

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.

i [i], e [e ~ ē], a [a ~ a], o [o ~ ō], u [u]

1-2. Consonants

1-2-1. Plosives

The following plosives are found.

	voiceless	voiced
bilabial	p [p]	b [b ~ β]
dental	t [t]	d [d]
velar	k [k]	g [g]

In the above, /p/ and /t/ tend to be accompanied by a weak fricative before /u/ and become [p^h] and [t^h] respectively. /b/ tends to be pronounced [β] before vowels /i/ and /u/. Furthermore, /g/ occurs only in words of foreign origin, i.e., /shuúgà/ (sugar), /í-galaasi/ (glass) and /ámá-galaasi/ (plural form of i-galaasi). /d/ occurs only in words /úku-dáivà/ (to dive), /íci-díndò/ (mark), /ívi-díndò/ (marks) and /úku-díndà/ (to put (a mark)), all of which may be considered to be borrowed words.

1-2-2. Affricate

The following voiceless affricate is found.

	voiceless
alveolo-palatal	c [tʃ]

1-2-3. Fricatives

The following fricatives are found.

	voiceless	voiced
bilabial	f [f]	v [v]
dental	s [s]	z [z]
alveolo-palatal	sh [ʃ]	zy [ʒ]

1-2-4. Nasals

The following nasals are found.

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

1-2-5. Lateral

dental	l [l]
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1-2-6. Semi-vowel

bilabial	w [w],	palatal	y [j]
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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

	voiceless	voiced
bilabial	mp [mp]	mb [mb]
dental	nt [nt]	nd [nd]
velar	nk [ŋk]	ng [ŋg]

(2) Prenasalized Affricates

Alveolo-palatal	nc [ntʃ~ntʃ̥]	nj [ndj~ndʒ]
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(3) Prenasalized Fricatives

bilabial	mf [mf]	mv [mv]
dental	ns [ns]	nz [nz]

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 nsw/. 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 \acute{V} ; V stands for a tone carrier unit), a low level tone (V; no mark), an ultra-low tone (\grave{V}), a falling tone from the high level ($\overset{\downarrow}{V}$), a low falling tone from the low level ($\overset{\downarrow}{V}$) and a falling tone from the ultra-low level ($\overset{\downarrow}{\grave{V}}$). 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, "ú^umú^utì" (tree) shows that the tonal pattern is either "ú^umú^utì" or "úmutì". "!" 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 " $\acute{V}\overset{\downarrow}{V}$!" is equal to " \acute{V} $\overset{\downarrow}{V}$ ". 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.

Class Number	Prefix	Example
1. (sg)	umu- ~ mu-	úmú-ntù (person), úmú-lumendò (boy), mw'-ínanè (sibling)
1a. (sg)	0-	-símbwà (dog), -cipenà (mad person)
2. (pl of class 1)	aa- ~ a-	áá-ntù (persons), áá-kotè (old person), á-ínanè (siblings), á-lumendò (boys).
2a. (pl of class 1a)	yaa- ~ ya-	yaa-símbwà (dogs), yaa-cipenà (mad persons).
3. (sg)	umu-	úmú-tì (tree), úmú-sílà (root).
4. (pl of class 3)	imi-	ímí-tì (trees), ímí-sílà (roots).

	ing-		íng-ázò (feet), íng-ákò (cups made of calabash), íng-úzi (rivers).
	iiny-		íiny-imbò (songs)
11. (sg)	ulu-		úlú-limì (tongue), úlú-pandà (fork), úlú-nyelè (a piece of hair), úlú-mbázò (rib), úlw-ázò (foot), úlw-imbò (song), úlú-uzi (river).
12. (sg)	aka-		áka-nyà (new-born baby), aka-nwà (mouth), áká-kokò (chicken).
13. (pl of class 12)	utu-		útu-nyà (new-born babies), utu-nwà (mouths), útu-kokò (chickens).
14. (nt)	uu-	u-	úú-pelè (birdlime), ú-wazì (úw-azì?, blood).
	(sg)		(ú)ú-langeeti (blanket), ú-luwà (cattle pen).
15. (nt)	apa-	pa-	ápá-nsì (floor, bottom), ápá-móòtò (fire-place), ápá-kasì (centre). pá-mansò (face(s)), pá-kasì (half, halves).
16. (nt)	uku-	ku-	(ú)kú-nzì (outside).
17. (nt)	umu-	mu-	(ú)mú-kasì (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 "íli-nsò" (eye), "íli-inò" (tooth) and "íly-ám̀b̀à" (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 "ama-imbi" (waves), plural form of the "iimbi", 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 "iolenji", 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 "V_i" for an initial vowel of the stem.

- (1). $a \rightarrow V_i / V(C)___ -V_i; \quad V_i = \langle i, e \rangle$
 Example: $\acute{a}m\acute{a}-in\grave{o} \rightarrow \acute{a}m\acute{i}-in\grave{o}$ (teeth), $\acute{a}\acute{a}-in\grave{e} \rightarrow \acute{a}\acute{i}-in\grave{e}$ (fat persons, owners), $\acute{a}\acute{a}-en\grave{e} \rightarrow \acute{a}\acute{e}-en\grave{e}$ (chiefs), $\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{e}ny\grave{i} \rightarrow \acute{a}\acute{e}-\acute{e}ny\grave{i}$ (guests, visitors), $\acute{a}\acute{a}-\acute{e}nec\grave{o} \rightarrow \acute{a}\acute{e}-\acute{e}nec\grave{o}$ (owners).

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

- (2a). $i \rightarrow V_i / c___ -V_i; \quad V_i = \langle e, a, o, u \rangle$; where "c" stands for the consonant /c/.

Example: $\acute{i}c\acute{i}-\acute{e}n\grave{a} \rightarrow \acute{i}c\acute{e}-\acute{e}n\grave{a}$ (smell), $\acute{i}c\acute{i}-al\grave{a} \rightarrow \acute{i}c\acute{a}-al\grave{a}$ (thumb, corpse), $\acute{i}c\acute{i}-\acute{o}ng\grave{o} \rightarrow \acute{i}c\acute{o}-\acute{o}ng\grave{o}$ (trouble), $\acute{i}c\acute{i}-\acute{u}p\grave{o} \rightarrow \acute{i}c\acute{u}-\acute{u}p\grave{o}$ (marriage).

