

Lotta Harjula

The Ha Language of Tanzania

Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary



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Lotta Harjula

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Preface

My first encounters with speakers of the Ha language were in Mwanza, 1994. Prior to these Professor Arvi Hurskainen had drawn my attention to this fascinating language and a classified vocabulary published on it (Nakagawa 1992). He had also met a Ha speaker living in Finland, Mr. Anderson M. Mwegerano, who was planning to write a reader in his native language.

Professor Hurskainen introduced me to Mr. Mwegerano, and in 1997, after a short introduction to the language and culture of the Ha land I found myself travelling to Kibondo. There Mr. Mwegerano's sister Mwalimu Naomi Mwegerano warmly welcomed me into her house. During the two months I spent with her family, I was accepted as a family member and participated in their everyday life. Living with a local family was a valuable experience both for learning the local culture as well as the language. And during my other visits to Kibondo, the welcome was at least as hearty as on my first trip.

Thus, my first debt of gratitude is to the Mwegerano family for making this whole work possible. Thank you all for your patience with me, a *mzungu* with strange habits, for your network of family and friends, for the long hours sitting around a paraffin lamp, for your perseverance in answering my endless questions, and for taking such good care of me. Special thanks to Naomi's children, Kara, Pendo, Kulwa, Doto and Chiza for helping me keep my perspective.

As a language informant Mr. Enock Baziyaka was irreplaceable. His great stories and insights of the Ha language are the basis of this study. I also wish to thank Ms. Jane Baziyaka, Bibi Ferista, Mr. Sabibi and all the other Ha speakers who kindly helped me to obtain and analyse the data.

I wish to express my gratitude to my supervisors, Professor Arvi Hurskainen and Professor Fred Karlsson, who time after time read the drafts of my thesis, and gave me helpful and encouraging comments. I would also like to thank the pre-examiners of my work, Professor Derek Nurse and Professor Karsten Legère, for their effort and kind comments.

Numerous colleagues and friends have helped me in many different ways during this work. Riikka Halme, my dear 'Bantu-sister', has always been there for me, to give valuable help with my work or just for a relaxing moment over a cup of Africafé. I also wish to thank Jouni Maho and Malin Petzell from Göteborg University, and all my other colleagues at the Institute of Asian and African Studies and at the Department of General Linguistics at the University of Helsinki as well as all of you who know that you have helped me in some way or another.

For the funding of this Ph.D. study, I thank the Academy of Finland, the Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund of the University of Helsinki, and The Nordic Africa Institute. I would also like to thank the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology for permission to conduct field-work in Tanzania.

This work is dedicated to all my Ha friends, in Tanzania as well as in other parts of the world. Murakóze chááne!

Helsinki, 24 January 2004

Lotta Harjula (Mzungu-Mha)

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Abbreviations

A/A-infl	adjective/inflected adjective
AD	Accent Deletion
Adv	adverb
AI	associative index
Ant	anterior
AP4	adjective prefix of class 4
Appl/appl	applicative extension
ben	benefactive
Caus/caus	causative extension
CI	comparative index

CL	Compensatory Lengthening
Con	connexive
conj.	conjunct
Conj	conjunction
Cons	consecutive marker
Cop	copula
CopN	negative copula
CopS	copula of subordinate clause
CopSN	negative copula of subordinate clause
CP4	noun class prefix of class 4
DemP4	demonstrative pronoun of class 4 (the preceding number refers to the set of demonstratives, cf. 5.4.3)
Der	derivational extension
disj.	disjunct
ditrans	ditransitive
DP4	determiner prefix of class 4
Ext/ext	extensive extension
Foc	verbal focus marker
Fut	future marker
FV	final vowel
GF	Glide Formation
H	high tone
HS	H Spread
Impos/ impos	impositive extension
Ind	indicative/index form
Ind Rel	independent relative
Inf	infinitive prefix
instr	instrument
Int/int	intensive extension
intrans	intransitive
Inv	invariable
L	no tense or lexical accent realised on the stem of the verb
lit.	literally
loc	location
Loc17	secondary locative prefix of class 17
M	tense accent assigned to the first syllable of the macrostem
M2	tense accent assigned to the second syllable of the macrostem
MR	Meeussen's Rule
N	noun
NCL4	noun class 4
NDer	nominal derivation suffix
Neg	negation marker <i>nti-/ta-</i>

NegEx	negative existential copula
Neut/neut	neuter extension
NumP6	numeral prefix of class 6
obl	oblique
OP4	object prefix of class 4
Part	participial marker (accent)
Pass/pass	passive extension
Past	recent past marker
Perf	perfective marker
Pers	persistive marker
Pos/pos	positional extension
Pot	potential marker
PI	presentative index
Poss	possessive
PreIn	pre-initial
Pro1ps	1st person singular substitutive pronoun
Pro7	noun class 7 substitutive pronoun
Pron	pronoun
PropN	proper name
pp	person plural
ps	person singular
R	lexical accent realised as H on the first syllable of the stem
Rec/rec	reciprocal extension
recip	recipient
Redupl/ redupl	reduplication
Refl/refl	reflexive extension
Rel	relative
RPast	remote past marker
RPro	relative pronoun
Separ/ separ	separative extension
SP4	subject prefix of class 4
SPRel8	independent relative prefix of class 8
Subj	subjunctive
TA	Tone Assignment
TAM	TAM marker
TC	Tone Clash
TS	Tone Shift
trans	transitive
V	verb
VA	Vowel Amalgamation
VD	Vowel Deletion



Map1: North West Tanzania and the neighbouring countries

1. INTRODUCTION

This study is a description of the Ha language, a Bantu language spoken in Western Tanzania. It examines the Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the language. The analysis is based on data collected in 1997, 2000, and 2003 in the Ha area.

1.1 The Ha Language and People

Ha is one of the 135 living languages of Tanzania (Grimes & Grimes 2000). The Ha speakers form the majority of the population in the three districts of the Kigoma region east and north of Lake Tanganyika, which are Kigoma, Kasulu, and Kibondo. The Kigoma region borders Burundi in the west, Kagera region in the north, the Shinyanga and Tabora regions in the east, and Rukwa in the south. Nowadays, there are quite a number of Has also living in other parts of Tanzania, as well as in Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Zambia.

The Ethnologue (Grimes & Grimes 2000) lists the number of Ha speakers as 800,000. According to the census of 1988, the population of the Kigoma region was ca. 860,000, but by 2002 it had more than doubled to ca. 1,680,000¹.

However, it is difficult to estimate the current number of Ha speakers. The population growth rate in the region, which was the highest in the whole country, is partly due to the political situation in the neighbouring countries. Since 1994, refugees, especially from Burundi have crossed the border to Kigoma, and in January 2003, there were still almost 400,000 refugees in the region, compared to the little over 500,000 of the whole country (figures by ReliefWeb). In addition refugees of the earlier influxes have already settled into the community, then there are also those people who have moved to the region from other parts of Tanzania.

The Ha area, especially that of Kibondo, is fairly isolated because of poor road conditions. When the political situation in the neighbouring countries was stable, Kigoma used to be an important city on the trade route between Tanzania and Burundi as well as the Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire in those days) across Lake Tanganyika, and a through traffic port for passengers. Nowadays, Kigoma is one of the least developed regions in Tanzania. The region is best connected to the coast by railway, which, however does not run everyday, and is not very reliable. There are also regular flights to Kigoma.

There are many stories about the origin of the Ha people. According to one, some strangers asked them who they were, and received the answer: *Turi Abaha*, that is 'We were born here'. This was then interpreted by the strangers as *Waha* (Swahili word for 'the Ha people'). On the whole, the reason for the name in Ha is 'born here, local, African'. (Chubwa 1986:12)

¹ Census figures from the official website of the government of Tanzania (www.tanzania.go.tz/census/).

The name which the Ha people use for their language is *Igiha*, where *igi-* is the noun class prefix, and *ha* the stem, meaning 'here'. In Swahili, the national language of Tanzania, the name of the language is *Kiha*, other varieties sometimes used being *Giha* and *Ikiha*.

Ha is a Bantu language, closely related to Rundi of Burundi and Nyarwanda of Rwanda. These three languages are sometimes referred to as three dialects of the same language (Kimenyi 1978a:1). According to Kimenyi (1978a:1), as one language it would be 'second in number of speakers after Kiswahili among Bantu languages'. However, the Ha themselves consider Ha to be a language different from Rundi and Nyarwanda.

Guthrie (1971) has classified Ha as a group D60 language (D66), together with Rundi, Nyarwanda, Vinza, Hangaza and Shubi. In the classification of Eastern Bantu languages by Nurse and Philippson (in Hinnebusch *et al* 1981:10-11), Ha, as well as the other five languages in Guthrie's D60, are grouped together as a West Highlands subgroup of the Interlacustrine group. Later on, some of the D languages, including the D60 languages, were regrouped by Meeussen together with some E languages to group J. Thus, according to this classification, Ha is J66 (also DJ66).

In the Ha area, there are several distinct dialects. These dialects show some variation in vocabulary and pronunciation, but are mutually intelligible. Further surveys are needed in order to establish the exact relationships between these dialects as well as with the other languages in the same group.

Ha is a typical Bantu language with 16 proper name classes and a complex verbal morphology. It is highly agglutinative. The tonal system is analysed here as a pitch-accent system.

1.2 Previous studies

There are no modern descriptions of the Ha language previous to this study. The missionaries working in the Kigoma area in the beginning of the 20th century wrote some manuscripts of the language for the purpose of their work. Also some liturgical literature, such as the Catechism and hymnbooks, and even portions of the Bible were translated by these missionaries. The orthography followed that of Rundi. These translations are already old and not in use, according to my knowledge. The Bible translation seems to have gone missing when the missionaries retired and went back to their home countries. Nowadays, the language of the churches is predominantly Swahili.

Other works on Ha consist of short descriptions and word lists. Nurse (1979) gives a short description of Ha noun classes and the verbal system, as well as a word list of 100 entries. There is also a classified vocabulary of some 1,800 entries by Nakagawa (1992) on the Ha of the Kasulu area. For my M.A. thesis I wrote a phonological description of the Ha language (Harjula 1999), but the present analysis is more advanced than that study.

Since Swahili and English are the languages of education in Tanzania, Ha is seldom written, and there is no official orthography for Ha. In 1997, a book of Ha

conversations was published by Mwegerano *et al* (Tugaanire Mugiha). This book is designed for people moving to the area. It introduces conversations and texts of everyday life in Ha, as well as proverbs, riddles and some history of the Ha, accompanied by Swahili translations and vocabulary. The orthography used in this book is modified from Swahili, but there are inconsistencies, especially in the writing of vowels (cf. chapter 4).

The situation is quite different for the neighbouring languages Rundi and Nyarwanda, these being the official languages of Burundi and Rwanda, respectively, with official orthographies. There are several language descriptions on both of the languages, starting from the classic *Essai de grammaire rundi* by Meeussen (1959). Later contributions to the description of these languages include Rodegem (*Précis de grammaire rundi*, 1967) and Ntahokaja (*Grammaire structurale du kirundi*, 1994) on Rundi, and Kimenyi (*A Relational Grammar of Kinyarwanda*, 1978), Dubnova (*The Rwanda Language*, 1984), Nkusi (*Analyse Syntaxique du Kinyarwanda*, 1995), and Kimenyi (*A Tonal Grammar of Kinyarwanda: an autosegmental and metrical analysis*, 2002) on Nyarwanda. In addition to these language descriptions, different areas of Rundi and Nyarwanda have also been the topics of numerous linguistic articles.

1.3 Methods and fieldwork

This study is based on fieldwork carried out during three different periods, in the Kigoma region. In July-August 1997, I spent about two months in Kibondo town, in the capital of the Kibondo district, which is the northernmost district of the Kigoma region, some 250 km north of Kigoma (cf. map on page xiv). In 2000, I spent several weeks (from 5th of July to 11th of August) in Kibondo again as well as in Kigoma, the capital of the region, and in Kasulu, which is said to be the heart of the Ha land. In 2003, I returned to Kibondo and Kigoma to check and complete my data, for a couple of weeks (from 14th of February to 7th of March).

My data mainly consists of Ha texts, which include different types of narratives and conversations. The texts are supplemented with elicited material. All the material is recorded, transcribed and translated with the help of language assistants. Alongside the text collection, I have compiled a lexical database, which now consists of some 3,400 entries.

In data collection my aim was to stick to the language that is in everyday use, and to try to avoid leading my language assistants, for example, by forming sentences and constructions by myself and then asking them whether that is possible in their language. The dialectal variation of the Ha area, as well as the exact differences between Ha and the neighbouring languages, is yet to be studied. In my work, I have concentrated on the variety of the Kibondo region, since most of my language assistants came from that area, but I have also taken notes on some of the differences in the language between the Kibondo, Kasulu and Kigoma regions.

During the time I spent in the Ha area, I got to know some Ha language as well as culture, and made friends with many members of the extended family with which I stayed in Kibondo. Sharing daily life with the people of Kibondo was a valuable

experience for understanding them and their language and culture, both to me personally as well as for my study.

My main language assistant in Kibondo was Mr. Enock Baziyaka. He had just retired from his government job when I first went to Kibondo, and was willing to help me with the language study. He is known to have good knowledge of his language and traditional culture. Mr. Baziyaka lives in the village of Twabagondozi, a couple of kilometres from the town of Kibondo. Mr. Baziyaka quickly understood my purpose for studying the language, and he was able to give me relevant material on each topic in question. He is also a skilled storyteller, and he has helped Mr. Mwegerano in compiling the Ha textbook *Tugaanire Mugiha* (cf. section 1.2 above).

During my second and third trip to the Ha area Mr. Baziyaka's daughter Ms. Jane Baziyaka also helped me with my language studies. She seemed to have inherited her feel for and insights of the language from her father. She is trained as a secretary, and works in a church office in Kibondo.

In Kibondo, Mrs. Naomi Mwegerano kindly received me into her house. Whilst living in her house, I also spent time with her as well as the other members of the family, discussing and learning the Ha language, often in an informal setting.

Bibi Ferista, an elderly lady from Kibondo, taught me Ha during my first stay in Kibondo. She saw her role as a culture and family life instructor, and gave me valuable information on these areas. Her idiolect differs slightly from that of Mr. Baziyaka.

Before being able to arrange the field trip to the Ha area, I started to study the language in Finland with Mawazo Mwegerano. He prepared me for the trip, introduced me to his family in Kibondo, and has been my language assistant in Finland.

During my time in Kigoma and Kasulu, I worked with several different people in studying the language and collecting data. Mr. Elijah Jackson Sabibi studied at that time at Bigabiro Bible College near Kigoma. He comes from Kalela village in the Kasulu area. Before his studies at Bigabiro he had already spent five years in theological training for the Anglican Church of Tanzania. Another Bigabiro student, Mr. John Mahuba, introduced me also to his family in Kigoma, and his grandmother, with the assistance of his father and some other relatives, told me some Ha stories of Kigoma. Mr. F. Mbogi, who originally comes from Burundi, but has lived in Kigoma for already quite some time, was a teacher at the Bigabiro Bible College, and introduced me to a variety of Ha closer to Rundi. Rev. Wilson Gwimo, who comes from a village north of Kigoma, and Mr. Bosco Wistony, a youth worker from a church in Bigabiro, whose home village is Mkongoro between Kigoma and Kasulu, also told me some stories in Ha.

