I. AN OUTLINE OF CILUNGU

0. The Lungu Language

The Lungu language, one of the Bantu languages, is spoken in the area near to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, i.e., in the Northern Province of Zambia and in the south-west of Tanzania. The language is called Cilungu by its speakers. According to Bryan, M.A. (1959) and Guthrie, M. (1967), the language makes a linguistic group together with the Pimbwe, the Fipa, the Rungwe and the Mambwe languages. The group is called the Fipa-Mambwe group in the classification by Guthrie. On the other hand, Kashoki, M.E. (1978) says that the Lungu language makes a linguistic group together with the Inamwanga, the Iwa and the Mambwe languages, in which both the Inamwanga and the Iwa belong to the Nyika-Safwa group in the classification by Guthrie.

The number of speakers is about 55,000 in Zambia (1969 census; Kashoki, *ibid.*) and about 14,000 in Tanzania (1957 census; Polomé, 1980). The informant for this study is Mr. Kapembwa Dennis Simuyemba (21 years old in 1985). He is a native speaker of the Lungu language and his parents are also native speakers. He can speak the Bemba language and English, besides his mother tongue.

1. Phonemes and their Descriptions

The speakers of Cilungu use the Roman alphabet to write the language. The writing in this study follows their ordinary usage. The description in brackets shows the approximate phone value of each phoneme.

1-1. Vowels

The following five vowels are found.
1-2. Consonants

1-2-1. Plosives

The following plosives are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th>Voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p [ p ]</td>
<td>b [ b ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t [ t ]</td>
<td>d [ d ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k [ k ]</td>
<td>g [ g ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above, /p/ and /t/ tend to be accompanied by a weak fricative before /u/ and become [\textipa{pʰ}] and [\textipa{tʰ}] respectively. /b/ tends to be pronounced [\textipa{b}] before vowels /i/ and /u/. Furthermore, /g/ occurs only in words of foreign origin, i.e., /\textipa{šudu\u{g}a}/ (sugar), /\textipa{i-galaasi}/ (glass) and /\textipa{áma-galaasi}/ (plural form of i-galaasi). /d/ occurs only in words /\textipa{úkú-daívā}/ (to dive), /\textipa{i-cí-díndɔ}/ (mark), /\textipa{i-ví-díndɔ}/ (marks) and /\textipa{úkú-díndɔa}/ (to put (a mark)), all of which may be considered to be borrowed words.

1-2-2. Affricate

The following voiceless affricate is found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voiceless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c [ tʃ ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1-2-3. Fricatives

The following fricatives are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Voiceless</th>
<th>Voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f [ f ]</td>
<td>v [ v ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s [ s ]</td>
<td>z [ z ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh [ ʃ ]</td>
<td>zy [ ʒ ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1-2-4. Nasals

The following nasals are found.

bilabial  m [ m ],    dental  n [ n ]
palatal  ny [ n ],    velar  ng' [ ng ]

1-2-5. Lateral

dental  l [ l ]

1-2-6. Semi-vowel

bilabial  w [ w ],    palatal  y [ j ]

1-2-7. Prenasalized Consonants

Some consonants are accompanied by a nasal sound immediately before the consonants. The nasal takes the same place of articulation as that consonant. Such a consonant with prenasalization is called the prenasalized consonant. Prenasalized consonants found in the scope of this study are shown in the following.

(1) Prenasalized Plosives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>mp [ mp ]</td>
<td>mb [ mb ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>nt [ nt ]</td>
<td>nd [ nd ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar</td>
<td>nk [ nk ]</td>
<td>ng [ ng ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Prenasalized Affricates

Alveolo-palatal  nc [ ntʃ-ntʃ ]  nj [ ndʒ-ndʒ ]

(3) Prenasalized Fricatives

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial</td>
<td>mf [ mf ]</td>
<td>mv [ mv ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental</td>
<td>ns [ ns ]</td>
<td>nz [ nz ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These prenasalized consonants are represented by "NC" as necessary.

1-2-8. Labialized Consonants

There are labialized consonants found which are transcribed as /pw, tw, kw, fw, vw, sw, zw, mw, nw, lw/. They are also written as "Cw" where necessary. The labialized consonant may be considered to occur due to the sound change "Cu → Cw /__<i,e,a>_".

In the above, "C" stands for a consonant and "u,i,e,a" for the vowels. Besides, /Cu+u/ becomes [Cu:], if /Cu/ is immediately followed by /u/. In case /Cu/ is followed by /o/, the sound change "Cu → Co/___o" occurs.

As the "Cw" has almost the same length as that of a /CV/ except in word-final position, the "Cw" is considered to be a tone carrier unit. However, "Cw" is not a tone carrier unit in the word-final position, because the length of "Cw" is too short to carry a tone.

There are labialized and prenasalized consonants found. They are /mbw, ndw, nkw, ngw, mfw, mvw and ns w/. They are written as "NCw" where necessary.

1-2-9. Palatalized Consonants

In addition to /c,sh,zy,ny/, there are other palatalized consonants which are transcribed as /py, by, fy, vy, my and ly/. They are written as "Cy" as necessary. These palatalized consonants may be considered to be caused by the sound change "Ci → Cy /__<e,o,u,a>_". Besides, the /Ci+i/ becomes [Ci:] if the /Ci/ is followed by the vowel /i/. As the length of "Cy" is not long enough to carry a tone, the /CyV/ syllable carries one tone only.

There are some palatalized and prenasalized consonants found. They are /ndy, mfy, nsy and nzy/ and written as "NCy" where necessary.
1-3. Tones and their Descriptions

A tone carrier unit is a vowel /V/, the N of the /NCV/ syllable, or /Cw/ of the /CwV/ syllable except in the word-final position. The tone is marked on the tone carrier unit. In the Lungu language, the following tones are found: a high level tone (indicated \( \breve{V} \); \( V \) stands for a tone carrier unit), a low level tone (\( V \); no mark), an ultra-low tone (\( \breve{\breve{V}} \)), a falling tone from the high level (\( \acute{V} \)), a low falling tone from the low level (\( \breve{V} \)) and a falling tone from the ultra-low level (\( \breve{\breve{V}} \)). The ultra-low tone and falling tones can occur only at the sentence-final position, though there are some exceptions.

A series of tones is called a tonal pattern. In a series of level tones which are the same, each of the tones shows the same height. In case there is a (series of) low tone(s) between two different (series of) high tones, the actual height of the second high tone(s) becomes a little lower than that of the first high tone(s) though the height of the second is still higher than that of the preceding low tone. In the tonal descriptions, some tone marks are in parentheses. It means that the tone is optional. For example, "úmúti" (tree) shows that the tonal pattern is either "úmuti" or "úmuti". "!" is called the tonal slippage mark in this study, and it lowers all tones by one level after the mark. For example, the tonal pattern "\( \acute{V}V\breve{V}V \)" is equal to "\( \acute{V}VV\)\( V \)\( V \)". This seems to function only on speech level. The tonal patterns in the following are transcribed tonetically according to the informant's pronunciation. Thus, free variation may be seen in the description.

1-4. Syllable Structure

All syllables are open syllables. They are /V/, /CV/, /CwV/, /CyV/, /NCV/, /NCwV/ and /NCyV/.

2. The Structure of The Sentence

Generally, the word order of the sentence is
"subject + predicate verb + object". In the above, the subject and/or the object is optional. The predicate verb is given by the formula "subject prefix - tense marker - object affix - Verb stem - Verb ending" in general, where the object affix is optional.

3. Nouns

A noun consists of "prefix - stem". They are classified into many "noun classes" according to the grammatical "gender and number". Each noun takes the inherent prefix of the noun class. In the following, the prefix and example words for each class are shown. The number of the left hand shows the class number and the grammatical number of the noun class is shown in parentheses. The "nt" stands for the noun being uncountable. The "0-" shows that the noun has no prefix. " - " stands for the boundary between the prefix and the stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. (sg) umu-~mu-</td>
<td>úmú-ntù (person), úmú-lumendò (boy), mú-ínanè (sibling)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. (sg) 0-</td>
<td>-símbwà (dog), -cipenà (mad person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (pl of class 1) aa-~a-</td>
<td>áá-ntù (persons), áá-kotè (old person), á-ínanè (siblings), á-lumendò (boys)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. (pl of class 1a) yaa-~ya-</td>
<td>yaa-símbwà (dogs), yaa-cipenà (mad persons)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (sg) umu-</td>
<td>úmú-tì (tree), úmú-sílà (root)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. (pl of class 3) imi-</td>
<td>ími-tì (trees), ími-sílà (roots)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. (sg) ii- ~ i-  
   íí- tama (cheek), íí- kasa (arm),  
            í- kuulù (leg), í- kokola (knee).  
   ili-  
            ílí- nsö (eye), ílí- inö (tooth).  

6. (pl of classes 5, 14)  
   ama-  
            amá- kasa (arms), amá- kuulù (legs)  
                     amá- nsö (eyes).  
            amá- langeeti (blankets), amá- luwa  
                     (cattle pens).  
   (nt) ama-  
            amá- nzì (water).  

7. (sg) ici- ~ ci-  
   ici- ntu (thing), ici- simä (well),  
            ci- lómö (lip).  

8. (pl of class 7)  
   ivi-  
            ivi- ntu (things), ivi- simä (wells)  

9. (sg) iN-  
   ím- buzi (goat), ín- zokà (snake),  
            ín- koko (fowl), ín- singo (neck),  
            ín- koowa (skin), ín- sindo (foot-  
            fall).  
   ii- ~ i-  
            í- ng'ömbe (cattle(sg)), í- nyungù  
                     (cooking pot), íi- nyàma (animal,  
                     a piece of meat), íi- isi  
                     (something fresh)  
   iy-  
            iy- ónsì (male), iy- áákaci (female).  
   (nt) iN-  
            ín- simä (mush).  

10. (pl of class 9)  
    iN-  
            ím- buzi (goats), ín- koko (fowls),  
            ín- singo (necks), ín- koowa (skins),  
    ii- ~ i-  
            í- ng'ömbe (cattle(pl)), íi- nyàma  
                     (animals, many pieces of meat),  
    izi-  
            ízi- isi (somethings fresh)  
    izy-  
            ízy- ónsì (males), ízy- áákaci  
                     (females).  

(pl of class 11)  
    iN-  
            ín- dimi (tongues), ín- pi (hands),  
            ím- pandà (forks (of tree, road)).  
    ii- ~ i-  
            íi- nyelè (many hairs),  
            í- mbázo (ribs).
ing- íng-ázó (feet), íng-ákò (cups made of calabash), íng-úzi (rivers).
iiny- íiny-ímbo (songs)

11. (sg) ulu- úlú-limí (tongue), úlú-pandá (fork), úlú-nyelè (a piece of hair), úlú-ḿbázo (rib), úlú-ázo (foot), úlú-imbó (song), úlú-úzi (river).

12. (sg) aka- áka-nyà (new-born baby), aka-ńwà (mouth), áka-kokò (chicken).

13. (pl of class 12) utu- útu-nyà (new-born babies), utu-ńwà (mouths), útú-kokò (chickens).


(u)ú-langeetè (blanket), ú-luwà (cattle pen).

15. (nt) apa- apa-ápa-nsí (floor, bottom), ápa-móóto (fire-place), ápa-kasi (centre), pá-mansò (face(s)), pà-kasi (half, (halves).

16. (nt) uku- ku- (ú)kú-nzì (outside).

17. (nt) umu- mu- (ú)mú-kasi (inside).

In the above, there are some cases where several forms of prefixes belong to one noun class. The explanations for such classes are shown in the following.

In the class 1, the "mu-" is considered to be an abbreviate form of the "umu-". This is true for the forms "ya-" of the class 2a, "ci-" of 7, "pa-" of 15, "ku-" of 16 and "mu-" of 17.