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

- (2b). $i \rightarrow y(V_i) / \text{any consonants other than } /c/ ___ -V_i; \quad V_i = \langle a, o, u \rangle$

Example: $\acute{i}v\acute{i}-al\grave{a} \rightarrow \acute{i}vy\acute{a}-al\grave{a}$ (thumbs, corpses), $\acute{i}v\acute{i}-\acute{o}ng\grave{o} \rightarrow \acute{i}vy\acute{o}-\acute{o}ng\grave{o}$ (troubles), $\acute{i}v\acute{i}-\acute{u}p\grave{o} \rightarrow \acute{i}vy\acute{u}-\acute{u}p\grave{o}$ (marriages).

No sound changes occur in the sequence of "i+i" or in "i+e" after a consonant other than /c/.

(3a). u → o / (V)C ___ -o

Example: úmú-otò → úmó-otò (fire), úmú-ónsì
→ úmó-ónsì (man), mú-ótokà → mó-ótokà (motor-car).

(3b). u → w / V(C) ___ -⟨a,e,i⟩

Example: úmú-áncè → úḿw-áncè (young person), úlú-akò
→ úĺw-akò (cup), úmú-éngè → úḿw-éngè (bud), úlú-émbè →
úĺw-émbè (razor), úlú-imbò → úĺw-imbò (song), úmú-íkálà →
úḿw-íkálà (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/
ici-ombelo (tool) vs. /ici-wombelo/
ivi-ombelo (tools) vs. /ivi-wombelo/

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

Example: l → d / iN-___
ín-límì → ín-dímì (tongues), in-lupè → in-dupè (sifts),
ín-lwálà → ín-dwálà (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: úkú-lólà (to see, seeing), úkú-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.

Class of Noun	Prefix	Example
1.	umu-	úmúntú'úmú-sumà (a good person),
1a.	umu-	símbwá'úmú-sumà (a good dog),
2.	aa-	áántú'áá-sumà (good persons),
2a.	aa-	yasímbwá'áá-sumà (good dogs),
3.	uu-	úmúlémbó'úú-sumà (a good medicine),
4.	ii-	ímilémbó'íí-sumà (good medicines),
5.	ili-	ílemba'íli-sumà (a good cigar),
6.	aa-	ámálemba'áá-sumà (good cigars),
7.	ici-	ícizulé'ící-sumà (a good garden),
8.	ivi-	ívizulé'ívi-sumà (good gardens),
9.	ii-	ínkoko'íí-sumà (a good fowl),
10.	izi-	ínkoko'ízi-sumà (good fowls),
11.	ulu-	úlúswelo'úlú-sumà (a good fish hook),
12.	aka-	ákakoko'áká-sumà (a good chicken),
13.	utu-	útúkoko'útú-sumà (good chickens),
14.	uu-	úúlangeeti'úú-sumà (a good blanket),
15.	apa-	ápánsi'ápá-sumà (good floor),
16.	uku-	(ú)kúnzi'úkú-sumà (beautiful outside),
17.	umu-	(ú)múkasi'úmú-sumà (beautiful inside).

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.

Noun	this	that	it	that yonder
Class				
1.	wi ^h	wiya ^h	wiiyo ^h	awiiyo ^h
1a.	wi ^h	wiya ^h	wiiyo ^h	awiiyo ^h
2.	ya ^h	yaaya ^h	yaayo ^h	ayaayo ^h
2a.	ya ^h	yaaya ^h	yaayo ^h	ayaayo ^h
3.	u ^h	uuwa ^h	uuwo ^h	awuuwo ^h
4.	i ^h	iiya ^h	iiyo ^h	aiiyo ^h
5.	li ^h	liili~liilya ^h	liilyo ^h	aliilyo ^h
6.	ya ^h	yaaya~yaalya ^h	yaayo ^h	ayaayo ^h
7.	ci ^h	ciici ^h	ciico ^h	aciico ^h
8.	vi ^h	viivi ^h	viivyo ^h	aviivyo ^h
9.	i ^h	iiya~iilya ^h	iiyo ^h	aiiyo ^h
10.	zi ^h	ziizi~ziizya ^h	ziizyo ^h	aziizyo ^h
11.	lu ^h	luulu~luulya ^h	luulo ^h	aluulo ^h
12.	ka ^h	kaaka ^h	kaako ^h	akaako ^h
13.	tu ^h	tuutu ^h	tuuto ^h	atuuto ^h
14.	u ^h	uuwa ^h	uuwo ^h	auuwo ^h
15.	pa ^h	paapa ^h	paapo ^h	apaapo ^h
16.	ku ^h	kuuku ^h	kuuko ^h	akuuko ^h
17.	mu ^h	muumu ^h	muumo ^h	amuumo ^h

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.

Noun Class	Particle	Example
1.	(u)wa	úmwanaci (ú)wá mutááunì (a woman of a town)
1a.	(u)wa	síng'ángá (ú)wá múcípataalà (a doctor of a hospital)
2.	a	áanaci á mutááunì (women of a town)
2a.	a	yásíng'ángá á múcípataalà (doctors of a hospital)
3.	(u)wa	úmúsila (ú)wá mútì (a root of a tree)
4.	(i)ya	ímísila (í)yá mítì (roots of trees)
5.	lya	íifwá lyá mútì (a leaf of a tree)
6.	ya	ámáfwa yá mútì (leaves of a tree)
7.	ca	ícitwalo cá mútì (a fruit of a tree)
8.	vya	ívítwalo vyá mútì (fruits of a tree)
9.	(i)ya	íng'ómbe (í)yá múlúngú (cattle(sg) of a Lungu person)
10.	(i)zya	íng'ómbe (í)zyá álúngú (cattle(pl) of Lungu persons)
11.	lwa	úlúpembe lwá ng'ómbè (a horn of cattle(sg))
12.	(a)ka	ákámúngu (á)ká múmpángá (a firefly of a forest)
13.	(u)twa	útúmúngu (ú)twa múmpángá (fireflies of a forest)
14.	wa	úúsungu wá mútì (poison of a plant)
15.	ya	ápánsi yá ng'ándà (a floor of a house)
16.	ya	úkúnzi yá mbókósi (the outside of a box)
17.	ya, ka	úmúkasi yá mbókósi ~ úmúkasi ká mbókósi (the inside of a box)

In class (15), (16) or (17), the particle seems to have grammatical concord with the stem of the noun.