1.4 The present study

The aim of this study is to present a basic grammar of the Ha language, which will provide easily accessible data for further studies of the language as well as for comparative and theoretical issues in the field of Bantu languages. The theoretical

approach adopted here is that of Basic Linguistic Theory along the lines of Dixon (1997) and Dryer (2003). Basic Linguistic Theory is an informal theory based on traditional grammar. Features of later theoretical approaches are applied only in areas where they seem particularly illuminating. Basic Linguistic Theory has adopted, for example, the structuralist notion of phoneme and the generative notion of phonological rules as well autosegmental representation. It is also strongly influenced by linguistic typology. Basic Linguistic Theory aims at describing each language in its own terms (Dryer 2003:4), not according to those models motivated by European languages.

In chapter 2, Segmental Morphology, I describe the sounds of the Ha language as well as the phonological and morpho-phonemic sound changes. Chapter 3, Tonology, introduces the autosegmental area of the phonology, and in chapter 4 the phonological analysis is applied into practice by an orthography proposal. Nominal morphology is described in chapter 5, and verbal morphology in the following chapter. In chapter 7, I describe the syntax of the Ha language. Finally, in chapter 8, there are some conclusions as well as remarks for future studies.

In the language examples, I use the orthography proposed in chapter 4, except that in the chapter on Segmental Phonology some examples are in phonetic (in square brackets []) and others in phonological (between slashes //) transcription. All the examples are taken from my own data or from *Tuganire Mugiha* (Mwegerano *et al*).

2. SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

In this chapter I describe the basic segmental elements of the Ha language as well as the sound changes both on a word and sentential level. The phonetic symbols used equal IPA symbols. The Proto-Bantu reconstructions cited here are from BLR2 (Coupez *et al*).

2.1 The consonant phonemes

The contrastive consonant phoneme inventory in Ha is as follows:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless plosives	p	t		k	
voiced plosives	b	d	ɟ	g	
voiceless fricatives	f	s	ʃ		h
voiced fricatives	v	z			
affricates	pf	ts	tʃ		
nasals	m	n	ɲ		
approximants	w	r	j		

Table 1: The consonant phonemes

The voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ are often realised as slightly aspirated, but the aspiration is not contrastive. Aspiration is not marked in the examples.

- (1) /ipé:ni/ 'pen'
- (2) /urutoke/ 'finger'
- (3) /amakúmi/ 'teenagers'

The phoneme /p/ occurs only in loan words and other words that are probably relatively new in the language, since the Proto-Bantu phoneme *p has undergone a series of changes (cf. section 2.5.3 below).

The phoneme /pʃ/ occurs infrequently, and only in the stem-initial position. It is realised as a plosive with an affricate release ([pʃ]) or as a labial or labiodental fricative ([ɸ]/[ɸ]). This variation is due to the process of spirantisation in Bantu languages (cf. section 2.5.1 below).

- (4) /kupfá/ 'to die'
 (5) /umupfumu/ 'doctor'

/ts/ is relatively rare, too, and it occurs only before /i/ or /e/ (except in the perfective and causative forms of some verbs, where /ts/ is a result of the historical process, cf. 6.1.3.3 and 6.2.3 in Verbal Morphology). It is most often realised as [ts̺], but some speakers replace it with [s̺] or even [s]. This variation, as well as the rather restricted environment, is due to the historical process of spirantisation in Bantu languages (cf. section 2.5.1 below): /ts/ occurs before /i/ only in stems where the reconstructed form is *ki (6), and before /e/ only with /k/-final roots in the perfective (historically the roots are *ki or *kie, and the perfective suffix *-ide) (7). /ts/ contrasts with /s/ (8)-(9).

- (6) /umwootsi/ (*jóki) 'smoke'
 (7) /jabimanitse/ 'were hang up'
 (8) /imitsi/ (*kii) 'tendons'
 (9) /imisi/ (*cÍ) 'days'

The affricates /pf̺/, /ts̺/ and /tʃ̺/ are interpreted as units, since they function as single phonemes. They occur stem-initially where consonant sequences are not permitted, and they may have secondary articulation. When /pf̺/ and /ts̺/ are a result of the historical Bantu spirantisation process they are in free variation with fricatives (cf. above).

/r/ is an alveolar approximant phoneme with the variants [l] (voiced alveolar lateral) and [ɾ] (voiced alveolar flap). As in many other Bantu languages, [l] and [ɾ] are in free variation. Free variation can be clearly seen in instances where the same word is written with the two alternative forms within the same sentence by native speakers of the language. In this work only /r/ is used.

- (10) /kurí:fa/ [kurí:fa]/[kulí:fa] 'to feed'
 (11) /urukʷá:vu/ [urukwá:vu]/[ulukwá:vu] 'hare'

2.2 The vowel phonemes

The vowel phonemes of Ha are as follows:

	front	back
close	i i:	u u:
mid	e e:	o o:
open		a a:

Table 2: The vowel phonemes

The phonetic symbol [a] is not used as the IPA symbol (front open vowel) here, but it stands for the open vowel which is back rather than front in Ha.

Of the five vowel qualities, the distribution of /e/ and /o/ is somewhat restricted. They do not occur in prefixes, but do in suffixes, though only as harmonised variants (cf. section 2.2.2 below). /e/ and /o/ are also in free variation with /i/ and /u/, respectively, in some words, especially word-finally.

The Proto-Bantu vowels *I, *U, *e, *o and *a, when lengthened, correspond to the Ha phonemes /i:/, /u:/, /e:/, /o:/, and /a:/, respectively. Also the Proto-Bantu diphthongs have become long vowels in Ha, so that the first element of the diphthong (*i, *u, *I, *U, *e, *o) triggered the historical spirantisation, labialisation or palatalisation process in the preceding consonant, and the following vowel (*I, *U, *e, *o, *a) became lengthened (/i:/, /u:/, /e:/, /o:/, /a:/, respectively). Through this Compensatory Lengthening the number of the moras remained the same. Thus, the Proto-Bantu opposition of short and long vowels is retained in Ha.

There are lexical minimal pairs with the only difference being in the vowel length (12)-(13), but there is also often a difference in the tonal pattern (14). However, since in a number of verbal forms the lexical accent is neutralised (cf. section 3.1.2 in Tonology), the length of the vowel often remains as the only distinguishing factor in these forms (15). Word-initial and word-final vowels are always phonetically short (except with the independent relative forms, cf. section 6.1.8.2).

- (12) uku+her*+a uguhéra
 CP15+'finish'+FV 'to finish'
- uku+heer*+a uguhéera
 CP15+'start'+FV 'to start'
- (13) iN+sóko isóko
 CP9/10+'market' 'a market'
- iN+sóoko isóoko
 CP9/10+'spring' 'a spring'
- (14) uku+raab+a ukuraaba
 CP15+'look at'+FV 'to look at'
- uku+rab*+a ukurába
 CP15+'faint'+FV 'to faint'
- (15) a+a+ri *+a+á+raab+ye yari yáaavye
 SP1+Past+'be' Part+SP1+RPast+'look at'+Perf 'he was looking at'
- a+a+ri *+a+á+rab*+ye yari yáravye
 SP1+Past+'be' Part+SP1+RPast+'faint'+Perf 'he had fainted'

Some inflectional and derivational affixes, such as the future marker *-roo-* (16), the anterior marker *-ráa-* (17), and the causative suffix *-iish-* (18) always accompany a long vowel. In addition, the fifth type of demonstrative pronouns have a long vowel (19), as well as the negative existential copula *ntaa* (20).

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (16) | n+roo+shobor*+a
SP1ps+Fut+ 'be able' +FV | ndooshobora
'I will be able' |
| (17) | nti+n+ráa+ya+ri*+a
Neg+SP1ps+Ant+OP6+ 'eat' +FV | sindááyádyá
'I have not eaten them' |
| (18) | uku+dah*+iish+a
CP15+ 'scoop' +Caus+FV | ukudáhiisha
'to draw with' |
| (19) | wáa umu+ntu
5DPron1 CP1+ 'person' | wáa muntu
'that person' |
| (20) | ntaa umu+ntu
NegEx CP1+ 'person' | ntaa muntu
'there is no one (no person)' |

There are some nominal and verbal stems that lengthen the vowel which precedes the stem. These are -so* 'eye' (21), -zi* 'water' (22), -hé 'what' (23), -za 'come' (24), -zi 'know' (25), and -zána 'bring' (26).

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| (21) | ama+so*
CP6+ 'eye' | amáaso (sg. <i>ijíisho</i>)
'eyes' |
| (22) | ama+zi*
CP6+ 'water' | amáazi
'water' |
| (23) | iki+tabo ki+a*+hé
CP7+ 'book' DP7+Con+ 'what' | igitabo cháahé
'which book?' |
| (24) | ba+z+a
SP2+ 'come' +FV | baaza
'they come' |
| (25) | n+á+ra+ki+zi*
SP1+RPast+Foc+OP7+ 'know' +M | ndarákiizi
'I knew it' |
| (26) | n+roo+ya+zan*+a
SP1ps+Fut+OP6+ 'bring' +FV | ndooyaazana
'I will bring them' |

2.2.1 Conditioned vowel length

Even though vowel length is contrastive, many phonetically long vowels are conditioned by the environment and are thus variants of the short phonemes. Vowels followed by a prenasalised consonant (NC) are lengthened (27)-(28), except word-initially (29). Vowels are also lengthened as Compensatory Lengthening takes place after Glide Formation (cf. section 2.4.1 below). The interaction of vowel length with accent is described in section 3.3 in the chapter on tonology.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (27) | uku+kund*+a
CP15+ 'love' +FV | ugukúnda [ugukúnda]
'to love' |
| (28) | uru+gendo
CP11+ 'journey' | urugendo [urugeɪndo]
'journey' |
| (29) | iN+beba
CP9/10+ 'rat' | imbeba [ímbeba]
'rat' |

The vowel of the first person singular negation marker *si-* is not lengthened before a NC-cluster (30), and the pre-NC vowels that follow *ny* are often not lengthened (31).

- (30) *nti+n²+yi+zi+** *sindayiizí* [sindaji:zí]
 Neg+SP1ps+OP9+'know'+M2 'I do not know it'

- (31) *iN+nyundo* *inyundo* [ijnundo]
 CP9/10+'hammer' 'hammer'

The pre-NC lengthened vowels sound shorter than the lexical long vowels and the lengthened vowels after a consonant + glide sequence, to the extent that sometimes the vowel is short and the nasal seems to carry the second tone of the lengthened vowel. Nakagawa (1992:iv) claims that the nasal element of the prenasalised consonants always counts as a mora and, thus, can bear a tone.

The fact that the pre-NC vowel is usually somewhat shorter than the other long vowels is confirmed for Nyarwanda by Myers (2003), but he analyses the difference in duration as an effect of closed syllable shortening (Maddieson 1985), not as mora-sharing. On the other hand, Hyman (2003a) argues that in Bantu languages, in general, the nasal of the NC complex 'is "moraic", i.e. it contributes a unit of length or "beat", which readily transfers to the preceding vowel.' The variation on the vowel length of the pre-NC vowels and the possible tone-bearing ability of the nasal, and thus the analysis of this lengthening, is left for further studies.

Lengthened vowels are also formed by vowel concatenation when the past tense marker *-a-* is preceded by a subject prefix of the form *Ca-*.

- (32) *ba+á+ra+huur*+*+ye* *baárahúuye*
 SP2+RPast+Foc+'meet'+M+Perf 'they met'

2.2.2 Vowel harmony

The historically semi-open vowels *I and *U of some derivational extensions show vowel height harmony, being sensitive to the vowel height of the stem vowel. These extensions are the applicative *-ir-*, the causative *-iish-*, the neuter *-ik-*, the impositive *-ik-*, and the separative *-ur-/uk-*.

In the extensions with /i/ (the applicative, the causative, the neuter, and the impositive), the vowel is realised as [e], when the vowel of the stem is /e/ or /o/ (33), and as [i] elsewhere, i.e. when the vowel of the stem is /i/, /u/ or /a/ (34). In the separative, however, the harmonised variant with [o] occurs only when the root vowel is /o/ (35), and [u] occurs with all the other stem vowels (36). Thus, Ha exemplifies 'asymmetric' vowel height harmony (Hyman 1999a).

- (33) *-héra* *-héra*
 'finish' 'finish at'
-kóra *-kóra*
 'work' 'work for'

² *n-* before an object prefix is *nda-*, cf. 6.1.3.4

- | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|
| (34) | -rira | -ririra |
| | 'cry' | 'cry for' |
| | -túra | -túrira |
| | 'hit' | 'hit sth' |
| | -gaba | -gabira |
| | 'give' | 'give to' |
| (35) | -sohoka | -sohora |
| | 'arrive' | 'go out' |
| (36) | -gera | -gerura |
| | 'measure' | 'reduce' |
| | -gaba | -gabura |
| | 'give' | 'divide' |

2.3 Consonants with secondary articulation

In Ha there are three types of secondary articulation, which are similar but not identical in function, namely labialisation, palatalisation and prenasalisation. All these are considered here as being expressly secondary articulations, i.e. a short labial, palatal or nasal colouring is imposed to a consonant. Both diachronically and synchronically these processes are assimilation processes.

By analysing the consonants with secondary articulation as phonemes of their own right, the number of consonant phonemes would be increased from 22 to at least 50, since most of the consonant phonemes can have any of these secondary articulations. The consonants with secondary articulation contrast with those without secondary articulation.

All three types of the secondary articulation are common among Bantu languages and they can be traced to Proto-Bantu. Prenasalised plosives are reconstructed in Proto-Bantu, and the labialised and the palatalised plosives of Ha can be traced to Proto-Bantu diphthongs. But all of these are also dynamic processes in Ha, producing consonants with secondary articulation at the morpheme boundaries.

Labialised and palatalised consonants may be prenasalised. Prenasalised consonants may also be labialised or palatalised, but the phonetic realisations are the same irrespective of the order of the modifications.

In some analyses of Bantu languages, the combinations Cw and Cy are seen as sequences of two equal segments (e.g. in Kimatumbi, Odden 1996). Thus, /w/ and /y/ are treated similarly whether preceded by a consonant or not, i.e. they undergo the Glide Formation process.

In Ha, in labialisation as well as in palatalisation, the assimilation affects the whole syllable, not just the preceding consonant, since the following vowel is also strongly affected. In labialisation lip rounding is still seen on the vowel, and in palatalisation the tongue is still raised when the pronunciation of the vowel begins. In addition, the following vowel is lengthened as a result of Compensatory Lengthening (cf. 2.4.1).

2.3.1 Labialisation

All of the consonants, except the glides (/w/ and /j/), may be labialised, i.e. be followed by a short labial-velar element. This secondary articulation is diachronically a result of the Proto-Bantu diphthongs (*CU > C^w / _ *V, *V ≠ *U). Synchronically, labialisation occurs at morpheme boundaries when the close vowel /u/ is preceded by a consonant and followed by another vowel (Cu → C^w / _ + V), that is with /u/-final concord prefixes and the passive suffix -u- (cf. 6.2.2). With the concord prefixes, the following vowel is lengthened in order to keep the number of the moras equal when the close vowel /u/ is desyllabified (cf. 2.4.1).