In class 5, there are only three nouns found as the words which takes the prefix "ili-". They are "ílí-ngò" (eye), "ílí-inò" (tooth) and "íly-ǹmbà" (scales of a fish). As shown in the example words, the initial syllable of the stem in these words is either /V/ or /NCV/. On the other hand, other nouns of class 5 take the prefix "ii-" or "i-" and the
initial syllable of the stem is always /CV/. Thus, the "ili-" and other prefixes are considered to be in complementary distribution concerning the initial syllable of the stem. The apparent exceptions against the above are found only in the following two words. That is, they are "iimbi" (wave) and "iolenji" (orange). In "amá-imbi" (waves), plural form of the "imbi", the vowel coalescence of "a-i → i-i" between the prefix and the stem does not occur, though the coalescence should occur in other cases. Thus, "iimbi" is assumed to be /i-yimbi/ phonologically. In this case, the word takes the prefix "i-", since the initial syllable of the stem is /CV/. In the case of "i-olenji", the "i+o" does not change into "y-o" which occurs in the other words in general. For this reason, the "iolenji" is phonologically supposed to be /i-wolenji/ in this study. Then, it is plausible that the prefix of the word is "i-" because of the stem-initial syllable /CV/. In cases where the stem-initial syllable is /CV/, the prefix appears as "ii-" if the number of tone carrier units of the stem is two or less, and as "i-" if it is three or more. This is true in classes 2 and 14 (though there are some exceptions). That is, "aa-" or "uu" appears if the number of tone carrier units is two or less, and "a-" or "u-" if it is three or more.

In class 9, the prefix "ii-" or "i-" appears if the consonant of the stem-initial syllable is either a nasal or a vowel. In other cases, the prefix appears as "iN-", where "N" is a nasal with the same place of articulation as the following consonant. The condition deciding whether "ii-" or "i-" appears is the same as for the class 5. The prefix "iy-" appears if "ii-" is followed by the vowel /a/ or /o/. In the case of "iN-", "N" of the "iN" appears too short to carry a tone carrier unit if the number of tone carrier units is three or more, while it is a tone carrier unit if that is two or less.

The prefixes of class 10, i.e., "iN-", "ii-" and "i-", appear in the same way as those of the class 9. There are other prefixes, i.e., "izi-", "ing-" and "iiny-" found in this class. The number of words which take these prefixes is small. Among them, "izi-" is found only in the plural form of class 9.
nouns and both "ing-" and "iiny-" are found only in the plural form of class 11. Thus, it may be considered that the selection of these prefixes depends on the noun class. However, another thought may be given concerning the selection. That is, "ing-" occurs if the stem begins with either "aCV" or "uCV", "iin-" occurs if it begins with "iNCV" and "izi-" occurs in other cases.

If the stem of a noun begins with a vowel, sound change occurs on the second vowel of the prefix. The sound changes found in the scope of this data are shown in the following. There, "V" stands for a vowel, "C" for a consonant, "-" for a boundary between the prefix and the stem and "Vi" for an initial vowel of the stem.

(1).  a → Vi / V(C) __-Vi;  Vi={i,e,ʌ}

Example:  ámá-inò → ámí-inò (teeth), áá-inè → áí-inè (fat persons, owners), áá-enè → áe-enè (chiefs), áá-ényì → áe-ényì (guests, visitors), áá-énecò → áe-énecò (owners).

No sound change occurs in the sequence of "a+ a,o,u" (i.e., "a+a", "a+o" or "a+u").

(2a).  i → Vi / c__-Vi;  Vi={e,a,o,u}; where "c" stands for the consonant /c/.

Example:  ící-énà → ícé-énà (smell), ící-alà → ícá-alà (thumb, corpse), ící-óngò → ícó-óngò (trouble), ící-úpò → ícú-úpò (marriage).

No sound change occurs in the sequence of "i+i" or in "i+e" after the consonant /c/.

(2b).  i → y(Vi) / any consonants other than /c/ __-Vi;

Vi={a,o,u}

Example:  íví-alà → ívyá-alà (thumbs, corpses), íví-óngò → ívyó-óngò (troubles), íví-úpò → ívyú-úpò (marriages).

No sound changes occur in the sequence of "i+i" or in "i+e" after a consonant other than /c/.
(3a). $u \rightarrow o / (V)C_\ldots -o$

Example: ùmú-òtò $\rightarrow$ ùmò-òtò (fire), ùmú-ònsì $\rightarrow$ ùmò-ònsì (man), mú-òtokà $\rightarrow$ mò-òtokà (motor-car).

(3b). $u \rightarrow w / V(C)_\ldots -\{a,e,i\}$

Example: ùmú-áncè $\rightarrow$ ùmò-áncè (young person), ùlú-akò $\rightarrow$ úlw-akò (cup), ùmú-èngè $\rightarrow$ ùmò-èngè (bud), ùlú-èmbè $\rightarrow$ úlw-èmbè (razor), ùlú-imbò $\rightarrow$ úlw-imbò (song), ùmú-ìkàlà $\rightarrow$ ùmò-ìkàlà (inhabitant of a village).

No sound changes occur in the sequence of "u+u".

On the contrary, there are several words found where no sound change takes place, irrespective of the fact that they satisfy the conditions of the sound changes stated in the above. These words are interpreted as follows. That is, each of them takes a consonant /w/ immediately before the stem-initial vowel in the underlying representation. Some examples are shown in the following, where the right hand column shows the underlying representation.

Examples: ama-olenji (oranges) vs. /ama-wolenji/
i-olenji (orange) vs. /i-wolenji/
içi-ombelo (tool) vs. /ici-wombelo/
içi-ombelo (tools) vs. /ivi-wombelo/

(4). If the prefix is "iN-" and the stem-initial consonant is /l/, the sound change "l $\rightarrow$ d" occurs. The following are some examples.

Example: 1 $\rightarrow$ d / iN-
ìn-ìlimì $\rightarrow$ ìn-dìdimì (tongues), in-lüpe $\rightarrow$ in-dupe (sifts),
ìn-ìwalà $\rightarrow$ ìn-dìwalà (disease(s)).

Besides the nouns stated in the above, the infinitive form of a verb functions like a noun. The prefix of the infinitive is "uku".

Example: úku-lólà (to see, seeing), úku-lemà (to plant, planting).
4. Adjectives

An adjective is placed after the noun it modifies. An adjective consists of a prefix and a stem and the prefix show grammatical concord with the noun modified. That is, the prefix takes inherent sounds according to the class of the noun. In the following, prefixes are shown according to the classes of nouns. There, ",-suma" (good, beautiful etc.) is used as the stem of the adjective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of Noun</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>umu-</td>
<td>umúntúlúmú-sumà (a good person),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a.</td>
<td>umu-</td>
<td>símßwa umú-sumà (a good dog),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>aa-</td>
<td>ãántúlãa-sumà (good presons),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
<td>aa-</td>
<td>yasímßwatãa-sumà (good dogs),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>uu-</td>
<td>úmúlêmbo'úu-sumà (a good medicine),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>ii-</td>
<td>ììììlêmbo'ìì-sumà (good medicines),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>ili-</td>
<td>ìlémbalíí-sumà (a good cigar),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>aa-</td>
<td>ámálémbaláá-sumà (good cigars),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ici-</td>
<td>ìcììzúlè ící-sumà (a good garden),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>ivi-</td>
<td>ívíízúlè íví-sumà (good gardens),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>ii-</td>
<td>ìnkòko'ìí-sumà (a good fowl),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>izi-</td>
<td>ìnkòko'ìzi-sumà (good fowls),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>ulu-</td>
<td>ìluswelo'úlu-sumà (a good fish hook),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>aka-</td>
<td>ìkàkàko'âkà-sumà (a good chicken),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>utu-</td>
<td>ìtòwòko'útù-sumà (good chickens),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>uu-</td>
<td>ìùlàngüeeti'úu-sumà (a good blanket),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>apa-</td>
<td>ìpaìnsí'ápa-sumà (good floor),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>uku-</td>
<td>(ú)kùnzi'úku-sumà (beautiful outside),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>umu-</td>
<td>(ú)múkasi'úmú-sumà (beautiful inside).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Demonstrative Adjectives and Demonstrative Pronouns

Like the adjective, a demonstrative adjective is
placed after a noun modified by it. The demonstrative adjective has grammatical concord with the noun modified. They are divided into (a) this, (b) that, (c) that yonder and (d) it (type (b) is said to be also used in the sense of type (d)). The demonstrative adjectives are shown in the following with the class number.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Class</th>
<th>this</th>
<th>that</th>
<th>it</th>
<th>that yonder</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. wi</td>
<td>wiyá</td>
<td>wiyyó</td>
<td>awiyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a. wi</td>
<td>wiyá</td>
<td>wiyyó</td>
<td>awiyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ya</td>
<td>yaayá</td>
<td>yaayó</td>
<td>ayaayó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a. ya</td>
<td>yaayá</td>
<td>yaayó</td>
<td>ayaayó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. u</td>
<td>uuyá</td>
<td>uuyó</td>
<td>auyuyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. i</td>
<td>iyá</td>
<td>iyó</td>
<td>aiyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. li</td>
<td>liiyá-liiyá</td>
<td>liiyó</td>
<td>aiiiyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ya</td>
<td>yaayá-yaaláyá</td>
<td>yaayó</td>
<td>ayaayó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ci</td>
<td>ciicí</td>
<td>ciicó</td>
<td>acícó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. vi</td>
<td>viiyí</td>
<td>viiyó</td>
<td>aviiyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. i</td>
<td>iiya-iiyá</td>
<td>iiyó</td>
<td>aiiyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. zi</td>
<td>ziizi-ziizyá</td>
<td>ziizyó</td>
<td>aziizyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. lu</td>
<td>luulu-luluylá</td>
<td>luulo</td>
<td>aiiulu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ka</td>
<td>kaaka</td>
<td>kaako</td>
<td>akkaako</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tu</td>
<td>tuutú</td>
<td>tuuto</td>
<td>atuuto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. u</td>
<td>uuwa</td>
<td>uuwyó</td>
<td>auuwyó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. pa</td>
<td>paapá</td>
<td>papaó</td>
<td>apaapó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. ku</td>
<td>kuuku</td>
<td>kuuko</td>
<td>akuuko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. mu</td>
<td>muumu</td>
<td>muumo</td>
<td>amuumo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the above are used independently, i.e., without the noun modified by them, they become demonstrative pronouns.

6. Possessive

"Noun1 of Noun2" like "a leaf of a tree" or "a horn of
cattle" is expressed in the word order "Noun1 + particle + Noun2". The particle corresponding to "of" has grammatical concord with the preceding Noun1. Furthermore, the initial vowel of the prefix of Noun2 does not appear in this case. In the following, the particles are shown according to the class of the preceding noun. The sound in parentheses can be optional.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(u)wa</td>
<td>úmwánaci (ú)wá mútááùnì (a woman of a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a.</td>
<td>(u)wa</td>
<td>síng'ángá (ú)wá múcipataalà (a doctor of a hospital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>áánaci á mútááùnì (women of a town)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>yásíng'ángá á múcipataalà (doctors of a hospital)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>(u)wa</td>
<td>úmísila (ú)wá mútì (a root of a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>(i)ya</td>
<td>ímísila (í)ya mútí (roots of trees)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>lya</td>
<td>íítwa lýá mútí (a leaf of a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>áamáfwa yá mútí (leaves of a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>ícítwalo cá mútí (a fruit of a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>vya</td>
<td>ívítwalo výá mútí (fruits of a tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>(i)ya</td>
<td>íng'ómbe (í)yá múlíúngù (cattle(sg) of a Lungu person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>(i)zya</td>
<td>íng'ómbe (í)zyá álúngù (cattle(pl) of Lungu persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>lwa</td>
<td>úlúpembe lwa ng'ómbe (a horn of cattle(sg))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>(a)ka</td>
<td>ákámúngù (á)ká múmpángá (a firefly of a forest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>(u)twa</td>
<td>útúmúngù (ú)twa múmpángá (fireflies of a forest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>uuúsungu wá mútí (poison of a plant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ápánsi yá ng'ándà (a floor of a house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>úkúnzi yá mbókòsì (the outside of a box)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>ya, ka</td>
<td>úmúkasi yá mbókòsì ~ úmúkasi ká mbókòsì (the inside of a box)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In class (15), (16) or (17), the particle seems to have grammatical concord with the stem of the noun.