7. Personal Possesives and Possesive 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.

	1st	2nd	3rd
sg.	-ane	-ako	-akwe
pl.	-itu	-inu	-awo

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

Nonn Class	Prefix	Example
1.	u-	úmwényi wááne` (my guest)
1a.	u-	sím̄b̄wá wáákò (your(sg) dog)
2.	i-	áéényi yááne` (my guests)
2a.	i-	yasím̄b̄wá yáákò (your(sg) dogs)
3.	u-	úmúpeeni wáákwe (his knife)
4.	i-	ímípeeni yáákwe (his knives)
5.	li-	íbuuku lyáákwe (his book)
6.	i-	ámábuuku yáákwe (his books)
7.	ci-	ícilambu ciítu (our gift)
8.	vi-	ívilambu viítu (our gifts)
9.	i-	ínkoko iínu (your(pl) fowl)
10.	zi-	ín̄cinga'zyááwò (their bicycles)
11.	lu-	úlumbalala lwáne` (a piece of my ground-nut)
12.	ka-	ákándilindili kááne` (my thumb-piano)
13.	tu-	útúndilindili twáne` (my thumb-pianos)

14. u- úúsu wáákò (your(sg) flour)
 15. pa- ápámooto páákwè (her fire-place)
 16. ku- kúnzi ḱwínú (your(pl) place (on the
 outside))
 17. mu- múkasi mwáwò (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 come to mean "mine, yours, hers, etc."

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

Example: yaataatá (my father, our father), yáasò
 (your(sg) father, your(pl) father), yaai(i)sì (his father,
 their father), yaama(a)yò (my mother, our mother), yáányákò
 (your(sg) mother, your(pl) mother), (yá)nyínà (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-óngà (one), ci-ili (two), íí-kúmì (ten),
ámá-kumì (tens), í-zimbì (hundred), ámá-zimbì (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: úmukú uw-óngà (one time, once)
ímikú í-sáanò (five times)

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

The stems of "many" and "few" are "-ingi" and "-noonò" 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-ingì (many people), ívintú ív-ingì
(many things), áántú á-noonò (← áántú á-noonò?; 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-ónsi (all people), ívintú vy-ónsi (all
things), úmwíli w-ónsi (whole body), ímyíli y-ónsi (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: áántú á-ónsì (male person), ívintú ívy-ónsì
(men's things)

Besides this, the word "male" as a noun is "íyónsì" for the singular or "ízyónsì" 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: áántú ya-nga? (how many people?), útúpande
tú-nga? (how many pieces?), ímyézi 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: úmulumendo cii? (which boy?), áalumendo cii?
(which boys?), umúti cii? (which tree?), imíti cii? (which
trees?), íbuuku cii? (which book?), amábuuku cii? (which
books?), ínsita cii? (what time?), úwanda cii? (which
day?).

9. Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are shown in the following.

	1st	2nd	3rd
sg.	néene [↑]	weewe [↑]	áaliwe [↑]
pl.	{ sweswe [↑] fwefwe [↑]	mwemwe [↑]	áaliwo [↑]

The reflexive personal pronouns are as follows.

	1st	2nd	3rd
sg.	néngà	wéngà	wéngà
pl.	{ swéngà fwéngà	mwéngà	yóngà

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: úkú-lól-à (to see, seeing), úkú-uvw-à (to hear, to feel, feeling), úkú-láńd-à (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-áníkà (to spread to dry), úkw-ímililà (to stand up), úkw-élekà (to cook), uko-ocà (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: úkú-i-ziifyà (to use make up (on oneself)), úkú-i-ceelà (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' úmúngà (to extract a thorn),
 úkúfulala' pámansò (to wash a face), úkwéleka'ámánzi (to
 boil water), úkúluka' ícítalà (to plait a mat), úkúfumya
 vyáákula mú'nyúngù (to take out food from a pot; (u)mu,
 from), úkwíka umu kanwá (to put into a mouth; umu, into),
 úkúsenda pá'mútwe (to carry on a head; pa, on),
 úkúputula'na sóò (to cut with a saw; na, with).

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

Example: t́watemwa' úkúm̀wà (we like to drink; t́watemwa,
 we like; úkúm̀wà, to drink), tutáatemwa' 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' úkú-sumà (good watching),
 úkúuvwa' úkú-sumà (good feeling).

In the following examples, the former infinitive functions like a verb and the latter like a noun.

Example: úkútampa 'úkuombà (to begin working),
 úkúlonda 'úkucítà (to want to do),
 úkúta '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: áántu'yákupítá'nú kwízà (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.

- (1). -isy-, -esy-, -izy-, -ezy-, -i-, -nvy-, nzy-, and -mvy- (causative).

úkúmweshà (to make (somebody) drink, to drink too much) vs. úkúmwà (to drink); ukuzumilizyà (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); ukuonvyà (to make wet) vs. úkúómà (to be wet); ukuponzyà (to lose) vs. úkúpóngà (to get lost).

(2). -u- (passive).

ukulólwà (to be seen) vs. úkúlolà (to see); ukukomwà (to be killed) vs. úkúkómà (to kill).

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

úkúlolékà (to be seen, to be in sight) vs. úkúlolà (to see); úkúzuulikà (to become taken off, to come off) vs. úkúzuulà (to take off); úkúyúulikà (to be open) vs. úkúyúulà (to open, transitive).

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

úkúsengulukà (to become clean) vs. úkúsengulà (to muddle); úkúoolókà (to become straight) vs. úkúoolólà (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. úkúzíikà (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.

úkúpalamà (to come next); úkúpitaanà (to stroll) vs. úkúpità (to walk); úkúpombaanà (to get tangled) vs. úkúpombà (to entangle).

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

úkúkuúlílà (to build at(with)) vs. úkúkuúlikà (to build); úkúnúnkílà (to smell good) vs. úkúnúnkà (to smell bad); úkuóm-békélà (to soak to soften) vs. úkuómbékà (to dip to wash); úkú-lípílà (to pay to(for)(?)) vs. úkúlipà (to pay).

(8). -al-

úkúfúlúlà (to wash (face, fingers), to bathe) vs. úkúfulà (to wash (plate, body)); úkúvimbálà (to cover oneself (with)) vs. úkúvimbà (to cover, to thatch).

(9). -am-

úkúfisamà (to hide oneself) vs. úkúfisà (to hide); úkú-pétámà (to become bent) vs. úkúpètà (to coil up (intransitive)).

The following are compound derivative affixes found in this study.

(10). -uluk- (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-

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

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

úkútóntékélà (to soften) vs. úkútóntà (to become soft).

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

úkútemwikwá (to be liked) vs. úkútemwá (to like).

(15). -elezy-

ukupetelezyá (to coil round (something)) vs. úkúpètà (to coil up (intransitive)).

(16). -ilil-

úkúlángílílà (to show) vs. úkúlángà (to show).

(17). -ani-

úkúzinganyá (to follow, chase) vs. úkúzingà (to divorce (from a wife), to chase after).

(18). -amik-

úkúpétámíkà (to bend) vs. úkúpètà (to coil up (intransitive)).

