Kinande: A Grammar Sketch (Version 1.0)

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1 General Information

Kinande is a Bantu language spoken in eastern DRC. It appears as D42 under Guthrie's classification (or J42 in the updated version of Bastin (1982) and is identified under NNB in *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2005). It is basically the same language as Konjo (identified as KOO in *Ethnologue*) spoken in Uganda and classified as D41 in Guthrie's classification (or J41 in Bastin (1982). For further information on elements of the Kinande grammar, the reader is encouraged to consult Baudet (1948) and mostly the brief grammatical sketch in the Kinande dictionary (Mutaka and Kavutirwaki 2006) that is published on the website of the African Anaphora Project, Rutgers University, <http://www.africananaphora.rutgers.edu/>.
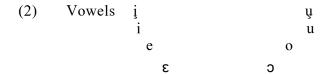
2 Grammar

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 Kinande Sound System

The sound system of Kinande consists of twenty-four consonants (1) and nine oral vowels (2). Vowel length is phonetically conditioned (penultimate vowels are lengthened) and is thus not phonemic. The sounds [f] and [v] appear mostly in loan words, [g] appears in the nasal complex [Ng].

(1)   Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labio-velar	Glottal
Stop	p b		t d tʰ		⊗	k g		
Affricate				ʧ				
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ				h
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Approximant		B			j		w	
Lateral			l ℜ					

(2)   Vowels   i̧   u̧
              i   u
                e   o
                  ɛ   ɔ

Note also that, as mentioned in the Kinande dictionary (Mutaka and Kavutirwaki (2006), one could also argue that there are actually 10 or 11 phonetic vowels if one adds the vowels "a" in omų́kalį̇ that definitely has a [+ATR] feature as demonstrated in Gick et al. (2006) and "│" in esyond│ esį̇ ' these pubic hairs'.

(3)   Orthographic conventions

I indicate only the sounds that are likely to create confusion.

Sound	Grapheme
B	b
b	bh
⊗	g
t (alveolar)	t
t (dental)	th
ℜ	lh when it appears before a, o, and u. When l appears before front vowels, it is pronounced as ℜ
ɛ	e
ɔ	o
ə	a (e.g. omų́kalį̇
ɲ	ny

2.1.2 Tone

Kinande has two basic tones: High [´] and Low [`] which are complemented by a Falling tone [ˆ]. The rising tone [˘] is extremely rare. It is found in the informational imperative as illustrated below. These tones occur on vowels and are used to index lexical as well as grammatical meaning. The convention followed in marking tone for Kinande is to indicate High, Falling , and Rising tones on the relevant vowels and to assume Low as the default tone (see also Mutaka 1994). Lexical functions of tone are shown in (4) and grammatical uses are shown in (5).

(4)   endâ   ' stomach'
        éndâ   ' bug'

(5)   nagenda   'I went'   (remote past)
        nágénda   'I went, I left' (very recent past)
        nagénda   ' I went, I left' (recent past)
(6)   tu-tá-hum-ǎà let us hit (informational imperative)
        tutáhuma Kámbalĕè let us hit Kambale (informational imperative)

The distribution of tone in verbs and nouns is influenced by morphological (e.g. affixation of verbal extensions) as well as syntactic factors (e.g. phrasal formation). For more information on tone in Kinande, see Mutaka (1994).

(7)   erihéka ' to carry'   tu-kándisyaya-hek-erér-a ' we will go and carry on purpose'
                                tu-á –hék-a ' we carried'
                                tu-á-hék-erer-a ' we carried on purpose'
                                e-ri-hek-a Magúlu ' to carry Magulu'

2.1.3 Syllable Structure

Kinande does not permit closed syllables and the syllable structure of most words is predominantly CV. Syllables consisting of a single vowel occur word-initially and word-medially in very rare cases as in (8)

(8) e-mbéba   ' a mouse'
     o-mú-kalị   ' a woman'
     o-mu-saị̂bha   ' a visitor'

The interested reader might also know that, in Kinande reduplication which, in verbs, consists of the prefixation of a two-syllable template to the stem, only CV and not V qualifies as a syllable. Relevant examples are given below under Reduplication.

Consonant clusters, wherein a stop (S) or fricative (F) occurs adjacent to another consonant, typically include either a nasal (N) or a glide (G).

(9) e.rí.fwa.tú.ra ' to take a picture'   FG
     é.mbwâ   'dog'   NSG

2.1.4 Vowel Harmony

2.1.4.1 Height harmony

The vowel –i- of the verbal extensions (e.g. applicative –ir-, purposive –irir-, causative –is...ị-) which are inserted between the stem and the final vowel harmonizes with the last vowel of the root with respect to the height feature [high, low]: the two mid vowels are [-high -low]. However, note that the –ị- of the causative does not harmonize.

(10)	Infinitive	Applicative	Causative	Gloss
	eri-híḳ-a	erị-hịk-ị́r-a	erị-hịk-ịs-ị-a	to arrive
	erị́-húḳ-a	erị́-huḳ-ị́r-a	erị-huḳ-ịs-ị-a	to cook
	eri-hék-a	eri-hek-ér-a	erị-hek-es-ị-a	to carry
	eri-lóg-a	eri-log-ér-a	erị-log-es-ị-a	to bewitch
	erí-hák-a	erí-hak-ír-a	erị́-hak-ịs-ị-a	to smear

Note that the causative –ị- surfaces as a glide. The surface form has thus a falling tone on the final vowel as the phrasal H that surfaces on the penultimate vowel (as seen in the infinitive and applicative columns) docks on it because the glide is not a tone bearing unit (e.g. erịhekesyâ ' to carry').