7. Personal Possessives and Possessive Pronouns

Like the adjective, a personal possessive follows a noun modified by it and it consists of a prefix and a stem. The stems of personal possessives are shown in the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>-ane</td>
<td>-ako</td>
<td>-akwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>-itu</td>
<td>-inu</td>
<td>-owo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix of the personal possessive has grammatical concord with the preceding noun. The prefixes are shown in the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ñ'mwényi wááñê (my guest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a.</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>simbwa wáako (your(sg) dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ñ'ëenyi ñáñê (my guests)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a.</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>yasimbwa yaako (your(sg) dogs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>ñ'múpeeni wáakwe (his knife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ñ'mipeeni yaákwe (his knives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>li-</td>
<td>ñ'ibuuku lyáakwe (his book)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ñ'amábuuku yaákwe (his books)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ci-</td>
<td>ñ'cílambu ciítu (our gift)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>vi-</td>
<td>ñ'vílambu viítu (our gifts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ñ'inkoko iinú (your(pl) fowl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>zi-</td>
<td>ñ'incinga'zyááwo (their bicycles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>lu-</td>
<td>ñ'ulumbalala l'wáñê (a piece of my ground-nut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ñ'akándilindili kááñê (my thumb-piano)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>ñ'túndilindili twáñê (my thumb-pianos)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. u- ùусу wááko (your(sg) flour)
15. pa- ápámooto páákwé (her fire-place)
16. ku- kúnzi kwínú (your(pl) place (on the outside))
17. mu- múkasi mwáwó (their place (on the inside))

As shown in the above examples, the initial syllable of the personal possessive tends to become long. The tonal pattern of a personal possessive may appear as "CVVCV", except in the first singular and the first plural. When the above are used independently, i.e., without the preceding noun, they comes to mean "mine, yours, hers, etc."

Some kinship terms already show a relationship with others. Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: 

yaataata (my father, our father), yáaso (your(sg) father, your(pl) father), yaai(isi (his father, their father), yaama(a)yó (my mother, our mother), yáányákó (your(sg) mother, your(pl) mother), (yá)nyíná (his mother, their mother).

Words for "wife, wives, grandfather, and grandmother" are also included in the kinship terms which show a relationship with the others.

8. Other Words Modifying Nouns

There are some words following nouns and modifying them. Some of them are as follows.

8-1. Numerals

A numeral consists of a prefix and a stem. When a numeral is used independently, i.e., it is used like a noun, it
has the inherent prefix and is classified into one of the noun classes mentioned in 3.

Example: có-ongà (one), ci-ili (two), íi-kumì (ten), ámá-kumì (tens), í-zimbi (hundred), ámá-zimbi (hundreds).

When it is used like an adjective, i.e., when the numeral is placed after the noun modified by it, the prefix of the numeral has grammatical concord with the class of the noun. The prefixes seem to be the same as those in the cases of the adjective. Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: umukú úw-ongà (one time, once) ímikú í-sáánö (five times)

8-2. "Many", "few" and "all"

The stems of "many" and "few" are "-ingi" and "-noono" respectively. The prefix shows grammatical concord with the preceding noun modified by it. The prefixes are the same as those of adjectives.

Example: áántú á-ingi (many people), ívintú ív-ingi (many things), áántú á-noono (← áántú á-noono; a few people).

The stem of "all" is "-onsi", and the prefix shows grammatical concord with the preceding noun modified by it. Unlike "many" or "few", however, the prefix is not the same as that of the adjective, but it is the same as that of the possessives (cf.7). Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: áántú y-onsi (all people), ívintú vy-onsi (all things), ñmwíli w-onsi (whole body), imyíílí y-onsi (all bodies).
It is noted that the stem "-onsi" has the meaning "male" besides the meaning "all". In the case of "male", the prefix is the same as that of the adjectives.

Example: á́ntú á-ónsì (male person), ivintú ívy-ónsì (men's things)

Besides this, the word "male" as a noun is "íyónsì" for the singular or "ízyoňsi" for the plural.

8-3. Interrogative Adjectives; "how many" and "which"

The stem of "how many" is "-nga", and the prefix shows grammatical concord with the preceding noun modified. The prefixes are the same as in the case of possessives.

Example: á́ntú ya-nga? (how many people?), útúpande tů-nga? (how many pieces?), ímyezi i-nga? (how many months?), ínsita i-nga? (how long?; insita, time).

"which" is expressed as "cii" irrespective of the class of the preceding noun. In other words, "which" does not show grammatical concord with the preceding noun modified by it. Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: úmúlumendo cii? (which boy?), áálumendo cii? (which boys?), úmútí cii? (which tree?), imíti cii? (which trees?), íbuuku cii? (which book?), ámábuuku cii? (which books?), ínsita cii? (what time?), úwánda cii? (which day?).

9. Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are shown in the following.
1st  2nd  3rd
sg. neene  weewe  aaliwe
pl. sweswe  mwemwe  aaliwo
fwefwe

The reflexive personal pronouns are as follows.

1st  2nd  3rd
sg. nengä  wengä  wengä
pl. swengä  mwengä  yongä
fwenä

10. Infinitive forms of the verbs

The infinitive consists of "prefix-verb stem-verb ending". The prefix is "uku" and the verb ending "a".

Example: úku-lo-l-ä (to see, seeing), úku-u-vw-ä (to hear, to feel, feeling), úku-l-änd-ä (to say, saying).

Like nouns, if the verb stem begins with a vowel, the second vowel of the prefix "uku" coalesces with the stem-initial vowel and sound change occurs at the second vowel. The sound changes are the same as those for nouns. That is, they are "u → w /uk__-<a,i,e>" and "u → o /uk__-o". The following are some examples of the sound changes.

Example: úkw-ánikä (to spread to dry), úkw-imililä (to stand up), úkw-élëka (to cook), uko-ocä (to burn).

However, if there is the reflexive affix "-i-" placed immediately before the verb stem, no sound change like "u+i → wi", etc. occurs.

Example: úku-i-ziifyä (to use make up (on oneself)), úku-i-ceelä (to become ripe (of itself)).
There are some exceptions to the above sound changes, as well as for nouns. The stem of each word begins with /o/ and thus, the stem initial syllable is interpreted to be /wo/ in its underlying representation. The interpretation is derived in the same way as for nouns. Some examples are shown in the following, where the right hand column shows the underlying representation.

Example: uku-ongama (to become bent) vs. /uku-wongama/, uku-omba (to work) vs. /uku-womba/.

Like predicate verbs, the infinitive can take a noun as an object or a complement after it.

Example: úkúpondola l'úmuńgà (to extract a thorn), úkúfulala l'pámansò (to wash a face), úkúwéleka l'amánzì (to boil water), úkúluka l'ícítálà (to plait a mat), úkúfumya vyáákula mú'nyúńgù (to take out food from a pot; (u)mu, from), úkúwìka umu kanwà (to put into a mouth; umu, into), úkúsenda pa'mútwe (to carry on a head; pa, on), úkúputula l'na sóò (to cut with a saw; na, with).

Like a noun, the infinitive can become a subject or an object.

Example: twatemwa l'úkúmwa (we like to drink; twatemwa, we like; úkúmwa, to drink), tutáatemwa l'úkúbeepà (we don't like to cheat; tutáatemwa, we don't like; úkúbeepà, to cheat).

When the infinitive is used like a noun, the following adjective takes the prefix "uku".

Example: úkútamba l'úkú-sumà (good watching), úkúuvwa l'úkú-sumà (good feeling).
In the following examples, the former infinitive functions like a verb and the latter like a noun.

Example: úkútampa í úkuombà (to begin working),
úkúlonda í úkúcítà (to want to do),
úkúta í úkuombà (to stop working).

In the above, sound change does not occur in "ukuomba" (to work). Thus, it is interpreted as /ukuwomba/ on its underlying representation.

The infinitive may function like an adverb meaning "in order to do".

Example: tumáaya úkú kúyakomenkanya (we will go to meet them; -ya-, them; kukomenkanya, to meet).

Furthermore, "na (meaning "with") + infinitive" expresses simultaneous action by the same subject.

Example: áántúlyakúpítatínukwìzà (people are going and coming; yakupita, they are going; ukupita, to go; ukwiza, to come; na+ukwiza → nu kwiza).

11. Derivative verbs

Various derivative verbs can be made by attaching a derivative affix to the verb stem. There are a lot of derivative affixes found. According to their sounds, they are divided into various types, as shown in the following. The meaning or the function of each derivative is not precisely grammatical, but is a rough description of the meaning or the function.

úkumweshà (to make (somebody) drink, to drink too much) vs. úkumwà (to drink); ukuzumilizzyà (to affirm) vs. úkúzumílÀ (to agree); ukuuwishà (to make fall down) vs. ukuuwà (to fall down); úkúponyà (to make drop) vs. úkúponà (to drop, intransitive); ukuonyà (to make wet) vs. úkúómbà (to be wet); ukuponyà (to lose) vs. úkúpóngà (to get lost).

(2). -u- (passive).

ukulolà (to be seen) vs. úkúlólà (to see); ukukomà (to be killed) vs. úkúkómà (to kill).

(3). -ik-, -ek- (transitivization, intransitivization, static).

úkúlólékà (to be seen, to be in sight) vs. úkúlólà (to see); úkúzuulikà (to become taken off, to come off) vs. úkúzuulà (to take off); úkúyuulikà (to be open) vs. úkúyuúlà (to open, transitive).

(4). -uk-, -ok- (antonyms & intransitivization, intransitivization).

úkusengulukà (to become clean) vs. úkusengulà (to muddle); úkoóólólókà (to become straight) vs. úkoóólólà (to straighten).

(5). -ul- (antonymous).

úkúkupukulà (to take off a lid) vs. úkúkupikà (to cover with a lid); úkúzíikúlà (to dig out a hole) vs. úkúziikà (to fill up a hole).

(6). -an-, -aan- (reciprocal, attendant, intransitivization)

úkúpángánà (to come to an agreement, make an appointment) vs. úkúpangà (to make); úkúpalamanà (to sit on next) vs.
úkúpalámà (to come next); úkúpitaanà (to stroll) vs. úkúpità (to walk); úkúpombaanà (to get tangled) vs. úkúpombà (to entangle).

(7). -il-, -el- (applicative)

úkúkúúlílà (to build at(with)) vs. úkúkúúlíkà (to build); úkúúnúnkílà (to smell good) vs. úkúúnúnkà (to smell bad); úkúómbékélà (to soak to soften) vs. úkúómbékà (to dip to wash); úkúlípílà (to pay to(for)(?)) vs. úkúlípà (to pay).

(8). -al-

úkúfúlúlà (to wash (face, fingers), to bathe) vs. úkúfúlà (to wash (plate, body)) ; úkúvímbálà (to cover oneself (with)) vs. úkúvímbà (to cover, to thatch).

(9). -am-

úkúfisamà (to hide oneself) vs. úkúfisà (to hide); úkúpétamà (to become bent) vs. úkúpétà (to coil up (intransitive)).

The following are compound derivative affixes found in this study.

(10). -ulk- (antonymous intransitivization)

úkúfyéntúlúkà (to become loose) vs. úkúfyéntà (to tighten).

(11). -ulul-, -olol- (antonymous & transitivization)

úkúfyéntúlúlà (to loosen, intransitive) vs. úkúfyéntà (to tighten); úkúpombololà (to disentangle) vs. úkúpombà (to tangle).
(12). -ekesy-

ukulolekeshâ (to look at) vs. úkúlólà (to see).

(13). -ekel- (applicative & transitivization)

úkútón tékelà (to soften) vs. úkútón tá (to become soft).

(14). -ikw- (stative & passive)

úkútemwikwâ (to be liked) vs. úkútemwâ (to like).

(15). -elezy-

ukupeteleyâ (to coil round (something)) vs. úkúpéta (to coil up (intransitive)).

(16). -ilil-

úkúlángílilà (to show) vs. úkúlángâ (to show).

(17). -ani-

úkúzinganyâ (to follow, chase) vs. úkúzingâ (to divorce (from a wife), to chase after).

(18). -amik-

úkúpétamíkà (to bend) vs. úkúpéta (to coil up (intransitive)).