(19). -esek-

úkúpéémésékà (to pant) vs. úkúpéémà (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'vílámelà" (tomorrow, potatoes will come out), the subject prefix of the predicate verb "vílámelà" (they will come out) takes the inherent prefix "vi" for the class of the noun "ívísélà" (potatoes). 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'ómbè" (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'ómbè" (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

	1st	2nd	3rd
sg	ni, N/N, Ø	u/ku	u, a/mu
pl	tu/tu	mu/mu	ya/ya

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
(11). lu/lu	(12). ka/ka	(13). tu/tu	(14). u/u
(15). pa/pa	(16). ku/ku	(17). mu/mu	

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

	1st	2nd	3rd
sg	ni,i	(u)u,(w)al (u)ul	(u)u, (a)al
pl	(u)u	u	(i)i

(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-V_i → V_i/in-___, V_i=⟨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 → ile/⟨C,Cy,CW⟩-___#
 ukuy-a (to go) → ukuy-ile, ukuly-a (to eat) →
 ukuli-ile, ukumw-a (to drink) → ukmw-ile.

(2). the verb stem is made of two or more syllables

(2a). a → ile /⟨s,z,vw,m,n⟩___#
 ukulas-a (to stab) → ukulas-ile, ukwiz-a (to come)
 → ukwiz-ile, ukuuvw-a (to hear) → ukuuvw-ile,
 ukulim-a (to farm) → ukulim-ile, ukoonoon-a (to
 spoil) → ukoonoon-ile.

(2b). Ca → sile / ___#, C=⟨t,c⟩
 ukupi-ta (to walk) → ukupi-sile, ukoo-ca (to burn)
 → ukoo-sile.

(2c). pa → file / ___#
 ukwi-pa (to become bad) → ukwi-file.

(2d). mba → mvile, ⟨nd,ng⟩ → nzile, nta → nsile/___#
 ukuta-mba (to watch) → 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-zizye.

(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
 t'wálimile. (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
 t'wálimile. (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 twáya. (we went. ukuya, to go),

tutááli twáya. (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

áíilé úkú Lúsákà. (he went to Lusaka (and he is there now)), atáíile. (he did not go).

(5). Present, Present Perfect

A=S-a-V-A, N=S-ta-V-ILE

twálima. (we farm we have farmed).

tutálimile. (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

túmáaya. (we will go), tutámáaya. (we will not go).

The negative form is often expressed in the formula "N=S-sii-ku-V-A".

tusiikuya. (we will not go).

(7). Remote Future (Future on or after tomorrow)

A=S-la-V-A, N=S-ta-la-V-A

tulálima. (we will farm).

tutálálima. (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

twálimanga. (we were farming),

tutáálimanga. (we were not farming).

(9). Near Past Progressive (Progressive of yesterday)

A=S-a-V-ANGA, N=S-ta-a-V-ANGA

t'wálimanga. (we were farming),

tutáálimanga. (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 t'úkúlimà. (we were farming).

tutááli t'úkúlimà. (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

t'úkúpikulà. (we are knitting. ukupikula, to knit),

tusiíkupikulà. (we were not knitting).

(12). Immediate Future Progressive (Future Progressive of today)

A=S-maa-V-ANGA, N=S-ta-maa-V-ANGA

t'umáápiikulanga. (we will be knitting),

tutamáápiikulanga. (we will not be knitting).

The negative form is often expressed by the formula "N=S-sii-ku-V-ANGA".

tisiíkupikulanga. (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

t'uláálimà. (we will be farming),

tutálaalimà. (we will not be farming).

(14). Present Habit, Ability, Status

A=S-kaa-V-A, N=S-sii-V-A

túkáásambililà. (we always study. ukusambilila, to study),

tusíísambililà. (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 tutáí túde. (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

aalángá úu tupita. (we had walked, ukupita, to walk).

aalángá tutáí 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 úu tukomenkanya. (we had met. ukukomenkanya, to meet),

aliile tutáí 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

ále úu túsambilila. (we will have learnt. ukusambilila, to learn),

ále tutáí túsambilile. (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 túkukomenkanya. (we were still meeting),
 álá túcílí tusiíkukokmenkanya. (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.

A=P S-ci-li S-ku-V-A, N=S-ta-a-li S-ci-li S-ku-V-A
 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 tusiíkuuvwá. (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
 ále túcílí túkúkázya. (we will be still selling.
 ukukazya, to sell),
 ále túcílí tusiíkukazya. (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: tábà! (watch!), tambiini! (watch (please)!),
béléngà! (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: utátábà! (do not watch!), mutátábà! (do not watch (please)!), utábéléngà! (do not read!), mutábéléngà! (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: ungátúbéléngelákò? (would you(sg) read for us?).
mungándételekò? (would you(pl) bring for me? ukuleta, to bring; n+let → ndet).

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

Example: utángé útúbéléngélékò? (would not you(sg) read for us?). mutángé mündételekò? (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

tú¹máaya t¹úyá¹kóménkánye. (we will go in order that we may meet them. túmáaya, we will go; ukukomenkanya, to meet) ndáweela zuwa pákúti¹ incé njalólé. (I will come back so that I may see them. úkuwéela, to come back; zuwa, early; njalole ← nyalole; úkulólá, to see) twáyúúziizye pákúti¹ túkwáte úwásukò. (we asked them in order that we may get the answer. pákúti, in order that; úwásukò, answer) úcite vino iyákúneenà. (Do what you(sg) are told. úkúcità, to do; vino iyákúneenà, what you(sg) are told) múómbeshe, álino múlakwata ímpíya ízingì. (work hard, then you(pl) (can) get much money. álino, then; múlakwata, you will have) úómbeshe, pano utángé úkwáte ímpíya ízingì. (work hard, otherwise you(sg) cannot get much money. pano, otherwise; utángé úkwáte, you(sg) cannot get).

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

túkúlonda t¹úkáyakomenkanye. (we want to meet them. ukulonda, to want; úkúyakomenkanya, to meet them).

