MWANI
Grammatical Sketch

Ficha Técnica

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                   (Gramática de Kimwani)

Língua: Kimwani

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CONTENTS

0. Introduction

Kimwani, the language of the Wamwani or Mwani people, is spoken by about 80,000 people in the Cabo Delgado province of Mozambique. The language is related to Swahili, but the two are not mutually intelligible.

The prestige dialect of Kimwani is KiWibu, spoken on Ibo Island and surroundings, as well as by the majority of Mwani in the provincial capital, Pemba. KiWibu forms have consistently been followed in this write-up, unless otherwise indicated. For differences with other dialects, see Appendix E "Dialectical variations and their characteristics".

1. Letters and sounds

Consonants:

-Obstruents

Voiceless stops	p	t	ch	k
Voiced stops	b	d	j	g
Prenasalized voiced stops	mb	nd	nj	ng
Voiceless fricatives	f	s	sh	h
Voiced fricatives	v	z		

-Resonants

Nasal resonants	m	n	ny	ng'
Oral resonants	w	l/r	y	

Vowels: a e i o u

The above are orthographic representations of the phonemes.

2. Tone

Pitch differences, called "tone", are very important in Kimwani. For words of different lengths, there exist different tone "melodies". The underlying "melody" manifests itself in different ways, especially in the verbs. One can make no sense of the verb without understanding the tone differences. The tone of the verb is described below under the verb tenses.

Noun tone *patterns*
.=syllable division, C=consonant, V=vowel, H=high tone, L=low tone, R=rising tone, F=falling tone. F (falling tone) is indicated by a [â] carrot, R (rising tone) by two vowels with the first low and second high [àá], H (high tone) with an acute accent [á], and L (low tone) with nothing, it is unmarked.

(C)V	wa	[always low]	L
(C)V.V	nchóo		HL
(C)V.CV	wófi, díki		RL/FL/HL

(C)V.CV.V	jamáa, subúu,		LHL
(C)V.CV.CV	ngaláwa, utúmbu		LFL/LHL
(C)V.CV.CV.CV	mangálawa		LHLL
(C)V.CV.CV.CV.CV	wakolákazi		LLHLL

( )HL	( )RL	( )FL	LHLL
nkóno	dàámu	papâtu	kibáruwa
utúmbo	ùúswa	nkûlu	kifúrushi
nfúko	mòóyo	nfûko	kijáraha
mmwápa	sàámba	mmwâpa	kijóngolo
sikíro	wèére	kongôlo	kirángazi
mafúta		nyânga/manyânga	
utópe	màái	lûndi/malûndi	kióngozi
mmúla	mùúla	mûla	kitólolo
mbúzi	nywiíri	ûku	
mahála	àáta	âta	
kipáma	kiífyu	kipâma	
kikúndi	kiíswa	ndêge/midêge	
kipófu	mòóto	salâma	
kibáo	mùúlu	kîsi	
kidwídwi	ùúfu	kînja	
kifúka	màála	kidûdu	
kifúndi	kiíti	kipîji	
kifúa	kiíndi	kimâu	
kigóngo	kiífyo	kimwâni	
kiyáma	kiínu	kinânda	
kimánsa		ki(w)ôni	
kirévu		kirôo	
kipéja		kisîrwa	
kiríro			
kiyási			
kivúri			
kisúmu			

Exceptions:

námuna (9)	'type'	HLL
wákati (9)	'time, stage'	HLL
múndege (1)	'pilot'	HLL
ntamána (9)	'therefore'	LLHL
hùúzuni (9)	'sadness'	RLL
àánzima (9)	'objective'	RLL
múngalawa (1)	'sailor'	HLLL
kisimâna (7)	'child'	LLFL
kumbekúmbe (9)	'souvernir'	LLHL
kigôngwíro (7)	'canoe-bench'	LFHL
kipanjávyombo (7)	'louva-a-Deus'	LLHLL
kinámínámi (7)	'top'	LHHHL
kipindupîndu (7)	'cholera'	LLLFL
kijúsikáfíri (7)	'gecko'	LHLHHL

Kimwani has no productive lexical tone, that is, nouns and verbs are not contrastive just by means of their roots. There are a few cases of noun roots that have different tones and different meanings. Below are examples of such noun minimal pairs:

àáta	'head cloth to carry things'	(Cl. 9)
âta	'cinnamon fruit'	(Cl. 9)
	[plus the adverbial /àta/ (LL) 'not even', also pronounced as /anta/ LL]	
dìíki	'poor, doesn't have clothes'	(Cl. 1)
díki	'nudity'	(Cl. 9)
mwápa	'mangrove'	(Cl. 18)
mwâpa	'armpit'	(Cl. 3)
mfûko	'lazy person'	(Cl. 1)
mfúko	'bag'	(Cl. 9)
kipâma	'wall'	(Cl. 7)
kipáma	'type of fish'	(Cl. 9)
mûla	'swelling'	(Cl. 9)
mùúla	'nose'	(Cl. 3)

Locative nominal derivations, especially Class 18, form minimal pairs with nominal derivations to Classes 1 and 3. Those three classes all have a mu- prefix.

mundége	'in the plane'	(Cl. 18)
múndege	'pilot'	(Cl. 1)
mungaláwa	'in the sailboat'	(Cl. 18)
múngalawa	'sailor'	(Cl. 1)
mmúla	'nostril'	(Cl. 18)
mùúla	'nose'	(Cl. 3)

Kimwani does have grammatical tone, that is, tenses are distinguished by tone differences only.

3. The basic sentence

The basic word order

The basic order of a Kimwani sentence is

SUBJECT - VERB - COMPLEMENT

A complement could be an object, an indirect object, or a locative like "to the market".

Ómi nankúka kubazári
'I am going to the market.'

> Mwanamúka kafyoma búku
> 'The woman read the book.'

In the beginning of stories or narrations, the verb is sentence-initial, that is, the subject follows the verb.

> Ákíwépo múnu na rafiki yáke.
> 'There was a person together with his friend.'

Since the subject is represented by the subject prefix in the noun, a Kimwani sentence does not absolutely need a subject. A complement is not required either. A Kimwani sentence must have a verb.

To mark an object for focus, it can be frontshifted before the verb:

> Kitabu-cho, nimpa ijana.
> 'That book, I gave it to him yesterday.'

Transitive and intransitive sentences

1. Transitive sentences

Transitive sentences are sentences with transitive verbs, verbs that can optionally have an object or objects, and can be put in the passive form with or without an explicit agent.

> Juma kamúlaya nembo ijana usiku.
> 'Juma killed elephant last night.'

> Nembo koolayiwa na Juma ijana usiku.
> 'Elephant was-killed by Juma last night.'

> Nembo koolayiwa ijana usiku.
> 'Elephant was-killed last night.'

Animate objects must be signalled with an object concord prefix in the verb; non-animates do not have a object concord in the verb.

> *Muka kapata mwana.
> 'Woman got a child.'

> Muka kapata mimba.
> 'Woman got a womb (idiom for pregnant).'

Transitive sentences do not have an obligatory object argument.

> Muka kapongola ijana.
> 'The-woman gave-birth yesterday.'

2.   Intransitive sentences

Intransitive sentences have verbs that cannot be put in the passive voice and cannot take an object.

> Juma wawaye kafwa ijana.
> 'Juma's father died yesterday.'

> Kisimana kagwa.
> 'The child fell.'

3.   Derived intransitive sentences

When a sentence has a transitive verb which is derived (with the verb extension   -ika/-eka) to an intransitive, so that it cannot take an object argument and cannot be put in passive form, the sentence becomes derived intransitive. This sentence type is different from a passive in the fact that, although it has an underlying agent, this agent cannot be expressed in the surface structure.

> Juma kafunga nyrango. [transitive]
> 'Juma opened the door.'

> Nryango ufung*úka*.
> 'The door is open.'

> Chakurya chipík*ika.*
> 'The food is cooked.'

4. Ditransitive sentences

> When a sentence has a transitive verb and more than one object argument, it is a ditransitive sentence. All causative verbs, most applicative verbs, and the inherent ditransitive verb *ku(-)pa* 'to give' make a sentence ditransitive.

> Juma kamwiwisha kisimana nzuruku.
> 'Juma let the child steal money.'

> Haji kamperekera kisimana kitabu.
> 'Haji sent the child the book.'

> Amadi kawapa wajamaa vitabu.
> 'Amadi gave (his) relatives the books.'

Word order in the nominal group

Word order in the nominal group[1]

[S=substantive (noun), A=adjective, C/c=connected/genitive group,
D=demonstrative, N=numeral, R=relative clause]

SAC	kifyu kirefu cha-munu	'the long knife of the person'
SNC	vifyu vitatu vya-wasimana	'the three knives of the children'
SAN	vifyu virefu vitatu	'the three long knives'
SNAC	vifyu vitatu virefu vya-munu	'the three long knives of the person'
SANC	vifyu virefu vitatu vya-munu	'the three long knives of the person'
(both orders are possible)		
SNAC	vifyu virefu	'the long knives'

Both orders of the demonstrative are possible:

SD	vifyu vire
DS	vire vifyu
DSD	vire vifyu vire
SR	munu wa kulawa Pemba

The copular sentence

A simple sentence or clause in Kimwani must minimally have one main verb which should either be a zero-copula, an indicative, a relative, an Subjunctive-optative-Subjunctive-optative, or an imperative verb.

Two types of copular sentences exist in Kimwani, one in which the predicate characterizes or identifies the subject (zero copula), and the other where the predicate indicates the location or condition and state of the subject (verb *kuwa*).

1. The first type has a **zero copula** in the affirmative. That is, in the affirmative the "is" and "are" are not marked by a copular verb "to be". Zero copula means there is nothing. But there is a specific low tone pattern to be used in the predicate, following the slight pause, in the affirmative:

> Ire munu ire, nkùlù [low tone]
> 'That person, (is) important.'

> Ire muka ire, mwèmà
> 'That woman, (is) good.'

In the negative, *si* or *si+demonstrative pronoun of the predicate* is used:

> Kisimana wawaye *siyo* Sulemani.
> 'The child's father is not Sulemani.'

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[1] Following Mueessen's abbreviations.

2. The second type has the **inflected copular verb *kuwa* 'to be'** and its derived form -*ri,* which is used for the negative and relative clause forms.

> Nyumba yake *iwa* ndepi?
> 'Where is his house?'

> Mwanlimu *ari* nkaya nomu kankufyoma.
> 'The teacher who is here, is reading.'

> Omi *siri* mwiwi.
> 'I am not the thief.'

4. The verb

The affirmative verb is described first, followed by the negative verb, the relative affirmative verb, and finally the relative negative verb.

The verb is produced by a variety of morphemes put in a certain order. It must have a subject prefix and a root with its –a or –e verb final vowel. Optional are the negative prefix, the object prefix, the backgrounded –ki-, and the verb extensions (see point 16). The order of the parts is the following (optional parts in parentheses):

Subj prefix (-ki-) (Obj prefix) Root (Verb extension) –a/-e

A negative prefix (a-) and a genitive prefix used in relativized verbs can be inserted before the subject prefix.

Tone differences play a big role in distinguishing the tenses. See the actual discussion on the tenses for the details.

4.1 The affirmative verb

The IMPERATIVE

The imperative is mentioned first because it is the simplest form. In its singular command form, it only consists of the verb stem. No subject prefix is added. An object prefix can be added. Locative *ka-* prefixes can be prefixed to indicate distance from the speaker. The plural command takes the -*ni* suffix. The tone is low over the whole word in the singular. In the plural, a high tone is added on the penultimate syllable.

Singular commands (2nd person singular):

fyoma!	'read!'
urya!	'eat'
fisa!	'hide (it)!'
fulata!	'follow!'

Plural commands (2nd person plural):

fyománi!	'read!'
uryáni!	'eat!'
fisáni!	'hide!'
fulatáni!	'follow!'

Locative imperatives:

kafyome!	'read over there!' (singular)
kafyomeni!	'read over there!' (plural)

The INFINITIVE/VERBAL-NOMINAL

Like Swahili, the *ku-* prefix marks the verbal-nominal or infinitive. Tone is not marked on the infinitive in the orthography.

kùúrya	RL	kurya	'to eat/eating'
kufísa	LHL	kufisa	'to hide/hiding'
kufúlata	LHLL	kufulata	'to follow/following'
kukáríbísha	LHHHL	kukaribisha	'to invite/inviting'
kwàása	RL	kwasa	'to leave/leaving'
kwijíwa	LHL	kwijiwa	'to know/knowing'

The next three main "tenses" or "occurences" are only differentiated by tone differences. They have no distinctive affixes.

The DISTANT PAST

Always a high or falling tone on the subject concord prefix, which is marked by a carrot ^ in the orthography. The meaning is perfective/completive distant past. In narrative it is used for information which is part of the setting, and also for backflash (past perfect).

nírya	HL	nîrya	'I had eaten'
kúrya	HL	kûrya	'you had eaten'
kárya	HL	kârya	'he/she had eaten'
tîrya	FL	tîrya	'we had eaten'
mûrya	FL	mûrya	'you (pl) had eaten'
wârya	FL	wârya	'they had eaten'
nîfisa	FLL	nîfisa	'I had hidden (it) away'
kúfisa	HLL	kûfisa	
káfisa	HLL	kâfisa	
tífîsa	HFL	tîfisa	'we had hidden (it) away'
múfîsa	HFL	mûfisa	
wáfîsa	HFL	wâfisa	
nîfulata	FLLL	nîfulata	'I had followed'
kúfulata	HLLL	kûfulata	
káfulata	HLLL	kâfulata	
tífulâta	HLFL	tîfulata	'we had followed'
múfulâta	HLFL	mûfulata	
wáfulâta	HLFL	wâfulata	
kákaribisha	HLLLL	kâkaribisha	'I had invited'
wákaríbisha	HLHLL	wâkaribisha	'they had invited'

ná:sa	H:L	nâsa	'I had left'
wá:sa	H:L	wâsa	'they had left'
nî:jiwa	H:LL	nîjiwa	'I had known'
wêjíwa	FHL	wêjiwa	'they had known'

The PERFECT

The tone pattern is the same as the DISTANT PAST, except for low tone on the subject concord prefix. Mainly used for PERFECT events, events which are persistive or relevant in the present; present perfect events, events started prior to the time of speech; and finally, it is used for the marked or thematic story line in narratives.

nirya	LL	nirya	'I ate (just now)'
kurya	LL	kurya	'you ate'
karya	LL	karya	'she/he ate'
tírya	HL	tírya	'we ate'
múrya	HL	múrya	'you (pl) ate'
wárya	HL	wárya	'they ate'
nifisa	LLL	nifisa	'I hid (it)'
kufisa	LLL	kufisa	
kafisa	LLL	kafisa	
tifîsa	LFL	tifísa	'we hid (it)'
mufîsa	LFL	mufísa	
wafîsa	LFL	wafísa	
nifulata	LLLL	nifulata	'I followed'
kufulata	LLLL	kufulata	
kafulata	LLLL	kafulata	
tifulâta	LLFL	tifuláta	'we followed'
mufulâta	LLFL	mufuláta	
wafulâta	LLFL	wafuláta	
kakaribisha	LLLLL	kakaribisha	'she invited'
wakaríbisha	LLHLL	wakaríbisha	'they invited'
nasa	LL	nasa	'I left'
wása	HL	wása	'they left'
niijiwa	L:LL	nijiwa	'I knew'
wejíwa	LHL	wejíwa	'they knew'

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The NON-PAST

High tone on subject prefix, with a different pattern over the resat of the verb than the Distant Pasts and Perfects. Vowel-initial roots take a *-kw-* prefix, and monosyllabic roots take *–ku-*. Used as the general, timeless tense—also called the gnomic tense—for non-temporal reference –with imperfective aspect-, and for the probable future –with perfective aspect-.

nikûrya	LFL	nikurya	'I eat/I will eat'
ukûrya	LFL	ukurya	'you eat'
akûrya	LFL	akurya	'he eats'
tikûrya	LFL	tikurya	'we eat'
mukûrya	LFL	mukurya	'you (pl) eat'
wakûrya	LFL	wakurya	'they eat'
nífisa	HLL	nífisa	'I hide/I will hide (it)'
úfisa	HLL	úfisa	
áfisa	HLL	áfisa	
tífisa	HLL	tífisa	'we hide (it)'
múfisa	HLL	múfisa	
wáfisa	HLL	wáfisa	
nífuláta	HLHL	nífulata	'I follow/I will follow'
úfuláta	HLHL	úfulata	
áfuláta	HLHL	áfulata	
tífuláta	HLHL	tífulata	'we follow/we will follow'
múfuláta	HLHL	múfulata	
wáfuláta	HLHL	wáfulata	
nikwása	LHL	nikwasa	'I leave/I will leave'
ukwása	LHL	ukwasa	'you leave'
akwása	LHL	akwasa	'she leaves'
tikwása	LHL	tikwasa	'we leave'
mukwása	LHL	mukwasa	'you (pl) leave'
wakwása	LHL	wakwasa	'they leave'
nikwíjiwa	LHLL	nikwijiwa	'I know/I will know'
ukwíjiwa	LHLL	ukwijiwa	
akwíjiwa	LHLL	akwijiwa	
tikwíjiwa	LHLL	tikwijiwa	'we know'
mukwíjiwa	LHLL	mukwijiwa	
wakwíjiwa	LHLL	wakwijiwa	

The HABITUAL

The suffix *-ang-* is inserted before the verb final *-a* of the NON-PAST to get present or general habituals, or of the PAST BACKGROUNDED to get past habituals.

nífyománga	HLHL	nífyomanga	'I usually read'
níkífyománga	HHLHL	níkifyomanga	'I was usually reading'

Then the so-called -*ki*- prefix "tenses":

The PAST BACKGROUNDED

High tone on the subject prefix and penultimate syllable. It is used for events indicating past or anterior imperfectives, past duratives, and as well as past backgrounded events.