(19). -esek-

úkúpéémésékà (to pant) vs. úkúpéémâ (to breathe).
12. Predicate verbs

The affirmative form of a predicate verb consists of "subject prefix - tense marker - object affix - verb stem - verb ending", in general. In the above, the object affix is optional. The negative form is generally given by inserting the negative affix "ta" immediately after the subject prefix (cf. 13). The subject prefix shows grammatical concord with the class of the noun which is the subject. That is, it takes an inherent prefix according to the class of the noun. For example, in the sentence "mutóndó, ivísélá'vílámélà" (tomorrow, potatos will come out), the subject prefix of the predicate verb "vílámélà" (they will come out) takes the inherent prefix "vi" for the class of the noun "ivísélà" (potatos). The object affix also shows grammatical concord with the class of the noun which is the object. For example, in the sentence "mutóndó, túlaikala 'íng'ómbe" (tomorrow, we will buy cattle(sg)), the object affix of the predicate verb "túlaikala" (we will buy it) takes the inherent object affix "i" for the class of the noun "íng'ómbe" (cattle(sg)).

As for verb endings, "A" type, "E" type, "ILE" type and "ANGA" types are found. They show the tense and/or aspect together with the tense marker (see below).

Some affirmative forms of predicate verbs take a verbal prefix immediately before the subject prefix. That is, they consist of "verbal prefix - subject prefix - tense marker - (object affix) - verb stem - verb ending". Since these negative forms are represented by "negative form of copular + predicate verb", the verbal prefix corresponds to the affirmative form of the copula. The verbal prefix also shows grammatical concord with the class of the noun which is the subject.

12-1. Subject prefixes and Object affixes

The subject prefix and the object affix are shown in
the following where the left shows the subject prefix and the right the object affix. The number in parentheses shows the class number of nouns.

(1). Personal pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>ni,N/N,Ø</td>
<td>u/ku</td>
<td>u,a/mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>tu/tu</td>
<td>mu/mu</td>
<td>ya/ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above, "N" stands for a nasal consonant with the same place of articulation as the following consonant.

(2). Noun

(1). u,a/mu (1a). u,a/mu (2). ya/ya (2a). ya/ya
(3). u/u   (4). i/i   (5). li/li   (6). ya/ya
(7). ci/ci (8). vi/vi (9). i/i   (10). zi/zi

In the above, the subject prefix of the first person singular appears as "ni" before a nasal consonant and appears as "N" before other consonants, where "N" is a nasal with the same place of articulation as the following consonant. Before a vowel, it apparently appears as /n/ (a dental nasal). However, /n/ is considered to be the result of the vowel coalescence "ni +V → nV". Furthermore, if the tense marker is "a" and the verb stem begins with any of the vowels /i,e,a,u/, the vowel coalescence "n-a-V_i → nV_i (V_i={i,e,a,u})" occurs. If the subject prefix "n" is followed by the consonant /l/, the sound change "n+l → nd" also occurs. There are two types of subject prefix found in the third person singular, the noun classes 1 and 1a. They are /u/ and /a/. /u/ appears before a vowel and /a/ before a consonant. In the former case, the sound is the same as that of the second person singular. However, in a predicate verb, they are different from each other concerning the tonal
pattern. The object affix of the first person singular seems to appear as "0" (no sound) before a nasal and to appear as "N" before a consonant except nasal consonants, though the number of data is small. Other object affixes take the same sounds as those of the subject prefixes.

12-2. Verbal prefixes

The verbal prefixes are shown in the following.

(1). Personal pronoun

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>ni,i</td>
<td>(u)u,(w)al</td>
<td>(u)u, (a)al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(u)ul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>(u)u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>(i)i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2). Noun

(1). u,(a)al  (1a). u,(a)al  (2). (i)i  (2a). (i)i  
(3). u  (4). i  (5). i  (6). (i)i  (7).i  
(8). i  (9). i  (10). i  (11). (u)u  (12). (i)i  
(13). (u)u  (14). u  (15). (i)i  (16). (u)u  
(17). (u)u

In the case of the first person singular, /i/ appears if the subject prefix is followed by a vowel and /ni/ appears in other cases. Furthermore, the vowel coalescence "a-V₁ → V₁/in-___, V₁={i,e,a,u}" occurs if the tense marker is "a" and the verb stem begins with any of the vowels /i,e,a,u/. In the second person singular. "(u)u" is found before /a/ or /l/, "(u)ul" and "wal" are found before /l/ or /k/. In the third person singular and the noun classes 1 and 1a, the verbal prefix "(u)u" appears if the subject prefix is "u" and "(a)al" appears if the subject prefix is "a". In other cases, the
verbal prefix is "i" if the vowel of the subject prefix "(C)V" is either /i/ or /a/, and it is "u" if the vowel of the subject prefix is /u/.

12-3. Verb endings

In the verb endings, the "ANGA", "A" and "E" types are formed by adding /-anga/, /-a/ and /-e/ to the verb stem, respectively. In the case of the "ILE" type, the formation is a little complicated. That is, the formation seems to depend on both the number of syllables of the verb stem and its last consonant. In the following, the affixes and their conditions are shown, where "-" shows the boundary between a verb stem and a verb ending.

(1). the verb stem is made of one syllable
   \[ a \rightarrow \text{ile/}\langle C,Cy,CW\rangle-__\# \]
   ukuy-a (to go) \(\rightarrow\) ukuy-ile, ukuly-a (to eat) \(\rightarrow\)
   ukuli-ile, ukumw-a (to drink) \(\rightarrow\) ukmw-ile.

(2). the verb stem is made of two or more syllables
(2a). \[ a \rightarrow \text{ile }\langle s,z,vw,m,n\rangle-__\# \]
   ukulas-a (to stab) \(\rightarrow\) ukulas-ile, ukwiz-a (to come)
   \(\rightarrow\) ukwiz-ile, ukuuvw-a (to hear) \(\rightarrow\) ukuuvw-ile,
   ukulim-a (to farm) \(\rightarrow\) ukulim-ile, ukoonoon-a (to spoil)
   \(\rightarrow\) ukoonoon-ile.

(2b). \[ Ca \rightarrow \text{sile }/\langle t,c\rangle-__\# , C=\langle t,c\rangle \]
   ukupi-ta (to walk) \(\rightarrow\) ukupi-sile, ukoo-ca (to burn)
   \(\rightarrow\) ukoo-sile.

(2c). \[ pa \rightarrow \text{file }/\langle t,c\rangle-__\# \]
   ukwi-pa (to become bad) \(\rightarrow\) ukwi-file.

(2d). \[ mba \rightarrow \text{mvile, }\langle nd,ng\rangle \rightarrow \text{nzile, nta }\rightarrow \text{nsile/}_-\# \]
   ukuta-mba (to watch) \(\rightarrow\) ukuta-mvile,
ukulo-nda (to want) → ukulo-nzile,
ukupa-nga (to make) → ukupa-nzile,
ukuvwi-nta (to throw) → ukuvwi-nsile.

(2e). Cya → C(i)izye / ___#, C=⟨f,s,z,nv,ns⟩
ukuzii-fya (to clean) → ukuzii-fiizye,
ukuon-vya (to use) → ukuon-viizye,
ukuuwi-sya (to cut) → ukuuwi-sizye,
ukukonko-nsya (to knock) → ukukonko-nsi(i)zye,
ukuka-zya (to sell) → ukuka-zyizye.

(2f). nya → iizye / o___#
ukuto-nya (to squeeze with fingers) → ukuto-nyiizye,

(2g). nya → iinye / a___#
ukukomenka-nya (to meet) → ukukomenk-iinye.

(2h). ka → sile / ___# and if the verb stem is made of
two syllables
ukufi-ka (to arrive) → ukufi-sile,
ukwi-ka (to put) → ukwi-sile,

(2i). ka → ike / ___# and if the verb stem is made of
three syllables
ukwani-ka (to roast, spread) → ukwani-ike,
ukucisi-ka (to become injured) → ukucisi-ike.

(2j). la → ile /⟨i,u⟩___#
ukutandali-la (to visit) → ukutandali-ile,
ukusambili-la (to learn) → ukusambili-ile.

(2k). la → zile /⟨a,o⟩___#
ukuka-la (to buy) → ukuka-zile,
ukulo-la (to see) → ukulo-zile.

(2l). ilwa → izilwe / ___#
ukuf-ilwa (to fail) → ukuf-izilwe,
(2m). aalwa → ilwe / ___#
    ukuvy-aalwa (to be born) → ukuvi-ilwe.

13. The Structure of the Predicate Verbs

Some formulae of predicate verbs (mainly in the indicative mood) are shown in the following. In the formula, "S" stands for the subject prefix, "V" for the verb stem and "P" for the verbal prefix. "A", "E", "ANGA" and "ILE" show the types of verb endings, respectively. The tense markers are shown with their sounds in the formula, and the object affix is omitted. "A=" and "N=" show the affirmative formula and the negative one, respectively.

The tonal patterns of the predicate verbs are complicated and there is no space to show them (see, Kagaya, 1987, "Tonal Patterns of Cilungu Predicate Verbs"). However, it is noted that tonal patterns between Remote Past and Near Past (see below) or those between Remote Past Progressive and Near Past Progressive (see below) are different from each other, though the formulae are the same as each other. The index of each category is not precisely grammatical, but shows that the formula is used in some such circumstance.

(1). Remote Past (Past on or before the day before yesterday)
   A=S-a-V-ILE, N=S-ta-a-V-ILE
   twálimile. (we farmed. úkúlimà, to farm),
   tutáálimile. (we did not farm).

(2). Near Past (Past of yesterday)
   A=S-a-V-ILE, N=S-ta-a-V-ILE
   twálimile. (we farmed),
   tutáálimile. (we did not farm).

(1) and (2) are distinguished only by their tonal patterns.
(3). Immediate Past (Past of today)
A=P S-a-V-A, N=S-ta-a-li S-a-V-A
(ú)ú tůáya. (we went. ukuya, to go),
tutáálí tůáya. (we did not go).

The negative form of (3) is made of "copula + Predicate verb "Present" (see below).

(4). Uncompleted Immediate Past (the action occurred in the past of today and is continuing up to present)
A=S-V-ILE, N=S-ta-V-ILE
áíílé úkú Lúšákà. (he went to Lusaka (and he is there now)), atáíílé. (he did not go).

(5). Present, Present Perfect
A=S-a-V-A, N=S-ta-V-ILE
tuíáííma. (we farm we have farmed).
tutuíáíímilé. (we do not farm we have not farmed).

(6). Immediate Future (Future of today)
A=S-maa-V-A, N=S-ta-maa-V-A
tůúmaáaya. (we will go), tutůúmaáaya. (we will not go).

The negative form is often expressed in the formula "N=S-sii-ku-V-A".
túúííkuya. (we will not go).

(7). Remote Future (Future on or after tomorrow)
A=S-la-V-A, N=S-ta-la-V-A
tuíúáííma. (we will farm).
tutuíúáíílímá. (we will not farm).

(8). Remote Past Progressive, Past Habitual (Progressive form on or before the day before yesterday, Past Habitual)
A=S-a-V-ANGA, N=S-ta-a-V-ANGA
tuíúáíílimáanga. (we were farming),
tutuíúáíílimáanga. (we were not farming).
(9). Near Past Progressive (Progressive of yesterday)
A=S-a-V-ANGA, N=S-ta-a-V-ANGA
  twálímana. (we were farming),
  tutáálímana. (we were not farming).

(8) and (9) are distinguished from each other only by their
tonal patterns.

(10). Immediate Past Progressive (Past Progressive of today)
A=P S-ku-V-A, N=S-ta-a-li S-ku-V-A
  úú tukúlimà. (we were farming).
  tutáálí tukúlimà. (we were not farming).

The negative form is made of "copula + Predicate verb
(Present progressive, see below)".

(11). Present Progressive
A=S-ku-V-A, N=S-sii-ku-V-A
  tukúpikulà. (we are knitting. ukupikula, to knit),
  tusííkupikulà. (we were not knitting).

(12). Immediate Future Progressive (Future Progressive of
today)
A=S-maa-V-ANGA, N=S-ta-maa-V-ANGA
  tumámápikulanga. (we will be knitting),
  tutamámápikulanga. (we will not be knitting).

The negative form is often expressed by the formula "N=
S-sii-ku-V-ANGA".
  tisííkupikulanga. (we will not be knitting).

(13). Remote Future Progressive, Future Habitual (Future
Progressive on or after tomorrow, Habit which will be
continued to)
A=S-laa-V-A, N=S-ta-laa-V-A
  tulaálíma. (we will be farming),
  tutalaalíma. (we will not be farming).
(14). Present Habit, Ability, Status
A=S-kaa-V-A, N=S-sii-V-A
tuékáásambililà. (we always study. ukusambilila, to study),
tusiísambililà. (we do not always study).