2.1.4.2 ATR harmony

To show the effects of ATR harmony, I use the vowels ɛ and ɔ as [–ATR] as opposed to [e] and [o] as [+ATR] vowels just in this section. Elsewhere, I represent ɛ as e and ɔ as o. Suffice it to know that the reader can predict that [+ATR] e and o are used in forms where the [+ATR] high vowels ị and ụ appear. The [+ATR] vowel set consists of: [ị, e, o, ụ,] and the [-ATR] vowel set consists of: [i, ɛ, ɔ, a]

(11)	Infinitive	Applicative	Causative	Agentive	Gloss
	ɛ-ri-hék-a	ɛrihɛk-ér-a	eri-hek-es-ị-a	o-mụ-hék-ị	carry
	ɛ-ri-lóg-a	ɛrilɔg-ér-a	erị-log-es-ị-a	o-mụ-lóy-ị	bewitch
	ɛ-rí-hák-a	ɛríhak-ír-a	erị́-hak-ịs-ị-a	o-mú-hák-ị	smear
	e-rị-hị́mb-a	erịhịmb-ị́r-a	erị-hịmb-ịs-ị́-a	o-mụ-hímb-ị	build
	e-rị́-húm-a	erị́hụm-ị́r-a	erị́-hụm-ịs-ị́-a	o-mụ́-húm-ị	move

The causative –ị- or the agentive –ị- is [+ATR]. As is illustrated in these words, the vowels that precede this [+ATR] vowel also surface with the [+ATR] feature; i.e. ɛ surfaces as e, i as ị, u as ụ, ɔ as o in the forms in the agentive and causative paradigms.

2.1.4.3 Round harmony

(12)	Infinitive	Reversive	intransitive	Gloss
	eri-sánz-a	eri-sanz-úl-a	eri-sanz-ukál-a	to spread out
	erị́-húḳ-a	erị́-huḳ-ụ́l-a		to cook
	erísíg-a	erí-sig-úl-a		to sow
	eri-kíng-a	eri-king-úl-a	eri-king-ukál-a	to close

eri-séng-a	eri-seng-úl-a	eri-seng-ukál-a	to pack
erí-hóm-a	erí-hom-ól-a	erí-hom-okál-a	to paint
eri-bhóth-a	eri-bhoth-ól-a	eri-bhoth-okál-a	to damage

The Gloss in these forms concerns only the infinitive. The term 'reversive' is used for an action that is the reverse of the action indicated by a verb; e.g. to un-open (i.e. to close) is the meaning of eri-king-úl-a. But this explanation does not hold for eri-sanz-úl-a which also means 'to open' when speaking of a book. Eri-sánz-a means to spread out in order to dry something. What is relevant for round harmony here is that only the vowel "o" in the root provokes this harmony where the "u" of –ul- and –ukal- changes into "o".

2.2 Morphology

2.2.1 Affixation

Kinande, like other Bantu languages, is an agglutinative language. The major lexical classes – viz nouns, verbs, and adjectives – consist of bound morphemes, and thus the language makes extensive use of affixation in forming words. A noun typically consists of an initial vowel (also called augment), a prefix, and a root. A nominal prefix indexes number and noun class as will be shown in examples in 2.4.1 below.

(13) o-mú-kalį   a woman   a-bá-kalį 'women'
      Aug-C1-woman   Aug-C2-woman

Verbal morphology is quite complex. The following examples illustrate the structure of a verbal form:

(14)a. si – tu- endisya-ku-hųk-ir-a (sį́twendįsyákų́hųkį́ra)
        Neg-SM-TM-OM-cook-Appl- Fv
        Neg-we-FUT-you-cook-Appl-Fv
        we will not cook for you

    b. mó-tw-aná-hų́m-įr-e   (cf. eri-húm-a ' to hit')
        TM-SM-TM-hit-TM-FV (Recent past)
        we hit

    c. mó-tw-aná-hų́m-įr-é-kô   (cf. eri-húm-a ' to hit')
        TM-SM-TM-hit-TM-FV-it (Recent past)
        we hit it

    d. mó-tw-ana-ká-hų́m-įr-e   (cf. eri-húm-a ' to hit')
        TM-SM-TM-OM-hit-TM-FV (Recent past)
        we hit it

As shown in the last example, the " e" which is the Final Vowel is part of the –įre morpheme which is a Tense marker.

2.2.2 Reduplication

Kinande makes use of reduplication in nouns and verbs. The interested reader should refer to Mutaka and Hyman (1990) for more information. I will just give illustrative examples below

(15) o-mú-lúme ' man'   o-mú-lumé.lúme   ' a real man'
      o-mú-kalį ' a woman'   o-mú-kalį.kalį   'a real woman'
      o-mú-ndu ' a person'   o-mundu.múndu   'a real person'

(16) eri-sénga ' to pack'   eri-senga.sénga ' to pack hurriedly'
      eri-seng-ér-a to pack for' eri-senga-seng-ér-a to pack hurriedly for'
      erį́-twâ ' to cut'   erį́-twa.twa.twâ ' to cut hurriedly'
      ery-ôw-â to hear   ery-ówowowâ 'to hear hurriedly'
      ery-ôw-ír-a ' to hear for' ery-ówįra.wį́r-a to hear hurriedly for'

Notice that reduplication in verbs involves only the stem whereas the one in nouns involves the whole noun. This explains why the prefix in the noun (e.g. –mu- in o-mú-ndu) appears in the reduplicant whereas the one in the verb (cf. –ry- in ery-ôw-â) does not.

2.3   Basic Word Order

The basic word order in Kinande is SVO.

(17)   Kámbale   a – ká – ly –a   o-mu-tsérê
        Kambale   SM-TM-eat-Fv Aug-C3-rice
        'Kambale eats rice'

Kinande is presumably a pro-drop language, which means it allows for the subject position to remain unfilled.