The Past Backgrounded also has a specialized use in dialogue and conversation, where *níkamba* is used to end an assertion by the speaker that he/she wants to emphasize. It would then be translated as 'I would say'.

wákírya	HHL	wákirya	'they were reading'
níkífísa	HHHL	níkifisa	'I was hiding (it)'
níkífuláta	HHLHL	níkifulata	'I was following'
úkífuláta	HHLHL	úkifulata	'you were following'
ákífuláta	HHLHL	ákifulata	'he was following'
tíkífuláta	HHLHL	tíkifulata	'we were following'
múkífuláta	HHLHL	múkifulata	'you (pl) following'
wákífuláta	HHLHL	wákifulata	'they were following'
níkíkaribísha	HHLLHL	níkikaribisha	'I was inviting'
níkâsa	HFL	níkasa	'I was leaving'

The BACKGROUNDED

Only high tone on the penultimate syllable. Used for simultaneousness, backgroundedness, unmarked condition (there is a marked conditional), as well as the secondary or backgrounded storyline in narrative, where it is a consecutive or chaining "tense". Similar to the Swahili -*ka*-, contingent on a Perfect (and in a very few verified cases, on the Distant Past).

nikírya	LHL	nikírya	'when I eat/while I eat/then I ate'
nikifísa	LLHL	nikifísa	'when I hide/while I hide/then I hid (it)'
ukifísa	LLHL	ukifísa	
akifísa	LLHL	akifísa	
tikifísa	LLHL	tikifísa	'when we hide/while we hide/then we hid (it)'
mukifísa	LLHL	mukifísa	
wakifísa	LLHL	wakifísa	
wakifuláta	LLLHL	wakifuláta	'when they follow/while they follow/then they followed'
wakikaribísha	LLLLHL	wakikaribísha	'when they invite/while they invite/then they invited'
nikàása	LRL	nikása	'when I leave/while I leave/then I left'
wakàása	LRL	wakása	'when they leave/while they leave/then they left'

The compound tenses are the following:

The "PRESENT PROGRESSIVE"

A compound construction with the inflected "to be" followed by Class 18 -n- and the infinitive form of the verb. Used for the present continuous but also for simultaneous events which are only valid at the time reference in the past. There is a contracted form that is normally used in speech. In the paradigm below, the long form and its tone pattern is followed by the contracted form. The ku- is from the Infinitive and the tone pattern of the infinitive is always used. No tones are written.

		CONTRACTED:	
niwankúka	LLHL	nankúka	'I am going'
kuwankúka	LLHL	kwankúka	'you are going'
kawankúka	LLHL	kankúka	'she is going'
tiwankúka	LLHL	twankúka	'we are going'
muwankúka	LLHL	mwankúka	'you (pl) are going'
wawankúka	LLHL	wankúka	'they are going'

niwankúja	LLHL	nankúja	'I am coming'
kuwankúja	LLHL	kwankúja	
kawankúja	LLHL	kankúja	
tiwankúja	LLHL	twankúja	'we are coming'
muwankúja	LLHL	mwankúja	
wawankúja	LLHL	wankúja	
niwankufísa	LLLHL	nankufísa	'I am hiding (it)'
wawankufúlata	LLLHLL	wankufúlata	'they are following'
niwankwása	LLHL	nankwása	'I am leaving'
niwankwandíka	LLLHL	nankwandíka	'I am writing'

The so-called NOT YET tense

Negative prefix plus subject prefix on auxiliary verb /-námba/ followed by the infinitive.

sinámba kufyóma	'I am not yet reading'
aunámba kufyóma	'you are not yet reading'
aanámba kufyóma	'she is not yet reading'
atinámba kufyóma	'we are not yet reading'
amunámba kufyóma	'you (pl) are not yet reading'
awanámba kufyóma	'they are not yet reading'

The PERSISTIVE tense

Auxiliary verb -ingari followed by the infinitive. For the auxiliary, the tone is high on the last syllable –ri, but tone is not written.

ningarí kufyóma	'I am still reading'
ungarí kufyóma	'you are still reading'
angarí kufyóma	'he is still reading'
tangarí kufyóma	'we are still reading'
mwangarí kufyóma	'you (pl) are still reading'
wangarí kufyóma	'they are still reading'

The compound FUTURE

Auxiliary verb –*saka* 'want to' in the Non-Past, followed by the infinitive or Subjunctive-optative. In contrast with the Non-Past that is used for highly probably future occurrences, the compound FUTURE is used for less probable future occurrences.

nísaka kuúza	'I want to buy' = 'I will buy'
	Infinitive main verb
úsaka kuúza	'you want to buy' = 'you will buy'
ásaka kuúza	'she wants to buy' = 'she will buy'
tísaka timone	'we want to see him' = 'we will see him'
	Subjunctive-optative main verb
músaka mumone	'you (pl) want to see him' = 'you will see him'
wásaka wamone	'they want to see him' = 'they will see him'

This construction can be abbreviated by deletion of the –ka of the root *saka,* and contracted to the infinitive. This contracted construction cannot be used when the main verb is an Subjunctive-optative.

nisakuúza	'I will buy' = 'I want to buy'

The hypothetical CONDITIONAL

Protasis: Kamba + PERFECT
Apodosis: nanga + PERFECT

Kamba niwa tajiri, nanga nuuza vinu vingi.
'If I were rich, I would buy many things.'

For real conditionals, the Backgrounded is often used:

Ikínya nvula makeso, atuuka Pangani.
'If it rains tomorrow, we are not going to Pangani.'

The SUBJUNCTIVE-OPTATIVE

No Subjunctive-optative morpheme exists except the negative Subjunctive-optative prefix -*si*-. The verb final is always -*e*. Used for wishes, polite commands, possibilities, etc.

nirye	'I would eat'
uje	'you would come'
afise	'he would hide (it)'
afyome	'she would read'
tije	'we would come'
tuke	'we would go'
mufyome	'you (pl) would read'
wakaríbishe	'they would invite'

It is also used for complementation.
Iye kaja arye.
'He came so that he might eat.'

4.2 THE NEGATIVE VERB

For all negative verbs, except the negative Subjunctive-optative, the negative marking prefix *a-* is inserted before the subject concord prefix (but the first person singular becomes *si-*).

The DISTANT PAST

Negative marking prefix plus verb final −*e*, and always attracts high tone over the subject concord prefix. The meaning is a definite negative, a highly improbable event.

síríre	HHL	sîrire	'I didn't eat'
aúríre	LHHL	aûrire	
aáríre	LHHL	aârire	
atíríre	LHHL	atîrire	'we didn't eat'
amúríre	LHHL	amûrire	
awáríre	LHHL	awârire	
sífisíre	HLHL	sîfisire	'I didn't hide (it)'
aúfisíre	LHLHL	aûfisire	
aáfisíre	LHLHL	aâfisire	
atífisíre	LHLHL	atîfisire	'we didn't hide'
amúfisíre	LHLHL	amûfisire	
awáfisíre	LHLHL	awâfisire	
aáfuláte	LHLHL	aâfulate	'he didn't follow'
awáfuláte	LHLHL	awâfulate	
aákaríbishe	LHLHLL	aâkaribishe	'he didn't invite'
awákaríbishe	LHLHLL	awâkaribishe	

The PERFECT

Negative marking prefix plus verb final −*e,* and never a high tone over the subject concord prefix (in direct contrast to the Distant Past). The meaning is a definite negative, but a less-highly improbable event than the Distant Past. Its meaning includes events in the recent past, with something that hasn't happened but that has implications for the present (anterior aspect).

siríre	LHL	sirire	'I didn't eat'
auríre	LLHL	aurire	
aaríre	LLHL	aarire	
atiríre	LLHL	atirire	'we didn't eat'
amuríre	LLHL	amurire	
awaríre	LLHL	awarire	
sifisíre	LLHL	sifisire	'I didn't hide (it)'
aufisíre	LLLHL	aufisire	
aafisíre	LLLHL	aafisire	
atifisíre	LLLHL	atifisire	'we didn't hide'
amufisíre	LLLHL	amufisire	
awafisíre	LLLHL	awafisire	
aafuláte	LLLHL	aafulate	'he didn't follow'
awafuláte	LLLHL	awafulate	
aakaríbishe	LLLHLL	aakaribishe	'he didn't invite'
awakaríbishe	LLLHLL	awakaribishe	

The NON-PAST

Negative marking prefix on the verb stem. The meaning is a denial of an assumed general, timeless occurrence, or the definite denial of a future action or intention. Like the affirmative Non-past referring to the future, it is more definite and certain than the compound Future. The high tone is not written in the orthography.

sírya	'I don't eat/I will not eat'
aúrya	'you don't eat'
aárya	'he doesn't eat'
atírya	'we don't eat'
amúrya	'you (pl) don't eat'
awárya	'they don't eat'
sifísa	'I don't hide (it)/I will not hide (it)'
awafísa	'they don't hide (it)'
aafyóma	'she doesn't eat'
atifyóma	'we don't read'
awafuláta	'they don't follow'
awakaríbisha[?]	'they don't invite'
sóówa	'I don't bath'
sandíka	'I don't write'
sikárira	'I don't sit down'

The PAST BACKGROUNDED

Only the negative marking prefix is added to the affirmative form. Tone still only on the penultimate syllable. Like the affirmative, the negative has the meaning of denying an occurrence that was assumed to take place in the past when something else happened. Negative past progressive, or in other words, negative past background information.

síkirya	'I wasn't eating when…'
aúkifisa	'you weren't hiding it when…'
aákifyoma	'he wasn't reading when…'
atíkifulata	'we weren't following when…'
amúkasa	'you (pl) weren't leaving when…'
awákijiwa	'you didn't know when…'

The verb –wapo is often used with this occurrence:

aúkiwapo	'you weren't present when…'
aákiwapo	'she wasn't present when…'
atíkiwapo	'we weren't present when…'
awákiwapo	'they weren't present when…'

The PRESENT PROGRESSIVE

Like in the affirmative, the auxiliary verb "to be" is used, just a different root this time (-*ri*), prefixed by the negative subject prefixes. The main verb immediately following is in the infinitive.

siri kúrya	'I am not eating'
auri kufísa	'you are not hiding (it)'
aari kufúlata	'she is not following'
atiri kukáríbísha	'we are not inviting'
amuri kwása	'you (pl) are not leaving'
awari kwándíka	'they are not writing'

The compound FUTURE

The negative Non-past of the verb –*saka* 'want', followed by the infinitive. Tone is not marked, because the negative marking prefixes make it clear to the reader which tense it is.

sisáka kurya	'I don't want to eat' = I will not eat
ausáka kufisa	'you don't want to hide (it)' = you will not hide (it)
aasáka kufulata	'she doesn't want to follow' = she will not follow
atisáka kukaribisha	'we don't want to invite' = we will not invite
amusáka kwasa	'you (pl) don't want to leave' = you will not leave
awasáka kwandika	'they don't want to write' = they will not write

The SUBJUNCTIVE-OPTATIVE

The negative Subjunctive-optative –*si*- prefix is inserted before the verb stem, and like the affirmative, the verb final is –*e*. The negative Subjunctive-optative is used for prohibitions, negative commands or wishes (you shouldn't…), and for improbabilities. Notice that the subject concord prefixes are the affirmative set, not the negative set.

nisifulate	'I would not follow'
usirye	'you would not eat/you shouldn't eat'
asifise	'he would not hide (it)/he shouldn't hide (it)'
tisifúlate	'we would not follow'
musikaríbishe	'you (pl) shouldn't invite/you would not invite'
wasese	'they would not leave/they shouldn't leave'
	(notice the -*si*- and –*ase* merging into -*sese*)

4.3 THE AFFIRMATIVE RELATIVE VERB

The DISTANT PAST RELATIVE

The Distant Past Relative always takes a high tone on the subject concord prefix, and takes an –*ire* final extension on one or two syllable stems, and only –*e* final on longer stems. Notice the carrot ^ on the orthographic representation to indicate the Distant Past. Also notice that the second and third person singular forms do not take the *ku-* and *ka-* as in the normal affirmative forms, but rather *u-* and *a-* respectively.

níríre	HHL	nîrire	'I who had eaten'
úríre	HHL	ûrire	'you who had eaten'
áríre	HHL	ârire	'he who had eaten'
títíre	HHL	tîrire	'we who had eaten'
múríre	HHL	mûrire	'you (pl) who had eaten'
wáríre	HHL	wârire	'they who had eaten'
nífisíre	HLHL	nîfisire	'I who had hidden (it)'
áfisíre	HLHL	âfisire	'she who had hidden (it)'
wáfisíre	HLHL	wâfisire	'they who had hidden (it)'
nífuláte	HLHL	nîfulate	'I who had followed'
wáfuláte	HLHL	wâfulate	'they who had followed'
wákaríbishe	HLHLL	wâkaribishe	'they who had invited'
nésíre	HHL	nêsire	'I who had left (it)'
wásíre	HHL	wâsire	'they who had left (it)'

The PERFECT RELATIVE

The tone structure of the PERFECT Relative is different from the DISTANT PAST Relative in that the subject prefix does not take a high tone, and in that where the DISTANT PAST has a high tone over the root, the PERFECT has falling tone (but notice the exceptions with the longer roots and the vowel-initial roots).

nirîre	LFL	niríre	'I who have eaten'
urîre	LFL	uríre	
arîre	LFL	aríre	
tirîre	LFL	tiríre	'we who have eaten'
murîre	LFL	muríre	
warîre	LFL	waríre	
nifisîre	LLFL	nifisíre	'I who have followed'
afisîre	LLFL	afisíre	'he who has followed'
wafisîre	LLFL	wafisíre	
nifulâte	LLFL	nifuláte	'I who have followed'
wafulâte	LLFL	wafuláte	
wakaríbishe	LLHLL	wakaríbishe	'they who have invited'
wasíre	LHL	wasíre	'they who have left (behind)'

The NON-PAST RELATIVE

nîrya	FL	nírya	'I who eat'
ârya	FL	árya	'you who eat'
wârya	FL	wárya	'they who eat'
nifísa	LHL	nifísa	'I who hide (it)'
ufísa	LHL	ufísa	
afísa	LHL	afísa	
tifísa	LHL	tifísa	'we who hide (it)'
mufísa	LHL	mufísa	
wafísa	LHL	wafísa	
walamúka	LLHL	walamúka	'they who wake up'
nisisímuka	LLHLL	nisisímuka	'I who get up'
wasisímuka	LLHLL	wasisímuka	'they who get up'
áàsa	RL	ása	'she who leaves (behind)'

The PAST BACKGROUNDED[2] RELATIVE
[Data uncertain]

The PRESENT PROGRESSIVE RELATIVE

The *–ri* root of the verb 'to be' is used as auxiliary verb, followed by the infinitive. Notice that the forms are the same for the auxiliary verb *–ri* (to be) as for the negative Present Progressive; the only difference is that this form does not have the negative prefixes (*si-* and *a-*).

niri kúrya	'I who am eating'
uri kufísa	'you who are hiding (it)'
ari kufúlata	'she who is not following'
tiri kukáríbísha	'we who are inviting'
muri kwása	'you (pl) who are leaving'
wari kwándíka	'they who are writing'

The compound FUTURE RELATIVE

The Non-past relative form of the root *–saka* 'want' is used as auxiliary verb, followed by the infinitive. Again the form of the auxiliary here is the same as the negative affirmative, except for the negative prefixes.

nisáka kurya	'I who want to eat' = I who will eat
usáka kufisa	'you who want to hide (it)' = you who will hide (it)
asáka kufulata	'she who wants to follow' = she who will follow
tisáka kukaribisha	'we who want to invite' = we who will invite
musáka kwasa	'you (pl) who want to leave' = you who will leave
wasáka kwandika	'they who want to write' = they who will write

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[2] There is no Backgrounded Relative, because the Backgrounded is either a dependent verb indicating background to the main verb, or is an independent verb functioning in a chain of consecutive verbs which cannot be relativized.