(15). Present Perfect
The present perfect is given by (5). The affirmative is also given in the following formula.
A=P S-V-A
úu tulimà. (we have farmed).

(16). Remote Past Perfect (Past Perfect on or before the day before yesterday)
A=aalanga P S-V-A, N=aalanga S-ta-li S-V-E
aalángá úu tuta. (we had stopped. ukuta, to stop),
aalángá tutálí túte. (we had not stopped).

(17). Near Past Perfect (Past Perfect of yesterday)
A=aalanga P S-V-A, N=aalanga S-ta-li S-V-E
aalánga úú tupita. (we had walked, ukupita, to walk).
aalánga tutálí túpíte. (we had not walked).

(18). Immediate Past Perfect (Past Perfect of today)
A=aliile P S-V-A, N=aliile S-ta-li S-V-E
aliile úú tukomenkanya. (we had met. ukukomenkanya, to meet),
aliile tutálí tukómenkanye. (we had not met).

(19). Future Perfect (Future Perfect on or after today)
A=ale P S-V-A, N=ale S-ta-li S-V-E
álé úú túśámobililà. (we will have learnt. ukusambilila, to learn),
álé tutálí túśámobilile. (we will not have learnt).
The following Continuous form shows that the action which occurred in the past is continuing to the time expressed by the tense marker.

(20). Past Continuous (Continuous form on or before yesterday)
A=ala S-ci-li S-ku-V-A, N=ala S-ci-li S-sii-ku-V-A
álá túcílí tükukomenkanya. (we were still meeting),
álá túcílí tusííkukokmenkanya. (we were not still meeting).

(21). Immediate Past Continuous (Past Continuous of today)
The past continuous form for today is shown by (20).
It is also shown by the following formula.
u túcílí tukúlungisha. (we were still repairing. uku-
lungisha, to repair),
tutááli túcílí tukúlungisha. (we were not repairing).

(22). Present Continuous
A=S-ci-li S-ku-V-A, N=S-ci-li S-sii-ku-V-A
túcílí tukuuvwá. (we are still hearing. ukuuvwa, to hear),
túcílí tusííkuuvwá. (we are not still hearing).

(23). Future Continuous (Continuous form on or after today)
A=ale S-ci-li S-ku-V-A, N=ale S-ci-li S-sii-ku-V-A
álé túcílí tükúkázyá. (we will be still selling.
ukukazya, to sell),
álé túcílí tusííkukazya. (we will not be still selling).

14. Imperative

The imperative is given by "verb stem - A" if the person ordered is one, and it is given by "verb stem - (i)ini" if the persons ordered are two or more. However, the plural form
is usually used even in the case of one person in order to express politeness.

Example: tándà! (watch!), tambiini! (watch (please)!), belëngà! (read!), belengiini! (read (please)!).

The negative form of the imperative, i.e., the prohibitive form, is shown by "u - ta - verb stem - A" for the singular and is shown by "mu - ta - verb stem - A" for the plural. In addition to the singular form, the plural form is also used even where the person ordered is one. "u" and "mu" in the formulae show the subject prefix of the second person singular and that of the second person plural, respectively, and "ta" is the negative affix.

Example: utándà! (do not watch!), mutándà! (do not watch (please)!), utábélëngà! (do not read!), mutábélëngà! (do not read (please)!).

A more polite expression like "Would you do for (somebody)? or Could you do for (somebody)?" is given by the formula "S-nga-O-V-el-ako". There, "S" stands for the subject prefix, "O" for the object affix and "V" for the verb stem.

Example: ungátúbélëngelàko? (would you(sg) read for us?). mungándételako? (would you(pl) bring for me? ukuleta, to bring; n+let → ndet).

The negative form is given by the formula "S-ta-ng S-O-V-el-eko".

Example: utángé útúbélëngélèko? (would not you(sg) read for us?). mutángé múndèteleko? (would not you(pl) bring for me?).

The "el" is often replaced by "il" according to the last vowel of the verb stem (cf. 11-(7)).
15. Subjunctive

The subjunctive always takes a verb ending of the "E" type. The formula is "S-(O)-V-E", where "O" stands for the object affix and is optional. The subjunctive is used in order to mean something like "so that the subject may do", "in order that the subject may do", "the subject would better do, so that ..." or "do... so that...". Furthermore, an example was found where the subjunctive takes the structure "S-ka-(O)-V-E" and it forms the object clause. Some examples are shown in the following.

Example:

(1). S-(O)-V-E

tümaaya | tuyákomenkanye. (we will go in order that we may meet them. tümaaya, we will go; ukukomenkanya, to meet) ŋdáweela zuwa pákuti iincé njálole. (I will come back so that I may see them. úkuwéélà, to come back; zuwa, early; njalole ← nyalole; ükúlóla, to see) twáyyúuíizye pákuti tu kwáte ùwasuko. (we asked them in order that we may get the answer. pákuti, in order that; ùwasuko, answer) úcíte vino iyákúneena. (Do what you(sg) are told. ükúcita, to do; vino iyákúneena, what you(sg) are told) múòmbeshe, álino múlakwata ímpiya ízingì. (work hard, then you(pl) (can) get much money. álino, then; múlakwata, you will have) úòmbeshe, pano utángé úkwáte ímpiya ízingì. (work hard, otherwise you(sg) cannot get much money. pano, otherwise; utángé úkwáte, you(sg) cannot get).

(2). S-ka-(O)-V-E

tükúlonda tükáyakomenkanye. (we want to meet them. ukulonda, to want; úkuuyakomenkanya, to meet them).
16. Copula

(1). "to be"

The copula meaning "to be" is expressed by the following formulae depending on the tense.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past</td>
<td>Š-a-li</td>
<td>S-tá-a-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past</td>
<td>Š-a-lí</td>
<td>S-tá-á-lí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Past</td>
<td>P Š-lí</td>
<td>S-tá-á-lí Š-lí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>S-sí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Future</td>
<td>S-máa-y-a</td>
<td>S-síí-ku-y-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future</td>
<td>Š-la-y-a</td>
<td>S-tá-la-y-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above, "0" shows that nothing appears as the copula. In both future tenses, the verb "úkúyà" (to become) is used in the formulae. Thus, the formulae belong to the predicate verb mentioned in 13. Both Remote Past and Immediate Past show the same structures but they are distinguished from each other by the tonal patterns. Furthermore, a vowel before "si" (of Present negative) tends to become long. Examples are shown in the following.

Examples: **mpíti**, t'wáli ãána t'úsukuulu. (long ago, we were students. ãána Ísukuulu, students). **mpíti**, tutáali ãána t'úsukuulu. (long ago, we were not students).

mutóndö, t'wáli ãána t'úsukuulu. (yesterday, we were students). **mutóndö**, tutáalí ãána t'úsukuulu. (yesterday, we were not students). múno katóndo, úú túli ãána t'úsukuulu. (this morning, we were students).

múno katóndo, tutáalí túli ãána t'úsukuulu. (this morning, we were not students). **sweswe ãána t'úsukuulu.** (we are students). **tuusi ãána t'úsukuulu.** (we were not students). múno mangúzi, tumaaya ãána t'úsukuulu. (this afternoon, we will become students).
múnó mangúzi, tusííkuya áána ́ísukuulù. (this afternoon, we will not become students). mutóóndó, túlaya áána ́ísukuulù. (tomorrow, we will become students).
mutóóndó, tutálaya áána ́ísukuulù. (tomorrow, we will not become students).

(2). "there is/are..."

"pa", "ku" and "mu", subject prefixes of classes 15, 16 and 17, include meanings "definite place", "indefinite place" and "inside of a place", respectively (cf.18). If they are the subject prefixes in formulae shown in 16-(1), the meanings of the formulae become "there is/are...at (definite place, in the case of "pa")", "there is/are...near (indefinite place, in the case of "ku")" and "there is/are...in (inside of a place, in the case of "mu")", respectively. In the case of the affirmative form of the Present tense, however, the formula "S-li" is taken instead of "0". Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: kúlí símbwá úku manso'ýáá ng'ándà. (there is a dog in front of the house. símbwá, dog; úku manso, at the front; íng'ándà, house). kuusu símbwá úku manso'ýáá ng'ándà. (there is not a dog in front of the house). mutóóndó, mwaálí'nyaáu úmú mbókóši. (yesterday, there was a cat inside of a box. nyaáu, cat; úmú mbókóši, inside of a box). mutóóndó, mutáálí nyaáu úmú mbó-
kóši. (yesterday, there was not a cat inside of a box). pamáaya nyáu'pá múpáandó mangúzi. (there will be a cat on the chair in the afternoon. múpáándó, chair). pasííkuya nyáu'pá múpáandó mangúzi.(there will not be a cat on the chair, in the afternoon).

(3). Formulae to express one's whereabouts

Expressions concerning a place where a person is is given by the following formulae.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Š-a-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>ku-síí kuno Š-a-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) a kúno Š-a-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>así kuno' Š-a-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Š-a-li-kó</td>
<td></td>
<td>S-tá-li-kó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Š-á-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>ku-síí kuno Š-á-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) a kúno Š-á-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>así kuno' Š-á-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Š-á-li-kó</td>
<td></td>
<td>S-tá-li-kó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) P S-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>S-tá-á-li S-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) a kúno P S-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>así kuno' P Š-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Š-lí</td>
<td></td>
<td>S-sí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) a kúno Š-lí</td>
<td></td>
<td>así kuno' Š-lí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) S-máa-y-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>S-síí ku-y-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Š-la-y-a</td>
<td></td>
<td>S-tá-la-y-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the above, the affirmative form of type (a) is the same as that shown in (1). Type (b) literally means "it is the place where (the subject is)". "ko" of type (c) refers to "location". If there is another word showing "location", "ko" can be omitted and the formula becomes the same as type (a). The formulae for the Remote Past and Near Past are the same but they are distinguished from each other by the tonal patterns. Some examples are shown in the following.

Examples:
Type (a):  mpíti, twáli' kuukú. (long ago, we were there).
           mpíti, kuusí kuno twáli. (long ago, we were not there).
           mutóndo, twáli' kuukú. (yesterday, we were there).
           mutóndo, kuusí kuno twáli. (yesterday, we were not there).
           múnó katóndo, úú túli' kuukú. (this morning, we were there).
           múnó katóndo, tutáalí túli' kuukú. (this morning, we were not there).
           túli kúno. (we are here).
tuusí kúnò. (we are not here). múnó mangúzí, tumáaya kúnò. (this afternoon, we will be here). múnó mangúzú, tusíkuya kúnò. (this afternoon, we will not be here).
mutóndo, túlaya kúnò. (tomorrow, we will be here).
mutóndo, tutálaya kúnò. (tomorrow, we will not be here).

Type (b): mpíti, a kúno tvali. (long ago, we were there).
mpíti, asi kuno tvali. (long ago, we were not there).
mutóndo, a kuno tváli. (yesterday, we were there).
mutóndo, asi kuno tváli. (yesterday, we were not there).
múnó katóndo, a kuno'ú túlí. (this morning, we were there).
múnó katóndo, asi kuno'ú túlí. (this morning, we were not there).
a kuno'ú túlí kúnò. (we are here).

Type (c): mpíti, tvalikò. (long ago, we were there).
mpíti, tutáalikò. (long ago, we were not there).
mutóndo, tválikò. (yesterday, we were there).
mutóndo, tutáalikò. (yesterday, we were not there).