(18)   a – ká – ly –a o-mu-tsérê
        SM-TM-eat-Fv Aug-C3- rice
     '(someone) eats rice'

The subject marker (i.e. subject agreement prefix) is obligatory on all tensed verbs.

(19)   *Kámbale   ká – ly –a o-mu-tsérê
                   TM-eat-Fv Aug-c3-rice
        'Kambale eats rice'

(20)   *ká – ly –a o-mu-tsérê
          TM-eat-Fv Aug-c3-rice
     '(someone) eats rice'

Within phrases Kinande follows a head first pattern with heads preceding their modifiers.

(21)   ó-mw-ana wage ní mú-kalį́ mú-kų̧hį̧-kų̧hį̧
        Aug-c1-child my is c1-woman c1-short-short
        'My child is very short'

2.4   Parts of Speech
The lexicon of Kinande consists predominantly of Nouns and Verbs. Other lexical categories such as Adjectives, Adverbs, Pronouns Prepositions, and Demonstratives are more restricted.

2.4.1 Kinande Nouns
Kinande nouns belong to different classes based in part on their nominal prefixes but, more importantly, on the agreement markers which the nouns trigger on verbs, demonstratives, adjectives, numerals, and possessives. Due to shortage of space here, we will merely show the prototypical affixes associated with each noun class, plus the agreement or concord that each noun class triggers on demonstratives.

(22)   <u>Class 1</u>   <u>Class 2</u>
        o-**mú**-ndu   'person'   a-**bá**-ndu   'people'
        ó-**mw**-ána   'child'   á-**b**-ána   'children'
        o-**mú**-kalį   'woman'   a-**bá**-kalį   'women'

        omundu oyų   'this person'   abandu aba   'these people'
        ómwana oyų   'this child'   ábana aba   'these children'
        omų́kalį oyų   'this woman'   abákalį aba   'these women'

(23)   <u>Class 3</u>   <u>Class 4</u>
        o-**mų**-gérį   'rivulet'   e-**mi**-gérį   'rivulets'
        o-**mú**-twê   'head'   e-**mí**-twê   'heads'

o-**mų**-yî̧	'village'	e-**mi̧**-yî̧	'villages'

o-**mų**-géri̧ oyų	'this rivulet'	e-**mi**-géri̧ eyi̧	'these rivulets'
o-**mú**-twê oyų	'this head'	e-**mí**-twê eyi̧	'these heads'
o-**mų**-yî̧ oyų	'this village'	e-**mi̧**-yî̧ eyi̧	'these villages'

(24) <u>Class 5</u>   <u>Class 6</u>

e-**rí̧**-rų̂	'knee'	a-**má**-rų̂	'knees'
e-**ri̧**-yáya	'egg'	a-**ma**-yáya	'eggs'
e-**ri**-wâ	'flower'	a-**ma-wâ**	'flowers'

e-**rí̧**-rų eri̧	'this knee'	a-**má**-rų aya	'knees'
e-**ri̧**-yáya eri̧	'this egg'	a-**ma**-yáya aya	'these eggs'
e-**ri**-wa eri̧	'this flower'	a-**ma**-wa aya	'these flowers'

(25) <u>Class 7</u>   <u>Class 8</u>

e-**kí**-koba	'rope'	e-**bí**-koba	'ropes'
e-**kí**-kúmo	' big finger'	e-**bí**-kúmo	'big fingers'
e-**ki̧**-rî̧	'sweet potato'	e-**bi̧**-rî̧	'sweet potatoes'

e-**kí**-koba eki̧	'this rope'	e-**bí**-koba ebi̧	'these ropes'
e-**kí**-kúmo eki̧	'this big finger'	e-**bí**-kúmo ebi̧	'these big fingers'
e-**ki̧**-rî̧ eki̧	'this sweet potato'	e-**bi̧**-rî̧ ebi̧	'these sweet potatoes'

(26) <u>Class 9</u>   <u>Class 10</u>

e-nzóka	'snake'	esyónzóka	'snakes'
é-ngoko	'chicken'	esyó-ngoko	'chickens'
é-mbene	'goat	esyó-mbene	'goats'
e-yí̧-sų́kų	' antelope'	esí̧-sų́kų	' antelopes'
e-soro	' leopard'	esyo-soro	'leopards'

é-nzóka eyi̧	'this snake'	esyónzóka esi̧	'these snakes'
é-ngoko eyi̧	'this chicken'	esyó-ngoko esi̧	'these chickens'
é-mbene eyi̧	'this goat	esyó-mbene esi̧	'these goats'
e-yí̧-sų́ku eyi̧	'this antelope'	esí̧-sų́kų esi̧	'these antelopes'
e-soro eyi̧	'this leopard'	esyo-soro esi̧	'these leopards'

(Note: the class 9 prefix is better analysed as N- and the class 10 prefix as –syoN-; thus esyóngoko is /e-syoN-koko/; émbene is /e-N-hene/)

(27) <u>Class 11</u>   <u>Class 10</u>

o-**lú**-seke	' reed'	e-**sí̧**-seke	' reeds'
o-**lu**-tô	' nest'	**esyo**-nyutô	' nests'
o-**lų**-hóti̧	' bean'	o-**bų**-hóti̧	' beans' (here, class 14)

o-**lú**-seke olų	'this reed'	e-**sí̧**-seky' esi̧	'these reeds'
o-**lu**-to olų	'this nest'	**esyo**-nyutw' esi̧	'these nests'
o-**lų**-hóti̧ olų	'this bean'	o-**bų**-hóti̧ obų	' these beans' (here, class 14)