4.4 The NEGATIVE RELATIVE VERB

The negative relative verb is constructed with the *sá-* negative relative prefix added in front of the affirmative relative verb, so the *sá-* + relativized verb with *-e* final. In the orthography, tone is not marked.

The DISTANT PAST RELATIVE NEGATIVE:

sánieríre	'I who hadn't eaten'
sátiníre	'we who hadn't eaten'
sáwáfíse	'they who hadn't hidden (it)'
sáwáfuláte	'they who hadn't followed'
sáwákaribíshe	'they who hadn't invited'

The NON-PAST RELATIVE NEGATIVE:

sánírya	'I who do not eat'
sáwárya	'they who do not eat'
sááfísa	'she who does not hide (it)'
sáwáfísa	'they who do not hide (it)'
sáwáfuláta	'they who do not follow'
sáwákaríbisha	'they who do not invite'

The PRESENT PROGRESSIVE RELATIVE NEGATIVE:

sánirí kufúlata	'I who am not following'
sáurí kufúlata	
sáarí kufúlata	
sátirí kufúlata	'we who are not following'
sámurí kufúlata	
sáwarí kufúlata	

The COMPOUND FUTURE RELATIVE NEGATIVE:

sánisáka kufúlata	'I who do not want to follow'
sáwasáka kufúlata	'they who do not want to follow'

4.5 Irregular verbs

There are three verbs in Kimwani that have a change in the verb stem in the negative. These verbs are *kwajibu* 'to like', *kuwa* 'to be', and *kuona* 'to see'. Below are the paradigms that indicate the stem changes.

kwajibu in the General negative has the verb stem of **–yebu**.

siyébu	'I don't like'
auyébu	'you don't like'
aayébu	'he/she doesn't like'
atiyébu	'we don't like'
amuyébu	'you (plural) don't like'
awayébu	'they don't like'

A negative Perfect or Past of **kwajibu** does not exist. The negative Perfect of **kusaka** is used.

e.g.   sisakíre 'I didn't like/want'

NOTE: The affirmative of **kwajibu** is semantically different to Portuguese or English. The subject concord marker actually refers to the person or thing that is liked. One should rather translate the affirmative forms as '*he/she/it appeals to me/us/him*'.

e.g.   chínajíbu 'I like it' (class 7), or better, 'it appeals to me'
         wakwájibuni 'you liked them', or better, 'they appealed to you(plural)'

kuwa in the perfect and past negative gets **–were** as the verb stem.

siwére	'I was not'
auwére	'you were not'
aawére	'he/she was not'
atiwére	'we were not'
amuwére	'you were not'
awawére	'they were not'

sîwere	'I was not (long ago)'
aûwere	'you were not (long ago)'
aâwere	'he/she was not'
atîwere	'we were not'
amûwere	'you were not'
awâwere	'they were not'

The verb for 'to have' will then have the **nao** following as a separate word.

e.g.   siwére nao   'I didn't have'
         atiwére nao   'we didn't have'

kuona in the perfect and past negative gets **–mwene** as the verb stem without an object concord marker, and **–wene** with such a marker.

simwéne	'I didn't see'	siwawéne	'I didn't see them'
aumwéne	'you didn't see'	auwawéne	'you didn't see them'
aamwéne	'she didn't see'	aawawéne	'she didn't see them'
atimwéne	'we didn't see'	atiwawéne	'we didn't see them'
amumwéne	'you (pl) didn't see'	amuwawéne	'you (pl) didn't see them'
awamwéne	'they didn't see'	awawawéne	'they didn't see them'

The same verbs in the Past will have a carrot accent over the subject concord.

5. The personal pronoun

The personal pronouns in Kimwani are the following:

omi	'I'
uwe	'you' singular
iye	'he, she'
ofwe	'we'
umwe	'you' plural
ewo	'they'

6. Agreement

Agreement or concord is a basic feature of Kimwani grammar and syntax. Agreement means that the person or class of the head word (a noun or pronoun), requires agreement or concord from all words that it is related to in a sentence. There are two types of agreement, namely verbal agreement and nominal agreement.

Verbal agreement is agreement of class between the subject and the verb, as well as between the verb and the animate object.

e.g. **Omi ní**fyoma
Nlume kafyoma
Ni**mw**ámbira **muka** wangu

Nominal agreement is the agreement required between a noun and its modifiers like adjectives, demontratives, possessives, and so on.

e.g. **Mu**nu **i**re
Wanu **wa**kulu **wa**re
Kazi **ng**ema
Mazina **a**o
Mwari **mw**ema
Wasimana **wa**kulu **wa**wiri

The class of the noun head of a noun phrase (NP) governs the concord within the NP and between the noun phrase and the verb. There are a few irregular constructions: Animates of classes 9-10 (normally animals) can have either class 9-10 or class 1-2 concord.

E**yu** mbuzi-**yu ka**wapo (cl 1)
'this goat is present'

Wambuzi **wa**re **wa**wapo (cl 2)
'those goats are present'

Mbuzi-**zi zi**wapo (cl 10)
'these goats are present'

Mbuzi **zi**re **zi**wapo
'those goats are present'

When there are multiple subjects of different classes, the class 8-concord *vi*- is used.

Mikate(4) na livro(5) **vi**wa pameza-pa
Mangalawa(6) na sitima(9) moja **vi**wa mwani-ko
Nkukuta(3) na sitima(10) **vi**wa mwani-ko
Lupenu(11) na nriango(9) **vi**wa nóko

But when one of the subjects is an animate, it always controls the concord:

Wasimana(2) na vinu(8) vya kusezera **wa**wa mwani-ko
Mwanlimu(1) na bisikleta(9) yake **ka**wa kukaya

nkati ya/mwa: Both are correct, but there are exceptions, like in the example below:

Wasimana wáseza nluwani **mwa** mwanyewe.
*Wasimana wáseza nluwani **ra** mwanyewe. [This form is incorrect. Here the the genitive marker must be in class 18 (*mwa*).]

7. The noun

Kimwani is a Bantu language, since it has a class system to classify the nouns. A class is defined as a group of nouns having the same prefix, also called a noun prefix, and controls the nominal and pronominal concord and agreement of that specific class.
With that in mind, Kimwani has 16 noun classes. The classes 1-10 can be grouped in pairs called gender which share meaning, for example nouns with class 2-prefixes are the plural forms of class 1. The following classes exist:

Class		
1	mu- or mw- or n- , or 0
2	wa- or w-
3	mu- or mw-
4	mi- or my-
5	0, ri-
6	ma-
7	ki- or ch-
8	vi- or vy-
9	N-
10	N-
11	lu-
14	u- or w-
15	ku- or kw- (the nominal-verbal)

LOCATIVES:

16	pa-
17	ku- or kw-
18	mu- or mw-

Classes 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10 each form one gender, for instance classes 1 and 2 are the singular and plural forms of most of the words referring to people. The classes 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 are derivations having plural meaning, being derived from the singular forms. And the derivation is not always within the genders, for instance a class 11 noun's plural form is in class 10. There are exceptions.

Noun classes 1-2

These classes contain words referring to "human beings". But not all words referring to human beings will be found in this class: Some kinship terms are in class 9, for example. Class 1 is the singular form, class 2 the plural. Class 1 either has the prefix mu- (with variations like mw- or n-), as is mostly the case, or it has no prefix in the singular but still the wa- in the plural.

e.g.	**mu**ja	(slave)
	muka	(woman)
	mukwe	(father/mother-in-law)
	munu	(person)

e.g.	**mw**ana	(child)
	mwari	(girl)
	mwivi	(robber)

e.g.	**n**jukulu	(grandchild, brother's child)
	nlamu	(brother-in-law)
	nzungu	(white man)
	nkolakazi	(worker)

e.g.	wifi	(sister-in-law)
	wawa	(father) [variant of *baba*]
	somo	(friend)

There are nouns indicating people or groups of people in other classes. Many kinship terms are in classes 9-10. Class 6 also contains many terms related to people, indicating titles and ranks, as well as bounded groups.

e.g.	jamaa	(family member, cl.9; but at times its plural form is *wajamaa*, but with class 10 concord)

Class 2 is the plural of class 1, together form the people gender. The class 2 pronoun is wa-, and is realized in the following ways:

e.g.	**wa**jamaa	(family members)
	wakolakazi	(workers)
	wanu	(people)
	waka	(women)

e.g.	**wa**+ana	= wana	(sons)
	wa+ari	= wari	(girls)

Before a i- : we -> wa/_i. The -a of the prefix and the i- of the stem assimilates into an -e-

e.g.	**wa**+ivi	= wevi	(robbers)

In compounds in which both parts have the class 1 prefix, the following plurals appear:

     e.g.   **mw**ana**mu**ka -- **wa**na**wa**ka (women)
               mwana**n**lume -- **wa**na**wa**lume (men)

Some human-animate nouns of class 1 will take two plurals: one of class 2 (*wa*-) and another class 6 (*ma*-). There is a semantic distinction. Class 2 plurals normally indicate many of a kind and are countable. Class 6 human-animate plurals indicate either groups of humans, or a group of higher status humans.

     e.g.   **n**falume   (king, chief; government official)
             wafalume   (government officials)
             mafalume   (high-level government officials, normally
                                          king's counsellors)

Noun classes 3-4

Classes 3 and 4 contain lifeless things related to nature. Things made of wood, non-human animates, some body parts and natural phenomena like trees, spirits, fire, wind and rivers are members of this class, as well as things associated with nature. Class 4 is its plural derivation, but class 4 also contains a few human-animates related to religion, like

            minabii   (prophets)
            mitume   (divine messengers, apostles)
            milungu   (gods)

The mu- prefix is underlying and realized in the following ways:
1. m- before labial consonants (b,f,m,n,p,v,w)
     e.g.   **m**paja   (thigh)
             mvunyo   (lip)
             mbarisi   (ricinea plant)
             mviri   (shadow) pl.miviri
             mwala   (rock) pl. myala
             mwango   (mountain,hill) pl.myango
2. n- before non-labial consonants (g,n,k,z,r,l,s,t,y)
     e.g.   **n**nazi   (coconut-palm tree)
             ngombo   (decorated walking stick)
             nkate   (bread)
             nrimbu   (well)
             nsanga   (sand)
             nloto   (dream)
3. mw- before the unrounded vowels (a,e,i)
     e.g.   **mw**aka   (year)
             mwezi   (moon,month)
             mwiri   (body)
4. mu- assimilates with rounded vowels (o,u)
     e.g.   **m**oto   (fire)

The plural of class 3 is class 4, with the prefix is mi-. The mi- becomes a my- or m- before vowelstems:

e.g.	**mi**nazi	(coconut-palm trees)
	mivunyo	(lips)
	migombo	(decorated walking sticks)
	mikate	(cakes)
e.g.	**my**aka	(years)
	myezi	(months)
e.g.	**m**iwa	(fishbones)
	miri	(bodies)

Noun classes 5-6

The class 5 forms have no specific class marker, except for a *ri-* that remained in a few words which have monosyllabic stems. All class 5 nouns share the ma-prefix for the plural (i.e., class 6). Words starting with consonants r-, j-, la- and z- tend to belong to class 5. Semantically, this gender contains paired objects, like paired body parts, and some fruits, among a wide variety of other concepts. Class 6 has several additional features of meaning, over and above being the plural of class 5. It means masses, groups, liquids, and also human-animate groups of higher status.

The class 5. Most class 5 nouns have no prefix (also called 0-prefix).

e.g.	jembe	(hoe)
	jini	(spirit,devil)
	juwa	(sun)
	kala	(coal from wood)
	tanga	(sail)
	zina	(name)
	zala	(ashheap,dirthole)

The class 5 prefix *ri-* generally disappeared, but a few words with monosyllabic stems still have it. The prefix changes to ma- in the plural.

e.g.	**ri**so	--	maso	(eye)
	rino	--	meno	(tooth)
	riwe	--	mawe	(rock)
	rivu	-		(ash)

Sometimes the *ri-* prefix has become part of the stem, and the *ma-* class 6 plural is then added before.

e.g.	**ri**vereko	--	**mari**vereko	(baby sling)
	rifuko	--	**mari**fuko	(coast) [a variant is mafuko, with no ri-]
	ripupa	--	**mari**pupa	(fin)

Several words of class 5 don't have a plural form.

e.g.	juwa	(sun)
	rosi	(smoke)
	rivu	(ash)

The plural Class 6-prefix ma-: Since most words are consonant-initial, the ma- remains regular. Semantically, collective nouns meaning liquids and some people plurals are in this class, as well as the plural forms of some class 14 and class 11 nouns.

e.g.	**ma**jembe	(hoes)
	maluwa	(flowers)
	masala	(ripe coconuts)
	maziwa	(milk)

Some words only appear in class 6, not having a singular form (mostly liquids).

e.g.	**ma**futa	(oil, fuel)
	malwazo	(pains)
	maji	(water)
	masiwa	(milk)
	maera	(flood)

Collective nouns are members of the ma- class, normally high status groups.

e.g.	**ma**simba	(a pride of lions, i.e., a group)
while:	**wa**simba	(several individual lions)

Singular nouns starting with lu- (class 11), take the class 6 ma- to mark the plural forms. At times we find prefix substitution (ma- replaces lu-), and in other cases prefix addition (ma- added in front of the lu- prefix). Variations of the derived "plural" form is the result.

e.g.	**lu**kwakwa	--	**ma**kwakwa	(platform to dry fish)
	luwimbi	--	**ma**luwimbi	(wave,surf)
	luwembe	--	**ma**luwembe	(navalha)

    [A variant dialectal form is **ma**wembe (Mocimboa).]

Noun classes 7-8

Classes 7-8 nouns are generally nouns of relatively smaller lifeless things and artifacts. They are normally very concrete. The seasons of the year and some natural phenomena are also in this gender, as well as the so-called defective humans. Class 7 is to indicate languages (*mwani --> kimwani*). The prefix is ki- (with its variations) for class 7 and vi- for the plural class 8.

The class 7 prefix is ki-, but it changes to ch- before vowels.

e.g.	**ki**tabu	(book)
	kiti	(small chair)
	kinu	(thing)
	kifyu	(knife)
	kisirwa	(island)

e.g.	**ch**akurya	(food)
	chengo	(fence,blockage)
	chuma	(iron)
	chowero	(bathroom, toilet)

Some words appear only in class 7 and don't have a plural.

e.g.	**ki**nja	(rainy season)
	kimwani	(language of the Wamwani)
	kirangazi	(hot and dry season of Oct-Dec)
	kisi	(darkness)

Kisimana (kid, child) is defined to be a member of class 7 because the initial ki- is a class marker. That is because it is substitutable: The plural form is *wasimana* (class 2). *Kisimana* takes class 1-prefixes in concord and agreement, because its referent is an animate.

The class 8. The plural of class 7 is class 8, which has the prefix *vi-*. Like class 7, the *vi-* realizes itself in the same pattern: *vi-* before roots that start with consonants and *vy-* before roots that start with vowels.

e.g.	**vi**tabu	(books)
	viti	(chairs)
	vinu	(things)
	vifyu	(knives)
	visirwa	(islands)
	viyasi	(long times)

e.g.	**vy**akurya	(foods)
	vyengo	(fences)
	vyuma	(irons)

Noun Classes 9-10

Class 9, with its plural represented by class 10, probably forms the most extensive class. Semantically it contains animals, some vehicles (e.g. *ei/ezi sitima*), loan words and special kinds of people like kinship terms (kinship concord is with classes 9-10 in variation with classes 1-2, while animals always have classes 1-2 concord and agreement).