18. Formulae to express "to have"

There are two types of formulae found which express "to have". One is (a) the formula using a verb "úkukwata" (meaning "to have") and the other is (b) the formula "copula + na (meaning "with")". In the case of type (a), the verb stem "kwat" appears as "kwat-i" when it takes the "ILE" type of verb ending (the change is irregular, cp. 12-3). Furthermore, the formula for the Immediate Past is "P S-V-ILE" instead of the formula shown in 13-(3). This formula seems to mean that the action occurred in the past of today and is not continuing up to the present time. As for the formula referring to "present" or "now", either the formula of the Uncompleted Immediate Past of 13-(4) or that of the Present Perfect of 13-(15) seems to be used instead of the formula shown in 13-(5). In the case of type (b), vowel coalescence occurs bet-
ween "na" and the immediately following vowel "V" and it results in the sound change "na+V → nV". The formulae are shown in the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Past Tense</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remote Past (a)</td>
<td>S-a-kweti</td>
<td>S-tá-a-kweti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>S-a-li'na</td>
<td>S-tá-a-li'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Past (a)</td>
<td>S-á-kwéti</td>
<td>S-tá-á-kwéti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>S-á-li'na</td>
<td>S-tá-á-li'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Past</td>
<td>P(b)S-kwéti</td>
<td>S-tá-á-li S-kwéti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>P S-li'na</td>
<td>S-tá-á-li S-li'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present (a1)</td>
<td>S-kwéti</td>
<td>S-tá-kwéti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a2)</td>
<td>P(b)S-kwata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>S-li'na</td>
<td>S-sí'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate Future</td>
<td>S-máa-kwata</td>
<td>S-tá-máa-kwata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>S-máa-ya'na</td>
<td>S-tá-máa-ya'na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote Future</td>
<td>S-la-kwata</td>
<td>S-tá-la-kwata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>S-la-ya'na</td>
<td>S-tá-la-ya'na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: mutónó, twákwéti'ímpíyá. (yesterday, we had money). túlí'ní ímpíyá. (we have money. na+ímpíya → ni ímpíya). tuusi'ní ímpíyá. (we have not money). mutónó, túlakwata'ímpíyá. (tomorrow, we will get money).

18. Locatives

Locatives are divided into the following three groups i.e., (a) one indicating a "definite" location, (b) one indicating an "indefinite" location and (c) one indicating the "inside" of a location. Furthermore, they are divided into "here", "there" and "that yonder". The last one also means
"its place". These locatives are shown in the following.

(a) definite  (b) indefinite  (c) inside

(1) here    pánò    kúnò    múnò
(2) there   paapà    kuukù    muumu
(3) that    páápò    kuúkò    múúmò

Yonder

19. Prepositions

Some prepositions and their meaning are shown in the following.

(a). apa

"apa" includes the meaning of a "definite location" and has the meaning of "at, on, on the place of, etc."

úkulamba'ápá úlálò (to cross a bridge),
úkúsenda'ápá'mútùwè (to carry on the head).

(b). uku

"uku" includes the meaning of an "indefinite location" and has the meaning of "around, near, by, to, etc."

íng'anda ípáliíme úkú ísitooldò (the house is near to the shop). úkulandila úkú'tulò (to talk in one's sleep). uuwaya úkú'Lúsákà (he went to Lusaka).
ínápéél ìppìya úkú mwáñá (I gave the money to the child). wákòmlwé úkú můúže (he was killed by his friend).

(c). umu

"umu" includes the meaning of the "inside of a location" and has the meaning of "in, into, from, etc.".

úkúwágíla 'umu'málñì (to enter into water).
úkúfúma 'umu'málñì (to come out of water).
(d). na
"na" means "with, by means of, etc.".

wakómíl웨 úkú muúzá nu mûpéenì (he was killed by his friend with a knife. na → nu/___u).

(e). kuli
"kuli" means "to, with, etc.".

wízile kúlí swéswe. (he came to us).
nkúpálánya cíí kuli cíí. (I am comparing this to that.).

(f). pali
"pali" means "among, etc.".

twásózile cíí pali víívyò. (we chose this from among those).

20. Conjunctions and others

Some conjunctions and others are shown in the following.

(a). na (and)
waakázíízye úúsú ná’máfuta. (we bought flour and oil).
áántu yákúpítá’nú kwíza. (people are going and coming, na+u → nu).

(b). nangu (or)
alakázýá úúsú nangu’ámáfuta. (he will sell either flour or oil).
úmáaya nangu úmáashala? (will you(sg) go or will you remain?).
(c). nga (if)
   túlafoleeshá'ímpíya, nga uuíiza.(we will pay the salary
   if(=when) he comes).

(d). nga icaakuti (if only)
   ndápita nga ícáako ku waapita.(I will go if he goes).

(e). mpaka (unless)
   ntálapita mpaka l'ace aapítà.(I will not go unless he
   goes).

(f). nomba (but)
   uuízíle nomba ntáamúweenì.(he came but I did not see
   him).

(g). pano (because)
   twáyuúmile pano yáátubéfile.(we beat them, because
   they cheated us).

(h). acino (therefore)
   yáátubéfile acínó twáyuúmile.(they cheated us,
   therefore we beat them).

(i). lino (when)
   lino uuízíle kulí'swéswe mútoándó, ala túcílí tukú-
   lungishá móotokà.(when he came to us yesterday, we
   were still repairing the car)

(j). kuno (where)
   tutáma(a)nyile kuno waíile.(we do not know where he
   went).

(k). vino (what)
   uúcíte vino'íyákúneena.(do what you(sg) are told).
(1). ukuti (that)  
   waneenyile ukuti' saaca' wa'xisile. (he said to me that a  
   bus arrived).

21. Relatives

A relative is placed immediately before a sentence and  
the relative clause is formed. The relative shows grammatical  
concord with the preceding noun which is modified by the  
clause. In the following, relatives are shown according to  
classes of nouns, where the number of the class is in parenthe-  
ses.

(1). uno   (1a). uno   (2). yano   (2a). yano  
(8). vino   (9). ino   (10). zino   (11). lunu  
(16). kuno   (17). muno

Some examples of relative clauses are shown in the  
following.

Examples:    umuti uno waawile mutontò... (a tree which fell  
down yesterday...).    imiti ino yaaawile mutondo...  
(trees which fell down yesterday...).    umuti uno  
twaawisiizye mutondò... (a tree which we cut down  
yesterday).    imiti ino twawisiizye mutondò...  
(trees which we cut down yesterday...).

If the subject of the relative clause corresponds to  
the noun modified, other relatives than those above often  
appear. Each of them is represented by the initial vowel "V"  
of a relative "(C)Vno" shown in the above. In other words, it  
may be said that it is the same as the vowel "V" of the subject  
prefix "(C)V". Furthermore, "ya" often appears in noun  
classes 2, 2a and 6. Some examples are shown in the following.
Examples: ūmūti û wāwile mútondò... (a tree which fell down yesterday...). īmīti ī yāwile mútondò... (trees which fell down yesterday...).

22. Interrogatives

22-1. who, whom

Words corresponding to "who, whom" are followed by the copula "ni". They are "awéeni" for the singular and "áweeni" for the plural. In the latter form, "a" usually becomes long i.e., [a:}. They seem to be followed by a relative clause except in cases of copula sentences.

Examples: awéeni û waiile'lúkú Lúsáká? (who(sg) went to Lusaka?). áweeni yáno mwákóměnkiinyeılmútondò? (whom(pl) did you(pl) meet yesterday?). awéeni ūmonsíiwíya? (who(sg) is that man?). yáálí áweeni áyonsí yaayò? (who(pl) were those men?).

22-2. what

Forms corresponding to "what" are "i cáání"(sg) and "i vyáání"(pl) in the case of the subject. They are "cáání" (sg) and "vyáání" (pl) in the case of the object. In the case of the subject, each word is followed by a relative clause and the "i" of each word may be considered to be a copula (meaning "it is").

Examples: i cáání ì cáákupumile? (what(sg) hit you(sg)?). wákázile cáání? (what(sg) did you(sg) buy?). i vyáání (í) víntu vií? (what(pl) are these things?). cáálí i cáání cíntu cííci? (what(sg) was that thing?).

22-3. which

The word corresponding to "which" is the interrogative
adjective "cii". "Cii" is placed after the noun modified and it is followed by a relative clause.

Examples:  úmúlumendo cii ú walimile úmúcááló mútondò?  (which boy farmed the field yesterday?).  ímíti cii ino úlákoma mútondò? (which tree will you cut tomorrow?).

22-4. where

The word corresponding to "where" is the interrogative adverb "kwì". There are other words "aéékwì", "aéépi" etc. These two are followed by a relative clause as well as "awééni" (who) etc. In the case of the Present Copula, the formulae "S-aaya kwì" and "S-ayeela kwì" are used for asking the definite place and indefinite place, respectively.

Examples:  wáílé kwì mútondò? (where did you(sg) go yesterday?).  aéékwìkíno wáálozile kábaalwe mútondò? (where did you(sg) see the donkey yesterday?).  aéépi páno wáátámìlé? (where (definite part) did you break?).  ísukuulu lyááááááá kwì? (where is the school?).  ísukuulu lyáyeela kwì? (where is the school?).

22-5. when

The form corresponding to "when" is "a noun concerning time + cii". As the noun concerning time, "úmwakà" (year), "úwándà" (day), "ínsìtìa" (time), "lìilà" (time) etc. are used. They are placed in the same position as the adverb. They are also used in forms like "a liila cii" or "a mwaka cii", which is followed by a relative clause.

Examples:  wáfisile lìilá cii úkú Lúsákà? (when(what time) did you arrive in Lusaka?).  a mwákà cii uno wáfisile úkú Lúsákà? (which year did you arrive in Lusaka?).
22-6. how long

The form corresponding to "how long" is "a noun concerning time + inga". As for the word order, it is placed in the same position as the adverb.

Examples: ñúikala'ínsita inga kúno? (how long will you(sg) stay here?). ñúikala ímyézi inga kúno? (how many months have you stayed here?).

22-7. why

The form corresponding to "why" is "umulandu cíì" which literally means "cause, reason or case + which". It is also expressed by "i cááni + relative clause", mentioned in "what" in 22-2. In this case, the verb stem should take the applicative form (i.e., derivative affix /il/ or /el/, cf.7) in order to express "do for (what)". Besides these, an interrogative adverb "úûli" (how, see below) is sometimes used.

Examples: i cááni cíno wáákomiile úmónsi mútondo? (why did you(sg) kill the man yesterday?). úûmile úûli mútondo? (why did you(sg) beat (somebody) yesterday?).

22-8. how

The word corresponding to "how" is given by "úûli". It is used as an interrogative adverb.

Examples: wáfisile úûli'úku Lúsáka? (how did you(sg) arrive in Lusaka?). mwákómile úûli cisama? (how did you(pl) kill the lion? or why did you kill the lion?).
REFERENCES


II. A CLASSIFIED VOCABULARY OF CILUNGU

Cilungu words are listed essentially following "A Tentative Questionnaire for the Words of Bantu Languages" by Y. Yukawa (in *Journal of Asian and African Studies* No.17, 1979, ILCAA). Words described in Chapter I (e.g. interrogatives, etc.) are not included in the following.

The first word of each item shows its singular form and the second its plural form. "-pl" in parentheses shows that both the singular and plural have the same form. Furthermore, "sg" or "pl" is used to indicate grammatical number where necessary. "lit." shows a literal meaning of a word, phrase or sentence. "cl." shows a noun class. "vi" shows an intransitive verb and "vt" a transitive verb. "?" shows that the meaning of a word is questionable. "A?" shows the tonal pattern being questionable. There may be other mis-translation or mistakes. Those are the author's. If there are some words with reference to a word listed, their numbers are shown in parentheses. Sounds or tones in parentheses can be optional. A tonal description of a noun or an infinitive is represented in the form pronounced in isolation.

Tonal patterns of nouns are classified into two. One is a group of tonal patterns where a noun takes any prefix except "0-" or "ya(a)-". The other is a group of tonal patterns where a noun takes the prefix "0-" or "ya(a)-". Each group is further subclassified as shown in the following.