The labialised plosives and nasals of Ha stems correspond to the sequences of a consonant and a mid back vowel (*U or *o) of Proto-Bantu stems. In Table 3, the first column lists the phonemes with secondary articulation. An example of the synchronic process follows in the second column. The third column shows the historical processes with corresponding phonetic realisations in modern Ha. Finally, examples of the historical processes are listed in the fourth column.

Phonemic	Examples of the synchronic process	Historical process (/ _ *U/o)	Examples of the historical process
/h ^w /	-bóha → -bóhwa 'fasten' - 'be tied'	*pU > [hw]	*pÚá > -hwá 'thorn'
/t ^w /	-híta → -hítwa 'pass' - 'be passed'	*tU > [tw]	*tÚád > -twáara 'carry'
/k ^w /	uku+áaha → ukwáaha 'armpit'	*kU > [kw]	*kÚí > -kwí 'firewood'
/b ^w /	ubu+áato → ubwáato 'canoe'	*bU > [bw]	*bÚa > -bwá 'dog'
/j ^w /	(j-final roots in passive, unattested)	*jU > [jw]	*jÚí > -jwí 'voice'
/g ^w / and /r ^w /	-húga → -húgwa 'hunt' - 'be hunted' -kóra → -kógwa /kór ^w a/ 'work' - 'be done'	*gU/*dU > [gw]	*gU > -gwa 'fall' *dÚad > -gwáara 'sickness'
/m ^w /	umu+áaka → umwáaka 'year'	*mU > [mw]	*mo > -mwa 'cut hair'
/n ^w /	-zána → -zánwa 'bring' - 'be brought'	*nU > [nw]	*nUe > -nwe 'hand'
/ɲ ^w /	-menya → -menywa 'know' - 'be known'	*ɲU > [ɲw]	*ɲó > -nywá 'drink'

Table 3: The labialised plosives and nasals

Proto-Bantu verbal reconstructions are usually given in the root form, i.e. without the final vowel, which is determined by the tense/aspect. In the Ha examples, I have used the stems (i.e. the root with possible extensions and the final vowel), since they can be taken as the basic forms of the verb.

In the labialised /b/ there is often slight velar friction, and it is sometimes pronounced more like [bʲ] than [bw].³

Of the rest of the consonant phonemes of Ha, the fricatives /f, s, ʃ, z/ may also be labialised. Of these four, /fʷ/, /sʷ/, and /zʷ/ also occur within stems, but the occurrences are so few that the correspondences with Proto-Bantu sounds are difficult to determine. The absence of the labialised affricates and /v/ could be due to their rarity, as such, especially as the final vowel of the verbal root. The labialised semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ are simplified to /w/.

2.3.2 Palatalisation

Unlike labialisation, the palatal element often affects the preceding consonant by shifting its place of articulation. As labialisation, palatalisation is both diachronic and synchronic in Ha. Some of the palatalised consonants are a result of the historical sound change (triggered by Proto-Bantu diphthongs or spirantisation, *CI > C^j / _ *V, *V ≠ *I), and, synchronically, palatalisation occurs at morpheme boundaries when the close front vowel /i/ is preceded by a consonant and followed by another vowel (Ci → C^j / _ + V, V ≠ i). This is with /i/-final prefixes and suffixes (some processes follow the historical process, cf. 6.1.3.3 and 6.2.3 in Verbal Morphology). In modern Ha, the stem-initial vowel is lengthened with the concord prefixes in order to keep the number of the tone bearing units (moras) equal when the high front vowel is desyllabified (cf. 2.4.1 below).

The relation between Proto-Bantu diphthongs and Ha palatalisation is not as clear as with labialisation. Some of the palatalised consonants are the results of the Bantu Spirantisation (cf. 2.5.1), namely /ɸ/ and /v^j/. The correlation between Proto-Bantu front mid vowels (*I and *e) and palatalisation can be satisfactorily proved only for *d (cf. Table 4). *pI seems to have become /ʃ/ (e.g. *pIup > -shúuha 'boil'). In my data, /t^j/ occurs only in the lexicalised adverb stems -ntyá 'this way' and -ntyó 'that way'. The stem *-tIa/*-tIo 'so' is listed in the BLR2 database, but it is not considered a reliable reconstruction.

³ In Nyarwanda some of the labialised consonants are described as expressing 'strengthening of an underlying /u/ or /w/ into a velar stop after a non-homorganic nasal or stop', and that 'the first segment is released before the closure for the second is formed.' (Maddieson 2003:27). In Ha, the impression points more to a simultaneous pronunciation, but further phonetic study is needed before an exact phonetic description will be available.

Phonemic	Examples of the synchronic process	Historical process	Examples of the historical process
/f/	-	*p > [fj] / _ *i ⁴ *p > [sh] / _ *I ⁵	
/v/ and /b/	<i>ibi+áara</i> → <i>ivyáara</i> 'nails'	*b > [vj] / _ *i ⁶ *b > [β] / _ *I ⁷	
/t/	-	*tI > [tj]	*tIo > - <i>tyo</i> 'so'
/d/ and /r/	<i>ri+a*+nje</i> → <i>dyáanje</i> 'my'	*dI > [dj]	*dían > - <i>dyána</i> 'quarrel'
/s/ and /ʃ/	<i>-seesa</i> → <i>-sheeshe</i> ⁸ 'pour' - 'pour (Perf)'	*ce > [sj]	*ce > - <i>sya</i> 'grind'
/tʃ/ and /k/	<i>iki+áara</i> → <i>icháara</i> 'nail'	*tu > [tʃ]	*tumb > - <i>chumba</i> 'cook ugali'
/m/	<i>imi+áaka</i> → <i>imyáaka</i> 'years'	*mi > [mj]	*dími > - <i>zímya</i> 'extinguish'
/ɲ/	<i>-bóna</i> → <i>-bónye</i> 'see' - 'see (Perf)'	*ni/*ɲ/*n > [ɲ]	*ɲama > - <i>nyama</i> 'meat'
/n/	<i>-ména</i> → <i>-ménye</i> 'brake' - 'brake (Perf)'	*ne > [nj]	*ne > - <i>nya</i> 'defecate'

Table 4: The palatalised consonants

For *bI followed by another vowel only one possible reconstruction was found, and the realisation in Ha is the same as with *bi, namely /v/ (*bIuk > -*vyúuka* 'wake up'). For *kI and *gI followed by another vowel, no data was found.

Only one correlate was found for *ce (cf. Table 4), and there are only a couple of other occurrences of /s/ in my data. Synchronically, the result of the palatalisation of /s/ results in /ʃ/.

/tʃ/ diachronically results from Bantu Spirantisation (cf. 2.5.1), and synchronically it occurs with class 7 prefixes (*iki-*) when attached to a vowel-initial stem (cf. Table 4).

⁴ See 2.5.1 below.

⁵ See 2.5.3 below.

⁶ See 2.5.1 below.

⁷ See 2.5.3 below.

⁸ The stem consonant is palatalised due to the regressive palatalisation, see below.

/m^j/ is attested in Ha with class 4 prefixes (*imi-*) when followed by a vowel-initial stem. Historically /m^j/ is derived from *mi. *mI followed by a vowel with a correlate in Ha was not found.

/n^j/ and /ɲ/ are reported to be in opposition in many Interlacustrine languages (Bastin 2003:505), also in Nyarwanda and Rundi (cf. e.g. Kimenyi 1979b, Rodegem 1967). In Ha, this opposition seems to be rather hazy and restricted to a few words only. Historically, [ɲ] of Ha developed from *ni (followed by another vowel), *ɲ, and, in some instances, also *n. *nI and *ne have produced /ni/, except *ne followed by a vowel seems to have become /n^j/. Synchronically, /n/ is palatalised to /ɲ/ when class 9/10 prefixes (*iN-*, historically *ini-) or the first person singular subject and object prefix (*ni-*) are attached to vowel-initial stems. With /n/-final verbal roots in the perfective form the palatalisation produces either /ɲ/ (37) or /n^j/ (38), while with /ɲ/-final roots the result is /ɲ/ (39). /n^j/ and /ɲ/ are not differentiated in the proposed orthography, since the opposition is limited to some words only (cf. chapter 4).

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (37) n+a+a+bon*+ye | ndaabónye |
| SP1ps+Past+Foc+'see'+Perf | 'I saw' |
| (38) n+a+a+men*+ye | ndaaménye [nda:ménje] |
| SP1ps+Past+Foc+'broke'+Perf | 'I broke' |
| (39) n+a+a+meny*+ye | ndaaménye [nda:méne] |
| SP1ps+Past+Foc+'know'+Perf | 'I knew' |

[z^j] occurs rarely. When the class 10 subject prefix *zi-* is followed by a vowel, the final *i-* of the prefix is dropped and the following vowel is lengthened (cf. 2.4.1).

Palatalisation also occurs regressively, but it applies only to the alveolar fricative [s]: it assimilates to the palatal consonant of the following syllable, and becomes palatal [ʃ].

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| (40) uku+saaz*+a | ugusáaza |
| CP15+'become old'+FV | 'to become old' |
| ba+á+ra+saaz*+*+ye | baárasháaje |
| SP2+RPast+Foc+'become old'+M+Perf | 'they have become old' |

2.3.3 Prenasalisation

Prenasalisation of plosives and fricatives is a common feature in Bantu languages, reconstructed also in Proto-Bantu. Both voiced and the voiceless plosives and fricatives are in such instances preceded by a short nasal element. The nasal always has the same place of articulation as the following consonant (automatic assimilation). Ha makes no exception in this respect.

As with labialisation and palatalisation, prenasalisation is analysed here as secondary articulation. All the consonant phonemes may be prenasalised. In Table

5, the first column shows Ha phonemic forms of the prenasalised phonemes. In the second column, there are examples of the synchronic prenasalisation processes, and in the third column there are the Proto-Bantu prenasalised consonants with the phonetic realisations of Ha.

Phonemic	Examples of the synchronic process	Historical process
^m p/	<i>iN+hené</i> → <i>impené</i> 'goat'	*mp > [mᵑ]
ⁿ t/	<i>iN+taama</i> → <i>intaama</i> 'sheep'	*nt > [nᵑ]
^ŋ k/	<i>iN+kokó</i> → <i>inkokó</i> 'hen'	*ŋk > [ŋᵑ]
^m b/	<i>iN+beba</i> → <i>imbeba</i> 'rat'	*mb > [mᵑ]
ⁿ d/ and ⁿ r/	<i>n+dyá</i> → <i>ndyá</i> 'I eat' <i>iN+rírimbo</i> → <i>indílimbo</i> 'song'	*nd > [nd]
^ɲ j/	unattested	*ŋg/jɲ > [ɲᵑ]
^ŋ g/	<i>iN+goóho</i> → <i>ingoóho</i> 'gun'	*ŋg > [ŋᵑ]
^m v/	<i>iN+vá</i> → <i>imvá</i> 'grave'	*ŋg (u) > [mᵑv]
ⁿ z/	<i>n+zánira</i> → <i>nzanira</i> 'bring me'	*ɲj/*ŋg > [nz]

Table 5: The prenasalised consonants with Proto-Bantu correlates

Reliable reconstructions with correlates in Ha for *mp were not found in BLR2. For the *p > [h] lenition, see section 2.5.3.

Reconstructed Proto-Bantu allowed sequences of a nasal followed by a voiceless plosive. Some of the modern day Bantu languages have retained these sequences, but for the majority some assimilation processes have taken place. In Ha, the assimilation is progressive, so that the voiceless plosives become voiceless nasals after a homorganic nasal. This process, however, is optional and does not necessarily take place in slow and careful speech.

(41) *iN+kokó* *inkokó* [iŋᵑkokó]/[iŋkokó]

CP9/10+ 'hen' 'hen'

The historical change *d -> /r/ (cf. 2.5.2) has taken place in vowel-medial environments, but when prenasalised the phonetic realisation of /r/ is restored to [nd], parallel to Proto-Bantu *nd.

- (42) n+ra+mu+bon*+a ndamúbona
 SP1ps+Foc+OP1+'see'+FV 'I see him'

The Compensatory Lengthening occurring with NC clusters is discussed in section 2.4.1.

Interesting sound changes are found with some class 11 (*uru-*) and 14 (*ubu-*) nouns that take their plural form in class 10. With consonant-initial noun stems the plural has the regular form of class 10 (*iN-*) (e.g. *urutoke* - *intoke* 'finger - fingers'), but with vowel-initial and y-initial stems N assimilates to y producing *nz* (e.g. *ugwáara*⁹ - *inzáara* 'nail - nails', *uruyige* - *inzige* 'locust - locusts', *ubwáato* - *inzáato* 'canoe - canoes'). In addition, some class 9 nouns with class 10 plurals have *z* as the stem-initial consonant both in the singular and the plural (e.g. *inzóka* 'snake/snakes'), but the stem is proved to be y-initial by the form it has in other noun classes (e.g. *ikiyóka* 'intestinal worm'). The adjective *-iizá* 'good' is either *nyiizá* or *nziizá* in class 9.

The source for these sound changes can be found in Proto-Bantu. All of the noun stems that show these changes have *j-initial (or *g-initial in some instances) reconstructions. The stem-initial *j is normally not realised in Ha (the *j-initial stems being normally vowel-initial in Ha), but it is retained when preceded by the nasal prefix of class 10 (most of the stems with this variation also take class 10 plural in Proto-Bantu). The change *nj > [nz] is attested in some verb stems as well, for example *ganja > -*gánza* 'hand' (cf. section 2.5.4 for *j spirantisation). Thus, the sound changes between the *iN*-prefix and some noun stems are a result of the historical stem-initial *j.

Reliable correlates for reconstructed stems with *jnc were not found in my data.

The fricatives /f/, /s/ and /ʃ/, as well as the affricates, are also synchronically prenasalised (43)-(45). When the nasals are prenasalised, the prenasal element surfaces only as the lengthening of the preceding vowel (46), if not word-initial, where long vowels are not permitted.

- (43) iN+fí imfí
 CP9/10+'fish' 'fish'
- (44) iN+sí insí/isí¹⁰
 CP9/10+'ground' 'ground'
- (45) iN+shá inshá
 CP9/10+'impala' 'impala'

⁹ See 2.3.1 for the labialisation of /r/.

¹⁰ Cf. footnote 31.

- (46) a+ra+mu+meny+a aramumenya
 SP1+Foc+OP1+'know'+FV 'he knows him'
 a+ra+n+meny+a araamenya
 SP1+Foc+OP1ps+'know'+FV 'he knows me'

2.4 Syllable structure and phonotactic structure

Only open syllables are allowed in Ha. The onset of the syllable is a consonant, which may be prenasalised and/or labialised or palatalised. In the word-initial position, the syllable may consist of a single vowel.

The nucleus of the syllable consists of one or two moras, i.e. a short or long vowel. In addition, a nasal can sometimes form the nucleus of the syllable, in such instances where the vowel following the nasal has been dropped and the nasal thus carries the tone of the vowel.

- (47) mu+kaága mukaága [mukaága]/[m̥kaága]
 CP3+'six' 'six'

All the content words in Ha consist of at least two syllables. There are some grammatical words, which are monosyllabic, but these are normally merged with the content words, e.g. through vowel deletion (cf. 7.1.6.2 in Syntax).

The nouns are formed with a prefix, an augment (forming together a monosyllabic or disyllabic class prefix, i.e. V(N)- or VCV-, cf. Table 8) and the nominal stem. The class 1a nouns form an exception to the normal structure, since they do not have a prefix.

