1) defective present, pos. and neg.
		: (2) preceding radical /-uy-/ "come", pos. and neg. (This is not a defective radical).

Distribution of allomorphs

(1) Classes 1 and 6 : the allomorph /e-/ occurs in negative forms, and /ku-/ occurs in the positive:

Okushii /o- ku- .../<sup>1/</sup> oinima ei  
 "He understands these things"

Keshii /k- e- .../<sup>2/</sup> oshinima eshi  
 "He does not understand the matter"

(c)	<u>Prefix /SP<sup>C</sup>/</u>	<u>Occurrence</u>
		: (1) past principal and participial (pos. only)
		: (2) past continuous with auxiliary /-li/, pos. and neg.
		: (3) past perfect with auxiliary /-li/, pos. and neg.

Distribution of allomorphs

(1) Classes 1 and 6 : the allomorph /ø-/ occurs in the past participial pos.; the allomorph /kw-/ occurs elsewhere:

Omulumenhu okwapopya /o- kw- a- .../ (principal)  
 "The man spoke"

Ame ondishii omulumenhu ou apopya /ø- a- .../ (participial)  
 "I know the man who spoke"

---

1/ Defective present tense (see also 4.5.2)

2/ /k-/ is the negative prefix for defective verbs (see 4.5, p. 189).

4.2 Non-finite forms4.2.1 The infinitivePattern

positive : o - ku - R - a

negative : o - ku - {ha} - R - a

The infinitive has the morphological structure of a class 15 noun; its syntactic position and possible concordial agreement determines whether its function is nominal or verbal.

Infinitives may incorporate the reflexive prefix or one or two object concords

4.2.1.1 Prefixes

The noun class prefix /o - ku -/ occurs in both positive and negative forms.

The negative prefix {ha} is subject to Rule 9 of vowel raising resulting in two allomorphs /ha- ~ he-/ (see 1.3.9)

4.2.1.2 Significance:

Infinitives express positive or negative infinitive action or verbal nouns of the gerund type.

4.2.1.3 Examples:

okuhanauna	"to destroy"
okulesha	"to read"
okulanda	"to buy"
okulya	"to eat"

**Author** Rosburgh J A

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