The class 9-singular. The class prefix is an underlying nasal *N-* which is realized in various ways. Before a monosyllabic stem the *N-* becomes a syllabic *n-*, because Kimwani doesn't have monosyllabic nouns or verbs.

e.g.	**n**doo	(bucket)
	inswi	(fish)

N- before *p,k,t,l,m,n,ng',f,s* becomes zero, i.e., it disappears.

e.g.	kumbi	(circumcision rite for boys)
	kati	(middle)
	kazi	(work)
	tari	(type of cellar)
	tamaa	(hope)
	suku	(day)
	songolo	(grain)
	mwani	(beach)
	nazi	(ripe coconut)
	ng'ombe	(cow)

The *N-* gets prenasilized before the vowels or consonants, depending on what they are. The prenasalized *N-* becomes *ny-, mb-, nd-, nj-, ng-,* or *nv-*, or even *mw-*, depending on what follows the underlying *N-*.

e.g.	**ny**amba	(bushcat)
	nyumba	(house)
	nyavu	(fishing net)

e.g.	**mb**iri	(shouted message)
	mbaláti	(plank to cover wooden skeleton of a sailboat)

e.g. **nd**evu   (beard)
     nduwi   (smallpox)

e.g. **nj**iwa   (dove)
     njira   (path,road)

e.g. **ng**alawa   (sailboat)   [plural is *mangalawa* (cl 6)]
     ngoma   (drum)

e.g. **nv**ula   (rain)

e.g. **mw**ani   (beach)

The class 10-plural: Class 10 represents the plural forms of class 9, also with the prefix *N-* and its different realizations. The forms of the nouns remain exactly the same, consequently. Only the pronominal class marker is different: *zi-* instead of the *y-* of class 9. Class 10 also represents the plural form of some class 11 nouns.
     e.g. **lu**wavu -- **mb**avu (sides, ribs)

Noun Class 11

Nouns with the *lu-* prefix fall in this class. Since all the *lu-* prefixed nouns take class 5 concord in the singular, it could be argued that the *lu-* class has been absorbed by class 5. Since every distinct class prefix determines class distinctions, not the concord, the *lu-* words are taken to be members of a class 11.

Mostly the plural form is derived by *prefix substitution* (the *lu-* prefix) by using the class 6 prefix (*ma-*). But forming a plural by *prefix addition*, by adding the class 6 prefix *ma-* before the class 11 prefix *lu-*, for example, *maluwimbi* 'waves'.

The lu- before consonants remains intact.
     e.g. **lu**wa   (flower)   plural: mawa
          lupenu   (veranda of house)   mapenu
          lukosi   (nape)   makosi
          lukingizo   (protected object)   makingizo
          luwimbi   (surf, wave)   maluwimbi

The following lu-words are class 11 and take a class 10-plural.
     e.g. **lu**kuni -- uni   (firewoods)
                    (*malukuni* is a modern development)
          lulemba -- ulemba   (afternoons)

Except for the class 11-10 words, all concord within the noun phrase and verb concord of *lu-* nouns are with class 5 pronominal and nominal prefixes.
Agreement or concord examples of class 11 nouns are the following:
          lukini **ri**moja   (11-5 prefixes)
          luwimbi **ri**kulu   (11-5 prefixes)
          luwimbi **r**ema   (11-5 prefixes)
          uni **mb**iri   (10-10 prefixes)
          uni ulu   (10-10 prefixes)
          zire uni **zi**re   (10-10-10 prefixes)

Noun class 14

Class 14 is generally the class for abstract nouns. Often nouns from other classes can be put in class 14 to get an abstract meaning, like semo (class 5, meaning 'word'), **u**semi (class 14, meaning 'saying').

The class 14 prefix is *u-,* but it should be noted that not all *u-* initial nouns belong to class 14. If they don't belong to class 14, they normally belong to classes 9/10. Nouns start with a *u-* prefix before consonants.

e.g.	**u**jinja	(stupidity)
	ulwere	(sickness)
	usawi	(witchcraft)
	upendo	(love)

Before vowels the u- becomes w-.

e.g.	**w**erevu	(wisdom)
	wofi	(fear)

Noun class 15

Class 15 is for the nominal verbs also called verbal nominals (the eating, the working, etc.).

The class 15 prefix is *ku-* and this same form is used for the infinitive of the verb (to eat, to work, etc.). The *ku-* prefix is realized in the following ways: Before consonant-initial stems, it is *ku-*, but before vowel-initial stems with the vowels *a,e,i* the *ku-* becomes *kw-*.

e.g.	**ku**fyóma	(reading,to read)
	kusówera	(speaking,to speak)
	kukáríbísha	(to invite, inviting)

e.g.	**kw**ísa	(to finish)
	kwávíríza	(to help, to be of use)
	kweréra	(to flout)

Before the vowel-initial stems starting with o,u the *ku-* becomes *k-*.

e.g.	ku+opa = **k**ópa	(to fear)
	ku+uza = **ku**úza	(to buy)
	ku+ocha = **k**ócha	(to burn,grill)

An exception is ku+oka = **kú**ka   (to go).

The locatives classes 16, 17, and 18 will be discussed under the Locatives below.

8. The adjective

Here are examples of nouns from each class, followed by the adjectives
-toto 'small' and *-kulu* 'big'. These are adjectives which start with **consonants**.

1.	mwana	ntoto/ nkulu	(small/big child)
2.	wana	watoto/ wakulu	(small/big children)
3.	nkate	ntoto/ nkulu	(small/big cake)
4.	mikate	mitoto/ mikulu	(small/big cakes)
5.	zina	ritoto/ rikulu	(small/big name)
6.	mazina	matoto/ makuku	(small/big names)
7.	kitabu	kitoto/ kikulu	(small/big book)
8.	vitabu	vitoto/ vikulu	(small/big books)
9.	nguo	noto/ ulu	(small/big cloth)
10.	nguo	noto/ ulu	(small/big clothes)
11.	luwimbi	ritoto/ rikulu	(small/big wave)
14.	upenda	utoto/ ukulu	(small/big love)
15.	kufyoma	kutoto/ kukulu	(small/big reading)
16.	maala	patoto/ pakulu	(small/big place)
17.	kubaari	kutoto/ kukulu	(small/big sea)
18.	nkati	mutoto/ mululu	(small/big inside)

Vowel-initial adjectives take a slightly different form, and the following changes take place as illustrated:

Examples:

Class	noun	good(*-ema*)	black(*-erufi*)	many(*-ingi*)
1.	mwana	mwema[3]	mwerufi	
2.	wanu	wema	werufi	wengi
3.	nkate	mwema	mwerufi	
4.	mikate	mema	merufi	mingi
5.	zina	rema	rerufi	
6.	mazina	mema	merufi	mengi
7.	kinu	chema	cherufi	
8.	vinu	vyema	vyerufi	vingi
9.	nguo	ngema	nyerufi	
10.	sitima	ngema	nyerufi	nyingi
11.	luwimbi	rema	rerufi	
14.	ufu	mwema	mwerufi	mwingi
15.	kurya	kwema	kwerufi	kwingi
16.	maala	pema	perufi	pengi
17.	kubaari	kwema	kwerufi	kwingi
18.	nkati	mwema	mwerufi	

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[3] -ema

9. The numeral

Cardinal numbers in Kimwani are the following:

moja	(1)	ishirini	(20)
mbiri	(2)	talatini	(30)
natu	(3)	arubaini	(40)
nne	(4)	amusini	(50)
ntanu	(5)	sitini	(60)
sita	(6)	sabibi	(70)
saba	(7)	tamanini	(80)
nane	(8)	tuswini	(90)
kenda	(9)	miya	(100)
kumi	(10)	alufu moja	(1000)
		or: elufu moja (as in KiSwahili)	
		alufu miya (million)	

The full paradigm of the cardinal numerals with their class prefixes:

	1	2	3	4	5	6
prefix	*m-*	*wa-*	*m-*	*mi-*	*ri-*	*ma-*
1/2	mmoja	wawiri	Mmoja	miwiri	rimoja	mawiri
3		watatu		mitatu		matatu
4		wane		mine		mane
5		watanu		mitanu		matanu
8		wanane		minane		manane

:

	7	8	9	10	11	14
prefix	*ki-*	*vi-*	*N-*	*N-*	*lu-*	*n/a*
1/2	kimoja	viwiri	Moja	mbiri	rimoja	-
3		vitatu		natu		
4		vine		nne		
5		vitanu		ntanu		
6		vinane		nnane		

	15	16	17	18
prefix	*ku-*	*pa-*	*ku-*	*m-/mu-*
1	kumoja	pamoja	Kumoja	mmoja
2	kuwiri	pawiri	Kuwiri	muwiri
3	kutatu	patatu	Kutatu	mutatu
4	kune	pane	Kune	mune
5	kutanu	patanu	Kutanu	mutanu
8	kunane	panane	Kunane	munane

The numbers 20, 30, 40 until 90, 100, 1000, 100,000 and a million do not have any class prefix or agreement.

e.g.	tuswini	(90)	
	miya	(100)	
	kontu	(1000)	[only used for money (Meticais)]
	alufu	(1000)	
	alufumiya	(one million)	

10. The demonstrative

There are three Kimwani demontratives, called selectors 1,2, and 3. See the forms in the table below.

Two forms of the Kimwani demonstrative can be distinguished, namely the **clitic** form, which is available only for selectors 1 and 2, which must *follow* a noun, and it is prosodically a part of the noun and written with a hyphen[4]. This clitic form does not have the selector 1 and 2 "root" **e-**.

    e.g.   munu-**yu**   (this person)
            zina-**ro**   (this [sel. 2] name)

Secondly there are the **independent** forms, which can be subdivided again in the forms that can only *precede* the head (only selectors 1 and 2),

    e.g.   **eyu** munu   (this person)
            ero zina   (this [sel. 2] name)

and those that can *precede as well as follow* the head (only selector-3 demonstratives).

    e.g.   **ire** munu **ire**   (that person)
            are maji   (that water)
            sitima **zire**   (those motorboats)

	SELECTOR 1: Close to speaker; foregrounded in conver-sation and narrative direct speech	SELECTOR 2: Close to both speaker & hearer; foregrounded; close in memory/ immediate previous reference	SELECTOR 3: Distant from both speaker & hearer; backgrounded (but fore-grounded [?] in narrative non-direct speech)
CL 1 e.g., w/ munu, mama	eyu -yu	eyo -yo	ire
CL 2 e.g., w/ wanu, wana, wakolakazi	ewa -wa	ewo -wo	ware
CL 3 e.g., w/ nkate, muti	eu -u	eo -o	ure
CL 4 e.g., w/ mikate, miti	eyi -yi	eyo -yo	ire
CL 5 e.g., w/ zina, riso, luwimbi	eri -ri	ero -ro	rire
CL 6 e.g., w/ mazina, maji	eya -ya	eyo -yo	are
CL 7 e.g., w/ kifyu, kitabu, kiti	echi -chi	echo -cho	chire

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[4] The orthographic rule is to separate with a hyphen the clitic form, and to write separately when it is an independent form.

e.g.   munu-yu
        munu ire

CL 8 e.g., w/ vifyu, viti	evi	evyo	vire
vitabu, viti	-vi	-vyo	
CL 9 e.g., w/ sungula, mákina	ei	eo	ire
	-i	-o	
CL 10	ezi	ezo	zire
	-zi	-zo	
CL 14 e.g., w/ ufu, wofi, utajiri, ulwere, wakati	ewu	ewo	ure
	-wu	-wo	

Furthermore, the two different forms of the demonstrative in Kimwani are *realized* in three different *combinations*[5], as well as the demonstrative without a noun head, for instance:

a.	**eyu**	munu	asaka	kurya	(this person wants to eat)
b.		munu-**yu**	asaka	kurya	(this person wants to eat)
c.	**eyu**	munu-**yu**	asaka	kurya	(this person wants to eat)
d.	**eyu**		asaka	kurya	(this-one wants to eat)

11. Possessives

A noun or a demonstrative can act as a head for a possessive. Two types of possessives are distinguished, namely:

        1) pronominal possessives
            e.g.   mwana **wangu** (my son)
and   2) nominal possessives
            e.g.   mwana **wa mwalimu** (son of the teacher)

The possessive pronoun is in concord with the governing noun or demonstrative, and in the case of the nominal possessive the possessor and the possessed are connected with a particle called the "associative marker" or "genitive" -**a**, which inflects and has concord with the head noun (i.e., governed by the head noun, the POSSESSED).

The possessive pronoun stems are as follows:
        -angu   (my)
        -ako   (your,sg)
        -ake   (his,her)
        -etu   (our)
        -enu   (your,pl)
        -ao   (their)

The class-concord prefixes for the possessive pronouns are the following, given with examples:
    Class:
        1. muka wangu   (my wife)
        2. wana wawo   (their sons)
        3. nkate wako   (your cake)

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[5] How and when these different forms and their combinations are used, needs further study. The answer seems to lie on discourse level, and especially combination "c", which is repeating the demonstrative, does communicate emphasis-prominence.

4. mikate yenu	(your[pl] cakes)
5. zina rake	(his name)
6. mazina yetu	(our names)
7. kinu chako	(your thing)
8. evi vyawo	(theirs [things implied])
9. ata yako	(your head-cloth)
10. nguo zenu	(your[pl] clothes)
11. lupeno rangu	(my veranda)
14. ufu wawo	(their flour)
15. kufyoma kwangu	(my reading)
16. maala pake	(her place)
17. (kukaya) kwangu[7]	(my house where I stay now)
18. nnyumba mwangu	(in my house)

Abbreviated forms exist in Kimwani, limited only to some kinship terms.

e.g.	mwanangu	(my child) but not: mwana wangu
	wanangu	(my children) also: wana wangu
	mwanetu	(our child)
	wanetu	(our children) also: wana wetu

The pronominal possessives of some KINSHIP terms are irregular in that they have class 9-10 possessive pronoun roots (*y-* and *z-,* for singular and plural), and in some cases the 2nd and 3rd person possessives are *-yo* and *-ye*, and not *yako* and *yake*.

e.g.	nduyangu (my brother)	wanduzangu (my brothers)
	nduyo (your brother)	wanduzo
	nduye (his brother)	wanduze
	nduyetu (our brother)	wanduzetu
	nduyenu (your brother)	wanduzenu
	nduyao (their brother)	wanduzao

Not all kinship-terms inflect like *ndu-.* See for example *jamaa*:

e.g.	jamaa yangu (my family-member)	pl. (wa)jamaa zangu
	jamaa yake (her family-member)	wajamaa zake

The inflection of *mwenzi-* (companion) has morphophonemic changes going on:

e.g.	mwenzangu (my companion)	pl.	wenzangu
	mwenziwo (your companion)		wenziwo
	mwenziwe (his companion)		wenziwe
	mwenzetu (our companion)		wenzetu
	mwenzenu (your companion)		wenzenu
	mwenzao (their companion)		wenzao

The nominal possessive construction in Kimwani is constructed according to the following formula:

Head + genitive marker *-a* + noun

e.g.   mwana wa mwanamuka
'the child of the woman'

12. The locative

Direction and location are indicated first by nouns in the locative classes 16, 17, and 18, like *panja* (outside of a specific place), *kunja* (outside, in the sense of outdoors), *pajulu* (at the top, above), and *nkati* (inside), second by the locative nouns functioning syntactically like "adverbs" and indicate direction or place, and third, by the locative demonstrative pronouns like *epa*, *nopa*, *kure*, *kuno,* etc.

The Locative noun classes

Classes 16, 17 and 18 are the locative noun classes in Kimwani. Class 16 (with prefix *pa-*) means 'at, close, specific place', Class 17 (with prefix *ku-*) is the vaguest of the three classes, meaning 'indefinite, inspecific place' often meaning 'distant' as well. Class 18 (with prefix *mu-*) means 'in, into, on' [contact].

Direction is not specifically indicated by the locative classes, but rather by the verb in which the locative phrase appears. Both classes 16 and 17 locative classes can be used while indicating direction.

e.g.	kusama Wibu	(to move *from* Ibo)
	kusam**ir**a Wibu	(to move *to* Ibo)
	kankuka **pa**nsanga	(he is going to the place where the sand is, cl 16)
	kankuka **ku**kaya	(he is going home, cl 17)
but:	kankuka **mu**ndege	(he is going in the plane, cl 18)

Sometimes, when a noun from another class is derived to a locative class, the meaning of the noun changes altogether, instead of only having a locative dimension added to it.

e.g.	moyo	(heart)
	pamoyo	(cough, lit. at the heart)

There are no underived locative nouns, except *maala* (place) which can belong to any of the three locative classes, although most often take class 16 concord.