By far the most common type of nominal stem is that of -CV(N)CV, where the second consonant may be prenasalised (48). The consonants may also be labialised (49) or palatalised (50). The stem vowels, except the stem-final vowel, may be long (51). The disyllabic nominal stems may also be vowel-initial (-VVCV), in which case the initial vowel is always long (52).

- (48) uru+bara urubara
 CP11+'party' 'party'
 umu+góngó umugóngó
 CP3+'back' 'back'

- (49) iN+gwáara ingwáara
 CP9/10+'sickness' 'sickness'
 ibi+ríibwa ibiríibwa
 CP8+'food' 'food'

- (50) umu+vyéeyi umuvyéeyi
 CP1+'old woman' 'old woman'
 umu+rими umurими
 CP1+'farmer' 'farmer'

- | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|
| (51) | i+béere | ibéere |
| | CP5+'breast' | 'breast' |
| | iki+bambaazi | ikibambaazi |
| | CP7+'pole' | 'pole' |
| (52) | ubu+áato | ubwáato |
| | CP14+'canoe' | 'canoe' |

There are trisyllabic and longer nominal stems (53), but most of them seem to be derived from verb roots (54), or they are formed by reduplication or combining (55), or they are loan words (56).

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--|
| (53) | i+bingira | ibingira |
| | CP5+'wild dog' | 'wild dog' |
| | iN+bugitá | imbúgitá |
| | CP9/10+'knife' | 'knife' |
| (54) | umu+dándaza | umudandaza (from - <i>dándaza</i> 'trade') |
| | CP1+'seller' | 'seller' |
| | iki+gáaniiro | ikigáaniiro (from - <i>gáaniira</i> 'discuss') |
| | CP7+'conversation' | 'conversation' |
| (55) | ama+hené+hené | amahenéhene |
| | CP6+'goat'+Redupl | 'goat droppings' |
| | umu+shing+a+iN+taáhe | umushíngantaáhe |
| | CP1+'put'+FV+CP9/10+'tradition' | 'chairman, person with traditional knowledge' |
| (56) | i+karataási | ikárataási |
| | CP5+'paper' | 'paper' |

There is a limited number of monosyllabic nominal stems (-CV) in which the consonant may be prenasalised, labialised or palatalised. Most of these have been reconstructed in Proto-Bantu.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------|
| (57) | i+ví | iví |
| | CP5+'knee' | 'knee' |
| | iN+bwá | imbwá |
| | CP9/10+'dog' | 'dog' |
| | ama+dyó | amádyo |
| | CP6+'knowledge' | 'knowledge' |

The verb roots are of the form -(C)VC- (58), the longer roots can be considered to be lexicalised forms of the derived roots. The root-initial vowel may be lengthened (59) and the first consonant of the root may be labialised or palatalised (60). The second consonant of the root may be prenasalised (61).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|
| (58) | uku+men+a | ukumena |
| | CP15+'brake'+FV | 'to brake' |
| | uku+ak+a | ukwaaka |
| | CP15+'burn'+FV | 'to burn' |

- (59) uku+baag*+a ukubáaga
 CP15+'slaughter'+FV 'to slaughter'
- (60) uku+bwiir*+a ukubwíira
 CP15+'tell'+FV 'to tell'
- uku+dyaam*+a ukudyáama
 CP15+'sleep'+FV 'to sleep'
- (61) uku+kund*+a ugukúnda
 CP15+'like'+FV 'to like'

The roots that form monosyllabic stems (-CV-) correspond to the reconstructed monosyllabic stems of Proto-Bantu (cf. 6.1.3.3 in Verbal Morphology).

- (62) uku+ha*+a ugúha
 CP15+'give'+FV 'to give'
- (63) uku+ri*+a ukúdyá
 CP15+'eat'+FV 'to eat'

2.4.1 Glide Formation and Compensatory Lengthening

In Ha, there is a general constraint against two sequential vowels of different quality. When a consonant is followed by one of the close vowels (/u/ or /i/) and another vowel, the consonant becomes labialised or palatalised (cf. 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 above). The same vowel sequences, when not preceded by a consonant, produce semi-vowels /w/ and /j/, respectively (64)-(65).

- (64) u+a*+ge wáage /wá:ge/
 DP3+Con+Poss3ps 'his'
- (65) i+a*+ge yáage /já:ge/
 DP4+Con+Poss3ps 'his'

When a vowel undergoes Glide Formation, the number of moras in the syllables is reduced. However, this is not allowed in Ha. Instead, the following vowel is lengthened, thus, the number of moras is retained ($V \rightarrow V: / C^w_ , V \rightarrow V: / C^y_ , V \neq V_{fin}$). Should this Compensatory Lengthening fall on the word final position, it is not surfaced (66), since word-final long vowels are not permitted in Ha (except for intonational purposes). Compensatory Lengthening has not taken place in the historical process where *pi and *bi have become /f/ and /b^j/, respectively (67), as it does when /b/ is formed synchronically (68). Compensatory Lengthening does not take place when a NC cluster follows the vowel (69).

- (66) uku+kund*+u+a ugukúndwa
 CP15+'like'+Pass+FV 'to be liked'
- (67) iN+fyisi imfyísi <*pítí
 CP9/10+'hyena' 'hyena'
- uku+vyin*+a ukuvyína <*bín
 CP15+'dance'+FV 'to dance'
- (68) bi+a*+ge vyáage
 DP8+Con+Poss3ps 'his'

- | | | |
|------|-------------|----------|
| (69) | umu+ampi | umwampi |
| | CP3+'arrow' | 'arrow' |
| | imi+ampi | imyampi |
| | CP4+'arrow' | 'arrows' |

Labialisation also takes place before /u/ (70) and palatalisation before /i/ (71) across morpheme boundaries.

- | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|
| (70) | umu+úngu | umwúngu |
| | CP3+'pumpkin' | 'pumpkin' |
| (71) | imi+ímbu | imyímbu |
| | CP4+'harvest' | 'harvests' |

Palatalisation does not apply with some verbal prefixes. When the negation marker *nti-* is followed by a vowel, the *i* of the prefix is deleted and the following vowel is lengthened (72). The same occurs with the class 10 subject prefix *zi-* (73).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (72) | nti+a+kin*+*+a | ntaakiná |
| | Neg+SP1+'play'+M2+FV | 'he does not play' |
| | nti+tu+kin*+*+a | ntidukiná |
| | Neg+SP1pp+'play'+M2+FV | 'we do not play' |
| (73) | zi+a+ri | zaari |
| | SP10+Past+'be' | 'they were' |

2.4.2 Vowel Amalgamation

With sequences of two vowels for which the palatalisation/labialisation or the Glide Formation does not apply, vowel amalgamation takes place. Thus, the only environment for these changes is the /a/-final prefixes. These changes take place irrespective of the length of the vowels.

/a/ + /i/ → /i:/

/a/ + /e/ → /e:/

/a/ + /a/ → /a:/

/a/ + /o/ → /o:/

/a/ + /u/ → /u:/

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (74) | ba+ka+it*+u+a | bakiitwa |
| | SP2+Cons+'call'+Pass+FV | 'and they are called' |
| (75) | ama+éezi | améezi |
| | CP6+'month' | 'months' |
| (76) | ama+áaha | amáaha |
| | CP6+'armpit' | 'armpits' |
| (77) | ama+oóya | amoóya |
| | CP6+'feather' | 'feathers' |
| (78) | u+ka+umv*+a | ukuumwa |
| | SP2ps+Cons+'hear'+FV | 'if you feel' |

In some /i/-initial noun stems where the /i/ emanates from Proto-Bantu *i, the amalgamation produces /ee/ instead of /ii/ (79). The class 1 subject prefix *a-* exceptionally becomes /j/ when followed by a vowel¹¹, and there is no Compensatory Lengthening (80). When there are more than two subsequent vowels of different morphemes the class 1 subject prefix becomes /j/ and the other vowels are amalgamated regularly (81).

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (79) ama+iinyo | améenyó |
| CP6+'tooth' | 'teeth' |
| ma+iizá | meezá |
| AP6+'good' | 'good' |
| (80) a+á+ra+gend+*+a | yarágenda |
| SP1+RPast+Foc+'go'+M+FV | 'he went' |
| a+i*+bon*+*+ir+e | yibonéere |
| SP1+Refl+'see'+M2+Appl+Subj | 'let him see' |
| (81) a+á+og*+i+ye ibi+ómbó | yóógeje ivyómbó |
| SP1+RPast+'wash'+Caus+Perf CP8+'dish' | 'he washed the dishes' |

When the tense marker has a long vowel it is not amalgamated with the root-initial vowel of the verb, but the infinitive prefix *ku-* is added between the tense marker and the root, cf. 6.1.1.

2.5 Historical sound changes

A number of historical sound changes which are widespread among the Bantu languages have been described. These processes form a bridge between the reconstructed Proto-Bantu phonology and the phonology of the Bantu languages of today. Most of these processes are exhibited in Ha. The Proto-Bantu vowels and diphthongs and their realisations in Ha are discussed above.

2.5.1 Bantu Spirantisation

The Proto-Bantu plosives *p, *t, *k, *b, *d, *g (the voiced plosives *b, *d, *g are treated as fricatives *β, *l, *ɣ in some reconstructions) when followed by a close vowel *i or *u (also called super-close vowels) have undergone changes that produced affricates and fricatives. With these processes the 7-vowel system of Proto-Bantu was reduced to a 5-vowel system in Ha as well as in many other Bantu languages. Along the scale of ten stages¹² in the spirantisation process, Janson (2000) locates D60 languages at stage 4 ('affricates to fricatives, partial'). The

¹¹ The class 1 subject prefix could also have a different variant *i-* or *y-* when followed by a vowel. Compare, e.g., with the archaic class 1 subject prefix form *yu-* in Swahili.

¹² The stages of spirantisation: 1) dentals [t, d] to s, (d)z / i and labials [p, b] to f, (b)v / u; 2) velars to labials / u [k to (p)fu, g to (b)vu] and velars to palatals / i [k to (t)s, g to (d)z]; 3a) dentals to affricates / u [t to (t)s, d to (d)z]; 3b) labials to affricates / i [p to (p)f, b to (b)v]; 4) affricates to fricatives (partial); 5) affricates to fricatives; 6) dentals to labials / u [s to f, z to v]; 7) labials to dentals / i; 8) devoicing; 9) fricatives to glottal fricative; 10) loss of glottal fricative.

partial completion of this stage explains the variation of the affricates with the fricatives in Ha (cf. 2.1 above).

Consonants that have resulted in Bantu Spirantisation in Ha:

*p / _ *u : /f/	*-púdo > -fúro 'foam'
*t / _ *u : /tʃ/	*-túd > -chúra 'forge'
*k / _ *u : /pʃ/, /f/	*-kúo > -pfú 'death'
*b / _ *u : /v/	*-bún > -vúna 'harvest'
*d / _ *u : /v/	*-duom > -vooma 'draw water'
*g / _ *u : /v/	*-gubÚ > -vúbu 'hippopotamus'
*p / _ *i : /f/, /p/	*-pígo > -fyígo 'kidney'
*t / _ *i : /s/	*-tígad > -sígara 'leave'
*k / _ *i : /ts/, /s/	*-tÚki > -tútsi 'bad words'
*b / _ *i : /vʲ/	*-bíad > -vyáara 'give birth'
*d / _ *i : /z/	*-dígo > -zígo 'burden'
*g / _ *i : /z/	*-gid > -zira 'refuse'

Some of these processes are still seen in Ha, but the variation is considered to be morphologicalised and will be discussed in the section on Verbal Morphology (cf. 6.1.3.3).

2.5.2 *d > /r/

The Proto-Bantu *d has undergone the weakening process and is realised as [r] or [l] (free variation) in Ha. This change has taken place in vowel-medial position, if *d was not followed by a close vowel (i.e. the spirantisation environment). The prenasalised *nd has not been affected by this process, but occurs as /ⁿd/ in Ha (cf. section 2.3.3 above).

- *tígad > -sígara 'leave'
- *dáad > -ráara 'sleep'
- *gend > -genda 'go'

2.5.3 *p-lenition

The earliest lenition process of the Bantu voiceless plosives is the *p-lenition, and it has affected most Bantu languages, following Bantu Spirantisation (Nurse 1999:22). In Ha, the lenition process has affected the voiceless bilabial plosives that

are not affected by the spirantisation, thus *p is realised as [h] in these environments (see also 2.3.2 above).

*p > [f]/[ɸ] / _ *i

*p > [f] / _ *u

*p > [h] / elsewhere

In modern Ha, the labial feature of the historical *p shows up when preceded by a nasal, which then assimilates to the bilabial place (82). The phoneme /p/ realised as [p] occurs only in later loans (83).

(82) uku+ha*+a ugúha [ugúha]

CP15+ 'give'+FV 'to give'

n+ha*+a mpa [mɸa]

OP1ps+ 'give'+FV 'give me!'

(83) iN+péeni ipéeni [ipé:ni]

CP9/10+ 'pen' 'pen'

The voiced bilabial plosive *b has also undergone a series of lenitions in many Bantu languages. In Ha, /b/ is realised as a voiced bilabial fricative [β] before a vowel, if not preceded by a nasal or labialised (cf. 2.3.1 above).

(84) iN+beba imbeba [imbeβa]

CP9/10+ 'rat' 'rat'

ibi+beba ibibeba [iβiβeβa]

CP8+ 'rat' 'rats'

2.5.4 *c and *j spirantisation

This is a shift where *c has become /s/ in all environments except before *i where it is further palatalised, resulting in /ʃ/. With *j the spirantisation has taken a step further. *j has become /z/ before *i, but in the stem-initial position before other vowels it has been lost altogether, resulting in a vowel-initial stem and Compensatory Lengthening (cf. 2.4.1). The traces of this change can be seen in some class 10 nouns (cf. 2.3.3). In some instances *j has been retained.

*-cad > -sara 'be mad'

*-cangId > -sangira 'meet with'

*-ciim > -shiima 'thank, admire'

*-jiko > -zíko 'cooking place'

*-jáda > -áara 'nail'

*-jUdÚ > hejuru 'above'

2.5.5 Dahl's Law

Dahl's Law is a dissimilation process that is still productive in many Bantu languages. The most common form of the law is that /k/ became voiced if followed by a syllable where the first segment was voiceless. In Ha, Dahl's Law is still active in the concord prefixes and tense markers with /k/ and /t/, when followed by a stem where the first consonant is voiceless.¹³

Diachronic (*C_{-voice} > C_{+voice} / _ VC_{-voice}):

*táp > - *dáha* 'scoop'

*kÚpí > -*gúfi* 'short'

Synchronic (C_{-voice} → C_{+voice} / _ V + C_{-voice}):

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| (85) uku+twí | ugútwi |
| CP15+'ear' | 'ear' |
| (86) a+á+tu+ha*+ye | yadúhaaye |
| SP1+RPast+OP1pp+'give'+Perf | 'he gave us' |
| (87) a+ka+chumb+a | agachumba |
| SP1+Cons+'make ugali'+FV | 'and he makes ugali' |

2.6 Sandhi

The universal tendency to avoid adjacent vowels of different quality also holds true in Ha across word boundaries. When a word is followed by a vowel-initial word, one of the vowels on either side of the boundary is deleted or it undergoes Glide Formation, depending on the syntactic category of the words. However, when the utterance is pronounced slowly or there is a pause between the words Vowel Deletion does not take place.