(28) <u>Class 12</u>   <u>Class 13</u>

a-**ká**-sų́ka	'small hoe'	o-**tų́**-sų́ka	'small hoes'
a-**ká**-hása	'small axe'	o-**tú**-hása	'small axes'

a-**ká**-sųka aka 'this small hoe'   o-**tų́**-sųka otų 'these small hoes'
a-**ká**-hása aka 'this small axe'   o-**tú**-hás' otų 'these small axes'

(29)   Class 12   Class 19
        a-**ká**-súka   'small hoe'   e-**hį́**-súka   'small hoes'
        a-**ká**-hása   'small axe'   e-**hi**-hása   'small axes'

        a-**ká**-sųka aka 'this small hoe'   e-**hį́**-sųka ehį 'these small hoes'
        a-**ká**-hása aka 'this small axe'   e-**hí**-hás' ehį 'these small axes'

Note: The nouns in class 12, 13, and 19 are in the diminutive. Their nouns are found in other classes: cf. é-**N**-hasa (émbása) ' axe' (class 9), e-**yį́**-súka ' hoe' (class 9)

(30)   Class 14
        o-**bú**-ti   'venom'   o-**bú**-ti obų   'this venom'
        o-**bú**-gáta   'laziness'   o-**bú**-gata obų   'this laziness'
        o-**bú**-ki   'honey'   o-**bú**-ki obų   'this honey'
        ó-**bw**-aka   'filth, bad air'   ó-**bw**-aka obų   'this filth, this bad air'

(31)   Class 15   Class 6
        o-**kú**-bóko   'arm'   a-**má**-bóko   ' arms'
        o-**ku**-gúlu   'leg'   a-**ma**-gúlu   ' legs'
        o-**kų́**-tų̂   'ear'   a-**má**-twî   ' ears'

        o-**kú**-bóko okų 'this arm'   a-**má**-bóko aya   'these arms'
        o-**ku**-gúlu okų 'this leg'   a-**ma**-gúlu aya   'these legs'
        o-**kų́**-tw' okų 'this ear'   a-**má**-tw' aya   'these ears'

(32)   Class 16
        a-ho-Lukánga 'at Lukanga'   **aho**-Lukánga aha   'at Lukanga, which is nearby'
        ahį́kwa   'down'   ahį́kwa aha   'down here'
        ahákųhįkųhį   'very near'   ahákųhįkųhį aha   '(right) here outside'

(33)   Class 17
        o**ko**-nyų́mba   'on the house'   **oko**-nyų́mba eyį   'on this house'
        o**ko**-mųyį̂   'at the village'   **oko**-mųyį oyų   'at this village'

(34)   Class 18
        o-**mó**-múti   'in the tree'   omó-múti oyų   'in this tree'
        o-**mó**-byála   'in the hands' omó-byala ebį   'in these hands

(35)   Class 24
        e-Bútembo   at Butembo
        e- mu-lhongo at the village

2.4.2 Kinande Pronominal Forms

There are two types of pronominal forms in Kinande: independent pronouns and pronominal affixes. Since Kinande is a pro-drop language, independent pronouns are usually dropped from sentences and are only used for emphatic reasons.

(36) į̇ngyê   'I / me'
      į̇twê   'we / us'
      iwê   'you' (sg)
      į̇nywê   'you' (pl)
      iyê   'he / she, him / her'
      ibô   'they / them'

Pronominal affixes act as subject and object agreement markers on the verb.

(37) Subject   Object
      N- (ni-)   nyi   'I / me'
      tu   tu   'we / us'
      u   ku   'you' (sg)
      mu   ba   'you (pl)'
      a   mu   'he/she, him/her'
      ba   ba   'they / them'

(38) **n-g**andi-bųlyâ /N-kandi-bulį-a/   '**I** will ask'

      a-kándi-**nyí**-bųlyâ   'He will ask **me**'

      u-kándi-bųlyâ   '**You** (sg) will ask'
      a-kándi-**kú**-bųlyâ   'He will ask **you** (sg)'
      mu-kándí-bųlyâ   '**You** (pl) will ask'
      bá-lyá-bųlayâ   '**They** have asked'
      tú-lya-**bá**-bųlayâ /tu-lia-bul-aC-į-a/ 'We have asked **them**'

The pronominal forms are highlighted in these examples.

2.4.3 Kinande Verbs

The most dominant feature of the Kinande verb is the capacity of the root to take on enough affixes such that the verb alone can function as a complete sentence. The affixes include the relative (REL), subject (SUBJ), the negative (NEG), the tense (TNS), the object (OBJ) the reflexive (RFM), the causative (CAUS), the applicative (APPL), the passive (PASS), the reciprocal (RCM), the stative (ST) and the final vowel (FV). The combination of the various morphemes is subject to certain co-occurrence restrictions. Morpheme order is fixed, except that the relative ordering of the negative and subject morphemes is dependent on the mood of the sentence. The following templates show the relative ordering of the morphemes in the verb complex.

(39) Indicative mood

NEG	SUBJ	TNS	OBJ/ RFM	ROOT	CAUS	APPL	PASS/ RECIP/ STAT	FV
Si	tu	endi	ba	kingul		ir		a
	tu	nemundi	ku	kingul		ir		a
	nyi	rya	yi	kingul		ir		a
	a	lya		king			ik	a
	tu	a		lek			an	a

(Note: strictly speaking, -king- is the root that means ' close' and –ul- is the reversive morpheme. king-ul- thus means ' un-close' , that is, ' open'.)

sí-tu-endi-ba-kingul-ír-a   'We will not open for you'

tu-némundi-ku-kingul-ír-a   ' we will open for you'

nyí-rya-yi-kingul-ir-â I opened for myself

á-lya-king-ik-â ' it closed (it became close-able)

tu-á-lék-an-a we left each other (in the sense of 'we separated')