Also, nouns from classes 1 and 2 cannot be made locatives (preposition *ka* is rather used).

> e.g. Niwa nkuka **ka** mwanlimu.
> 'I am going to the teacher.'

Proper names cannot be derived to the locative classes either.

> e.g. Tisáma Pemba.
> 'We have moved from Pemba.'

The three locative classes have their own nominal and pronominal concords, but at times semantic choices can override agreement and the locative noun retains its original class concords.

> e.g. nkati **ya** nyumba
> 'inside the house'
> instead of: nkati **mwa** nyumba

Locative Noun class 16

As the first of the three locative classes (16-18), class 16 indicates specific or definite place, or 'place at' or 'place nearby, close'. It also communicates nearness. As a secondary meaning, when used in demonstratives or with relative verbs, it also means nearness in time or 'when, at that specific time'.

The only permanent member of class 16 (i.e., it doesn't belong to any other class) is the following:

maala (place)   [a variant is *mahala*, Quissanga]

Nouns from other classes are derived to this particular locative meaning. *Pa-* is the class prefix and is added in front of the noun which doesn't lose its original class prefix.

e.g.	Nikwíkala **pa**kaya-pa.
'I stay at home.'

Muje mpaka **pa**bazari.
'Come to the market.'

*the *mpaka + pa-* is exclusive, the "market" is excluded
Niwa nao **pa**moyo
'I have a cough, lit. I have at the heart.'

Before consonants as well as vowels o,u the pa- prefix remains unchanged.

e.g.	**pa**nyumba		(at the house)
painswi		(at the fish)
paombe		(at the seafood)
paumbwa **pa**re	(at that dog)

Locative Noun class 17

Class 17, the second of the locative classes, indicates indefinite space and is the vaguest of the three locative classes. It also communicates distance and farness, and in some cases vastness. Any lifeless noun could be used with the class 17-prefix *ku-* to make it a class 17-member with class 17 agreement and concord. Class 17 also has some permanent members, and although the roots appear in other classes, the meaning changes altogether when in Cl. 17.

e.g.	**ku**zimu		(place where the dead are)
kuwawa/**ku**mama	(father/mother's side of the family tree)

The class-prefix *ku-* is realized in the following ways: Before consonants the *ku-* remains intact, and before vowels the *ku-* becomes *kw-*.

e.g.	**ku**kaya		(to/at the house)
kumaloja		(to/at the shops [not specific])
kubaari		(to/at the open sea)

e.g.	**kw**inswi		(at the fish) [variation: *kuinswi*]
kwicha		(depthness, deep waters)

Locative Noun class 18

Class 18, the third locative class, indicates 'place within' (withinness), 'place into' or 'place on'. It can also mean 'in contact with'. The class prefix is *mu-* and can be attached to nouns to communicate this contact locative.

The same rules for the class 1 and 3 prefix *mu-* and its variations apply here, *mu-* before one syllable consonant-initial nouns, *mw-* before vowel-initial nouns, syllabic *n-* before all others (cf. class 1).

e.g.	**n**nyumba-**m**u	(in this house)
	nkaya **mu**re	(in that home,house)
	nkati **mw**a nyumba	(inside the house)

Nouns functioning as locative "adverbs"

It can be argued that there are no pure locative adverbs, because the words used to indicate place are nouns which can be followed or not by a genitive pronoun requiring class concord.

baidi	(far)
baidi ya	(far in relation to)
karibu	(close)
karibu ya	(close to)
pepi	(close to) [dialectal variant: KiNsimbwa]
sini	(down, under)
sini ya	(underneath)
pansi ya	(on the floor under)
julu ya	(on, on top of; about)
pajulu pa	(at the top of)
upande wa	(on the side of)
nyuma ya	(behind the)
mbere ya	(in front of)
panja pa	(outside of)
kati-kati ya	(during)
kati ya	(in between)

The locative possessive pronoun 'away'

The possessive pronoun is also used in a locative adverbial position following the stem *vy-* [class 8], followed by the possessive pronoun in agreement in number and person with the verb subject prefix, meaning 'away'.

Tuke **vy**etu!
'Let's go away!'

Makeso nikuka **vy**angu.
'Tomorrow I will go away.'

The locative demonstratives

The locative demonstratives are very commonly used in speech. The basic forms of the locative demonstrative pronouns are the following:

	Place close to speaker	Place close to speaker and hearer	Place far from both speaker and hearer
CL16 definite place	**epa**	**epo**	**pare**
CL17 non-definite place (normally not close to speaker)	**(eku)**[6]	**eko**	**kure**
CL18 place inside, on top, in contact with	**emu**	**emo**	**mure**
Certain direction from the speaker			**kuno**
All-inclusive around the speaker			**kuno pano**
All-inclusive distant from the speaker			**Kure pare**

Meaning:
Class 16 means definite place, specific place, normally not very close. This locative is more marked than class 17, but less than class 18.
Class 17 means indefinite place, not specific place, normally quite distant to very distant. Less marked place than class 16.
Class 18 means in or in contact with a place, including on top of a place. This locative is the most marked of the three locatives.

> The root **e-** indicates a place close by, close to the speaker and hearer (it is visible).
> The root **-re** indicates a place more distant from both the speaker and the hearer (it can be visible or invisible).

> **no-** like in *nopa*, means 'a *confirmed* place'. That place has already been referred to, but the speaker wants to confirm to the hearer that it is really that very place he or she is referring to, not another that could be mistaken for it.

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[6] eku is not really used much.

kuno is a locative that indicates an area more or less vast and not specific (therefore a *ku-* class 17 prefix), starting from where the speaker is into a certain direction. It could be translated as 'on this side', 'from this direction', 'from here until there'. For example:

> Mepo   ílawa **kuno**.
> 'The-wind blows from-this-side.'

kuno pano includes the whole area, specific and not specific, *around* the speaker. It could be translated as 'around here'.
kure pare includes the whole area, specific and not specific, *more distant* from the speaker.
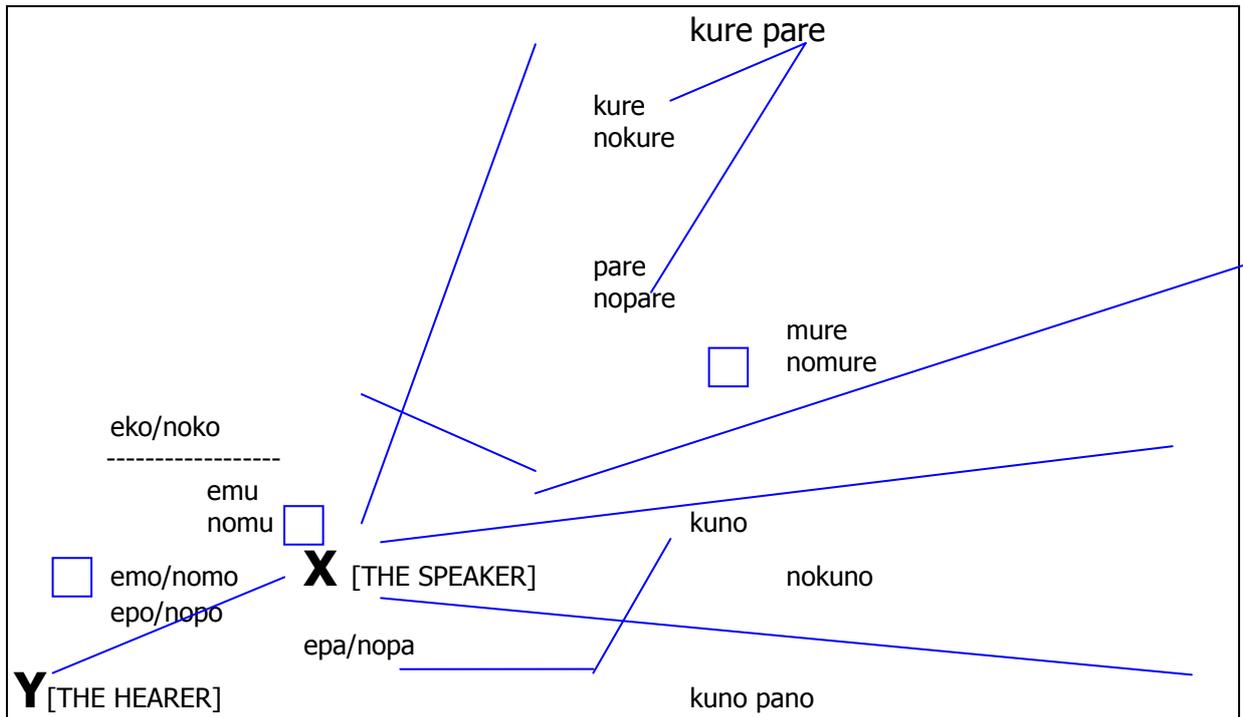
13. The genitive pronoun

The genitive pronoun *wa, cha, ya, za*, etc., is used to **link** a noun with another noun, with a numeral, with a relative verb, or with *wenye.* The noun determines the class of the genitive pronoun.

> Head + genitive marker + noun
> Head + genitive marker + ordinal numeral
> Head + genitive marker + relative verb (in a Relative Clause)
> Head + genitive marker + *wenye*

It can function in 5 major different groups of meaning in the noun phrase.

a. Nominal possessive
> e.g.   kifyu **cha** munu
> 'knife of the person'

b. Certain adjective-like constructions, expressing concepts like 'content', 'description', 'coming from', 'made of', etc.
> e.g.   maji **a** moto
> 'water of fire' (=boiling water)

c. As introduction to the relative clause, in which case the genitive *-a* is followed by a *verb*
> e.g.   Wanawalume **wa**niwapere nkate, wowa ijana.
> 'The men to whom I gave the cake bathed yesterday.'

d. Connect noun and ordinal numbers
> e.g.   munu **wa** piri
> 'the second person'

e. Connect noun and the identity noun *wenye* 'the same'[7]
> e.g.   munu **wa** wenye
> (the same person)

The genitive marker inflects as follows:
Cl 1	wa
Cl 2	wa
Cl 3	wa
Cl 4	ya
Cl 5	ra
Cl 6	a
Cl 7	cha
Cl 8	vya
Cl 9	ya
Cl 10	za
Cl 11	ra
Cl 15	kwa
Cl 16	pa
Cl 17	kwa (or ka)
Cl 18	mwa

---

[7] *wenye* could also be interpreted as a noun of class 14, meaning 'sameness'.

14. Verb adjuncts

There are a few adjuncts that act syntactically as adverbs in Kimwani. A few of them are real adverbs; others are nouns or demonstratives. For example, nouns like *salama* 'peace' is used to mean 'well' after nouns.

sana	(well)
sana-sana	(very well) reduplication for emphasis
futi	(very)
sawa	(equally, certainly, exactly)
sawa-sawa	(equally) reduplication for emphasis
more-more	(slowly)
tu	(only) sometimes preceded by *basi*
basi	(only) most follow the verb

Time words in Kimwani functioning as adverbs are the following:

tangu	(since, or never before)
mida	(long ago)
tangu mida	(since long ago)
sambi	(now) *sambi* is a real adverb
sambi-pa	(right now, just now) followed by a clitic demonstrative of class 16
tena	(again)
daima	(always)

15. Verb extensions

After the verb root, sometimes a suffix called a verb extension can be inserted. These verb extensions then carry a variety of meanings.

1. Passive

-iw- / *-ew-* after the verb root

kutula	-	kutur**iwa**[8]
'to put'		'to be put'

Kitabu chitur**íw**a pameza na Juma.
'The book was put at the table by Juma.'

Ihakikísh**iw**a na Amadi kamba Halima nsawi.
'It was agreed by Amadi that Halima (is) a sorcerer.'

Chakurya chir**íw**a na Juma.
'Food was eaten by Juma.'

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[8] Notice the –l- change to –r- before an –i- vowel.

2. Applicative

-ir- | -er- after the verb root

kusama	-	kusam**ir**a
'to move'		'to move to'
kuseza	-	kusez**er**a
'to play'		'to play in/with'

The Applicative morphemes *-ira/-era* is conditioned by the preceding vowels. The form *-era* is only used when the preceding vowel is *-o-* or *–e-*.

The Applicative is a very productive verb extension derivation and has the meaning of adding a type of prepositional phrase to the clause without introducing a preposition itself. An object or locative complement following is obligatory.

The Applicative has various semantic roles, of which the following four are most productive:

1. Beneficiary (most productive)

Kamwandík**ir**a   wawaye
'he-him-wrote-to/for father-his'

Kamwíw**ir**a   mwanamuka kitete chake
'he-stole-from woman   cloth her'

Juma kantokos**er**a   maji   kisimana.
'Juma made-boil-for water for-the-child'

Haji kamperek**er**a kisimana kitabu.
'Haji sent-him the-child   the-book'

2. Instrument (second most productive)

Kaandik**ír**a lapi
'he-wrote-with pencil'

Kar**ir**a   kolyeri (= Karya na kolyeri)
'he-has-eaten-with spoon'

Kankusez**er**a nsanga (=kankuseza na nsanga)
'he is playing-with sand'

versus

Kankuseza pansanga
'he is playing in the sand'

3. Reason

Wakwímb**ir**a nzuruku
'they-sing-for money'

4. Locative (including directional)

> Wasimana wásez**er**a nsanga
> 'children they-play-on sand'

> Nílud**ir**a nókuno[9]
> 'I-will-return here'

> Kar**ir**a nfinga
> 'he-eat-from the-plate'

> Kagw**ir**a nkukuta/pansi
> 'he-fell-from the-truck' [fell (from something) onto the ground]

but compare: Kagw**irir**a mbaari/munrimbu [see the Intensive extension]
> 'he-fell-into in-the-sea/in-the-well'

with: Kagwa mmaji / pansi
> 'he-fell in-water/ down' [already in water/already on ground]

> *Kagwa mbaari
> 'he-fell in-sea" [Wrong. He can't already be in sea.]

This verb derivation is also sometimes called the prepositional derivation. English equivalents are "look at, work at, work for, describe, return to, write on behalf of, etc."

3. Causative

-is-/-es-/-iz-/-iy- after the verb root

> e.g.   kuja   -   kuj**is**a
> 'to come'   'to bring'

Two types of causatives could be distinguished in Bantu, but they could also be collapsed into one.
1. The direct causative: "Become"-verbs, for instance "become sore" and "to make"-verbs, like "to make sore/to hurt"
2. The indirect causative: Then the predicate gets an additional agent, like 'The man makes the wife to cook food.'

> Amida kanshurút**isa** Sudi ambushu Lulu.
> 'Amida made-him-remember Sudi (to) greet Lulu.'

> Juma kamwipík**isa** Halima chakurya.
> 'Juma made-her-cook Halima the food.'

4. Stative

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[9] Kuludi, kusama, kutira are source-orientated verbs. The complement without applicative is always the source. To put in the destination, one needs to add the applicative derivation.

-ik-/-ek- after the verb root
      e.g.   kufyom**ek**a   '(book) to be readable'
              kupit**ik**a   '(river) to be passable'

The meaning 'to have the faculty of' is more or less what this stative form expresses. It is productive in Kimwani.

5. Separative -uka/-ula

-ul- after transitive verb root:
      e.g.   kufung**ul**a   'to open'
-uk- after intransitive verb root
      e.g.   kufung**uk**a   'being opened'

The meaning is 'to take things apart' when transitive, and 'to come apart' when intransitive, but it could also be understood as reversive, because such verbs often have an antonym, for example:
      e.g.   kufunga   'to close'
              kufung**ul**a   'to open'

6. Reciprocal

-an- after the verb root

The reciprocal verbs can have two meanings. The primary meaning is reciprocity between participants/arguments, and a secondary meaning is jointness, sharing of an activity or state by two or more participants.

     Juma na Halima wápend**an**a.
     'Juma and Halima love-one-another.'

     Halima wakwíbiy**an**a na nlume wake.
     'Halima fight/hit-each-other with his wife.'

     Tíon**an**a makeso.
     'We will-see-one-another tomorrow.'

7. Intensive

-irir- / *-erer-* after the verb root

The Intensive extension has the meaning of intensifying or focussing the occurrence of the verb.

     kulawa   -   kulaw**irir**a
     'leave'   'appear out of nowhere

     kufika   -   kufik**irir**a
     'arrive'   'reach'

16. The relative clause

In Kimwani there are basically two types of relative clauses. The *timeless* type, which consists of a genitive *–a* followed by an Infinitive verb, and the type which has *time reference*, always containing a relative verb. The *time reference* type has two subdivisions, namely the subject relative clause and the object/locative relative clause.