2.6.1 Augment deletion

The augment of a nominal is deleted when the nominal is not the first element of the noun phrase (88)-(90). The augment is also deleted when the nominal follows the negative existential copula *ntaa* (91). (Cf. also section 7.1.1.1 in Syntax.)

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| (88) ayo ama+duúka | ayo maduúka [ajomaduúka] |
| 2DemP6 CP6+'shop' | 'those shops' |
| (89) mu+ama+duúka | mumaduúka [mumaduúka] |
| Loc18+CP6+'shop' | 'in the shops' |

¹³ Bastin (2003:514) notes that "Ha, located at the southwest border of the eastern region where Dahl's Law applies, has two dialects, Giha and Kiha, which are distinguishable by whether or not the NP is subject to the rule". Bastin does not give any specific information about the dialect where Dahl's Law does not apply, and I have not come across this difference. That might be due to the fact that I have not been able to work in the southern Ha area. The variant language name Kiha could also be the name used in Swahili.

- (90) iN+ká imi+rongo i+bíri inká mirongo ibíri [injámirongwiβíri]
 CP9/10+'cow' CP4+'ten' DP4+'two' 'twenty cows'
- (91) ntaa iN+gwaano ntaa ngwaano [n̄pa:ngwa:no]
 NegEx CP9/10+'war' 'there is no war'

The class 5 prefix *i-* is usually preserved when preceded by a locative prefix, and the vowel of the locative prefix is glided (cf. section 5.2.2 in Nominal Morphology).

- (92) ku+i+duúka kwiduúka
 Loc17+CP5+'shop' 'to the shops'

The augment of the class 15 infinitive prefix of the nominalised verbs behaves differently from the augments of other nominals. The augment of the infinitive is preserved after the index forms (93) and the copulas (94), but it is deleted after an indicative verb where the augment is usually preserved (95) (cf. 2.6.2). With the connexive *-a** the augment of the infinitive becomes *o-* (96).

- (93) na*+uku+shír+a núgushíra [nuguʃíra]
 AI+CP15+'put'+FV 'with putting'
- (94) ní uku+ruhuuk+a ní ukuruhuuka [nukuruhu:ka]
 Cop CP15+'rest'+FV 'is to rest'
- (95) a+ra+gend+a uku+hífig+a aragenda guhífiga
 SP1+Foc+'go'+FV CP15+'hunt'+FV 'he is going to hunt'
- (96) iki+he ki+a*+uku+suuguur+a igihe chógusuuguura
 CP7+'time' DP7+Con+CP15+'harvest'+FV 'time of the harvest'

2.6.2 Final vowel deletions and gliding

When the augment is preserved, the vowel that needs to give way is the final vowel of the preceding element. In addition, when the latter element is not a nominal the final vowel of the former element is deleted or glided.

The index forms (i.e. the associative index *na**, the comparative index *nka**, and the presentative index *nga**, cf. section 7.1.6.2 in Syntax) (97), the connexive *-a** (98), and the compounding element *nyené-* (99) are connected by augmented nominals and lose their final vowel.

- (97) na*+uku+bóko núkubóko
 AI+CP15+'hand' 'with hand'
- (98) yi+a*+umu+dyángo yúmudyángo
 DP9+Con+CP3+'door' 'of the door'
- (99) nyené+iN+zu nyenízu
 'owner'+CP9/10+'house' 'the owner of the house'

The final vowel of the fully inflected verbs as well as of the defective verbs and the copulas is deleted when a word with an initial vowel follows.

- (100) a+ragir+a iN+ká aragira inká [aragiriŋpa]
 SP1+'herd'+FV CP9/10+'cow' 'he herds cows'

- (101) a+ra+gend+a a+shik+ir+a aragenda ashikira [aragendaʃikila]
 SP1+Foc+'go'+FV SP1+'arrive'+Appl+FV 'he went and he arrived at'
- (102) n+zán+ir+a izo nzanira izo [nzanirizo]
 OP1ps+'bring'+Appl+FV 2DemP10 'bring me those!'
- (103) nti+u+róo+z+*+a ejó nturóozá ejó [nturó:zejó]
 Neg+SP2ps+Fut+'come'+M2+FV 'tomorrow' 'don't come tomorrow!'
- (104) ní uku+bóko ní ukubóko [núkuβóko]
 Cop CP15+'hand' 'it is a hand'

The final vowel of a nominal is also deleted if the nominal is followed by a vowel-initial word, i.e. a word which does not belong to the same noun phrase or of which the initial vowel is not an augment. Should there be an accent on the deleted vowel, it is realised on the following vowel.

- (105) umu+vyéeyi a+ra+gomb+a umuvyéeyi aragomba [umuvjé:jaragomba]
 CP1+'old woman' SP1+Foc+'want'+FV 'the old woman wants'
- (106) umu+sí u+mwé umúsi umwé [umúsumwé]
 CP3+'day' DP3+'one' 'one day'
- (107) u+mwé a+ra+gend+a umwé aragenda [umwáragenda]
 DP1+'one' SP1+Foc+'go'+FV 'one (person) is going'
- (108) wewé u+gend+a wewé ugenda [wewúgenda]
 Pro2ps SP2ps+'go'+FV '(you) go!'

When the final vowel is /u/ or /o/, it is not deleted but glided.

- (109) imi+rongo i+bíri imirongo ibíri [imirongiβíri]
 CP4+'ten' DP4+'two' 'twenty (two tens)'
- (110) u+rond+ir+a+kó uronderakó imíti [uronderakwiimíti]
 SP2ps+'look for'+Appl+FV+Pro17 'you look for medicine there'
 imi+tí
 CP4+'medicine'

3. TONOLOGY

Different analyses have been presented of tone in Nyarwanda, a language closely related to Ha. Furere and Rialland (1983 and 1985) analyse the Nyarwanda tone system as a clear pitch-accent system, whereas Kimenyi (1979) uses a tonal analysis with two phonemic and four phonetic tones, but later he arrives at the conclusion that Nyarwanda is tonally best analysed as a metrical system (Kimenyi 2002). Dubnova (1984) opts for a tonal analysis, and she describes two contrastive tonal levels. She points out that the lexical significance of tone in the Rwanda language is limited, but grammatical, or morphological tone, as she calls it, plays an important role in the verbal system of the language.

Since the Ha tonal system is clearly restricted, it is analysed here as a pitch-accent system. Each morpheme can maximally have one high tone, which, however, can be spread or copied onto other morphemes. In the analysis, an autosegmental presentation is used after the tone has been assigned to moras marked by accents.

There are two types of accents, i.e. lexical accents and grammatical accents. Lexically, each morpheme either carries or does not carry an accent, and for some of the accents also its locus is lexically defined. Grammatical accents are assigned to verb forms, and their function is to define the grammatical form of the verb, often together with segmental elements. Each accent then assigns a high tone (H) to the word form. Low tones (L) are not marked, since they are the default tones, assigned to any mora that does not have H after the tonal rules. Low tones do not interact in the tonal rules.

The tonal phenomena function on a level of their own, independent of the segmental level. This can be seen in instances where a vowel is deleted, but its accent survives (111). In addition, some of the grammatical accents assign a tone to a different morpheme from that they are connected with semantically (cf. below).

- (111) nyené+iN+zu nyenízu
 'owner'+CP9/10+'house' 'the owner of the house'

Accents are marked with an asterisk (*) when the mora where H is assigned by the accent can vary, i.e. the accent is floating. When the accent is always realised as H on a certain mora of the morpheme, the accent is marked with an acute accent (´). Tone Assignment is a rule which assigns H to each mora with an accent, and one H per asterisk to the mora defined by the grammatical form (*Rule 1*). In the surface forms, the realised H tones are also marked with an accent.

Rule 1. *Tone Assignment (TA)*

Assign one H to each accented mora with a fixed accent (´). With the floating accents (*), assign one H per accent to the mora defined by the grammatical form.

The tone bearing unit is indeed a mora and not a syllable, although syllables are counted in the assignment of some grammatical tones (cf. below). Thus, long

vowels can have the tone assigned to either of the vowels, resulting in rising and falling tones, e.g. *aá* and *áa*. Each mora can have maximally one tone, thus short vowels cannot have rising or falling tones.

H tones on word-initial and word-final vowels are avoided, i.e. H is placed on other syllables whenever possible. H of monosyllabic nouns can be realised either on the class prefix or on the noun stem (cf. 3.2.1 below). When the tense tone should fall on the subject prefix, which consists of a vowel or a nasal only, the H is realised on the following vowel instead of the subject prefix (112)-(113).

- (112) *ba+á+ra+tangur+*+ye* *baáratánguye*
 SP2+RPast+Foc+'start'+M+Perf 'they started'
- (113) *a+á+ra+tangur+*+ye* *yarátanguye*¹⁴ (**yáratánguye*)
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'start'+M+Perf 'he started'

The typical intonation pattern is characterised with downdrift, i.e. the whole register of tones is lowered step by step towards the end of the utterance, so that a H is always a bit lower than the preceding H. Also the utterance initial syllable is usually pronounced lower than the following syllable. Thus, for example, nouns with or without the lexical accent have very similar tonal patterns in isolation, as seen in Figure 1 (*ukubóko* 'arm', *ukuguru* 'leg').

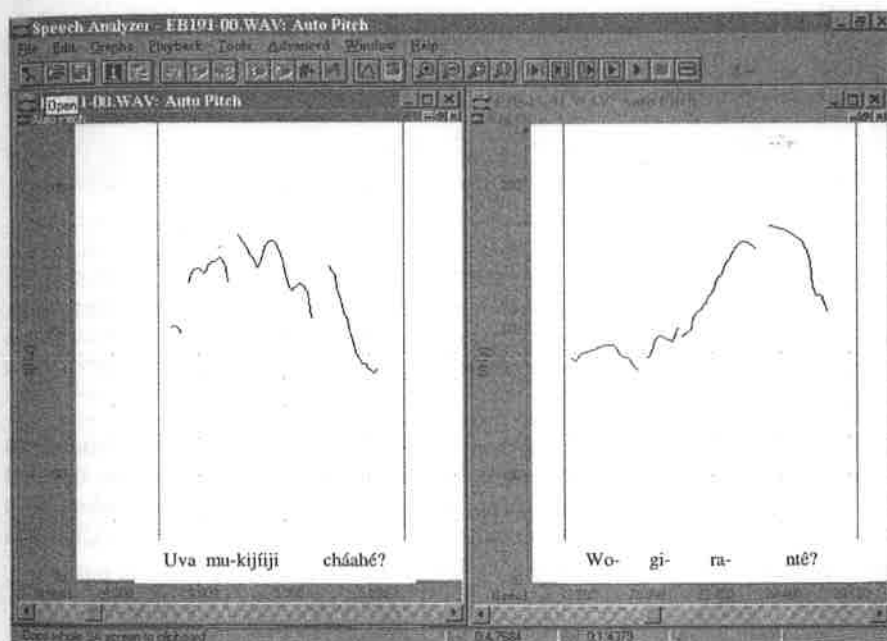


Figure 1:¹⁵ Nouns pronounced in isolation.

¹⁴ The stem tone is deleted due to Meeussen's Rule, see 3.1.1 below.

¹⁵ The figures are produced with Speech Analyser 1.5, SIL.

However, when the words are not in isolation, the differences in the tonal patterns are highlighted more clearly. In Figure 2, the nouns *amabóko* ‘arms’ and *amaguru* ‘legs’ are followed by *yáanje* ‘my’. With *amabóko yáanje* ‘my arms’ the pitch is lowered after the accent of the syllable *bó*, and raised again on the accent of *yáanje*, while with *amaguru yáanje* ‘my legs’ the only rise is on *yáanje*.

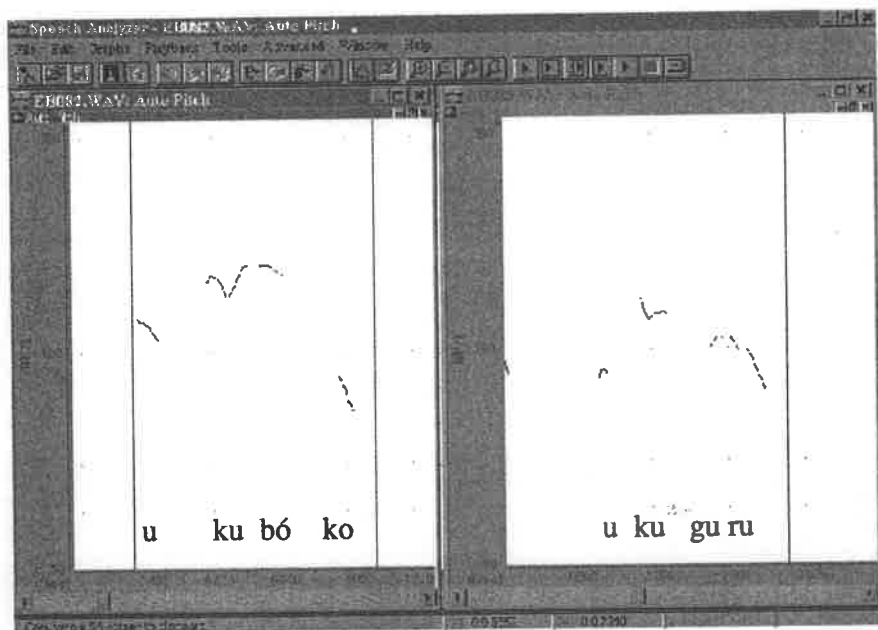


Figure 2: Nouns pronounced in context.

With questions the intonation may optionally rise, with a sharp drop in the end (cf. 7.2.2.1 Syntax). In the first graph of Figure 3, the question intonation is not raising, but drifts down consistently (*Uva mukijūji cháahé?* ‘Which village do you come from?’). The rise and the drop can be seen in the second graph (*Woogiranté?* ‘What can you do?’).

In Nyarwanda (Kimenyi 2002) H also spreads to the preceding vowel, so that there are always two vowels pronounced as H, except when H is assigned to the first vowel. However, this is not the case in Ha, where H spreads only when it is assigned to a vowel which then undergoes Compensatory Lengthening (CL) as a consequence of Glide Formation (GF) (cf. 2.4.1).

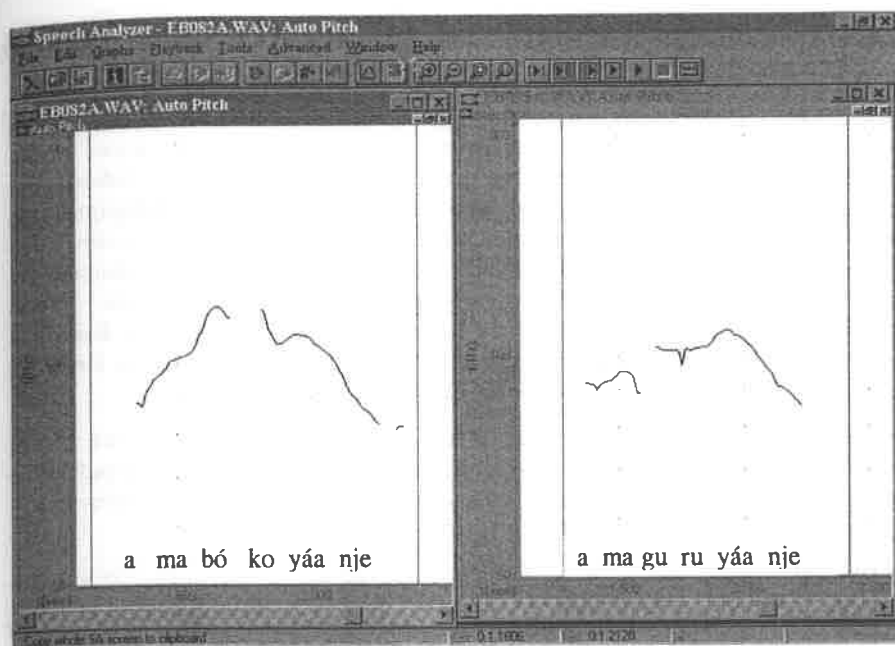


Figure 3: Questions.