A. Nouns with any prefix except "0-" or "ya(a)-"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ia</th>
<th>00-(o)0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iia-1</td>
<td>06-(o)0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iia-2</td>
<td>06-(o)000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iia-3</td>
<td>06-o(o)60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iib-1</td>
<td>06-ó(o)0, 06-ßó(o)0, 06-óNo(o)0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iib-2</td>
<td>0ó-vo(o)0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iib-3</td>
<td>0ó-ßNo(o)0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IIb-4:  ḍō-ōo(o)ō
IIb-5:  ḍō-ňoōo
IIIa:  ḍō-(ó)ō

B. Nouns with the prefix "0-" or "ya(a)-"

Ib:  -o(o)o, ya(a)-o(o)o
IIIb: -ń(o)ō, ya(a)-ń(ó)o
 IV:  -o(o)ōo, ya(a)-o(o)ń(ń)o
 V:  -ńńo(o)o, ya(a)-ńńo(o)o

In the above table, "o" stands for a tone carrier unit. It is a vowel "V", "ń" of the NCV syllable and "ń" of the CwV syllable placed at any position in a word except the word-final. The "ń" (limited at the word-final position) or "ń" bounding the following consonant by a mark "ô" does not carry a tone, because it is too short. "-" shows a boundary between a prefix and a stem. Each tone is marked on the tone carrier unit, where "ö" shows a high level tone and "o" (no mark) a low level tone. "ô" shows an ultra-low level tone, which appears only at the sentence-final position except the case of type IIa-2 nouns and type IIA-2 infinitives (see below). "o" with a tone mark in parentheses shows a sequence of tones specified by the mark being in arbitrary length including zero length. In the above type, the final tone of type Ia or type Ib appears as a falling tone from a low level. The final tone of type IIa-2 appears as a falling tone from an ultra-low level. The final tone of other types becomes an ultra-low level tone. Free variation is seen as follows: the initial tone of the prefix may appear as a low tone even when it is marked as a high level tone. The final tone of types IIa-1, IIB-1, IIB-2 and IIB-3 may appear either as an ultra-low level tone or as a falling tone from a low level at the sentence-final position. Furthermore, the tonal pattern "ńń-ō" for type IIa-1 tends to become "ńń-ō".

Types IIB-1, IIB-2 and IIB-3 are in complementary distribution concerning both prefixes and stem-initial
syllables. That is, the prefix of type IIb-1 is "i(i)-" or "iN-", where "N" stands for a nasal with the same place of articulation of the following consonant, while that of type IIb-2 or type IIb-3 is any prefix except "i(i)-" and "iN-". The stem-initial syllable of type IIb-2 is a vowel, while that of type IIb-3 is NCV. Thus, the three types have the same type of underlying representations tonologically. The same is true between type IIb-4 and type IIb-5.

There are nouns whose tonal patterns are not classified yet and not shown in the above. The number of these nouns is very small. In these tonal patterns, a tone mark "\u00f9" (a falling tone from high), "\u00f0" (a falling tone from low) or "\u00f6" (a falling tone from ultra-low) may appear.

Tonal patterns of infinitive forms of verbs are shown in the following.

C. Infinitives

I: \( \text{oo-(o)o} \)
IIA-1: \( \text{\text{"\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}o}} \)
IIA-2: \( \text{\text{"\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}o}} \)
IIB-1: \( \text{\text{"\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}o}} \)
IIB-2: \( \text{\text{"\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}\text{-}\text{o}o}o} \)

Each type except type IIA-2 is further subclassified tonetically into two groups, though these two groups are in complementary distribution. That is, if a consonant of the final syllable of the type is either labialized or palatalized, the final tone appears as a falling tone from low. In other cases, it appears as an ultra-low level tone. Furthermore, type IIB-1 and type IIB-2 are in complementary distribution concerning the stem-second syllable. That is, the stem-second syllable of type IIB-2 is NCV, while that of type IIB-1 is not. Type IIA-1 and type IIB (i.e., IIB-1 and IIB-2) are also in complementary distribution concerning the stem-initial syllable. That is, the stem-initial syllable of type IIA-1 is CV, while that of type IIB is either V or NCV. Thus, types
IIA-1 and IIB belong to the same type of underlying representations tonologically. Furthermore, type IIA-2 may belong to the same tonological type as type IIA-1 and IIB (for details of tonal patterns, see "A Tonal Study of Cilungu Nouns" (Kagaya, 1987a) and "A Tonal Study of Cilungu Infinitives" (Kagaya, 1987b) in Bantu Linguistics Vol.1, 1987, ILCAA). In an isolated word, the penultimate syllable tends to be pronounced long.

In many cases, the tonal pattern for a phrase or a sentence is shown in such a form as was pronounced by the informant though tonal slippage is not shown. Thus, free variation may be seen in the tonal pattern.
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I. HUMAN BODY

1. Head

1-1. head  úmútwe, imítwe
1-2. brain  bongóbongo
1-3. occiput  ìnìkoto (=pl)
1-4a. hair  úlúnyele, íinyele
1-4b. to grow (of hair).  ukwipuka
1-5. white hair  úlűwvi, ìnìwvi
1-6. baldness  úlúpala, ámápala
1-7. face  pámanso (=pl)
1-8. forehead  ícìpuma, ívìpuma
1-9. wrinkles  úlúká(a)ńsi, ínìka(a)ńsi
1-10. eye  ílinso, ámanso
1-11. eyelid  ícìpa, ívìpa
1-12. eyelash  úlúkpyo, ínìkpyo
1-13. nose  impuno (=pl)
1-14. mouth  akanwa, utunwa
1-15. lip  cìlómo, ívìlómo
1-16. tongue  úlúlimi, índími
1-17a. tooth  ílíino, ámíino
1-17b. to grow (of a tooth).  úkúkuulika
1-18. molar  cekwe (=pl), yaacekwe (pl)
1-19. cheek  íitama, ámátama
1-20. ear  íìkútwi, ámákutwi or ámáñi
1-21. chin  ícìlézu, ívìlézu
1-22. beard  ívìlézu (=1-21,pl.)
1-23. neck  ínsìngo (=pl)
1-24. throat  ícìkòlòmilo, ívìkòlòmilo
1-25. Adam's apple  ákápono, útúpono

2. Body

2-1. body  úmúwíli, íímííli
2-2. trunk of body  ícìfu(u)wa, ívìfu(u)wa (=6-16?)
2-3. skin  iṅkaṅda (=pl)
2-4. hair on body  amaswa
2-5. shoulder  iciye, iviye
2-6. chest  ickname(u)wa, ickname(ú)wa (=2-2)
2-7. breast  īiyele (=29-17c), āmāyele
2-8. teat  iṅsongo īiyele, iṅsongo zyā āmāyele
   (lit. tip of breast)
2-9. abdomen  apanda or apazyanda
2-10. navel  ūmūtoto, ūmītoto
2-11. armpit  ūmūnkwapa (=pl)
2-12. side of body  ūmulūmbazo, ūmummbazo
2-13. waist  ūmūsana, ūmīsana
2-14. back of body  ītūndu, āmātundu
2-15. buttock  ītako, āmātako
2-16. anus  īmpūti (=pl)
2-17. penis  intekwe (=pl) or ūlufono
2-18. testicle  āmātulu (=pl)
2-19. female genitals, vulva.  icinyo, ivinyo
2-20. pubic hair  amaswa (=2-4)

3. Arm

3-1. arm  īikasa, āmākasa
3-2. hand  ūlūpi, īmpi
3-3a. palm  (i)cizānza, izizānza
3-3b. palm, clap(?).  ūlūpī (cf.52-12)
3-4. fist  īkoōfī, āmakoōfī
3-5. finger  umunwe, iminwe
3-6. thumb  īcāala, iyāala (=31-4a)
3-7a. forefinger  īcisontā ỳāntu, īvisontā ỳāntu
   (lit. pointing people)
3-7b. to point  ukusonta
3-8. little finger  ākāntengezya, ūtūntengezya
3-9. fingernail  ūlwala, īngāla
3-10. wrist  īikasa, āmākasa (=3-1)
3-11. elbow  ākānkconci, ūtūnkconci
4. Leg

4-1. leg  ikúulu, ámakuúulu
4-2. thigh úlúpamba, ímpamba
4-3. knee íkókola, ámákokola
4-4. calf kapáfú (=pl, cl.1a)
4-5. foot úlwázo, íngázo
4-6. sole úlwázo îwá pánsi
4-7. heel kántunta, útúntunta
4-8. footprint úlwázo, íngázo (=4-5)
4-9. footfall ínsíndo (=pl)

5. Inside of Body

5-1. bone 'íifupa, ámáfupa
5-2. bone marrow ím'fymfyo
5-3. joint úulúimbílo, ámáulúimbílo
5-4. skull ákapanga, útípanga
5-5. shoulder blade. iiciye (cl.7), iiviye (cl.8)
5-6. rib úlwímbázo, ímbázo
5-7. backbone úmóngólólo, ímíngólólo
5-8. blood ûwázi (cl.14)
5-9. vein úmúkole, ímíkole
5-10. tendon (?) úmúkole, ímíkole (=5-9)
5-11. heat úmwenzo, ímyéndo
5-12. lung pwápwa, yapwápwa
5-13. stomach iinda (=pl)
5-14. liver ítíima, ámátima
5-15. intestine iila, amala
5-16. kidney pwápwa, yapwápwa (=5-12)
5-17. urinary bladder (?). ícitunzi, ívitunzi
5-18. womb ícitunzi, ívitunzi (=5-17)

6. Physiological Phenomena

6-1. dandruff ínkuku (=pl)
6-2. tears (ícilámba), ívilámba
6-3a. to weep úkúlooshà
6-3b. to cry ukulila
6-4. to wink ukukonya
6-5. nasal mucus ícímína, ívimína
6-6. to blow nose úkúfyoona
6-7. to beat (of the heart), to gather, to collect. ukutuntha
6-8. to breathe ukupeema
6-9. to pant ukupeemeseka
6-10. to blow with one's mouth. ukupuuta
6-11. spittle ámáti
6-12. to spit úkuswìlà
6-13. to spit out something. Úkuswìlà (=6-12)
6-14. phlegm ícínkonónwà, ívíkonónwà
6-15. to cough úkúkoola
6-16. cough ícífuwa, ívífuwa (=2-2?)
6-17. to yawn úkúyooolola
6-18. to hiccups ukubiola
6-19a. to sneeze úkútisha
6-19b. to snivel ukusunila
6-20. sweat íílevu
6-21. to perspire úkúkailwà
6-22. dirt íívíkwi (cl.8)
6-23. to urinate ukutunda
6-24. urine ámátunzi
6-25. to defecate ukunya
6-26. excreta ámávi
6-27. to break wind, to let out gas. úkúnya ícisúzi
6-28. fart, breaking wind. ícisúzi

7. Sense

7-1. to see ukulola
7-2. to look at ukulolekesha
7-3a. to be seen ukulolwà (passive)
7-3b. to be in sight. ukuloleka
7-4. to disappear. ukuponga (=47-47b)
7-5. to watch úkútamba
7-6. to look for, to want. ukulonda
7-7. to find úkúza(á)na
7-8. to look behind. úkúlola ícíšila (cf.7-1)
7-9. to peep úkússungamila
7-10. to watch over úkútamba (=7-5)
7-11. to notice úkúza(á)na (=7-7)
7-12. to show ukulanga (cp. 24-21)
7-13. to hear, to feel. úkúuvwa
7-14. to listen úkúkutika
7-15. to be heard úkúuvwika
7-16. smell ícééna, ívyééna
7-17. to smell bad ukununka
7-18. to smell good. ukununkila
7-19. to smell (something). ukununsha

II. Illness and Injury

8. Illness

8-1. disease índwala (=pl) or úúlwale (sg)
8-2. to become ill. úkúlwala
8-3. to get (a disease). ukwambula
8-4. to spread (a disease). ukwambukizya
8-5. patient úmúlwale, áálwale
8-6. cold ímpépo
8-7. to catch cold. úkúlwala ímpépe (cf.8-2)
8-8. malaria ímpépo (=8-6)
8-9. measles kámpása (cl.1a)
8-10. venereal disease. ákáswénde, útúsénde
8-11. fever ímpépo (=8-6)
8-12. favus íminyi
9. Mental Disorder

9-1. madness  ícípena, (ívípena)
9-2. to become crazy.  ukupena
9-3. mad person  cípena, yacípena
9-4. to shout (of a mad).  ukupunda
9-5. stupidity  úútumpe
9-6. to be stupid  úkútumpa
9-7. fool  (í)cípúwa, (í)vípúwa

10. Injury

10-1. to become injured.  ukucisika
10-2. to injure  ukucisa
10-3. to bleed  ukužwa
10-4. wound  ícílóónda, ívíloónda
10-5. wound on the head.  ícílóóndá pá múwé
10-6. wale  ícívimbe, íívivimbe (cf. 11-3)
10-7. wen, lump  úlúpompo, ímpompo
10-8. pus  úúfíla
10-9. to be dislocated (of a bone).  ukwinya