The relative clauses are indicated in *italics* below.

1. Timeless relative clause
Head plus Genitive *-a* + Infinitive

> Munu *wa kuvyala*, ávuna.
> 'The man who sows will reap.'

> Wanawaka *wa kukola kazi nluwani mure*[10], wakwijiwa Kimwani.
> 'Women who engage work in-garden that, they-know Kimwani.'

A head noun is not obligatory:

> *Vyakurya* viwápo.
> 'The foods exist.' [where **vinu** 'things' would have been the head]

2. Time reference relative clause
With head or without head, but always with a Relative verb

2.1 With no Genitive *–a,* where the head is the subject of the relative clause

> Non-past-
> *Avyála onse*, ávuna.
> 'Anyone who sows, will reap.'

> Past-
> Munu *âvyaríre*, kavuna.
> 'The man who sowed, reaped.'

> Ware wanawalume *walawíre nloja,* wakwijiwa kusowera kizungu.
> 'Those men who-went-out of-shop, they-know to-speak Portuguese.'

> Perfect-
> Munu *avyaríre*, kawa nkuvuna.
> 'The man who has sown is reaping.'

> Future-
> Munu *asáka kuvyala*, kawapo.
> 'The man who will sow is here.'

---

[10]The relative clause is consistently written in *italics* in this paper.

2.2 With a genitive –a, where the genitive –a indicates the object, locative or instrument of the Relative clause

Chire kitabu **cha**wafyomíre wasimana ware, achifái.
'That book which-they-read children those, is-not-suitable.'

Ware wanawalume **wa**niwapére nkate, wôwa ijana.
'Those men whom-I-them-gave bread, they-bathed yesterday.'

Omi nimôna mwanamuka **wa**mpére ninga kisimana-yo.
'I I-saw-her woman whom-he-gave banana child-that.'

Locative and temporal relative clauses in the 2.2 type of Relative clause

Kunyumba **ka**nuukíre, ulu.
'House to-which-I-went (is) big.'

Rimburo **ra**nilawíre siro baidi.
'Field from-which-I-came is-not far.'

Kurumburu **ka**nikála siko kukulu.
"Fields where I-stay are-not big.'

Katukire tenenda salama.
'Where we have gone, we went well.'

Koka *kaari mwanyewe.*
'He went where the owner is.'

Panisáka kurya, wakujanga wayeni.
'When I-want to-eat, they-always-come visitors.'

The particle *ndi* is used for "it-clefting"-constructions, followed by a relative clause of the 2.1 or 2.2 type. It is dealt with under the relative clause because it takes a relative verb. It means '(it is)...who is/who are/that'. It is used for contrastive focus: It is **this one (**and not any other one you might have thought of). The clause or phrase preceding *ndi* is being foregrounded or focalized, and that following is comment or modification, the description of what is clefted.

Examples:
Wanu *wajíre kulawa Wibu* **ndi** *wafyomíre miswafu ire*.
'persons who-came leave Ibo who-are who-read books those
(It is the persons who came from Ibo who are those who read those books [and not the others you might have expected].)

Iye **ndi** *okíre*.
'He is-who he-went.'
(It is he who went [and not the one you expected].)

Mwenye Bakir **ndi** *ejíwa*.
'Mister Bakir is-he-who he-knows.'

(It is Mister Bakir who knows [and not the one you might have expected].)

Mitume na mashéhe **ndi** *wejíwa inlimu*.
'Prophets and sheiks are-those-who they-know science.'

17. Complex sentences

1. Time and Manner clauses

In Kimwani these adverbial clauses are adverbials of time and of manner, and are mostly relative clauses.

1.1 Time clauses

These are AdvCl that can be substituted by one word adverbials like *rero, ijana, sambi-pa*, and more.

[Rather describe it by syntactic structures, not by temporal "values".]
- **Temporal sequence clauses.** Two groups can be discerned here. There are those that are initiated with independent subordinating morphemes, like the following example,
  Kábula sainamba kuja sitima, tukuka kurya.
  'Before the boat comes, we will go to eat.'

Other morphemes are *tangu* 'since', *mpaka* 'until', *baada ya* 'after', and the *na + Infinitive* 'as soon as, right when', for example,
  Na kufika sitima, tukuka vyetu.
  'As soon as the boat arrives, we will go away.'

The second group consists of relative clauses used for temporal sequence, normally iniciated with *pa,* the class 16 locative determiner. The *pa* can be used for the past or for the future. The exact meaning of this use of *pa* is not altogether established. It is the question if it means 'time from which (main clause) event happens or starts', or 'time during which, at that point, an event takes place'. The examples below seem to indicate that the first meaning is the correct one. The event asserted in the adverbial clause can then have the meaning of a pluperfect, an event before the main event in the main clause. That explains why the *pa-* temporal clause could be used with future time reference as well: It means a type of future perfect, relative previous to the main event in the future. *Pa* with present meaning or with the imperfective form is ruled out. More research is still needed.
  Examples:
  Patilawire kukaya, tiwasa wasimana walarire. [past]
  'When we left home, we left the children sleeping.'

  Paisáka kuja sitima, nukuka vyangu." [future]
  'When the boat comes, I will go away.'

  Wakati watifikire Wibu, tinsingána fulanu.
  'When we arrived on Ibo, we met Mr. X.'

- **Time/cause clauses.** In this case, the AdvCl has simultaneously a time and cause component.

    > *Paanámbire nzuruku umpotehe*, omi nikimiwa.
    > 'When he told me the money was lost, I was angry.'

- **"Simultaneously"-clauses**

    > Newo wakánza kunyangula, *kuno* wakindaíri Insa (Mateu 8:29).
    > Akwenénda *kuno* akitafúna.

- **"Before"-clauses**

The event of the "before"-clause has not yet happened in relation to main event. in Kimwani this is indicated by the relative negative form of *-namba*.

    > *Sainamba kuja sitima,* tukuka kurya.
    > 'Before the boat comes, we will go and eat.'

- **"Time during which" adverbial clauses.**

In Swahili, *Alipokuwa akisema* (while he was speaking).

1.2 Manner clauses

In Kimwani, manner AdvCl are indicated by subordinate clause markers like *kamba* 'like', *námuna* 'manner, type', or by relative clauses initiated with the class 8 associative marker *vya*.

    > Sema *kamba vyaasemíre neye*.
    > 'Say it like he said it.'

    > Usukure-chi *kamba vyanakwámbire.*
    > 'Carry this as I told you.'

2. Logical and subordinate clauses

2.1 Purpose and reason clauses

The difference between purpose and reason is that purpose means unrealized motivating event (at time of main clause event) and reason means realized motivating event. In Kimwani these clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions, like *sababu* 'because, reason', *konta* 'because', *nlandu* 'problem (is)'. Purpose clauses are in the Subjunctive-optative mode.

    > Reason: Koka kuzika sababu alu kafwa.
    > 'He went to the funeral because uncle died.'

    > Purpose: Koka kuzika akamone mwalimu.
    > 'He went to the funeral to see the teacher.'

    > Purpose: Amadi kamwíbiya Anli ipate asalumure umani.
    > 'Amadi hit Anli to cause trouble.'

    > Mpe nzuruku Juma *oze ninga* (Swahili: ili).
    > 'Give money to Juma so that he can buy bananas.'

The conjunction *kwa kuwa kamba* is a different type of reason-clause. It always precedes the main clause and means something like 'since'.

> Kwa kuwa kamba …
> 'Since he…'

2.2 Circumstancial clauses

Translatable as 'by' or 'without'. In Kimwani indicated by a negative verb form or a negative relative verb form.
> Kisimana kasukula chakurya *achitawanyike*. [negative verb]
> 'The child carried food without spilling.'

> Kisimana kasukula chakurya *saatawanye*. [negative relative verb]
> 'The child carried food without spilling.'

2.3 Simultaneity clauses

Like in Swahili, simultaneous events are expressed by a main indicative verb and the −*ki-* Backgrounded.
> Kalamuka akiríra.
> 'He woke up crying.'

There is possible ambiguity here with the Backgrounded (Consecutive) -*ki-,* which also follows an indicative verb. The above example could be interpreted as consecutive, that is, "he woke up, (and then) he cried". Normally, in the case of the Backgrounded Consecutive, a chain of verbs appear. A short chain of Backgrounded (Consecutive) verbs appears in the following example:
> Kaja akírya akilála.
> 'He came, ate and went to sleep.'

Compare the use of *ikíwa* (5.2.4) below.

The subordinating conjunctive *iri* 'while' introduces simultaneity clauses.
Example:
> Ijana iri nuka kutwala, nikuja kukumera.
> 'Yesterday while I-went to-fetch, I-come to-give-you.'

2.4 Conditional clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses can be divided into real and unreal conditionals. In Kimwani, conditionals are expressed by two main structures, first the use of the Contingent (-ki-) and the specialized contingent subordinator *ikíwa* 'if (be)', and second, the -*nawa.., nanga* construction. *Kamba* 'if' constructions are also discussed.

1. The **Backgrounded -*ki-*** verb construction. This form is used for expressing real, present and habitual/generic conditionals, as well as predictive conditionals. The conditional clause (prodosis) comes before the main clause (apodosis). As is true in many languages, the Contingent form in Kimwani can also mean a temporal clause ('when…'). The difference is only in the degree of expectability. (Thompson, *)

Ukilála panja, bwilimiti zúkuluma.   [Habitual/generic]
'If/when you sleep outside, mosquitos (will) bite you.'

Iye *akipáta* kazi ire, títenda festa. [Predictive]
'If he gets the job, we will have a feast.'

The Contingent cannot be used for conditional or temporal clauses with past reference.

A specialized Contingent construction is *ikíwa* 'if (be)'. It can have the meaning of "while", the emphasis thus on simultaneity.

Ikíwa iwa nkunya nvula, nguo zangu zílowa.
'When it is raining, my clothes get wet.'

2. The **-nawa.., nanga** construction. This construction is used for unreal, imaginative conditionals, the so-called hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals. Hypothetical conditionals express what we know can't or couldn't happen, and counterfactual conditionals express what didn't happen. In Kimwani there is no distinction between hypothetical and counterfactual conditionals. In the prodosis the verb *kunawa*(?) inflects according to subject prefix and is optionally followed by another inflected verb. The apodosis is initiated by nanga (meaning: 'not real, hypothetical') followed by the main inflected verb.

Ináwa kamba kűka kujambo, nanga kwijiwa vikuníre. [Counterfactual]
'If you went to the ceremony, you would have found out what has happened (but now you didn't go, so you didn't find out).'

Anáwa nlwere, nanga kaníta. [Counterfactual]
'If he were sick, he would have called me (he didn't, so he is probably not sick).'

Ináwa kamba níkiwa tajiri, nanga nenenda futi. [Hypothetical]
'If I were rich, I would have travelled a lot (but reality is that I am not rich).'

3. The **paíwa kamba/kuwa…, nanga** construction. Also used for unreal, imaginative constructions.

Paiwa kamba nîtwala kadeira-i nîtula pajulu ya meza-pa, nanga nifikirira (PERFECT) lampada-yo.
'If I had put this chair on top of the table, I would have been able to reach the lamp.'

Paiwa kuwa nîfika Wibu, nanga nisukula kinu-co.
'If I had gone to Ibo, I would have brought that thing.'

Negative conditionals are isomorphic with affirmative conditionals. There is no negative contingent morpheme in Kimwani. The verb *kutowa* 'to fail' is used in negative real contingent clauses.

Ikitówa kunya mvula, tukuka Matemwe.
'If it fails to rain, we will go to Matemwe.'

Negative past conditionals (*kamba...-angari + Infinitive*-construction)

Kamba sumi, amungari kurya.
'If it wasn't me, you would not have eaten.'

Concessive conditionals ('even if') add an additional presuppostion contrary to expectation. There is an implication of frustration. It is expressed by *anta* (or *pode*[11]) plus Subjunctive-optative.

Anta inye mvula, tukuka Matemwe.
'Even if it falls rain, we go (to) Matemwe.'

Pode inye mvula, tukuka Matemwe.
'Even if it rains, we will go to Matemwe.'

2.5 Concessive clauses

Two types of concessive adverbial clauses are distinguished, namely definite and indefinite. Definite adverbial clauses are introduced by conjunctions like "although, even, except that" and indefinite clauses by conjunctions like "no matter what, whatever", normally indicating some unspecified element in the clause. In Kimwani both forms are expressed by the *ingawa...fala* construction.

Ingawa amwájibu magaga, *fala* kakubali kurya.
'Although she doesn't like dried manioc, she agreed to eat it.'

Ingawa vingi vya amwámbire, *fala* aasakíre kuka.
'No matter what he said, she didn't want to go.'

2.6 Substitutive clauses.

An expected clause is replaced by an unexpected one. English equivalents are "instead of, rather than". In Kimwani the class 14 noun *ukósofu* introduces substitutive clauses, which can precede or follow the main clause. The substitutive clause is irrealis—it never gets realized. Time reference depends on the main clause.

Titafúna inswi ukósofu wa kutowa kupata mikate.
'We ate fish rather than getting cakes.'

Ukósofu kuka kuza mikate, titafúna inswi.
'Rather than going to buy cakes, we ate fish.'

Ukósofu wa kutowa kutenda kinu, iye akwikala basi.
'Instead of doing something, he just sits (does nothing).'

18. Complementation

Complementation is when a clause or sentence acts as an argument (like subject or object) to a main predicate. It is the grammatical state where a predicate functions as an argument of a predicate. Complementation normally follows complement-taking predicates (CTP's), like remember, say, see, think, order, command, etc. The distribution of complements is limited to subject and object positions. In Kimwani all complement types are subordinated to the main matrix verb.

Complement system and complement types in Kimwani:

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[11]*Pode* is a Portuguese loan meaning 'can, could'.

-Indicative (S-like)   [*kuwa/kamba* + Indicative]
-Subjunctive-optative verb   [e.g. nisaka *nikamone*]
-Infinitive verb   [e.g. nikwijiwa *kusowera*]
-Relative clause   [e.g. *Avyála* akurya]
-Nominalization   [e.g. *Kuka mundege* kwema]

Complementizers. In Kimwani the only lexical complementizers are *kuwa* and its equal *kamba,* which are only used after a Complement Taking Predicate, and are obligatory to introduce an S-like indicative sentence complement.

> Amadi akwijiwa *kamba Anli kawa nao nzuruku.*
> 'Amadi knows that Ali has money.'

In all the other complement types, no complementizer morpheme is required.

Main verb (S-like) complements: As mentioned above, for the main/indicative verb (S-like) complements, a complementizer is required, *kamba* or *kuwa*, to introduce the complement. S-like complements always follow a main verb matrix and are therefore complements in object position only. This constraint is sometimes called "extraposition". The tense of the matrix verb, the CTP, is copied in the complement. Negative raising, when the negation of the complement is indicated in the matrix verb, is validated in Kimwani as well.

> Juma kawámbira wasimana *kamba Amadi akuka.*[12]
> 'Juma told the children that Amadi will go.'

> Juma kanámbira *kamba Amadi-yo aapo sumana isáka kuja-yo.*
> 'Juma told me that Amadi will not be present next week.'

> Juma kandairi Amadi *kamba akuja kunyumba kwake.*
> 'Juma asked Amadi that he comes to his house.'

> Juma kamwámbira Amadi *kamba Fatima kawa nao chakurya.*
> 'Juma told Amadi that Fatima has food.'

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[12] Complement clauses are indicated in italics.

19. A SHORT STORY

NRIMBU   BY   João Anli, Ibo, 1989
"The Well"

Úkiwapo mwaka mmoja âtowa maji.
There-was a-year certain (when there) was-a-shortage (of) water (lit. 'water shortaged')
Manyama piya wengíra kulalamika.
Animals all started to-panic.
Wakiténda nkutanu
They-then-held a-meeting
wakisikizána kusimba nrimbu.
they-then-agreed to-dig a-well.

Siku ya kusimba ya wenye piya manyama wája menos Sungula.
Day of digging that same-one all animals came without Hare.
Nrimbu ukísa kusimbiwa
The-well when-it-was-finished to-be-dug,
wakintúla Mbawala kamba gwarada wa nrimbu,
they-then-put Antelope as guard of the-well,
epate Sungula asiteke maji.
so-that Hare will-not-be-able-to-take-out water.