(40) Subjunctive mood

NEG	SUBJ	TNS	OBJ/ REFLX	ROOT	CAUS	APPL	PASS/ RECIP/ STAT	FV
Si	tu		ba	kingul		ir		e
	tu			kingul		ir		e
			tu	kingul		ir		e

sí-tu-bá-kíngul-ir-e   'let us not open for them'

tú-kíngulir-e Kambale ' let us open for Kambale'

tú-kíngul-ir-e ' open for us'

(41) Relativization of non-subject argument

REL	SUBJ	TNS	OBJ/ REFLX	ROOT	CAUS	APPL	PASS/ RECIP/ STAT	CAUS	FV
olo	tu	a	ba	kingul		ir			a
ekyo	tu	a	ba	luk	is			i̧	a

oluyi olo tu-a-ba-kingul-ir-a 'the door that we opened for you' (Remote past)

ekí-koba ekyo tu-a-ba-luk-is-á-i-a ' the rope that we made you plait'

Note: the vowel –a- before the second causative is inserted for phonological reasons.

Certain affixes are subject to co-occurrence restrictions: the REL and NEG affixes are mutually exclusive; and in the same way, if the OBJ/REFLX slot is filled, then the PASS/RECIP/STAT slot cannot be filled.

2.4.3.1 Verb Extensions

Kinande verb extensions are formed by adding affixes to the right of the root, and these have the effect of changing the argument structure of the verb by either transitivizing or detransitivizing the verb. Most extensions have a VC structure and are inserted between the root and the final vowel. The Causative –i̧- and the passive –u- have the V structure. The choice of the affix vowel in the extensions is determined by vowel harmony (see section 2.1.4.1 above). The final vowel surfaces as /a/ or /e/ depending on, inter alia, tense, mood, and negation.

(42) Transitivizing extensions:

causative	-is- ...i̧-	i̧t-a	'kill'	i̧t-is- i̧-a	'cause to kill'
causative	-i̧-	hakab-a	'smear'	hakab-i̧-a	' to smear (trans.)
applicative	-ir-	ku̧-a	'die'	ku̧-ir-a	'die for'

(43) *Detransitivizing extensions*

passive -u-	erí-lúm-a	'to bite'	erí-lum-u-a 'to be bitten'
	erí-ot-â	to light	eryótebwâ /eri-ót-ibu-a/ 'to be lit'
	eri-lek-į-a	to separate	eri-lek-į-bu-a to be separated
reciprocal -an-	eri-húm-a	'to hit'	eri-hum-án-a 'to hit each other'
stative -ik-	erį́-hų́k-a	'to cook'	erį́-hų́k-į́k-a 'to be cook-able'

Note: as shown in these examples, the passive –u- has two other allomorphs: -bu- is used when the passive morpheme is preceded by a vowel, and –ibu- when the stem is too short. For a more elaborate explanation, please refer to the Kinande dictionary (Mutaka and Kavutirwaki 2006).

2.4.3.2 Tense/Aspect

The basic tense/aspect system of Kinande distinguishes between two types of verbal forms: simplex verb forms, i.e. forms that appear as a single word, and complex verb forms which consist of an auxiliary and a main verb. In the following, I will illustrate these two types of verbs and refer the interested readers to Mutaka 2002 and also to the Kinande dictionary (Mutaka and Kavutirwaki 2006) for more illustrations. The Tense/Aspectual markers are in bold in the following examples.

(44)   Tense/Aspect that appear in the INFL unit:

a.   tu-**a**-hum-ir-a we hit for (Remote past
        tu-**a**-mu-hum-a we hit (Remote past)
        tu-**á**-tum-ir-a we sent for (remote past)
        tu-**a**-mu-tum-ir-a we sent for him (Remote past)
        tu-**á**-húm-ir-a we hit for (Recent past
        tu-**a**-mú-húm-ir-a we hit for him (Recent past)
        tu-**a**-tum-ír-á-a we sent for (recent past)
        tu-**á**-mú-tum-ír-á-a we sent for him (Recent past)

The TM is –a-. But also notice that the tense is also conveyed by tones. A remote past tense has low tones in the stem whereas a recent past tense has a H tone that surfaces on the root vowel and the pre-root vowel for a toneless verb root such as –hum- ' hit' .

b.   tu-**ká**-hum-á-a /tu-ká-hum-aC-a/ we are about to hit
        tu-**ká**-lusayâ /tu-ká-lus-aC-į-a/ we are taking off our clothes
        tú-**ki**-humâ /tu-kí-hum-aC-a/ while we are still hitting
        tų́-**kį**-lųsayâ /tu-kí-lus-aC-į-a/ while we are still undressing
        tú-**ki**-túmâ /tu-kí-túm-aC-a/ while we are still sending

Although –ka- or –ki- is the TM, these formatives have to be considered as part of a discontinuous morpheme ki...a or ka...a where the a appears after the root in what is indicated here as –aC-. In Mutaka (1994), this C in –aC- is analysed as a phantom consonant.

c.   tu-**tá**-hum-ăà let us hit (informational imperative) (but: tutáhuma Kámbalěè)
        tų-**tá**-lųsyăà let us undress (informative imperative) (but: tų́tálųsya Kámbalěè)
        tu-**tá**-tum-ăà let us send (informative imperative) (but: tutátuma Kámbalěè)

        ta-humăà hit please   (but: tahuma Kámbalěè)
        ta-lųsyăà take off your clothes please (but: talųsya Kámbalěè)
        tá-tumăà send please (but: tátuma Kámbalěè)

Notice that the rising tone on the penultimate vowel must be intonational as it surfaces on the very last word in the sentence. It cannot be construed as part of the verb stem.

d.   tú-**yá**-húm-irir-**e** let us go and hit on purpose
       tų́-**yá**-lų́sįrįráy-**e** let us go and take our clothes on purpose
       tú-**ya**-tum-irír-**ê** let us go and send for on purpose