11. Skin Disease

11-1. boil  ícípute, ívípute
11-2. the itch  ímpéle
11-3. to swell (after being bitten by an insect).  úkúvimba
   (cp.24-25)
11-4. swelling part.  ícívimbe, íívivimbe (=10-6)
11-5. burn  ícílóónda, ívílóónda (=10-4)
11-6. to get a burn.  úkúpya
11-7. water blister.  ícítíúto, ívítíúto
11-8. pimple  ulufine, imfine
11-9. crack in the foot.  ng'amba, yang'amba
11-10. albino  úmwábi, ímyáábi
12. Symptoms

12-1a. to become painful. úkuwaya
12-1b. I have a headache. úmútwe úkuwaya
12-1c. I have a stomachache. munda múkuwaya
12-1d. I have a toothache. íliíno líkuwaya
12-2. pain ícíwaye, ívíwaye
12-3a. to itch úkuwaya (=12-1a)
12-3b. My foot always itches. íkuuíú lííkaaawáya
12-4. nausea úmúselu
12-5. to feel nausea. úkuuvíwa úmúselu
12-6. to vomit úkúluka
12-7. to become tired. ukutonta
12-8. to shiver ukuzakaza
12-9. to faint úkúpumbuka
12-10. to recover consciousness, to come oneself. úkútutubuka
12-11. to suffer úkuçuula

13. Physical Handicap

13-1a. lame person úmúlemale, áálemale
13-1b. lame person ícílema, ívílema
13-2. to become lame. úkúlemala
13-3a. cripple person. úmúlemale, áálemale (=13-1a)
13-3b. cripple person. ícílema, ívílema (=13-1b)
13-4. blind person. ímpáfu (=pl)
13-5. to become blind. ukupafula
13-6. dumb person cibuúlu, yacibuúlu
13-7. deaf person cipuuli, yacipuuli

14. Treatments

14-1. to stroke úkúpozya
14-2. to squeeze with one's fingers. ukutonya
14-3. to press (with hands, fingers). ukutininkizya
14-4. to scrape ukufunya
14-5a. to extract a thorn. úkúpondola úmú́nga (cf.41-18)
14-5b. to extract ukupondola
14-6. to suck out úkúfyompa
14-7. to smear medicine. ukukumbilila
14-8. medicine úmúlé́mbo, ímílé́mbo
14-9. to cure úkúpozya (=14-1)
14-10. to become cured. úkúpola
14-11. to treat úkúlwazyá
14-12. hospital ícipátaála, ívipátaála
14-13a. doctor si(i)ng'anga, yaasi(i)ng'anga
14-13b. doctor kapózya, yaakapózya
14-13c. doctor kalwazyá, yaakalwazyá
14-14. witch doctor úmúlozi, áálozi (=60-8)
14-15a. to divine, to foretell. ukusaapoola
14-15b. diviner kasaapoola, yaakasaapoola
14-16. to rest ukupuuza
14-17a. I am well. íńdín̄ingo
14-17b. you(sg) are well. úlúningo

III. CLOTHING AND DRESSING

15. Clothing

15-1a. cloth, clothes. íńšálu (=pl)
15-1b. clothes ícáákuzwala, ívyáákuzwala
15-2. underpants bámba, yaabámba
15-3. to wear úkúzwala
15-4. to clothe (vt), to dress (vt). úkúzwika
15-5. to take off úkúzuula (cp.21-21)
15-6. to become taken off, to come off. úkúzuulika
15-7. to undress (somebody). úkúmuzuúla
15-8. he is naked alitupu
15-9a. to become torn. úkúlepuka
15-9b. to become torn. úkúśila
15-10. to wash (clothes). ukufula
15-11. to spread to dry. úkwánika (=20-8a)
15-12. to take in úkwánula
15-13. trousers ítóloózi, ámatólóóži
15-14. belt  úmúsípi, ímísípi
15-15. shoe  ínsápáto (=pl)
15-16a. traditional sandal.  índyatu (=pl)
15-16b. rubber sandal.  patapáta (=pl, Cl.1a)
15-17a. to go barefoot.  úkúpita pá'ísi
15-17b. to go on foot (?).  úkúpita ní ńgázo

16. Sewing

16-1. thread  úúsavu (=pl)
16-2. needle, injection.  ínsíndaáno (=pl)
16-3. cloth  ínsálu (=pl)
16-4. scissors  úmúkaasi, ímíkaasi
16-5. to sew  úkúsumá
16-6. to knit  ukupikula
16-7. to undo  úkúsumulula
16-8a. to patch  ukukampika
16-8b. patch  ícíkámba, ívíkámba

17. Dressing

17-1. to wash one's face.  úkúfulala pámanso (cf.17-10a)
17-2a. to brush one's teeth.  úkúkuuza míino
17-2b. to brush  ukukuuza
17-3. to comb  ukusaakula
17-4. comb  ícísaákúlo, ívísaákúlo
17-5a. to plait the hair.  úkúluka ínyéle (cf.17-5b, 1-4a)
17-5b. to plait  ukuluka
17-6. to undo  úkúso polola
17-7. to cut the hair.  ukupela
17-8. to shave  ukupela (=17-7)
17-9a. razor  úlwémbé (=pl)
17-9b. razor  ákáneza, útúnezea
17-10a. to bathe  ukufulala
17-10b. to bathe  úkóowa (=72-45)
17-11a. to wash one's body.  úkúfula úmwilí
17-11b. to wash  ukufula
17-12. to use make up (on oneself). úkuiziifya (cf.26-1a)
17-13. mirror ícílola, ívílola
17-14. to smear (something) on one's body. úkúpakala

18. Ornaments

18-1. ear ring íyeleena, ámáyeleena
18-2a. bracelet ícíbangíli, ívíbangíli
18-2b. symbolic bracelet of a chief. ícíinkwingili, ívíinkwingili
18-3. finger ring imbala miwè (=pl)
18-4a. bead úukási (=pl)
18-4b. many kinds of bead. ámáúkáshi
18-5. hat, grass. ícíísóte, ívíísóte
18-6. umbrella úmúamvuli, íníamvuli
18-7. walking stick. íntúwa (=pl)

IV. EATING

19. Food

19-1. food ícákulya, ívyákulya
19-2. cooked rice úmúpunga, ímípunga (=40-7)
19-3. mush ínsíma
19-4. to cook mush úkúzwa (lit. to stir, =20-6)
19-5. bread úmúkaate, íníkaate
19-6a. alcoholic drink (generic). úwengwa (=pl)
19-6b. filtered local beer made of millet. kataata (cl.1a)
19-6c. unfiltered local beer made of millet. katubi (cl.1a)
19-6d. straw for drinking"katubi". íítéte, ámáte te
19-7. to be strong. úkúkalipa
19-8. to ferment (?). ukusuuta
19-9. to become fermented (?). ukutunta (=19-10)
19-10. to filter (?). ukutunta
19-11. to distil ukwenga (lit. to let fall in drops)
19-12. broth úmúsunyi, ímísunyi
19-13a. salt  úmúcele, ímícele
19-13b. salt  úmússilya
19-14. pepper  ímpílipílí
19-15. oil (any type), grease.  ámáfuta
19-16a. to make oil  úkúpanga máfuta (cf. 47-8)
19-16b. to meke oil  úkwéngá máfuta (cf. 19-11)
19-17. sugar  shúúga

20. Cooking

20-1. to cook  ukweleka
20-2. to boil (something).  ukweleka (=20-1)
20-3a. to boil up water.  úkwéleka máńzi (cf. 49-1)
20-3b. to heat water.  úkúkavya máńzi (cf. 20-16)
20-4. to become hot.  úkúkaya
20-5. to bubble up.  ukubila
20-6. to stir  úkúźwa (=19-4)
20-7. steam  ícúní cá máńzi ákaye (lit. smoke of hot water, cf. 48-3)
20-8a. to roast, to smoke, to spread.  úkwánika (=15-11)
20-8b. to roast, to smoke, to spread.  úkúkanga
20-9a. to bake in ashes.  ukuvumbika
20-9b. to smoke, to dry in the smoke.  ukupeepa (cp. 60-5)
20-10. to fry  ukusalula
20-11. to become well cooked.  úkúpya (lit. to be well burned)
20-12. raw meat  ínyáma íisi, ínyáma íziíisi
20-13. cooking stone.  ísóoswa, ámásosooswa
20-14a. to put (a pot) on the fire.  úkúteeka pá móto
20-14b. to put  úkúteeka
20-15. to take off (a pot) from the fire.  ukwelula
20-16. to warm, to heat.  úkúkavya (cf. 20-3b)
20-17a. to take out food from the pot.  úkúfumya vyáákulya mú nyúngu
20-17b. to take out  úkúfumya
20-18a. to pour, to dish up.  úkúpakwila
20-18b. to pour (in liquid).  ukwitulwila
20-19. to overflow  úkúcila
20-20. to season with salt.  úkúcemeka

21. Tableware

21-1. cooking pot made of clay.  ínyúngu (=pl)
21-2. pot for water.  ínsémbó (=pl)
21-3. calabash bottle.  ínkólo (=pl)
21-4. bottle (western type).  íbótó(o)lo, ámábótó(o)lo
21-5. stopper  íncíliko (=pl)
21-6. to stop up  úkúcíliká
21-7. to take out the stopper.  úkúcílikula
21-8a. plate  ímbálé (=pl)
21-8b. dish (big plate).  beéséni, ámábeeséni
21-9. cup (made of calabash).  úlwako, íngáko
21-10. glass  ígalaasi, ámágalaasi
21-11. to scoop up  úkútapula
21-12. ladle for mush.  úmúžwa, ímížwa
21-13. ladle for water.  úlwako, íngáko (=21-9)
21-14. bucket  ímbéketi (=pl)
21-15. lid  ínkúpiiko (=pl)
21-16. to cover with the lid.  úkúkupika
21-17. to take off the lid.  úkúkupukula
21-18. empty bottle  íbótólo umusi cimíwi, ámábótólo umusi vimíwi (?)
21-19. to empty  ukwitíla
21-20. to fill up  úkúzuuzya
21-21. to become full.  úkúzuula (cp.15-5)
21-22. to wash a plate.  úkúfüla ímbálé (cf.17-11b)

22. Eating

22-1a. to eat  úkúlya
22-1b. to be eaten  úkúliiwa
22-2. to feed, to overeat.  úkúlisha
22-3. to wash one's hands.  úkúfulala iminwe (cf.17-10a)
22-4. to lick  úkúmyanta
22-5. to lick with one's finger.  úkúkombesha
22-6. to put (something) into one's mouth.  úkúlya (=22-1)
22-7. to suck ukupwila
22-8a. to drink õkúmwa
22-8b. to let (somebody) drink (?). ukukomwa
22-8c. to make (somebody) drink, to overdrink. úkúmwesha
22-8d. to allow (somebody) to drink. úkúzumilizya umwi
\[\text{úkúmwa (cf.50-53, 79-10)}\]
22-9. to swallow ukumila
22-10. to chew ukusheeta
22-11. to get hungry. õkúuvwa ínzála
22-12a. hunger ínzála
22-12b. famine ícípoòwè, ívípoòwè
22-13a. to go to get foods. úkúya úkúkofola ívyáákula
22-13b. to get úkúfolo
22-13c. to get ukupoka
22-13d. to go to get (?). úkúkofola
22-13e. to go to get (?). ukukupoka
22-14a. to feel thirsty. úkúuvwa úlusála
22-14b. thirst úlusála
22-15. to become satiated. úkwíkuta
22-16. to get drunken. úkúkoleka

23. Condition of Food

23-1a. It is tasty. ícílyompe.
23-1b. to be taste úkúlyompa
23-2. It is untasty. ciísí cílyompe.
23-3. to be bitter ukulula
23-4. bitterness (something bitter?). ícílule, ívílule
23-5. to be acid úkúkantuka
23-6. acidity (something acid?). ícíkantuke, ívíkantuke
23-7. It is sweet. ícílyompe (=23-1a)
23-8. It is salty. ícíkantuke (cf.23-6)
23-9. to cool down ukuzuusha
23-10. to become dry and hard. úkúuma (=42-7, cp.52-1)