3.1 Verbs

In verbal morphology, tone plays both lexical and grammatical roles. Lexically, verbal roots either have or do not have an accent, and these correspond to the reconstructed high-tone and low-tone verb roots of Proto-Bantu. The derivational extensions and the post-stem aspect markers do not have an accent of their own and, thus, do not affect the tonal patterns of the verb forms. The lexical tonal contrast is neutralised in most of the inflected forms.

Grammatical tones differentiate verb forms either by themselves or in combination with segmental marking. Grammatical tones also have syntactic function in verbal focus marking. Grammatical tones are either assigned to a specific vowel of the tense marker, or to the first or the second syllable of the stem. Most of the indicative forms are distinguished from the corresponding participial and relative forms only by tone (114). In addition, the recent and the remote past conjunct also have the tone as the only difference (115). A complete table of the verb forms is presented in Table 21 on page 172.

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| (114) a) (Ind) | b) (Part) | c) (Rel) |
| bavuga | bávuga | bavugá |
| 'they say' | 'them having said' | 'those who say' |
| (115) a) | b) | |
| yatooye | yatóoye | |
| 'he took (earlier today)' | 'he took (before today)' | |

3.1.1 Lexical tone keeping forms

In forms where the lexical accent is preserved it is realised on the first mora of the macrostem¹⁶. These forms are the infinitive (*ku-*), the present disjunct (*-ra-*), the consecutive disjunct (*-ka-*), the recent past disjunct (*-a-a-*), the participial recent past (*'-a-*), the persistent (*-cháa-*), the participial, the relative and the independent relative future (*-róo-*), the negated future in the indicative, the participial, the relative and the independent relative (*nti-róo-*, *-tá-róo-*, *-ta-róo-*, *-ta-róo-*), the potential disjunct (*-oo-*), and the negated anterior in the indicative, participial, the relative and the independent relative (*nti-ráa-*, *-tá-ráa-*, *-tá-ráa-*, *-tá-ráa-*). When the root does not have an accent there is no H tone assignment to the stem. The persistent, the future, and the negated anterior also have an accent on the tense marker, regardless of the presence or the absence of the stem accent.

In the infinitive form, a high tone is assigned (TA) to the first mora of the macrostem if the verb root has a lexical accent. Since the tones are spread to the left, the derivational and aspectual suffixes do not affect the tonal patterns (116). The accentless stems do not receive a H tone (117).

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|----|--|
| (116) | a) | TA | <pre> graph TD H[H] --- kubóna[kubóna] kubóna --- tosee['to see'] </pre> |
| | ku+bon*+a | → | |
| | CP15+'see'+FV | | |
| | b) | TA | <pre> graph TD H[H] --- kumúbona[kumúbona] kumúbona --- toseehim['to see him'] </pre> |
| | ku+mu+bon*+a | → | |
| | CP15+OP1+'see'+FV | | |
| | c) | TA | <pre> graph TD H[H] --- kubónana[kubónana] kubónana --- toseeeachother['to see each other'] </pre> |
| | ku+bon*+an+a | → | |
| | CP15+'see'+Rec+FV | | |
| | d) | TA | <pre> graph TD H[H] --- kubónekana[kubónekana] kubónekana --- tobeeseen['to be seen'] </pre> |
| | ku+bon*+ik+an+a | → | |
| | CP15+'see'+Neut+Rec+FV | | |

¹⁶ Macrostem consists of the verbal root and all its derivational extensions as well as the object prefixes and the final vowel.

- (117) a) $\text{ku+sek+a} \rightarrow \text{guseka}$
 CP15+'laugh'+FV 'to laugh'
- b) $\text{ku+mu+sek+a} \rightarrow \text{kumuseka}$
 CP15+OP1+'laugh'+FV 'to laugh at him'
- c) $\text{ku+sek+an+a} \rightarrow \text{gusekana}$
 CP15+'laugh'+Rec+FV 'to laugh at each other'
- d) $\text{ku+sek+iish+a} \rightarrow \text{gusekeesha}$
 CP15+'laugh'+Caus+FV 'to make laugh'

The same Tone Assignment also applies to monomoraic verbal stems. However, if H falls on the utterance final vowel, it may be phonetically low (cf. above).

- (118) a) TA H
 $\text{ku+ha}^*+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{guhá}$
 CP15+'give'+FV 'to give'
- b) TA H
 $\text{ku+mu+ha}^*+\text{a} \rightarrow \text{kumúha}$
 CP15+OP1+'give'+FV 'to give him'

In Kimenyi's (2002) presentation of Nyarwanda tones, the initial vowel of the vowel-initial stems is underlyingly long, and, thus, with vowel-initial stems lexical H falls on the first mora (nucleus by Kimenyi) of the long vowel (e.g. $\text{ku+óogoshá} \rightarrow \text{kwóogoshá}$ 'to shave'). However, in Ha vowel-initial stems the lexical H falls on the second mora of the long vowel, giving reason to expect that the initial vowel is underlyingly short and the tone is assigned to the macrostem before prefixing (119). Thus, the long vowel of the first syllable is caused by Glide Formation (GF), followed by Compensatory Lengthening (CL). When a vowel to which H has been assigned is lengthened by Compensatory Lengthening, H also spreads (Rule 2). When Compensatory Lengthening does not apply, H does not spread either (120).

Rule 2. H Spread (HS)

If a vowel to which H is assigned is lengthened, H spreads to the first mora of the resulting long vowel.

- (119)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|----|-----------|---------------|--------------|
| | TA | H | GF,
CL, HS | H |
| | | | | |
| ku+ig*+an+a | → | ku+igaana | → | kwiígaana |
| CP15+'learn'+Rec+FV | | | | 'to imitate' |

- (120)
- | | | | | |
|---------------------|----|------------|----|---------------|
| | TA | H | GF | H |
| | | | | |
| ku+asam*+ir+a | → | ku+asamira | → | kwásamira |
| CP15+'open'+Appl+FV | | | | 'to open for' |

The idea that the object prefix is indeed part of the macrostem is further supported by vowel-initial stems. When a vowel-initial stem has an object prefix, the vowel of the prefix is deleted (Vowel Deletion, VD, cf. 2.4.2) or glided (cf. 2.4.1), and the initial vowel is lengthened. Then H is assigned to the first mora of the macrostem, i.e. the first mora of the long vowel (121). The pattern is the same as that of the CVV-initial stems (122).

- (121)
- | | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------|
| | VD/GF
and CL | TA | H |
| | | | |
| ku+ba+ig*+an+a | → | ku+biigaana | → |
| CP15+OP2+'learn'+Rec+FV | | | kubígaana |
| | | | 'to imitate them' |

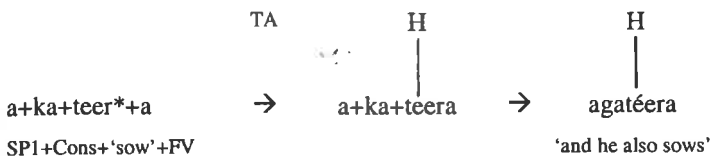
- (122)
- | | | | |
|---------------|----|----------|----------|
| | TA | H | H |
| | | | |
| ku+teer*+a | → | ku+teera | → |
| CP15+'sow'+FV | | | gutéera |
| | | | 'to sow' |

In the consonant-initial stems of the present disjunct form, the tone is assigned as in the infinitive (123). With vowel-initial stems, however, H does not spread to the left, since the Compensatory Lengthening is not a result of Glide Formation, but of Vowel Amalgamation (124). The consecutive disjunct behaves as the present disjunct (125).

- (123)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|----|----------------|--------------------------------|
| | TA | H | H |
| | | | |
| gu+ra+buragir*+a | → | gu+ra+buragira | → |
| SP3+Foc+'ache'+FV | | | gurabúragira |
| | | | 'it (e.g. the head) is aching' |

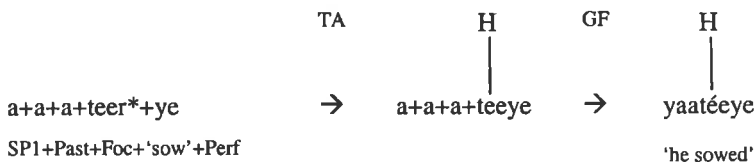
- (124)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| | TA | H | VA and
CL | H |
| | | | | |
| ki+ra+er*+a | → | ki+ra+era | → | kireéra |
| SP7+Foc+'be white'+FV | | | | 'it is white' |

(125)

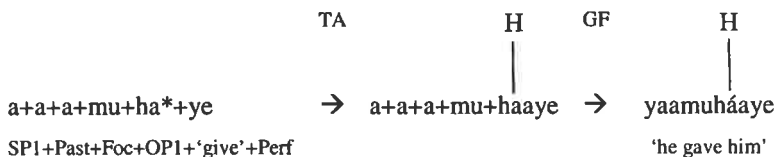


In the recent past disjunct, tones are assigned in the same manner as in the infinitive, when there are no object prefixes. Since the tense marker has a long vowel, the object prefixes are not considered part of the stem.¹⁷ Thus, the tone is always assigned to the first mora of the stem.

(126) a)

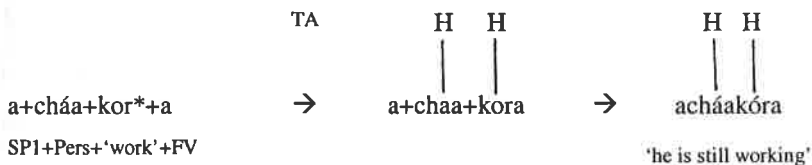


b)

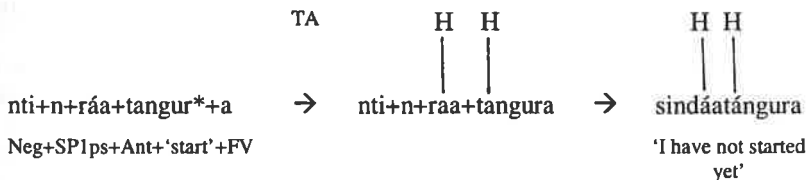


The persistent (127), the negated anterior (128) (also in the participial and relative forms), the negated future (in the indicative as well as in the participial and the relative) (129), and the potential disjunct (130) behave like the recent past disjunct, since they also have a long vowel in the tense marker. In addition to the possible lexical tone realised on the stem, the persistent, the negated anterior and the negated future have an accent of the tense, which assigns a H to the first mora of the marker.

(127)



(128)



¹⁷ Kimenyi (2002:363) states that the long vowels and, thus, the different tonal realisations follow from these tenses being later developments in Nyarwanda. It has been shown that these tenses with a long vowel in the tense marker originate from independent verbs and are, therefore, partly conceived as separate verbs.

- (129)
- | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|----|------------------|---|--------------|----------------------|
| | TA | H | H | H | H |
| | | | | | |
| nti+n+róo+ku+bon*+a | → | si+n+roo+ku+bona | → | sindóokubóna | |
| Neg+SP1ps+Fut+OP2ps+'see'+FV | | | | | 'I will not see you' |

- (130)
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|----|------------|---|----------------|
| | TA | H | H | |
| | | | | |
| a+oo+teer*+ye | → | a+oo+teeye | → | yootéeye |
| SP1+Pot+'sow'+Perf | | | | 'he would sow' |

When the stem is vowel-initial the accent of the stem is deleted due to Tone Clash (Rule 3) in the anterior tense, where the tense marker carries an accent of its own (131). In the negated future, the potential disjunct, and the persistent tenses the infinitive prefix *ku-* is added between the stem and the tense marker, and the vowel-initial stems, thus, function as consonant-initial stems (132).

Rule 3. *Tone Clash (TC)*

When two tones fall on the same syllable because of Vowel Deletion the right-most H is deleted.

- (131)
- | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----|-----------------|-----------|-------------|----|---------------------|
| | TA | H H H | VD and CL | H H H | TC | H H H |
| | | | | | | |
| a+tá+ráa+injir*+a | → | a+ta+raa+injira | → | atariinjira | → | atárinjira |
| SP1+Neg+Ant+'enter'+FV | | | | | | 'before he entered' |

- (132)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|---------------------|---|------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| | TA | H | H | GF and CL | H | H |
| | | | | | | |
| ba+ta+róo+ku+igoor*+a | → | ba+ta+roo+ku+igoora | → | bataróokwíigoora | | |
| SP2+Neg+Fut+Inf+'be burdened'+FV | | | | | | 'that they will not be burdened' |

When a relative form with an onsetless subject prefix is preceded by a relative pronoun, the possible accent of the tense marker is deleted by Meeussen's Rule (Rule 4), which reduces a sequence of consecutive accents or tones to a single accent or tone (Goldsmith 1984:245). Meeussen's Rule does not apply when the first H is associated to the negation marker *-ta-* (131),(139).

Rule 4. *Meeussen's Rule (MR)*

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} * & & * & & * \\ V & C & V & \rightarrow & V & C & V \end{array}$$

wó+n+róo+bon*+a
RPro1+SP1ps+Fut+'see'+FV

TA	H H H	MR	H H H
			†
→	wondoobona	→	wóndoo bóna ‘whom I will see’

(135)	AD	TA	H
ba+ta+á+kor*+ye SP2+Neg+RPast+'work'+Perf	→	ba+ta+á+koze	→ bataákoze 'those who did not work'
(136)	AD	TA	H
uu*+ki+kor*+a SPRel1+Pers+'work'+FV	→	uu*+ki+kora	→ uúkíkora ¹⁸ 'the one who is still working'
(137)	AD	TA	H
a+tá+a+vug*+ye SP1+Neg+Past+'say'+Perf	→	a+tá+a+vuze	→ atáavuze 'without him saying (recent past)'
(138)	AD	TA	H
uu*+ta+ki+kor*+a SPRel1+Neg+Pers+'work'+FV	→	uu*+ta+ki+kora	→ uútákikora 'he will work'
(139)	AD	TA	H H
a+tá+á+vug*+ye SP1+Neg+RPast+'say'+Perf	→	a+tá+á+vuze	→ atáavuze 'without him saying (remote past)'

In the negated subjunctive (*nti*⁻) (140), the participial present (⁻) (141), the participial potential (⁻*oo*-) and the participial persistent (⁻*ki*-) (142) the accent does not fall on the tense marker itself, but on the subject prefix. In the participial remote past conjunct (⁻*á*-) there is also a tense accent on the tense marker. In the participial forms, the accent is realised on the following mora, if the subject prefix consists of a vowel or a nasal only (143)-(144).