Sungula, konta esperto tangu mida,
Hare, because (he-is) clever since long-ago,
paajire kusakula maji kunywa kasukula ansale.
when-he-came to-look-for water to-drink he-carried honey.
Akiméra Mbawala akingíra kurya
He-then-freely-gave (it) (to) Antelope he-then-started to-eat (it; the honey)
na Sungula akipáta kuteka maji.
and Hare he-then-succeeded to-take-out water.

Manyama wakipáta habari
Animals they-then-got the-news
kamba Sungula kâja na kâteka maji.
that Hare had-come and had-taken-out water.
Ware wakinlávya kazi Mbawala
Those then-removed (from) work Antelope
wakintúla kamba gwarada Aji.
they-then-put-him as guard Tortoise.
Aji kuriona kamba ntoto,
Tortoise seeing-for-himself that (he-is) small,
akiwáza ankili yake ikinringaníra akisapúla upula
he-then-thought his cleverness it-then-appeared-to-him getting glue
ikitawanyíra panrimbu
it-then-applied-on at-the-well
ukifíka mpaka pemiríwanga pakitekíwa maji.
arriving until place-where-standing where-is-taken-out water.

Sungula inkóla nyota
Hare it-got-him hunger
kaja mpaka karibu ya panrimbu
he-came until close to-the-place-of-the-well

kengira kwita Aji.

he-started to-call Tortoise.

Etike ire kadaniza kamba apana munu panrimbu pare.

He-didn't-respond that-one, he-doubted that any person (was) at that well.

Akifíka asáka kuteka maji

When-he-arrived, he-who-wanted to-take-out water

akipára maulu omane na upula.

He-then-got-stuck paws four with the-glue.

Mpaka subuu wakíja manyama ware wakinsingána

Until morning they-then-came the-animals those they-then-encountered-him

wakinfúnga na kumwibiya.

They-then-tied-him with beating-him.

CHART OF NOMINAL AND PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

	Nominal prefixes				Pronominal prefixes					
CLASS	Noun prefix	Verb subj prefix	Adjec-tive	Nume-ral	Geni-tive	Posse-sive	Dem 1 (e-)	Dem 2 (e-)	Dem 3(-re)	
1	mu/n /0	(k)a-	mu/n-	mu/-	wa	wa-	eyu	eyo	ire	
2	wa-	wa-	wa-	wa-	wa	wa-	ewa	ewo	ware	
3	mu-	u-	mu-	wa-	wa	wa-	ewu	ewo	ure	
4	mi-	mi-	mi-	mi-	ya	ya-	eyi	eyo	ire	
5	(ri-)	ri-	ri-	ri-	ra	ra-	era	ero	rire	
6	ma-	ma-	ma-	ma-	ya	a-	eya	eyo	are	
7	ki-	chi-	ki-	ki-	cha	cha-	echi	echo	chire	
8	vi-	vyi-	vi-	vi-	vya	vya-	evi	evyo	vire	
9	N-	i-	N-	N-	ya	ya-	ei	eo	ire	
10	N-	zi-	N-	N-	za	za-	ezi	ezo	zire	
(11)	lu-	ri-	ri-	ri-	ra	ra-	eri	ero	rire	
14	u-	u-	mu-	0	wa	wa-	ewu	ewo	ure	
15	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-	kwa	kwa-	eku	eko	kure	
LOCA-TIVES:										
16	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa-	pa	pa-	epa	epo	pare	
17	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-	kwa /ka	kwa-	(eku)	eko	kure	
18	mu/n	mu-	mu-	mu-	mwa	mwa-	emu	emo	mure	

1st , 2nd and 3rd person PRONOUNS

personal	verb subj-prefix	verb obj-prefix	possessive	adverbial
singular				
1. omi	ni-	-ni-	-angu	vyangu
2. uwe	(k)u-	-ku-	-ako	vyako
3. iye	(k)a-	-m(w)-	-ake	vyake
plural				
1. ofwe	ti-	-ti-	-etu	vyetu
2. umwe	mu-	-ku-V-ni	-enu	vyenu
3. ewo	wa-	-wa-	-ao	vyao

Connectives

The following is a list of connectives most frequently used.

Connectives of transition

sambi   (now, then, indicating the transition of one event into another)

> e.g. a) Tikála usiku kupakanira, mwatipakanira **sambi** akíja nduyangu kulawa ka mama akinita tikúka.
> (We sat at night talking, and while conversing, [then] my brother, coming from mother, called me [and] we went.)

> b) Aya **sambi** ereza abari za kaúkire tisikire
> (Ok, now tell us the news of where you went so we could hear.)

fala sambi   (but now, but then, indicating the transition into an *unexpected* event)

> e.g. a) Omi níkisaka kuja kwenu ijana jironi, **fala sambi** niwona nvula kunya nyingi
> (I was wanting to come to your place yesterday afternoon, but then I saw the rain coming down well.)

> b) Nita mida tíkisezanga onse, **fala sambi** kakula nikimóna simanyira
> (Long ago we always played together with Nita, but now he has grown [and] when I see him I don't distinguish him.)

basi   (then, so, therefore)

> e.g. a) **Basi** usitaye tena maji nkiyungu-mo
> (Therefore enough now, don't put water in the claypot any more.)

> b) Omi nisikira kuwa kwankuka Wibu. **Basi** ukiwasingána mama salamu zao
> (I heard that you are going to Ibo. So if you meet mother, greet her [plural of respect].)

basi sambi   (therefore then. Combining the meanings of *sambi* and *basi*.) It is used as a stronger transition, to make vivid, and to say that the story is definitely peaking.

> e.g. Omi nisikira kamba nkukuta watikirinda uja na wakati pare ufika. **Basi sambi** Selemani kawambíre alu tuke.
> (I heard that the vehicle that we were waiting for came and [that] you arrived then. Right then therefore Selemani told uncle that we went.)

ndi ntamana (it is the result now that, that is why), with variants *ndi mana.* Sometimes just *ntamana* or *ntemana* is used.

> e.g. a) Ijana pare mwenye Asani kanazima nzuruku wake **ndi ntamana** nuka kumpa nzuruku wake.
> (Yesterday Mr Asani lent me his money, the result now was that I went to give him his money back.)

> b) Nimpa waraka kuka kuwapa wanyewe, fala awasingane wanyewe, **ntamana** akiludísa.

(I gave him a letter to go and give the owners, but not meeting the owners resulted in him send back.)

nakisa (then, after that, afterwards), with variant *ikisa*

e.g. Mimi uka kushikola **nakisa** jironi uke Ngonani.
(Mimi, go to school and-afterwards go to Ingonane.)

noparepare (right then)   Class 16 confirmative demonstrative
Seems to be interchangeable with *sambi*, but not with *basi*. It is slightly stronger than sambi, more vivid about time and space.

na (and, moreover)
Sentence-initial:
1. **Na** kufika, … . (on arrival, …). An exact temporal setting transition.
2. Introducing a reflective phrase, a digression, elaboration. Something more about what is said just before (moreover). To reflect to add and develop, e.g. **Na** nomure mwapita mure…

kweli (truly, really)

e.g. **Kweli** kaja ijana.
(Really, he arrived yesterday.)

Coordinative conjunctions:

na (and, also)
Another function of *na* is coordination between nouns, which is normally not used sentence-initially.
e.g. Omi **na** nunu tífyomanga Shikola.
(I and eldest-sister we always go to school.)

fala, falakini (but)

e.g. Nísaka kuka Wibu **fala** nkawangu ásaka kuka Ntipwesi.
(I want to go to Ibo, but my wife wants to go to Montepuez.)

ila (instead, except)

e.g. Maninya, uka ukawambire nunu kuwa shuguli yawasakúla nlamu omi sinamba kupata, **ila** ningari kusakula.
(Maninya, go and inform sister that the thing brother-in-law is looking for, I haven't found yet, except/in spite of that that I will continue to search.)

au (or)

e.g. Alu wakuja kulawa Wibu. Wakuja nsitima ya Edima **au** Madanio.
(Uncle will come from Ibo. He will come with the Edma or Madanio motorboat.)

ama (or; synomym of *au* in northern dialects)

e.g. Safari yetu atinamba kwijiwa. Tílawa subuu **ama** jironi.
(We don't know yet when our trip is. We leave in the morning or in the afternoon.)

wala   (not even; neither...nor)

> e.g. Omi rafiki yangu nukupenda pakulu futi, **wala** usinidanizire kuwa nukutenda kinu kibaya.
> (I love my friend a lot, you should not even think that I will harm you.)

Subordinative connectives:

konta   (because, for; Portuguese influence. REASON)

> e.g. Omi sina wasiwasi na kazi yangu **konta** nifundiwa sambi nikwijiwa.
> (I don't have worries about my work because I was taught [things] and now I know [it].)

kamana   (because; more archaic synonym of *konta*. REASON)

> e.g. Evi vinu-vi musangupe kukola, **kamana** wanyewe awanamba kufúngula.
> (These things you shouldn't hurry to do, because the owners haven't closed [the shop] yet.)

sababu   (by motive of, GROUND)

> e.g. a) Amina koka Shipitali **sababu** chinlwaza kiswa
> (Amina went to hospital on the ground of feeling pains in the head.)
>
> b) Somari wanfunga **sababu** ya kwiwa
> (They locked up Somari on the grounds of stealing.)

kamba   (that; if; as COMPARISON; COMPLEMENTIZER)

> e.g. Selemani kawa nao radiyu **kamba** yangu.
> (Selemani has a radio like mine.)

kuwa   (that, COMPLEMENTIZER)

> e.g. Nunu Zuwana wanambira **kuwa** makeshamungu wakuka Nsimbwa.
> (Lady Zuwana told me that they go tomorrow to Mocimboa.)

Ikíwa 'it be' (can also be used as a conditional conjunction, often followed by kamba)

iri   (while, CONTRA-EXPECTATION)

> e.g. Anli kanámbira nitwala, **iri** sitwarire.
> (Ali told me that I fetched it while I didn't fetch it.)

iri filihali   (while, meanwhile, CONTRA-EXPECTATION)

> e.g. Momadi kanambira kawanao tinta **iri filihali** aana.
> (Momadi told me he has paint while he hasn't.)

kumbe   (after all, finally. SURPRISED CONTRA-EXPECTATION)

> e.g. Níkamba kaja nao **kumbe** ajire nao.
> (I was saying that he brought it but finally/after all he didn't.)

ingawa...fala   (even though..., but...)
[with the apodosis obligatorily to take phrase-initially *fala*]

> e.g. a) **Ingawa** apana maala pa kwikala, **fala** nopa pátosha.
> (Even though there is no place to stay, but right here is good enough.)

> b) Nikisakula misumari mikulu, nipata mitoto. Falakini **ingawa** mitoto inifaî novyo.
> (I needed long nails, got short ones. But nevertheless the short ones served me well.)

Nouns functioning as conjunctions (all from class 9 except wakati (class 14), all followed by the corresponding genitive pronoun:

kábula   (before), or: kábula saanamba ... [without the genitive *ya*]

> e.g. Rafiki yangu Selemani, **kábula ya** kulawa kuka Wibu uje ukaya tilayane.
> (My friend Selemani, before leaving to go to Ibo, come to my home for us to greet another.)

bandi ya   (after) [*baada ya* is Swahili, but does appear at times]

> e.g. Nikiláwa epa **bandi ya** kufika kwangu, nílawa mara moja nukuka ka nyenye.
> (If I leave here after arriving at my house, I will leave once to go to my brother.)

kati-kati ya   (between A and B, in the middle of ...)

> e.g. Munu aifai kwikala **kati-kati** ya nryango.
> (A person can't sit right in the door.)

kati ya   (among..., about...)

> e.g. **Kati** ya evi vinu viwiri-vi kimojiwapo nipate kamiza au galasaû
> (Among these two things there is one I would take, a shirt or shorts.)

wakati wa   (when, at the time of)

> e.g. **Wakati** wachire kinja mwakejana, tuka Tanzaniya.
> (When the rainy season started last year, we left for Tanzania.)

novyo sivyo (nevertheless)   Class 8 demonstratives

> e.g. Usinipe kumi. **Novyo sivyo** nipé shirini.
> (Don't give me ten; nevertheless/at least give me 20.)

Exclamations

Exclamations, consisting of one or two syllables only, and pronounced at high pitch, are normally used clause-initially or clause-finally to express the rather more than usual emotion of the speaker to either something that was said or experienced right before the utterance. It is a pragmatic phenomenon, reflecting speaker-attitude in a specific communication situation.

1. Exclamations of yes/no:

      aye!/aya!   (yes! OK! fine!)
           e.g. **Aye**, omi nikubali
         (OK, I accept.)
             Aya tenda vyauona kusitawi uwe mwanyewe.

      la!   (no; from Arabic origin)
           e.g. **La**! Sikubali
         (No, I don't accept it.)
             La! Unandibu

      anta!   (no; *synomym* to "la", a dialect variant from KiNsimbwa)
           e.g. Mwanasa: Amina mama waja? - Amina: **Anta**, awanamba
             kuja.
         (Mwanasa: "Amina, did mother come?" Amina: "No, she hasn't come yet [plural of respect on the subject prefix].)

      iií!   (no)
           e.g. **Iií**, sina nzuruku, unisira.
         (No, of course I don't have money. What do you think?)

2. Exclamations of admiration:

      iii!   (admiration of inspiration, wonder, event not expected)
           e.g. **Iii**,....Nzuruku wangu unigwa!
         (Look! … my money [??]!)

      iyai!   (praise, give praise)
           e.g. **Iyai**,.....mwanangu kavala anzu nyipya kawayiriwa!
         (Amazing! Look how well he is dressed.)

3. Exclamations of surprise and amazement:

      mama!   (shocked surprise, unbelief, feels incapable to do
               something. Event not expected)
           e.g. **Mama**! Tangu sinamba kuona chikikuna kinu kamba echi,
           níwona rero.
         (Unbelievable! Never before have I seen it.)

      wé!   (amazement at that which surpasses his/her capabilities. Not as
               strong as *mama!)*

e.g. **Wé**! Uone mepo!
(Wow! Just see the wind!)

máti! (general surprise, not expected, but the speaker is glad)
e.g. **Máti**! Kuja rini rafiki yangu?
(Wow! When did you come?)

4. Exclamations of disgust:

ápa! (disgusted, surprised but with criticism, event not expected)
e.g. **Ápa**! Mbana kwandika epa nomi nukwámbira wandike pare?
(Hei! Why did you write here when I said to write there?)

kú? (slightly disgusted, wants to correct the other; a question)
e.g. **Kú**? Mbana aunambira sana?
(Hmpff? Why don't you tell me everything? You can do better than that!)

shi! (disgusted for other doing something unmerited)
e.g. **Shi**! Kwankunifulata ndepi? Aya ludi.
(And this? Where do you think you are following me to? So, go back.)

5. Exclamations of despair:

apaa! (pleading)
e.g. **Apaa**! Usitende javyo.
(Have mercy! Don't do it!)

mamaa! (gentle pleading)
e.g. **Mamaa**! Alima kukwajibu kurira, nyamala usirire tena!
(OK now/Come on! Alima you like to cry; please stop crying!)