16. Copula

(1). "to be"

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

	Affirmative	Negative
Remote Past	Š-a-li	S-tá-a-li
Near Past	Š-á-lí	S-tá-á-lí
Immediate Past	P Š-lí	S-tá-á-lí Š-lí
Present	0	S-sí
Immediate Future	S-máa-y-a	S-síi-ku-y-a
Remote Future	Š-la-y-a	S-tá-la-y-a

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: mpítí, twali áána' ísukuulù. (long ago, we were students. áána ísukuulù, students). mpítí, tutáli áána' ísukuulù. (long ago, we were not students). mutóndó, twáli áána' ísukuulù. (yesterday, we were students). mutóndó, tutáli áána' ísukuulù. (yesterday, we were not students). múnó katóndo, úú túlí áána' ísukuulù. (this morning, we were students). múnó katóndo, tutáli túlí áána' ísukuulù. (this morning, we were not students). sweswé áána' ísukuulù. (we are students). tuusí áána' ísukuulù. (we were not students). múnó mangúzi, tumáaya áána' ísukuulù. (this afternoon, we will become students).

múnó mangúzi, tusiíkuya áána' ísukuulù. (this afternoon, we will not become students). mutóndó, túlaya áána' ísukuulù. (tomorrow, we will become students). mutóndó, 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: kúli símbwá úku manso'yáá ng'ándà. (there is a dog in front of the house. símbwá, dog; uku manso, at the front; íng'ándà, house). kuusí símbwá úku manso'yáá ng'ándà. (there is not a dog in front of the house). mutóndó, mwáli' nyaáu úmú mbókósi. (yesterday, there was a cat inside of a box. nyaáu, cat; úmú mbókósi, inside of a box). mutóndó, mutáali' nyaáu úmú mbókósi. (yesterday, there was not a cat inside of a box). pamáaya nyáu'pá múpándó mangúzi. (there will be a cat on the chair in the afternoon. úmúpándó, chair). pasiíkuya nyáu'pá múpándó 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.

	Affirmative	Negative
Remote Past (a)	Ś-a-li	ku-sii kuno Ś-a-li
(b)	a kuno Ś-a-li	así kuno' Ś-a-li
(c)	Ś-a-li-kò	S-tá-li-kò
Near Past (a)	Ś-á-lí	ku-sii kuno' Ś-á-lí
(b)	a kuno' Ś-á-lí	así kuno' Ś-á-lí
(c)	Ś-á-lí-kò	S-tá-lí-kò
Immediate Past		
(a)	P S-li	S-tá-á-lí Ś-lí
(b)	a kuno' P Ś-lí	así kuno' P Ś-lí
Present (a)	Ś-lí	S-sí
(b)	a kuno' Ś-lí	así kuno' Ś-lí
Immediate Future		
(a)	S-máa-y-a	S-síi-ku-y-a
Remote Future		
(a)	Ś-la-y-a	S-tá-la-y-a

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): mpítí, t'wáli' kúúkú. (long ago, we were there).
 mpítí, kuusí kuno t'wáli. (long ago, we were not there).
 mutóndó, t'wáli' kúúkú. (yesterday, we were there).
 mutóndó, kuusí kuno' t'wáli. (yesterday, we were not there).
 múnó katóndo, úú túlí' kúúkú. (this morning, we were there).
 múnó katóndo, tutaáli túlí' kúúkú. (this morning, we were not there).
 túlí kúnò. (we are here).

tuusí kúnò. (we are not here). múnó mangúzí, tumáaya¹
 kúnò. (this afternoon, we will be here). múnó mangúzú,
 tusiikuya¹ kúnò. (this afternoon, we will not be here).
 mutóndó, túlaya¹ kúnò. (tomorrow, we will be here).
 mutóndó, tutálaya¹ kúnò. (tomorrow, we will not be here).

Type (b): mpítí, a kúno t́wáli. (long ago, we were there).
 mpítí, así kuno t́wáli. (long ago, we were not there).
 mutóndó, a kúno¹ t́wáli. (yesterday, we were there).
 mutóndó, así kuno¹ t́wáli. (yesterday, we were not there).
 múnó katóndo, a kúno¹ ú t́lí. (this morning, we were there).
 múnó katóndo, así kuno¹ ú t́lí. (this morning, we were not
 there). a kúno¹ t́lí kúnò. (we are here). así kuno¹ t́lí
 kúnò. (we are not here).

Type (c): mpítí, t́walikò. (long ago, we were there).
 mpítí, tutáalikò. (long ago, we were not there). mutóndó,
 t́walikò. (yesterday, we were there). mutóndó, 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 "úkúkwatà" (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.

		Affirmative	Negative
Remote Past	(a)	Ś-a-kweti	S-tá-a-kweti
	(b)	Ś-a-li'ná	S-tá-a-li'ná
Near Past	(a)	S-á-kwéti	S-tá-á-kwéti
	(b)	S-á-li'ná	S-tá-á-li'ná
Immediate Past			
	(a)	P ^u Ś-kwéti	S-tá-á-li Ś-kwéti
	(b)	P S-li'ná	S-tá-á-li Ś-li'ná
Present	(a1)	Ś-kwéti	S-tá-kwéti
	(a2)	P ^u Ś-kwáta	
	(b)	Ś-li'ná	S-si'ná
Immediate Future			
	(a)	Ś-máa-kwata	S-tá-máa-kwata
	(b)	Ś-máa-ya'ná	S-tá-máa-ya'ná
Remote Future			
	(a)	Ś-la-kwata	S-tá-la-kwata
	(b)	Ś-la-ya'ná	S-tá-la-ya'ná

Some examples are shown in the following.

Example: mutóndó, twákwéti'ímpiya. (yesterday, we had money). túli'ni ímpiya. (we have money. na+impiya → ni impiya). tuusi'ni ímpiya. (we have not money). mutóndó, túlakwata'ímpiya. (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	paapá	kuukú	muumu
(3) that	paápò	kúukò	múumò
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.".

úkúlambda'ápá ulálò (to cross a bridge),
úkúsenda'ápá'mútwe (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 úkw ísitolò (the house is near to the shop).
úkúlandila úkú'tulò (to talk in one's sleep).
uuwaya úkú'Lúsakà (he went to Lusaka).
ínapéela ímpíya úkú mwána (I gave the money to the child).
wakómilwe úkú muúze (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.".

úkúwíngíla'umú'mánzi (to enter into water).
úkúfuma'umú'mánzi (to come out of water).

(d). na

"na" means "with, by means of, etc.".

wakómílŵe úkú muúzà nu múpéeni. (he was killed by his friend with a knife. na → nu/___u).

(e). kuli

"kuli" means "to, with, etc.".

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

(f). pali

"pali" means "among, etc.".

t'wásózile cíí pali víivyò. (we chose this from among those).

20. Conjunctions and others

Some conjunctions and others are shown in the following.

(a). na (and)

waakáziízye úúsú ná'ámáfutà. (we bought flour and oil).
áántu yákúpítá'nú kwíza. (people are going and coming, na+u → nu).

(b). nangu (or)

alakázyá úúsú nángu'ámáfutà. (he will sell either flour or oil).
úmaaya nangu úmaashaalà? (will you(sg) go or will you remain?).

(c). nga (if)

túlafoleesha'ímpíya, nga uííza. (we will pay the salary if(=when) he comes).