(140)	AD	TA	H	VD and CL	H
nti*+u+kor*+e Neg+SP2ps+'work'+Subj	→	nti*+u+kore	→ nti+u+kore	→	ntuúkore 'Do not work!'

¹⁸ Cf. section 6.1.8.2 for the assignment of the accent on the independent relative forms.

- (141)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----|------------|----|--------------------------|
| | AD | | TA | H |
| | | | | |
| *+zi+hi*+ye | → | *+zi+hiiye | → | zihiiye |
| Part+SP10+'burn'+Perf | | | | 'after they were cooked' |
- (142)
- | | | |
|----------------------|----|----------------------|
| | TA | H |
| | | |
| *+tu+ki+ri | → | túkiri |
| Part+SP1pp+Pers+'be' | | 'when we still were' |
- (143)
- | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|--------------|----|-----------------------------|
| | AD | | TA | H |
| | | | | |
| *+a+zi+rong*+ye | → | *+a+zi+ronze | → | azíronze |
| Part+SP1+OP10+'rinse'+Perf | | | | 'after she had rinsed them' |
- (144)
- | | | |
|--------------------|----|---------------------|
| | TA | H |
| | | |
| *+a+ki+ri | → | akíri |
| Part+SP1+Pers+'be' | | 'when he still was' |

In the remote past conjunct (-á-) (145), the negated remote past (*nti-á-*), the relative remote past (-á-), and the independent relative recent and remote past (identical forms -á-) (146) the tense accent is realised on the tense marker. However, if the subject prefix consists of a vowel or a nasal only the H is shifted (Tone Shift, TS) from the tense marker to the following mora (147).

- (145)
- | | | | | |
|----------------------|----|--------------|----|----------------|
| | AD | | TA | H |
| | | | | |
| ba+á+twaar*+a | → | ba+á+twaaara | → | baátwaaara |
| SP2+RPast+'carry'+FV | | | | 'they carried' |
- (146)
- | | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|------------|----|----------------------|
| | AD | | TA | H |
| | | | | |
| uu*+a+kor*+ye | → | uu*+a+koze | → | uwakóze |
| SPRel1+Past+'work'+Perf | | | | 'the one who worked' |
- (147)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----|-------------|-----------|-----------|----|--------------|
| | AD | | GF and TA | H | TS | H |
| | | | | | | |
| a+á+twaar*+a | → | a+á+twaaara | → | yatwaaara | → | yatwáara |
| SP1+RPast+'carry'+FV | | | | | | 'he carried' |

In some of these tenses with tense accent on the prefixes, e.g. in the negated independent relative remote past in (135), stem Accent Deletion could be seen as a result of Meeussen's Rule, but not in all neutralising tenses. Thus, Accent Deletion is seen as a grammatical rule in all of the neutralising tenses.

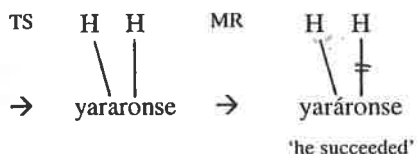
3.1.2.3 Tense accent on the first syllable of the stem

Some of the tenses neutralise the accent of the stem, and then assign a H tone to the first mora of the first syllable of the stem. These are the remote past disjunct (-*ára-*) (148), the negated subjunctive future (*nti'*-*roo-*) (149), the participial remote past disjunct (-*ára-*), the relative persistive (-*ki-*) (150), and the independent relative present (-) (151). In the remote past disjunct and the negated subjunctive future there is also an accent, which is realised on the prefixes.

- (148) TA H H H H
 | | | |
 ba+á+ra+ronk+*+ye → ba+á+ra+ronse → baárarónse
 SP2+RPast+Foc+ 'succeed'+M+Perf 'they succeeded'
- (149) TA H H H H
 | | | |
 nti*+tu+roo+gend+*+e → nti+tu+roo+gende → ntitúroogénde
 Neg+SP1pp+Fut+ 'go'+M+Subj 'let us not go'
- (150) TA H H
 | |
 ba+ki+rir+*+a → ba+ki+rira → bakiríra
 SP2+Pers+ 'cry'+M+FV 'that they still cry'
- (151) TA H H
 | |
 uu*+gomb+a → uu+gomba → uúgómba
 SPRell+ 'want'+FV 'the one who wants'

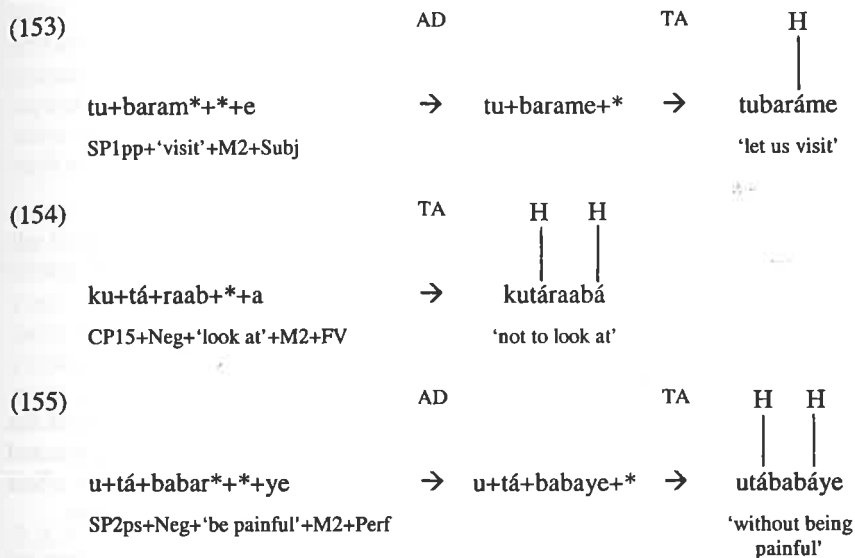
In the remote past disjunct, the stem accent is deleted due to Meeussen's Rule when the subject prefix is a vowel or a nasal only.

- (152) TA H H GF H H
 | | | | |
 a+á+ra+ronk+*+ye → a+a+ra+ronse → yararonse
 SP1+RPast+Foc+ 'succeed'+M+Perf



3.1.2.4 Tense accent on the second syllable of the stem

In the subjunctive (-e) (153), the subjunctive future (-róo-e), the negated present (nti-), the negated potential (nti-oo-), the negated infinitive (ku-ta-) (154), the negated participial present (-tá-) (155), the relative present (-), the relative recent past (-a-), the relative potential (-óo-), the negated relative present (-ta-), the negated relative recent past (-ta-a-), the negated relative potential (-ta-oo-), and in the negated independent relative present (-tá-) there is a grammatical accent which assigns a H to the first mora of the second syllable of the macrostem. Some of these tenses also have an accent on the tense marker.



3.2 Nouns

The weight of tonality of nouns is much lighter than that of the verbs. As the verb roots, the noun stems are either accented or accentless, but with nouns the mora to which the accent is assigned is also lexically defined. However, the nouns are not affected by grammatical accents (except by the index forms), and tonal minimal pairs are rare. The only pure tonal minimal pairs found in my data are monomoraic noun stems, in other instances the length of the stem-initial vowel is also affected.

3.2.1 Monomoraic stems

There are a number of monomoraic noun stems, most of them have cognates in Proto-Bantu. These stems can be tonally divided into accented and accentless stems. These groups correspond to the H and L stems of Proto-Bantu.

Nouns with accentless stems do not have any H tones assigned to them, they are pronounced as L throughout (156). Since word final tones are avoided, the accent of a monomoraic stem is realised on the second mora of the prefix, in case the prefix has two moras (157). With monomoraic prefixes the accent can be realised on either the stem or on the prefix (158).

(156)

umu+nwa	→	umunwa
CP3+'mouth'		'mouth'

(157)

	TA		H	Shift		H
						/
ama+twí	→	amatwi			amátwi	
CP6+'ear'					'ears'	

(158)

	TA		H	Shift/ no Shift		H	H
					/		
iN+bwá	→	imbwa			ím-bwa/imbwá		
CP9/10+'dog'					'dog'		

3.2.2 Bimoraic stems

The most common structure of nouns is the form prefix + disyllabic stem. If the first vowel of a disyllabic stem is long, the first syllable consists of two moras and behaves as multimoraic stems (cf. below). The shapes of the prefixes do not affect the tonal realisations of nouns. The prefixes are either monomoraic or bimoraic.

Bimoraic noun stems exhibit the three logical accent patterns, i.e. the stem does not have an accent, the accent is on the first mora, or the accent is on the second mora. Thus, the four tonal patterns (*LL, *LH, *HL, *HH) of Proto-Bantu have been reduced to three patterns in Ha. *LL stems are accentless (159), *HL stems have their accent on the first mora of the stem (160), and *HH stems have their accent on the second mora of the stem (161). *LH stems seem to be distributed over the two accented patterns (162)-(163).

(159)

uku+guru	→	ukuguru
CP15+'leg'		'leg'
*gUdU		

(160)

	TA		H
uku+bóko	→	ukubóko	
CP15+'hand'		'hand'	
*bóko			

- (161)
- | | | | |
|--------------|----|----------|---|
| | TA | | H |
| | | | |
| umu+pfumú | → | umupfumú | |
| CP1+'doctor' | | 'doctor' | |
| *kúmú | | | |
- (162)
- | | | | |
|---------------|----|----------|---|
| | TA | | H |
| | | | |
| uru+beré | → | uruberé | |
| CP11+'millet' | | 'millet' | |
| *bedé | | | |
- (163)
- | | | | |
|-----------|----|---------|---|
| | TA | | H |
| | | | |
| umu+gózi | → | umugózi | |
| CP+'rope' | | 'rope' | |
| *godí | | | |

On the phonetic level, there seem to be only two patterns. The accentless stems are clearly distinguishable from the accented stems, but the two different accented stem types seem to have merged, due to the tendency to avoid pronouncing word-final H tones. In Nyarwanda (Kimenyi 2002), the difference surfaces since H always spreads to the preceding mora: When the accent is on the first mora of the stem, it spreads to the prefix, whereas it is only on the stem when the accent is on the second mora. In Ha where there is no such spread, the difference surfaces only when the stem accent would become adjacent to an accent of the preceding element, such as the connexive -a* (cf. 3.3 below).

Ha as well as Rundi are probably on the way from three possible tonal patterns on the bimoraic to only two patterns, i.e. one without an accent and the other with an accent. Meeussen (1959:16) as well as Rodegem (1967:98) describe three different tonal patterns for bimoraic stems in Rundi: the low stems ('bas'), H on the first mora of the stem ('haut antérieur'), and H on the second mora of the stem ('haut postérieur'). However, in Ntahokaja's (1994) description there are only two tonal types of bimoraic noun stems: L ('ton bas') and H ('ton haut'), where the tone is marked on the first mora of the stem. Thus, it seems that the tendency to avoid word-final H tones is leading to a situation where the four-way tonal distinction of Proto-Bantu bimoraic noun stems is further simplified into a two-way distinction.

3.2.3 Trimoraic stems

Trimoraic noun stems are of the form CVCVCV, CVVCV or VVCV. If the proto-form noun stem was *L, there is no accent in Ha. If the proto-form noun had *H on the first vowel, the accent in Ha is usually on that vowel. With other tonal patterns, the correspondences are not one-to-one. All the possible patterns of accent placement, i.e. LLL (164)-(165), HLL (166)-(167), LHL (168)-(169), and LLH (cf. below) have been found.

- (164) iN+gurube ingurube
CP9/10+'pig' 'pig'
- (165) iki+beezi ikibeezi
CP7+'axe' 'axe'
- (166) umu+sékuzo umusékuzo
CP3+'pestle' 'pestle'

- (167) ama+béere amabéere
 CP6+'breast' 'breasts'
- (168) iki+karáza igikaráza
 CP7+'chest' 'chest'
- (169) umu+vyaára umuvyaára
 CP1+'cousin' 'cousin'

When the accent is on the last syllable of a trimoraic nouns stem and is thus more than two moras away from the stem-initial mora, H is copied to the stem-initial mora, if there is a class prefix (170)-(171). When there is no class prefix, the only H is that of the final vowel (172). However, the final H is not realised utterance finally.

- (170)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|----------|---|----------|---|----------|
| | TA | | H | Copy | H | H |
| | | | | | | |
| iki+kookó | → | igikookó | → | igikóokó | | |
| CP7+'animal' | | | | | | 'animal' |

- (171)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----|----------|---|----------|---|---------|
| | TA | | H | Copy | H | H |
| | | | | | | |
| iN+kororá | → | inkororá | → | inkórorá | | |
| CP9/10+'cough' | | | | | | 'cough' |

- (172) a)
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|----|-------------|---|--|--|
| | TA | | H | | |
| | | | | | |
| kooyó | → | kooyó | | | |
| 'my mother' | | 'my mother' | | | |
- b)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|---------|---|---------|---|--------------|
| | TA | | H | Copy | H | H |
| | | | | | | |
| aba+kooyó | → | bakooyó | → | bakóoyó | | |
| CP2+'my mother' | | | | | | 'my mothers' |

Some vowel-initial stems already had an initial long vowel in Proto-Bantu, but others have developed from disyllabic Proto-Bantu stems with an initial semi-vowel *j*. The semi-vowel has disappeared, but as a consequence the initial vowel has been lengthened. The accent is on the first mora if the Proto-Bantu tone pattern is *HL (173), and it is on the second mora when the Proto-Bantu pattern is *HH (174). Thus, the vowel has to be long lexically, unlike with verbs (cf. above).¹⁹

¹⁹ There are not enough examples in my data to determine the realisation of Proto-Bantu LH stems with initial *j* in Ha.

- (173) umu+áaka *jáka umwáaka
 CP3+'year' 'year'
- (174) umu+aámi *jámi umwaámi
 CP1+'king' 'king'

With disyllabic stems where the second consonant is a prenasalised plosive the accent can be on either of the vowels (175)-(176). However, since the nasal counts as a mora (cf. 2.2.1 in Segmental Phonology) the final accent is copied to the initial mora (176).

- (175) umu+dyángo umudyángo
 CP3+'door' 'door'
- (176) iN+chenká ichénká
 CP9/10+'grain' 'grains'

3.2.4 Multimoraic stems

Noun stems with more than three moras are much less frequent than those with three or less moras, and most multimoraic noun stems are compounds and reduplications (cf. 5.7.4 in Nominal Morphology), loan words, or derived from verbs.

In multimoraic stems, the accent can be on any of the moras (177)-(178), but as with the trimoraic stems H is copied to the stem-initial mora, if the accent is further than two moras away (179). The multimoraic stems can also be accentless (180).

- (177) aba+óoroozi abóoroozi
 CP2+'herdsman' 'herdsmen'
- (178) iN+barágasa imbarágasa
 CP9/10+'flea' 'flea'
- (179) i+karataási ikárataási
 CP5+'paper' 'paper'
- (180) uru+gereero urugereero
 CP11+'market' 'market'

Loan words from Swahili (which often originate from Arabic or English) usually have their penultimate vowel lengthened because of the penultimate stress of Swahili. In multimoraic stems, the accent falls on the first mora of the lengthened vowel.

- (181) i+saháani isaháani
 CP5+'plate' 'plate'
- (182) i+daftáari idaftáari
 CP5+'exercise book' 'exercise book'

3.3 Other word classes

Most accents of the other word classes are fixed and, therefore, realised as H on the lexically marked mora. However, some of the invariables and copulas have a floating accent which is realised in different ways, depending on the environment.