Ideophones

In Kimwani, ideophones are often used to make communication more vivid and humorous. There are two main uses:
1) to represent the sound of an event (following the verb immediately, or appears at the end of the sentence)
2) to exemplify or even intensify colors (white 'bwaha')

Ideophones are particles with a rather free syllable structure, with a varying amount of final consonants or vowels to lengthen the word. The different degrees of lengthening displays the degrees of effect desired by the speaker. Ideophones normally immediately follow action verbs, and are used to emphasize or intensify the action. They often imitate the perceived sound made. Sometimes the ideophones are repeated altogether, for even bigger effect.

buu   (noise of something falling down with a bang *buu*)
     e.g.   Maji kamiminira mbasiya au ntamboru **buu**!

purrr   (something is flying *purrr*)
     e.g.   Ninkóla nyuni wangu nakisa keruka koka vyake **purrr**!

fyooo   (a liquid is filling up very much *fyooo*, like the tide,
                  water in a cup, etc.)
     e.g.   Mpira-yu nankunsikiriza mmasikiro-mu nankusíkira **fyooo,** katoloka.

fyuu   (throw something through the air *fyuu*)
     e.g.   Epa tíkiwa watatu, fala munu mmoja katirakoka vyake **fyuu!......**

chúbu   (something thrown in water chúbu)
     e.g.   Mangera yangu rodo ikigwirira mmaji **chúbu.**

kwa   (ideophone to go with the verb *kukwata* (have friction, strike a match)
     e.g.   a)- Usiku izimika kandiyeru, nikikwáta fogu **kwa** nikoreza tena.
                  b)- Usiku nilala pakinanda, nikisikiríza panja nisikira
                  shindo **kwa-kwa-kwa-kwa**.

te   (something breaks *te*)
     e.g.   Ivunjíka alfaneti yangu nisikira **te**!

bi   (something hits the ground *bi)*
     e.g.   Igwa nazi munnazi-mu usiku **bi**!
                  (The coconut in the palmtree at night fell bi!)

pi   (it gets dark *pi,* or: something is very black *pi*)
     e.g.   Wankumwibiya mwivi nankusíkira **pi-pi-pi.....**

ngwê   (it is clear or shining *ngwê* [sun, lamp, etc.])
        e.g.   Rero nvula ainya, kunja kulangala **ngwê.**

pyuu   (something is very red *pyuu*)
        e.g.   Asani kefya riwe ruka **pyuu** rimpanja nyuni.

vú   (something is very white *vú*)
        e.g.   Kamiza yangu nifula ilangala **vú.**

gudu   (something enters a house *gudu*, or falls in a hole *gudu*)
        e.g.   Nikisezera berlindi ikingira ngarafa **gudu**!

mbwî   (emphasize the passing of gas)
        e.g.   Kawapo munu ejambe, nisikira **mbwî.**

ngô   (when something sits *ngô*, without leaving for a long time)
        e.g.   Useni kekala palupenu **ngô**, asaka kulawa.

kúpú-kupu   (when someone walks or swims *kúpú-kupu* [repetitious])
        e.g.   a)- Mama wankupula Selemani **kúpú-kupu** sababu ya ubishi.
                b)- Kupulani ntama **kúpú-kupu**, mwipike.

ti   (to close something *ti*)
        e.g.   Mama wafunga uni zirimba **ti.**

hmm!   (the engine of a car or boat works *hmm*)
        e.g. Nkukuta au sitima úvuma **hmm...hmm...hmm.**

hû!   (the airplane goes *hû-hû*)
        e.g. Ndege ávuma **hû-hû-hû-hû**.

DIALECTAL VARIATIONS AND THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

Kimwani is a very homogenous language, with complete intelligibility among all speakers from north to south over a stretch of 300km of coast. That is likely due to the constant contact the people of the dialectal areas have with one another because of trading and travelling. Mother-tongue speakers can detect small differences of pronunciation, so much so that towns of origin of the speaker can sometimes be identified.

But FOUR main Kimwani dialects can be distinguished, from north to south:

The northern dialects:

1. KiNsimbwa: spoken around Mocimboa da Praia and up to Palma. Area settled by Mwani from Ibo. Now the most numerous dialect group: 45%-plus of all Mwani live within a 50km radius of Mocimboa da Praia.

2. KiNkojo or KiPangani: spoken on the Macomia district coast, with main centers Pangane and Mucojo, down to Matemwe island southwards.

The southern dialects:

3. KiWibu: spoken on Ibo and Quirimba islands. It is the prestige dialect. Kimwani is believed to have originated from Ibo.

4. KiKisanga: spoken on continental Quissanga district coast, often seen as the purest dialect due to remaining traces of Arabic pronunciation.

The Kimwani speech form spoken in Paquitequete in Pemba is predominantly KiWibu, but being an urbanized variant, borrowing from Makhuwa and Portuguese takes place. There is also the so-called destabilization[13] of the grammar because of the dominance of Portuguese (see note under "Variante de referência", under "Kimwani" in *I Seminário sobre a Padronização da Ortografia das Línguas Moçambicanas*, page 11). An example of destabilization is the concept "to bring". In KiWibu it is *kuja nao* 'to come with', but young people in the city are now using *kujisa* 'to make come, cause to come', to have it as one word like in Portuguese *trazer*.

The principal differences in comparison with **KiWibu** are the following:

-       **KiKisanga**: A few small lexical differences, less Portuguese loan words, the use of the Arabic-influenced H word-initially and between vowels, e.g., *hadisi*, *mahala*, and the use of the more Arabized *sw* instead of some cases of *s* of KiWibu, e.g., *swababu*, instead of *sababu*. Generally the differences with KiWibu are minor.

-       **KiNkojo**: The R/L and some syllabic nasal interchange, tone differences, and some lexical differences, e.g., KiWibu-*nrimi*, KiNkojo-*ndimi.* Speakers see themselves closer to KiWibu than KiNsimbwa sociolinguistically. But the differences with KiWibu are more noticeable.

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[13] An example of this destabilization is the verb *kuja* with the preposition *nao* 'to come with, to bring'. In Pemba the younger generation begins to abandon the above form in favor of *kujisa*, which is the verb *kuja* with the causative extension *-is-*. This is presumably to economize, or to follow Emakhuwa and Portuguese to have one word for 'to bring'.

-    **KiNsimbwa**: The R/L interchange, some more syllabic nasal differences, more lexical differences, the tone system is closer to Swahili, and there is a stronger Swahili influence with higher levels of bilingualism. Differences with KiWibu are very noticeable, but there is almost no interference in mutual intelligibility.

The differences between KiWibu/KiKisanga and the northern dialects are described in more detail below.

1. Tone differences

In the Infinitive or class 15 verbal-nominals, consonant-initial stems with three syllables in KiWibu have an accent at the pre-penultimate syllable, while the northern dialects have it on the penultimate syllable. All other infinitive forms have the same tone pattern.

KiWibu/KiKisanga	KiNkojo/KiNsimbwa	
kukúbali	kukubáli	'to agree'
kupóngola	kupongóla	'to give birth'
kunénepa	kunénépa	'to fatten'

Among the three basic tenses, there are some differences as well. See the table below. The verb *kutwala* means 'to take', low tone is indicated by the absence of any tone/accent mark, high tone with *á,* falling tone with *â,* and rising tone with a grave-accented vowel followed by a high-tone marked like this: *àá.* Differences with KiWibu are in boldface type.

	KiWibu	KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa
DISTANT PAST			
1 Person Sing:	nîtwala	**niítwála**	**nítwâla**
1 Person Plural:	títwâla	títwâla	títwâla
PERFECT			
1 Person Sing:	nitwala	**nitwála**	**nitwála**
1 Person Plural:	titwâla	**titwâla**	**titwâla**
NON-PAST			
1 Person Sing:	nítwala	**nítwála**	nítwala
1 Person Plural:[14]	títwala	**títwála**	títwala

On a few nouns there is also a tone difference between the southern dialects and KiNkojo on the one hand, and KiNsimbwa on the other:

KiWibu	KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa
njalabáti	njalabáti	njalábáti
nchúruzi		nchúlúzi
nsúmari		nsúmáli
kilángazi		kilángázi
kinánasi		kinánási

2. The L/R difference

The KiWibu *r* followed by *i*, *e*, or *o*, and optionally when followed by *a* or *u*, changes to *l* in the northern dialects. The KiWibu *l* optionally changes to *r* when followed by *a* or *u* in KiNkojo or KiNsimbwa.

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[14] The other classes all take the same form of the Class 2 plural.

R > L / _ {a,i,e,o,u}, with many exceptions of _ a and _ o:

Kiwibu/Kikisanga	KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa	
ra	la/ra	la	Cl 5 genitive 'of'
ire	ile	ile	'that'
ware	wale	wale	'those'
rero	lelo	lelo	'today'
kuremba	kulemba	kulemba	'to scribble, scratch'
riso	liso	liso	'eye'
kulawirira	kulawilila	kulawilila	'to appear'
panituriwe	panituliwe		'when I was running'
kubaari	kubaali	kubaali	'at the open sea'
kurimba	kulimba	kulimba	'to be difficult'
kurya	kulya	kulya	'to eat'
rume	lume	lume	'frog'
ruremba	lulemba	kulemba	'afternoon'
kurifisa	kulifisa	kulufisa	'to hide oneself'
nchuruzi		nchuluzi	'trader'
kusowera	kusowela	kusowela	'speak'
kirangazi	kilangazi	kilangazi	'cool season'
nkira "mikira"	nkila "mikila"	nkila	'tail'
kisero "visero"		kiselo "viselo"	'sifting pan'
sengere	sengele	sengele	'divining'
kirevi	kilevi	kilevi	'a drunk (person)'
nsumari	nsumali	nsumali	'nail'
pazira	pazila	pazila	'curtain'

But:	mirongo	mirongo	mirongo	'seasons'
	rôhô	rôhô	lôho	'soul, spirit'
	rake	rake/lake	lake	'his' (after cl.5 noun)

L > R / _ {a,u} with many exceptions:

	kufula	kufura	'to wash clothes'
	kuludi	kurudi	'to return'

but:	kukola	kukola	'to work'
	kulala	kulala	'to sleep'
	kukubali	kukubali	'to accept'
	walume	walume	'men'

The KiWibu -l- before an *e* changes to -r- in KiNkojo/KiNsimbwa:

KiWibu	KiNkojo/KiNsimbwa	
rikule	nikure	'fox'

3. Syllabic nasal and other nasal differences

More segmental differences between the KiWibu, KiNkojo, and KiNsimbwa variants are in the area of syllabic nasals. The *nr-* and *nl-* combinations in singular nouns in KiWibu become *nd-* in KiNkojo, and *nn-* in KiNsimbwa respectively. The plural roots take the underlying *r* or *l* form again. For example:

KiWibu/KiKisinga	KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa	
nrimi	ndimi	nnimi	'farmer'
nryango	ndyango	miyango "-"	'door'
nringi	ndingi	nningi	'vase, claypot'
nrimbu	ndimbu	nnimbu	'well'
nrima	ndima	nnima	'mainland'
nrindi "mi-"	ndindi "mirindi"		'luggage'
nrumbi "mi-"	ndumbi "milumbi"	nnumbi "milumbi"	
nriso	ndiso	nniso	'clearance in mangrove'
nlamu	ndamu	nnamu	'brother-in-law'
nlume	ndume	nnume	'man'
nluwani	nduwani	nnuwani	'in the backyard'
Nlungu "milungu"	Ndungu "milungu"	Nnungu "wanlungu"	'God'
nlungwana	ndungwana	nnungwana	'free person'
nluwa	nduwa	nnuwa	'type of tree'
nlandu "mi-"	ndandu "mi-"	nnandu "milandu"	'court'
nloto "mi-"	ndoto "miloto"	nnoto "miloto"	'dream'
nlwere "wa-"	ndwere "walwere"	nnwele "walwele"	'sick one'

Another difference between KiWibu and KiNkojo on the one hand, and KiNsimbwa on the other hand, is the **nV-** changing to **nnV-** or **nyV-** in KiNsimbwa.

KiWibu/KiKisinga/KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa	
namásaku "wanamasaku"	nnamasaku	'young virgin'
nanyenje "-"	nnanyenje	'riverbank'
nambo "-"	nyambo	'trap'

Other nasal differences between KiWibu and KiNsimbwa:

ns**w**iba "miswiba"	ns**h**iba	'corpse'
kunu**w**ira	kunu**ng'**ila	'have smell'
kunu**wã**	kunu**ng'a**	'smell bad'
kupe**yã**	kupe**ng'a**	'blow nose'
nka**n**fu "mikanfu"	nkafu "mikafu"	'water kettle'
kung'a**n**ira "Nkojo:kung'a**ns**ila"	kung'a**ns**ila	'shine'

4. Noun class differences

A few KiWibu class 5 nouns without the *ri-* class prefix "dying out in all southern dialects", and all those with the class 11 *lu-* prefix[15], take the class 5 prefix *li-* in KiNsimbwa. Those rare ones with the *ri-* prefix in KiWibu change to *li-* in KiNsimbwa because of the r --> l rule.

KiWibu/KiKisinga/KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa	
nanasi "mananasi"	linanasi "mananasi"	'pineapple'
luwimbi "maluwimbi"	liwimbi "mawimbi"	'wave'
riso "maso"	liso "maso"	'eye'

5. Lexical differences

The biggest amount of lexical differences is between KiWibu-KiKisanga-KiNkojo on the one hand and KiNsimbwa on the other. KiNkojo has only relatively few differences with KiWibu. Below is a short list, by no means complete.

KiWibu	KiNkojo	KiNsimbwa	
Ruremba/jironi	lulemba/jironi	jironi	'afternoon'
pondo "ma-"		lisimbo	'hole'
nango		nambazi	'cement'
ngongo "mi-"		ndenga	'puss of bee-sting'
nkweto "mikweto"		nkwéléto "mi-"	'reptile track'
nakola "ma-"		nyapala	'guard of a plantation'
ngulu	ndundu	likinga	'ramp, uphill'
nalimbwe		nambwe	'swelling'
kiyungu		sindikali	'pan'
namakwakwa "wa-"	nankwakwa "ma-"	kigalagasa	'cameleon'
lozya "ma-"	lozya	duka	'shop'
nekanga "ma-"		nnombo	'spirit specialist'
kumbi "ma-"		magala	'initiation'
kati-kati		pakati-kati	'inside'
ntoku "mi-"		nungu	'umbilical'
nrindi "mi-"	ndindi/nnzigo	nzigo	'luggage'
urokozi	unoni		'sap'

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[15] This may be proof that the class 11 *lu-* has already been incorporated into class 5 in KiWibu. (See the part on the noun classes below.)

KIMWANI TENSE-ASPECT SYSTEM

	PERFECTIVE	ANTERIOR	IMPERFECTIVE	PROGRESSIVE	PERSISTIVE	HABITUAL

PAST	kâfisa
	N aâfisire
	    [REL âfisire
	      N sââfisire]
			ákifisa
			N aákifisa
			    [REL wákifisa
			      N saákisifisa]
				ákiwa kwankufisa		ákifisánga
						N aákifisánga

0 / PRESENT		kafisa
		N aafisire
		    [REL afisire
		      N aafisire]
			áfisa
			N aafísa
			    [REL afísa
			      N saafisa]
				Kwankufisa
				N aari kufisa
				    [REL ari kufisa
				      N saari kufisa]
					angari kufisa
					N aangari kufisa
						áfisanga
						N aafisánga
						    [REL afisánga
						      N saafisánga]

FUTURE	ásaka kufisa
	N aasáka kufisa
	  [REL asáka kufisa
	    N saasaka kufisa]
	
	akuka kufisa
	N ooka kufisa
	
	akuja kufisa
	N aaja kufisa					

Notes on the Kimwani Tense-aspect table:

1. The Present Imperfective also functions as a definite Perfective Future. It is also a general timeless tense, a gnomic.
2. The Present Anterior, the Present Perfect, also functions as a recent past in terms of time, but always with Anterior aspect. It also is used on the marked or thematic storyline in narrative, in contrast with the Backgrounded *ki* which functions on the unmarked or secondary storyline.
3. The Past Perfective functions as Distant Past, as Past Pluperfect, and as Perfective Flashback in narrative.
4. The past and present Habitual *–anga* suffix is added to the Past Imperfective and the Present Imperfective forms respectively.
5. The Futures all take an Imperfective auxiliary, followed by an infintive. The three Futures are the following:

asaka kufisa	'he wants to hide it = he will hide it' (projected future)
akuka kufisa	'he is going (away) to hide it (dislocated future)
akuja kufisa	'he is coming to hide it (more definite future than *asaka kufisa*; when the subject is not present, it is also a dislocated future, but the reverse of the *akuka* form)

6. The so-called not-yet aspect [*aanamba kufisa* 'he has not yet hid it'] is classified as an extra negative under the Anterior, with a distinct meaning of the regular Anterior negative.
7. There is no Present Perfective. It is not really possible logically.

Holes in the analysis:

8. The Backgrounded *ki* is used as a dependent situative/simultaneous/gerund, but it can also be used semi-independently as a consecutive in narrative (on the unmarked or secondary storyline). When used in a consecutive chain in narrative, it must be introduced paragraph-initially by an Anterior (perfect), a Past, or a Past Imperfective.
9. Is there a Past Persistive?
10. Is there a Past Anterior? (My guess is that the Past also fills this slot, being used as a Pluperfect.)
11. The form of the Imperfective is irregular. The monosyllabics, vowel-initial stems and before ALL stems in the northern dialects, there is a *ku* prefix. Its disappearance is causing complex tonal movement which still needs to be analyzed and described.
12. The aspect for persistive (ongoing past —x—) vs. Negative persistive (event stopped before —x—) vs. not-yet (only starting after x) is still enigmatic.
13. Habitual versus Iterative.
    (HAB   ---   - --------- ------- ----)
    (ITE   ----- short, staccato regular)
    (HAB + ITE   combination)