(d). nga icaakuti (if only)

ndápita ngá ícáákuti waapíta. (I will go if he goes).

(e). mpaka (unless)

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

(f). nomba (but)

uízile nomba ntáámúweenì. (he came but I did not see him).

(g). pano (because)

twayúumile pano yáátúbéfile. (we beat them, because they cheated us).

(h). acino (therefore)

yáátúbéfile acínó twayúumilè. (they cheated us, therefore we beat them).

(i). lino (when)

lino uízile kúlí'swéswe mútòndò, ala tucílí tókúlungisha móótokà. (when he came to us yesterday, we were still repairing the car)

(j). kuno (where)

tutámá(a)nyile kuno wáíilè. (we do not know where he went).

(k). vino (what)

uúcite vino'íyákúneenà. (do what you(sg) are told).

(1). ukuti (that)

wanéényile ukuti¹saaca¹wáfísilè.(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 parentheses.

- (1). uno (1a). uno (2). yano (2a). yano
 (3). uno (4). ino (5). lino (6). yano (7). cino
 (8). vino (9). ino (10). zino (11). luno
 (12). kano (13). tuno (14). uno (15). pano
 (16). kuno (17). muno

Some examples of relative clauses are shown in the following.

Examples: úmúti úno wááwíle mútontò... (a tree which fell down yesterday...). ímíti íno yááwíle mútónđo... (trees which fell down yesterday...). úmúti úno t'wáwísiizye mútónđo... (a tree which we cut down yesterday). ímíti íno t'wáwísiizye mútónđo... (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: úmúti ú wááwile mútondò... (a tree which fell
down yesterday...). ímiti í yááwile mútónòdo...
(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 ú waiile!úkú Lúsákà? (who(sg) went to
Lusaka?). áweeni yáno mwákóménkiinye!mútondò?
(whom(pl) did you(pl) meet yesterday?). awéeni
úmonsi!wíyá? (who(sg) is that man?). yááli áweeni
áyonsi yaayò? (who(pl) were those men?).

22-2. what

Forms corresponding to "what" are "i cááni"(sg) and "i vyááni"(pl) in the case of the subject. They are "cááni" (sg) and "vyááni" (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 cááni í cáákupumilè? (what(sg) hit you(sg)?).
wákázile cááni? (what(sg) did you(sg) buy?). i
vyááni (í) vintu víi? (what(pl) are these things?).
cááli í cááni cintu cíici? (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: úmulumendo cii ú walimile'úmúcaááló 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 "kwi". There are other words "aéékwi", "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 kwi" and "S-ayeela kwi" are used for asking the definite place and indefinite place, respectively.

Examples: wáííle kwi mútondò? (where did you(sg) go
 yesterday?). aéékwi'kúno wáálozile'kábaalwe'
 mútondò? (where did you(sg) see the donkey
 yesterday?). aéépi'páno wáátámilè? (where (definite
 part) did you break?). ísukuulu lyááyá kwi? (where
 is the school?). ísukuulu lyáyeela'kwi? (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), "ínsítà" (time), "líilà" (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 líilá cii úkú Lúsákà? (when(what time)
 did you arrive in Lusaka?). a mwáka 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: úlíikala'ínsita inga kúnò? (how long will you(sg) stay here?). úíkala ímyézi inga kúnò? (how many months have you stayed here?).

22-7. why

The form corresponding to "why" is "umulandu cíi" which literally means "cause, reason or case + which". It is also expressed by "i cáani + 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 "úúli" (how, see below) is sometimes used.

Examples: i cáani cíno wáákomiile úmonsí mútondò? (why did you(sg) kill the man yesterday?). úúmile úúli' mútondò? (why did you(sg) beat (somebody) yesterday?).

22-8. how

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

Examples: wáfisile úúli'úku Lúsákà? (how did you(sg) arrive in Lusaka?). mwákómile úúli cisamá? (how did you(pl) kill the lion? or why did you kill the lion?).

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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)-"

- Ia: oo-(o)o
 IIa-1: óó-(o)o
 IIa-2: óó-(o)oòò
 IIa-3: óó-o(o)óó
 IIb-1: óó-ó(o)o, óó-Óó(o)o, óó-óÓo(o)o
 IIb-2: óó-óó(o)o
 IIb-3: óó-Óó(o)o

I Ib-4:	óó-óo(o)óo
I Ib-5:	óó-ńóóo
I IIIa:	óó-(ó)o

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

Ib:	-o(o)o, ya(a)-o(o)o
I IIb:	-ó(ó)o, ya(a)-ó(ó)o
IV:	-o(o)óo, ya(a)-o(o)ó(ń)o
V:	-óóo(o)o, ya(a)-óóo(o)o

In the above table, "o" stands for a tone carrier unit. It is a vowel "v", "N" of the NCV syllable and "w" of the CwV syllable placed at any position in a word except the word-final. The "w" (limited at the word-final position) or "N" bounding the following consonant by a mark "ˆ" 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 "ó" shows a high level tone and "o" (no mark) a low level tone. "ò" 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 "óó-o" for type IIa-1 tends to become "óo-o".

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 "ó" (a falling tone from high), "ò" (a falling tone from low) or "ò" (a falling tone from ultra-low) may appear.

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

C. Infinitives

I:	oo-(o)o
IIA-1:	óó-(o)o
IIA-2:	óó-oòò
IIB-1:	óó-oo, óó-óo(o)o
IIB-2:	óó-óVNoo

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, ímitwe
1-2.	brain	bongóbongo
1-3.	occiput	ínkoto (=pl)
1-4a.	hair	úlúnyelete, íinyelete
1-4b.	to grow (of hair).	ukwipuka
1-5.	white hair	úlúvwi, ínvwí
1-6.	baldness	úlúpala, ámápala
1-7.	face	pámanso (=pl)
1-8.	forehead	ícípuma, ívípuma
1-9.	wrinkles	úlúká(a)nsi, ínká(a)nsi
1-10.	eye	ílinso, ámanso
1-11.	eyelid	icipa, ivipa
1-12.	eyelash	úlúkpyo, ínkpóyo
1-13.	nose	ímpuno (=pl)
1-14.	mouth	akanwa, utunwa
1-15.	lip	cilomo, ívilómo
1-16.	tongue	úlúlimi, índimi
1-17a.	tooth	íliino, ámiino
1-17b.	to grow (of a tooth).	úkukuulika
1-18.	molar	cekwe (=pl), yaacekwe (pl)
1-19.	cheek	íitama, ámatama
1-20.	ear	íikútwi, ámakútwi or ámatwi
1-21.	chin	ícilézu, ívilézu
1-22.	beard	ívilézu (=1-21, pl.)
1-23.	neck	ínsingo (=pl)
1-24.	throat	ícikólómilo, ívikólómilo
1-25.	Adam's apple	ákápono, útúpono

2. Body

2-1.	body	úmwiili, ímiíli
2-2.	trunk of body	ícifu(u)wa, ívífu(u)wa (=6-16?)