The TM –ya- is actually the verb eri-yá-a ' to go'

e.   tu-**ámá**-hum-ir-a Kámbale we hit for Kambale (cf. twámáhumíra)
       tu-**ámá**-lųs-įr-y-a Kámbale we undress for Kambale (cf. twámálųsįryâ)
       tu-**ámá**-tum-ir-a Kámbale we send to Kambale (cf. twámátumíra)

       tu-**ama**-hum-ir-a Kámbale if we hit for Kambale (cf. twamahumíra)
       tu-**ama**-lųs-įr-y-a Kámbale if we undress for Kambale (cf. twamalųsįryâ)
       tu-**amá**-tum-ir-a Kámbale if we send to Kambale (cf. twamátumíra)

       tu-**asya**-hum-ir-a Kámbale we came to hit Kambale (remote past) (cf. twasyahumira)
       tu-**asya**-lųsáya Kámbale we came to undress Kambale (remote past) (cf. twasyalųsáya)
       tu-**asyá**-tum-ir-a Kámbale we came to send to Kambale (remote past) (cf. twasyátumira)

Note that the TM may consist of different formatives. Thus, -ama- or asya- may be further analysed as consisting of –a- and –ma-/sya. In these examples, I have added Kambale to check whether a H that would appear on the penultimate vowel, in the isolation form of the word as shown at the end of the sentence between parentheses), is phrasal or not. In case the word in isolation does not surface with a penultimate H tone, this means that the form ends with a lexical low tone that is assigned by the tense.

f.   tu-**áya**-hum-ir-a Kámbale we came to hit for Kambale (recent past) (cf. twáyahumirâ)
       tu-**áya**-lųsaya Kámbale we came to undress Kambale (recent past) (cf. twáyalųsayâ)
       tu-**áyá**-tum-ir-a Kámbale we came to send to Kambale (recent past) (cf. twáyátumirâ)

As shown in these examples, the –ya- TM may also be preceded by another TM formative.

(45) Tense/Aspect in complex verb forms.

a.   tú-lwé tú-**ká**-lyâ we were eating
       tu-**ná**-lwé tú-**ká**-lyâ we were eating indeed
       we-TM-Aux we-TM-eat

Notice that the auxiliary has its own tense marker, and the main verb also consists of an agreement marker (i.e. SM), a TM and the verb.

b.   tú-lwé í-tu-**námu**-húma we were indeed hitting
       tú-lwé í-tu-**abíri**-húma we had already hit
       tú-lwé í-**mó**-tu-**anámá**-hum-ir-a Magúlu we had just hit for Magulu
       we-Aux COMPL-TM-SM-TM-hit-Appl-Fv Magulu

Notice that the auxiliary may not have any TM as shown in these examples. The particle –i- in the main verb is a complementizer.

c.   nyí-lwé w' eri-húma I ought to hit
       tú-lwé b' eri-húma we ought to hit.

As shown in these examples, the auxiliary may be followed by the main verb in the infinitive form. The particle –w- or –b- that appears before the auxiliary and the infinitive can be considered as a linker, that is, an agreement marker that bears the features of an omitted noun (here, person). The two sentences could be re-written as:

c'. nyí-lwé mu-ndú w' eri-húm-a   " I ought to hit"
     I-be   c1-person lk INF-hit-Fv
     I am a person to hit
     tú-lwé ba-ndú b' eri-húma   "we ought to hit"
     we-be   c2-person lk INF-hit-Fv
     we are people to hit

d. **mó**-tu-**á**-lwi̧r' í-tu-**á**-húm-ir-a we hit immediately
    tu̧-**kándi**-lw' í-tu-**á**-húm-ir-a we will hit immediately
    tu-**a**-byá í-tu-**námu**-hum-ír-a we were hitting for (in a recent past)
    tu-**anatá**-byá í-tu-**námu**-hum-ír-a we were at least hitting for (remote past)

    tu-**anatá**-byá tú-**ka**-hum-ír-a we were at least hitting for
    tu-**némundí**-byá tú-**ka**-hum-ír-a we will be hitting for
    tu-**a**-béré tu-**a**-hum-ír-a when we hit for (recent past)
    tu-**á**-beré tu-**a**-hum-ír-a when we hit for (remote past tense)
    tu-**á**-beré tu-**ama**-hum-ír-a if we decided to hit for
    tu-**á**-beré tú-**ka**-hum-ír-a while we were hitting for

    tú-**lyá**-salá tu-**a**-hum-ír-a we finally hit for (immediate past)
    tu-**a**-sálá tu-**a**-hum-ír-a we finally hit for (recent past)
    tu-**á**-salá tu-**a**-hum-ír-a we finally hit for (remote past)

All these examples suggest that the tense is mostly rendered by the Tense/aspectual markers that are associated with the auxiliary. For an in-depth analysis of these tenses, please refer to Mark Baker (forthcoming: I was his consultant when he conducted an intensive research on these tenses. He presented a paper on this at an ACAL conference, presumably, at Rutgers in 2004).

e. tú-**lyá**-byá tu-**á**-salá tu-**a**-hum-ír-a when we finally hit for
    tu-**némundisyátásyayá**-byá tw-**á**-salá tw-aya-hum-ír-a
    when we will have, each time, in the far future, an opportunity to hit for

As shown in these examples, two different auxiliaries with their own TMs may precede a main verb in a sentence.

f. sí-tu-lí tu-**a**-hum-ír-a we have not hit for yet
    Neg-we-be we-TM-hit-Appl-Fv

g. tú-**té** tu-**a**-hum-ír-a as we have not yet hit for
    we-Neg we-TM-hit-Appl-Fv

These examples in (f, g) show that the auxiliary that appears with a negative particle does not have a TM. The Negative particle –te plays the role of the auxiliary (or the copula) as shown in the example in (g).