2-3.	skin	ínkáanda (=pl)
2-4.	hair on body	amašwa
2-5.	shoulder	iciye, iviye
2-6.	chest	íCIFU(ú)wa, íVIFU(ú)wa (=2-2)
2-7.	breast	íIYELE (=29-17c), áMAYELE
2-8.	teat	ínSÓNGO íIYELE, ínSÓNGO zyá áMAYELE (lit. tip of breast)
2-9.	abdomen	apanda or apazyanda
2-10.	navel	úmútoto, ímítoto
2-11.	armpit	úmúnkwápa (=pl)
2-12.	side of body	úmúlúmbázo, úmúmbázo
2-13.	waist	úmúsana, ímísana
2-14.	back of body	ítúndu, áMÁTUNDU
2-15.	buttock	íITÁKO, áMÁTÁKO
2-16.	anus	ímpúti (=pl)
2-17.	penis	intekwe (=pl) or úlúfono
2-18.	testicle	ámátúlu (=pl)
2-19.	female genitals, vulva.	icinyo, ivinyo
2-20.	pubic hair	amašwa (=2-4)

3. Arm

3-1.	arm	íIKASA, áMÁKASA
3-2.	hand	úlúpi, ímpi
3-3a.	palm	(í)CÍZÁNZA, íVIZÁNZA
3-3b.	palm, clap(?).	úúlupi (cf.52-12)
3-4.	fist	íKOÓFI, áMÁKOÓFI
3-5.	finger	umunwe, iminwe
3-6.	thumb	íCÁALA, íVYÁALA (=31-4a)
3-7a.	forefinger	íCÍSÓNTÁ YÁNTU, íVÍSÓNTÁ YÁNTU (lit. pointing people)
3-7b.	to point	ukusonta
3-8.	little finger.	ákántengezya, útúntengezya
3-9.	finger nail	úlwala, íngála
3-10.	wrist	íIKASA, áMÁKASA (=3-1)
3-11.	elbow	ákánkonci, útúnkonci

4. Leg

4-1.	leg	íkuúlu, ámákuúlu
4-2.	thigh	úlúpamba, ímpámba
4-3.	knee	íkókola, ámákokola
4-4.	calf	kapáfu (=pl, cl.1a)
4-5.	foot	úlwázo, íngázo
4-6.	sole	úlwázo Iwa pánsi
4-7.	heel	kántunta, útúntunta
4-8.	footprint	úlwázo, íngázo (=4-5)
4-9.	footfall	ínsindo (=pl)

5. Inside of Body

5-1.	bone	íifúpa, ámáfupa
5-2.	bone marrow	ímfyómfyo
5-3.	joint	úulímbílo, áamáulímbílo
5-4.	skull	ákápanga, útúpanga
5-5.	shoulder blade.	iiciye (cl.7), iiviye (cl.8)
5-6.	rib	úlumbázo, ímbázo
5-7.	backbone	úmóngólólo, ímíngólólo
5-8.	blood	úwazi (cl.14)
5-9.	vein	úmúkóle, ímíkóle
5-10.	tendon (?)	úmúkóle, ímíkóle (=5-9)
5-11.	heat	úmwénzo, ímyénzo
5-12.	lung	pwápwa, yapwápwa
5-13.	stomach	iinda (=pl)
5-14.	liver	íítima, ámatima
5-15.	intestine	iila, amala
5-16.	kidney	pwápwa, yapwápwa (=5-12)
5-17.	urinary bladder (?)	íítunzi, ívítunzi
5-18.	womb	íítunzi, ívítunzi (=5-17)

6. Physiological Phenomena

6-1.	dandruff	ínkuku (=pl)
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6-2.	tears	(ííílámba), íííílámba
6-3a.	to weep	úkúloòshà
6-3b.	to cry	ukulila
6-4.	to wink	ukukonya
6-5.	nasal mucus	ííímína, ííívímína
6-6.	to blow nose	úkúfyoona
6-7.	to beat (of the heart), to gather, to collect.	ukutunta
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	úkúswilà
6-13.	to spit out something.	úkúswilà (=6-12)
6-14.	phlegm	íííínkonónwá, ííívínkonónwá
6-15.	to cough	úkúkoola
6-16.	cough	ííífúwá, ííívífúwá (=2-2?)
6-17.	to yawn	úkúyoolola
6-18.	to hiccup	ukubiola
6-19a.	to sneeze	úkútisha
6-19b.	to snivel	ukusunila
6-20.	sweat	ííilevu
6-21.	to perspire	úkúkailwá
6-22.	dirt	ííívíkwi (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.	úkúnyá íííísúzi
6-28.	fart, breaking wind.	íííísúzi

7. Sense

7-1.	to see	ukulola
7-2.	to look at	ukulolekesha
7-3a.	to be seen	ukulolwá (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 ícísila (cf.7-1)
7-9.	to peep	úkúsungamila
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.	úkúúvwa
7-14.	to listen	úkúkutika
7-15.	to be heard	úkúúv̄wika
7-16.	smell	íceéna, 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	índwála (=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, útúséénde
8-11.	fever	ímpépo (=8-6)
8-12.	favus	íminyí

9. Mental Disorder

- 9-1. madness ícípēna, (ívípēna)
 9-2. to become crazy. ukupēna
 9-3. mad person cipēna, yacipēna
 9-4. to shout (of a mad). ukupūnda
 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 ukuz̄wa
 10-4. wound ícílóónda, ívílóónda
 10-5. wound on the head. ícílónda pá mútwe
 10-6. wale ícívimbe, ívívimbe (cf. 11-3)
 10-7. wen, lump úlúpompo, ímpompo
 10-8. pus úúfila
 10-9. to be dislocated (of a bone). ukwinya

11. Skin Disease

- 11-1. boil ícípūte, ívípūte
 11-2. the itch ímpéle
 11-3. to swell (after being bitten by an insect). úkúvimba
 (cp.24-25)
 11-4. swelling part. ícívimbe, ívívimbe (=10-6)
 11-5. burn ícílóónda, ívílóónda (=10-4)
 11-6. to get a burn. úkúpya
 11-7. water blister. ícítúúto, ívítúúto
 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. úkúwaya
 12-1b. I have a headache. úmútwe úkuwáya.
 12-1c. I have a stomachache. munda múkuwáya.
 12-1d. I have a toothache. íliino líkuwáya.
 12-2. pain ícíwaye, ívíwaye
 12-3a. to itch úkúwaya (=12-1a)
 12-3b. My foot always itches. íkúúlú líkááwáya.
 12-4. nausea úmúselu
 12-5. to feel nausea. úkúuŵwa 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 úkúcuula

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 cibiúlu, 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 úmúnga (cf.41-18)
 14-5b. to extract ukupondola
 14-6. to suck out úkúfyompa
 14-7. to smear medicine. ukukumbilila
 14-8. medicine úmúlémbó, ímílémbó
 14-9. to cure úkúpozya (=14-1)
 14-10. to become cured. úkúpola
 14-11. to treat úkúfwazya
 14-12. hospital ícípátáála, ívipátáála
 14-13a. doctor si(i)ng'anga, yaasi(i)ng'anga
 14-13b. doctor kapózya, yaakapózya
 14-13c. doctor kalwazya, yaakalwazya
 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. índíníngo
 14-17b. you(sg) are well. úlúníngo

III. CLOTHING AND DRESSING

15. Clothing

- 15-1a. cloth, clothes. ínsálu (=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). úkúmuзуúla
 15-8. he is naked alitupu
 15-9a. to become torn. úkúlepuka
 15-9b. to become torn. úkúsila
 15-10. to wash (clothes). ukufula
 15-11. to spread to dry. úkwánika (=20-8a)
 15-12. to take in úkwánula
 15-13. trousers ítóloozi, ámatóloozi

- 15-14. belt úmúsípi, ímísípi
 15-15. shoe íñsápáto (=pl)
 15-16a. traditional sandal. íñdyatu (=pl)
 15-16b. rubber sandal. patapáta (=pl, Cl.1a)
 15-17a. to go barefoot. úkúpita páñsi
 15-17b. to go on foot (?). úkúpita ní ngázo

16. Sewing

- 16-1. thread úúsavu (=pl)
 16-2. needle, injection. íñsindaáno (=pl)
 16-3. cloth íñsálu (=pl)
 16-4. scissors úmúkaasi, ímíkaasi
 16-5. to sew úkúsuma
 16-6. to knit ukupikula
 16-7. to undo úkúsumulula
 16-8a. to patch ukukampika
 16-8b. patch íčíkámba, 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 íčísáákúlo, ívísáákúlo
 17-5a. to plait the hair. úkúluka ínyéle (cf.17-5b, 1-4a)
 17-5b. to plait ukuluka
 17-6. to undo úkúropolola
 17-7. to cut the hair. ukupela
 17-8. to shave ukupela (=17-7)
 17-9a. razor úlwémbe (=pl)
 17-9b. razor ákáneeza, útúneeza
 17-10a. to bathe ukufulala
 17-10b. to bathe úkóowa (=72-45)
 17-11a. to wash one's body. úkúfula úmwíli
 17-11b. to wash ukufula

- 17-12. to use make up (on oneself). úkúiziifya (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, ámáyeeleena
 18-2a. bracelet ícíbàngíli, ívíbàngíli
 18-2b. symbolic bracelet of a chief. ícínkwíngíli,
 ívínkwíngíli
 18-3. finger ring imbalaminwe (=pl)
 18-4a. bead úúkási (=pl)
 18-4b. many kinds of bead. ámáúkási
 18-5. hat, grass. ícísóte, ívísóte
 18-6. umbrella úmwamvuli, ímíamvuli
 18-7. walking stick. íntúwa (=pl)

IV. EATING

19. Food

- 19-1. food ícáákulya, ívyáákulya
 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, ímíkaate
 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, ámátete
 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	úmúsilya
19-14.	pepper	ímpilípiíli
19-15.	oil (any type), grease.	ámáfuta
19-16a.	to make oil	úkúpanga máfuta (cf.47-8)
19-16b.	to meke oil	úkwénga 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 mánzi (cf.49-1)
20-3b.	to heat water.	úkúkavya mánzi (cf. 20-16)
20-4.	to become hot.	úkúkaya
20-5.	to bubble up.	ukubila
20-6.	to stir	úkúzwa (=19-4)
20-7.	steam	ícúnsi cá mánzi 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	ínyama íisi, ínyama íziisi
20-13.	cooking stone.	ísóoswa, ámásoswa
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 nyungu
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. ínýungu (=pl)
 21-2. pot for water. ínsembo (=pl)
 21-3. calabash bottle. ínkólo (=pl)
 21-4. bottle (western type). íbótó(ó)lo, ámábótó(ó)lo
 21-5. stopper ínčiliko (=pl)
 21-6. to stop up úkúcilika
 21-7. to take out the stopper. úkúcilikula
 21-8a. plate ímbále (=pl)
 21-8b. dish (big plate). beeséeni, ámabeeseeni
 21-9. cup (made of calabash). úlwako, íngáko
 21-10. glass ígalaasi, ámágalaasi
 21-11. to scoop up úkútapula
 21-12. ladle for mush. umúzwa, imizwa
 21-13. ladle for water. úlwako, íngáko (=21-9)
 21-14. bucket ímbékéti (=pl)
 21-15. lid ínkupiko (=pl)
 21-16. to cover with the lid. úkúkupika
 21-17. to take off the lid. úkúkupukula
 21-18. empty bottle íbótólo umusi cimwi, ámábótólo umusi vimwi (?)
 21-19. to empty ukwitila
 21-20. to fill up úkúzuuzya
 21-21. to become full. úkúzuula (cp.15-5)
 21-22. to wash a plate. úkúfula ímbále (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 úkum̃wa
 22-8b. to let (somebody) drink (?). ukukom̃wa
 22-8c. to make (somebody) drink, to overdrink. úkúmwesha
 22-8d. to allow (somebody) to drink. úkúzumilizya umwi
 úkum̃wa (cf.50-53, 79-10)
 22-9. to swallow ukumila
 22-10. to chew ukusheeta
 22-11. to get hungry. úkúuṽwa ínzála
 22-12a. hunger ínzála
 22-12b. famine ícípoòwè, ívípoòwè
 22-13a. to go to get foods. úkúya úkúkofóla ívyáákula
 22-13b. to get úkúfola
 22-13c. to get ukupoka
 22-13d. to go to get (?). úkúkufóla
 22-13e. to go to get (?). ukukupoka
 22-14a. to feel thirsty. úkúuvwa úlúsála
 22-14b. thirst úlúsála
 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. ciisí cílyompe.
 23-3. to be bitter ukulula
 23-4. bitterness (something bitter?). ícílule,
 ívilule
 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)