2.4.3.3 The Copula
Kinande has four different forms of the copula for the present tense – viz: **ni**, **li**, **ne**, and **bya**. The copula **ni, li, ne** takes no inflections and is used before individual level predicates whereas **bya** takes on inflections. Kinande has one form of the copula for the past tense as shown in the following table and examples.

(46)   Kinande copula forms

Present tense	Past tense
Li	

Ni	-bere /ba-į́re/
bya	
Ne	

(47) Kámbale a – li   okó-lútwê
             agr-be cl.17-roof
      'Kambale is on the roof'

(48) Kámbale a-kándí-bya okó-lútwê
      Kambale SM-TM-be   cl.17-roof
       'Kambale will be on the roof'

(49) Kámbale ní   įba wa Másikâ
                 is husband of Masika
      'Kambale is Masika's husband'

(50) Kámbale á – beré įba wa Másikâ

      Kambale SM-be husband of Masika
      'Kambale has become Masika's husband'

(51) Kámbale a–né omo-nyų́mba
      Kambale SM-be in-house
      'Kambale is in the house'

2.4.4 Kinande Adverbials

Adverbs in Kinande exhibit different morphological characteristics: some are basic (52) whereas others are derived from nouns (53) and reduplication (54).

(52) lų́ba   'quickly'
      linô   'now'
      kandi   'again'
      neryo   ' then'
      kwenene   ' really, truly'

(53) ki-nya-makâ   'energetically'

(54) bú-limí-lími   'not clearly' (literally: at the tip of his tongue'
      omo-kátįkátį̂   'in the middle'

2.4.5 Kinande Prepositions

Kinande has a very limited number of prepositions presumably because spatial concepts are conveyed by nouns and directional verbs. One preposition is –a 'of' which occurs in possessive phrases and gets inflected with an appropriate noun class prefix marker. The other preposition is na 'with' or 'by'.

(55) é-rį-só   ri-**a** e-nzógų [ry' enzógų]   'an elephant's eye'
      Aug-c5-eye c5-of Aug-c9-elephant

(56) e-n-gobį̂   y-**a**   Kámbale   'Kambale' s animal skin'
      Aug-c9-skin   c9-of   Kambale

(57) e-by-ályá bi-**á**   e-n-gulúbe   'pig's food'
      Aug-c8-food c8-of Aug-c9-pig

(58)   Kámbale á-lya-gend-a **na**   Magúlu
        Kambale SM-TM-go-Fv with Magulu
        'Kambale has gone with Magulu'

        Selina a-kábí-lum-w-á **na** e-nzóka
         Celina SM-past-bite-pass-Fv   by Aug-c9-snake
        'Celina was bitten by a snake'

2.4.6 Kinande Ideophones

Ideophones describe manner of action, intensity of sound, or color. They sometimes function independently as predicates or are used to modify other predicates.

(59)   kokolíríkookoo!   'cocorico, i.e. the sound of a rooster when it sings in the morning'
        bhilịbhịlị!   'remaining silent.
        fúmbe!   'at full speed running away from something'
        pịpịpị   'very black' e.g. ekisomekó kịkịnịre pịpịpị the shirt is extremely dirty.
        pee   " very white" e.g. kịhenịrrye mô pée ' it is very white'

Ideophones typically occur after a verb form.

(60)   a-ma-tondị á-ma-togonga a-ti dó, dó, dó.
        Aug-c6-drops SM-TM-fall-Fv they-say dó, dó, dó.
        'The drops started falling: dó, dó, dó '

(61)   neryo ky-ámá-yị-bhụmbụlụgụtụk-á ko ki-ti vụ̂.
        then   SM-TM-Reflexive-fall-Fv   on it-says vụ̂
        'then it fell down with a noise 'vụ̂'

2.4.7 Clause Structure

Both mono-clausal and multi-clausal sentences occur in Kinande. A clause typically consists of one verb, but clauses with two verbs also occur (see (65)).

2.4.7.1 Simple sentences

(62)   Kámbale a-kábí-nyw-a a-ma-gétse
                SM-TM-drink-Fv Aug-c6-water
        'Kambale has drunk water'

(63)   Kámbale   nị́   mú-kụhị
         Kambale   cop   c1-short
        'Kambale is short'

(64)   mó-tu-a-hụ́k-ị́r-a   Kámbalé y' é-n-gokó
        TM-we-TM-cook-APPL-Fv Kambale LK Aug-c9-chicken
        'we cooked a chicken for Kambale (i.e. in his honor'

   (Here LK stands for " linker" , which is some kind of agreement marker that agrees with the preceding noun. See Mark Baker (2003), Baker (to appear), Baker & Collins (2006)

2.4.7.2 Compound sentences

(65)   Kámbale mo-á-a-s-ịré mụlịgólo, áliyé kóyó w-íwe sí-a-lya-mú-súng-a
        Kambale TM-SM-TM-come-TM yesterday, but mother of-him Neg-SM-TM-him-see-Fv
        'Kambale arrived yesterday but her mother has not yet seen him'

2.4.7.3 Embedded Clauses

(66)   tu-ká-karab-á í̧-mó-tu̧-á-ya-lebi̧-a a-ba-síkâ
       we-TM-wash-Fv so-TM-we-TM-go-see-Fv Aug-c2-girl
       'We are having a bath so that we may go and see the girls'

(67)   Kámbale a-a-bú̧g-a a-ti tú-sya-as-a o-múngyâ
       Kambale he-TM-say he-say we-TM-come-Fv Aug-tomorrow
       Kambale told us that we should come tomorrow'

(68)   tú-nab-e okó by-alá í-mó-tu-a-ly-a e-by-obê
       we-wash-Fv   on c8-hands so-TM-we-TM-eat-Fv Aug-c8-pumpkin'
       'let us wash (our) hands (so that) we eat pumpkins'

(69)   nyi-̧násí̧ kó mu-kándi-tsinduka omo-tu̧tu̧tu̧
       I know   that you-FUT-go early in-early morning
       I know that you will go very early in the morning.

2.4.7.4   Interrogative sentences

Yes/no questions in Kinande are formed by a rising intonation at the end of a sentence.

(70)   ó-mw-aná a-ná-li-íré?
       Aug-c1-child SM-TM-eat-TM
       'Did the child eat?'

Wh-questions are generally formed with the question word in-situ.

(71)   Kámbale á-lya-i̧t-á ki̧? [álî̧tá ki̧]
             SM-TM-kill-Fv what
       'What did Kambale kill?'

(72)   Kámbale á-lya-langir-á ndi?
             SM-TM-see-Fv   who
       'Who did Kambale see?'

(73)   Kámbale a-kábi-lu̧-a hayi [akábi̧lwá hayi]

       Kambale SM-TM-leave-Fv where

       Where did Kambale come from

(74) a-bá-kali̧ ba-ká-sat-a bá-ti[1]

       Aug-c2-woman SM-TM-dance-Fv C2-how

       how do women dance (literally: women dance how?)

(75) Kámbale si-á-li-peny-a esyó-nzwiri síwé syo busana ná-ki̧

       Kambale Neg-SM-TM-comb-Fv c10-hair of-his LK because of-what

       Why doesn' t Kambale comb his hair?

When the subject is questioned, /iyo-/ is' prefixed to the wh-phrase.

(76)   iyóndi yo-u-a-i̧t-á e-kí-gáni [yó wi̧t êkígáni]

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[1] The term for " how" consists of an agreement marker followed by –ti. The response contains the same root –ti- followed by what looks like a FV and preceded by an agreement marker. E.g. a-bá-kali̧ ba-ká-sat-á **ba-ti-a [batya]** ' the women dance this way'. Yet the translation would suggest that batya 'so, this way' is an adverb and not a verbal form.

who that SM-TM-kill-FV Aug-c7-rat
'Who killed the rat?'

When a non-subject wh-expression is fronted, it is followed by an agreement relative particle as in the following examples. This is not the case however for the form for " why". The form for " how" is never fronted.

(77)   é-ki-hi kyo Kámbale a-a-įt-a [įtâ]
        Aug-c7-what REL Kambale SM-TM-kill-Fv
        'What did Kambale kill?'
(78)   hayi ho Kámbale a-á-géndá mųligólo
        where REL Kambale SM-TM-go-Fv yesterday
        Where did Kambale go yesterday?
(79)   bųsanákį Kámbale si-á-li-penya esyó-nzwiri si-we
        because-what Kambale Neg-SM-TM-comb-Fv c10-hair of-his
        Why doesn't Kambale ever comb his hair?

2.4.7.5 Relative clauses

In Kinande, relativization of a non-subject constituent has noticeable consequences on both the verbal morphology and the syntax of the clause. Morphologically, a prefix that agrees with the relativized NP in noun class appears on the verb. Thus, in the following example, what is glossed as c7 (i.e. class 7 is an agreement marker that agrees with the noun that is relativized (here, pumpkin).

(80)   e-ky-obe e-ky-o Kámbale á-tų-hųk-ír-á ky-a-by-á ky-owéne /owan-ír-e/
        Aug-c7-pumpkin Aug-c7-o Kambale he-TM-us-cook-APPL-Fv C7-TM-be c7-nice
        'The pumpkin which Kambale cooked for us was nice'

2.4.7.6 The equivalent of English ING-form sentences with perception verbs
(81) i.   erí-bwir-a Kámbalé ko á-amâ-génd-a
          to tell   K   that SM-TM-go-FV
          To tell Kambale that he is on his way of leaving

    ii. erį́-ow-a Kámbalé ko á-amâ-génd-a
          to hear   K   that SM-TM-go-FV
          To hear Kambale leaving

    iii. erį́-yį-owa ú-ka-génda
          to-yi-hear you-TM-go (where –yi- is the reflexive marker)
          to hear oneself leaving (this is the default translation. It can also be : to hear yourself leaving)
    iv. erį́-nyį-owa n-ga-génda (N-ka-gend-a)
          to-me-hear I-TM-go
          to hear me leaving
          erį́-kų-owa u-ka-génda
          to-you-hear you-TM-go
          to hear you leaving
          erį́-mų-owa a-ka-génda
          to-him-hear he-TM-go
          to hear him leaving
          erį́-tų-owa tu-ka-génda
          to-us-hear we-TM-go
          to hear me leaving
          erį́-ba-owa mu-ka-génda
          to-them-hear you-TM-go
          to hear you leaving
          erį́-ba-owa bá-ka-génda

    to-them-hear they-TM-go
    to hear them leaving

v. erí-yi-bwira á-ka-génda
    to-yi-tell he-TM-go
    to tell to oneself while he is leaving

vi. erí-bwir-an-a bá-ka-génd-a
    to tell e.o. they-SM-TM-go-FV
    to tell each other while they are leaving

vii. erí-bá-bwira uti ba-génd-e
    to-them-tell you-say they-go-TM (you-say = that)
    to tell them to leave.

Comment : the complementizer uti (literally "you-say") can be replaced by nyiti (I-say), ati (he-says), tuti (we-say), muti (you pl-say) but ba-génde remains as such. This seems to suggest that the subject of the infinitive (call it PRO) must have a feature of the complementizer. Depending whether I use I-say, you-say, he-says, I believe we must construe that it is the subject in the complementizer which is also the subject of the infinitive form. Everything else remains as it is in the sentence; I just modify uti.

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