The associative index *na**, the comparative index *nka** and the presentative index *nga** (cf. 7.1.6.2 in Syntax), as well as the connexive *-a** (cf. 5.4.2 in Nominal Morphology) have an accent, which is realised as H on the first syllable of the following word. In words where there is an augment, the accent falls naturally on the augment, and the vowel of the index is deleted (183)-(185). If the syllable which follows the augment already has an accent, the augment vowel is lengthened (186). When the following word does not have an augment, the accent is realised as H on the first syllable of that word (187).

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|----------------|
| (183) | <i>na*</i> +iN+taama | níntaama |
| | AI+CP9/10+ 'sheep' | 'with a sheep' |
| (184) | <i>nka*</i> +ama+bóko | nkámabóko |
| | CI+CP6+ 'hand' | 'as hands' |
| (185) | yi+a*+ibi+kookó | yíbikóókó |
| | DP9+Con+CP8+ 'animal' | 'of animals' |
| (186) | <i>na*</i> +iN+nyáabu | nínyáabu |
| | AI+CP9/10+ 'cat' | 'with a cat' |
| (187) | <i>nka*</i> +kudya | nkakúdyá |
| | CI+4DemP15 | 'as that' |

The copulas *ní* and *sí* (cf. 6.1.6) lose their vowel when followed by a word with an augment, and the accent is realised as H on the augment (188). If the following word has an accent immediately after the augment, the accents of the copula and the following word are merged, and both vowels are realised with H (189). When followed by a word without an augment, the accent is realised on the copula itself (190).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| (188) | ní umu+dyángo | ní umudyángo [númudjá:ŋgo] |
| | Cop CP3+ 'door' | 'it is a door' |
| (189) | ní iN+nyáabu | ní inyáabu [níjá:βu] |
| | Cop CP9/10+ 'cat' | 'it is a cat' |
| (190) | ní yi+a*+nje | ní yáanje [níjá:nje] |
| | Cop DP9+Con+Poss1ps | 'it is mine' |

With the associative index *na** (191), the comparative index *nka** (192), the connexive *-a** (193), and the copulas *ní* and *sí* (194) the accent is deleted if it should be realised on the first syllable of the utterance.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (191) | <i>na*</i> +iN+nyáabu | Niinyáabu. |
| | AI+CP9/10+ 'cat' | 'With a cat.' |
| (192) | <i>nka*</i> +ama+bóko | Nkamabóko. |
| | CI+CP6+ 'hand' | 'As hands.' |
| (193) | yi+a*+ibi+kookó | Yibikóókó |
| | DP+Con+CP8+ 'animal' | 'Of animals.' |
| (194) | ní yi+a*+nje | Ni yáanje |
| | Cop DP9+Con+Poss1ps | 'It is mine.' |

4. ORTHOGRAPHY PROPOSAL

Since Swahili is the lingua franca in the Ha area and the medium of primary education, the Ha speakers usually do not feel the need to write the language. There is no standard orthography for Ha, but when written an orthography modified from Swahili is used. However, it is inconsistent, and needs to be standardised. Neither long vowels nor vowel elisions are marked consistently, and tones are not marked at all. Rundi and Nyarwanda standard orthographies do not mark long vowels nor tones, and some sounds have symbols different from those commonly used in Tanzania.

An orthography based on Swahili would be linguistically and practically suitable. No extra graphemes are needed, since the affricates can be written with digraphs. This is also supported by the orthographic conventions proposal of the Languages of Tanzania (LOT) project of the University of Dar es Salaam (Josaphat Rugemalira, p.c.). In this proposal, the phonemic long vowels as well as the tones are marked.

4.1 The graphemes

p		t		k
b		d	j	g
	f	s	sh	h
	v	z		
pf		ts	ch	
m		n	ny	
w		r	y	
i	e	a	o	u

Table 6: Graphemes of the proposed Ha orthography

The proposed graphemes correspond in a one-to-one fashion to those used in the phonemic transcription above. The single graphemes are identical to the phonemic symbols, except that /j/ is represented by <y>, /j/ by <j>, and /r/ by <r> in the orthography. Since [r] and [l] are in free variation either symbol could be chosen for the orthography. The choice of <r> instead of <l> follows the choice made in Rundi and Nyarwanda. <l> is used only in foreign proper names.

Of the digraphs the affricates /pʃ/, /ts/, and /tʃ/ are represented in the orthography by <pf>, <ts>, and <ch>²⁰, respectively. /ɲ/ and /ɲʲ/ are written with <ny>, and /ʃ/ is written with <sh>.

	Orthographic	Phonemic	Gloss
p	ipéeni	/ipé:ni/	'pen'
t	umutaama	/umuta:ma/	'elderly man'
k	ibikóokó	/ibikookó/	'animal'
b	urubére	/urubére/	'millet'
d	daatá	/daatá/	'father'
j	ikijíji	/ikijí:ji/	'village'
g	ibigóri	/ibigó:ri/	'maize'
f	ifuma	/ifuma/	'foam'
s	isaáke	/isa'ke/	'hare'
sh	ishúugwi	/iʃú:gʷi/	'flower'
h	ibiharagi	/ibiharagi/	'beans'
v	ivú	/ivú/	'soil'
z	izúuru	/izú:ru/	'nose'
pf	ukúpfa	/ukúpʃa/	'to die'
ts	umútsi	/umútsi/	'tendon'
ch	ichúmu	/itʃúmu/	'spear'
m	akamaro	/akamaro/	'benefit'
n	umunaazi	/umuna:zi/	'coconut palm'
ny	nyoko	/ɲoko/	'your mother'
w	iwáari	/iwá:ri/	'rice'
r	umuráazi	/umurá:zi/	'guest'
y	ibuye	/ibuje/	'stone'

Table 7: Examples of the consonant graphemes

The phoneme /p/ which is historically *p, but pronounced as [h] is written as <h>. However, after <m> the cluster is written as <mp> (pronounced as [mm̩] or [mp]) (195). <p> occurs as a symbol for /p/ in some fairly new loan words.

²⁰ <c> in Rundi.

- (195) *ukuhá* /ukupa/ 'to give'
mpá /^mpa/ 'Give me!'

Some Ha speakers make the distinction between [b] and [β] in the orthography, to make it look different from Swahili. In this way, /b/ is written as before <w> and/or after <m>, and as <bh> elsewhere. Phonemically it is unnecessary to make the distinction in the orthography since these phones are in complementary distribution, and this convention is also against the LOT recommendation. Thus, in this work phoneme /b/ is written with everywhere.

The labialisation is written as <w> after the labialised consonant, palatalisation as <y> after the palatalised consonant (196), unless the secondary articulation affects the base sound. Labialised /r/ is written with <gw>, palatalised /r/ with <dy>, palatalised /k/ with <ch>, and palatalised /b/ with <vy> (197). In Rundi, the labialised and palatalised /r/ are written with <rw> and <ry>, respectively, and the labialised /b/ with <bg>.

- (196) *umwé* /um^wé/ 'one'
ukufyáatura /uku^fá:tura/ 'to fire'
 (197) *ugweeso* /ur^we:so/ 'pot'
dyáanje /r^dá:nje/ 'my'
icháara /ik^já:ra/ 'nail'
ivyáara /ib^vá:ra/ 'nails'

Prenasalisation is written before the prenasalised consonant as the nasal corresponding to the place of articulation of the consonant, with the exception that <n> is written before the palatals and the velars in addition to being written before the alveolars (198). Prenasalised /r/ is written as <nd> (199).

- (198) *imbeba* /i^mbeba/ 'rat'
intoke /iⁿtoke/ 'fingers'
igitúnguru /ikitú^ŋguru/ 'onion'
 (199) *ndaménja* /^mraméja/ 'I know'

Dahl's Law (cf. 2.5.5 in Segmental Phonology) affects the concord prefixes with voiceless plosives /t/ and /k/, voicing them when the stem-initial consonant is voiceless. This voicing is marked in the orthography.

- (200) *iki+ha* *igiha*
 CP7+'Ha' 'Ha language'
tu+fise *dufise*
 SP1pp+'have' 'we have'
uku+suuguur+a *ugusuuguura*
 CP15+'harvest'+FV 'to harvest'

4.2 Tone

Since tone (or pitch-accent) is contrastive in Ha, speakers sometimes have to read a clause twice or three times to get the tonal melody right when the accent is not marked. This especially happens with grammatical tones. Thus, linguistically the marking of the tone would be desirable, and technically marking the surface H with an accent (ˈ) would not be a problem.

But the actual need as well as the acceptability of the tone marking by the language community should be carefully tested. As with many other African languages, it might turn out that the context provides enough support for determining the right tone, and marking the tone would just complicate and slow down both the reading and writing of the language. Since the weight of the lexical tone is much lower than that of the grammatical tone, the possibility of marking only the grammatical tone, or marking the tone only on verbs, could also be considered. In my examples, the surface H tones are marked.

4.3 Vowel lengthening

The LOT project recommendation is to mark phonemic long vowels by doubling the vowel grapheme. In Ha, this would mean that only the long vowels of the noun and verb stems which are not caused by a consonant-approximant or nasal-plosive cluster would be marked. This way of marking would probably work for reading, but in writing people should be able to distinguish the stems from the inflectional elements in order to determine whether to write the vowels as short or long.

In addition to the contrastiveness of long vowels in stems, vowel lengthening is the only surface manifestation of the first person singular object prefix *n-* which is deleted before a nasal-initial verb stem. This should be marked in the orthography by a double vowel if any long vowels are marked. If no long vowels are marked, the object prefix should be written although it is never pronounced in that position.

- (201) wó+tu+meny+*+a wótumenyá
RPro1+OP1pp+'know'+M2+FV 'who knows us'
(202) wó+n+meny+*+a wóomenyá
RPro1+OP1ps+'know'+M2+FV 'who knows me'

The index forms *na**, *nka**, and *nga** (cf. 7.1.6.2 in Syntax) and the connexive *-a** (cf. 5.4.2 in Nominal Morphology) lengthen the augment of the following word when there is an accent on the following mora (203)-(204). If tone should not be marked, the vowel lengthening could be the mark of the stem-initial accent (205).

- (203) *na**+iN+nyáabu nínyáabu
AI+CP9/10+'cat' 'with a cat'
(204) *na**+iN+taama níntaama
AI+CP9/10+'sheep' 'with a sheep'
(205) niinyaabu
 'with a cat'

There are also instances where automatic phonetic vowel lengthening is over-ruled by other circumstances. The stem-initial vowel of the verb stems is not lengthened

when it is preceded by the first person singular object prefix *n-* (206). All the word-initial and word-final vowels are short (207), with the exception of the independent relative forms where the prefix consists of a vowel only (208).

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (206) | uku+erek*+a | ukwééreka |
| | CP15+'show'+FV | 'to show' |
| | a+n+erek*+a | anyereka |
| | SP1+OP1ps+'show'+FV | 'he shows me' |
| (207) | iN+bwá | imbwá |
| | CP9/10+'dog' | 'dog' |
| (208) | uu*+ki+kor*+a | uúíkíora |
| | SPRel1+Pers+'work'+FV | 'the one who is still working' |

When taking into consideration the problem of deciding which the really contrastive long vowels are, it seems reasonable to either write all long vowels or to write all vowels short. The linguistic choice between these two options would obviously be to mark all long vowels, but the practical effects and the acceptability of this by the language community should be tested. In this work, all long vowels, except the automatically pre-NC lengthened vowels, are written with double graphemes.

4.4 Vowel elisions

Since vowels are often deleted at morpheme and word boundaries in normal speech (cf. 2.4.2 and 2.6 above), it has to be decided which vowels are marked and which left out in writing the Ha language. In Nyarwanda and Rundi, the elided vowels are marked with an apostrophe ('), but additional marking of morphophonemic processes is not recommended for the languages of Tanzania by the LOT project. Vowel elisions also lead to the question of writing some elements together.

The augment is deleted if it is not noun phrase initial, i.e. it is preceded, e.g., by a locative prefix, the negative existential copula *ntaa*, or a noun phrase initial pronoun (cf. 5.4 in Nominal Morphology). These elements are to be written separately from the noun they modify (209)-(211). Since the secondary locative prefixes (cf. 5.3) cannot occur independently they are written in conjunction with the nouns (212). The same applies to the relative pronouns (213) and the dependent substitutes (214) (cf. 5.4.1).

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------------|
| (209) | ntaa umu+ntu | ntaa muntu |
| | NegEx CP1+'person' | 'there is no one' |
| (210) | uyu umu+ntu | uyu muntu |
| | 1DemP1 CP1+'person' | 'this person' |
| (211) | uwu+ndi* umu+ntu | uwúndi muntu |
| | CP1+'other' CP1+'person' | 'another person' |
| (212) | mu+uru+gereero | murugereero |
| | Loc18+CP11+'market' | 'at the market' |
| (213) | hó+uku+ichar+a | hókwichara |
| | RPro16+CP15+'sit'+FV | 'where to sit' |

- (214) ntaa+chó ntaachó
 NegEx+Pro7 'there is nothing'

Numerals are usually used without the augment, so the augment needs not to be written with numerals (cf. 5.6). The augment is also deleted from the second part of a compound noun, so these should be written together without the augment (cf. 5.7.4).

Final vowel deletions of the verbs and the verbal copulas are not to be marked in the orthography (215) (cf. also 2.6.2), unlike in Rundi. The connexive *-a** and the index forms *na**, *nka**, and *nga** all lose their vowel and affect the augment, and are, thus, written together with the following noun (216)-(217) (cf. 3.3). These are written in conjunction with the following element even if it does not have an augment (218)-(219).

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (215) | ní umu+áana | ni umwáana [númwá:na] |
| | Cop CP1+'child' | 'it is a child' |
| (216) | na*+umu+áana | núumwáana [nú:mwá:na] |
| | AI+CP1+'child' | 'with the child' |
| (217) | yi+a*+umu+áana | yúumwáana |
| | DP9+Con+CP1+'child' | 'of the child' |
| (218) | umu+twé u+a*+u+eéne | umútwe wawéene |
| | CP3+'head' DP3+Con+DP3+Pro | 'it's head' |
| (219) | na*+nje | nanjé |
| | AI+Pro1ps | 'with me' |

When the copula *ní* and the associative index *na** lose their vowel they have the same form segmentally, but tonally and vowel length-wise they behave differently (215)-(216). Although the meanings are usually easily distinguished by the context, it would be reasonable to have different writing conventions for these elements. Therefore, the verbs and the copulas are written independently and with their original vowels, whereas the index forms and the connexive are written together with the following word, leaving out the elided vowels and marking possible vowel lengthening (cf. 3.3).²¹

Proper names are written with initial capital letters. Otherwise, proper names are written as common nouns.

- (220) yi+a*+i+Kibondo yíKibondo
 DP9+Con+CP23+PropN 'of Kibondo'

²¹ This should be carefully tested when deciding on the official orthography. It is possible, that writing and reading the copulas with the vowel that is not pronounced is more difficult than differentiating the copula from the associative index only by the context.

5. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

The nominal morphology of Ha may be divided in the customary way into inflectional and derivational morphology. The rich inflectional system covers the noun classes and concord system (noun class and concord prefixes, inflectional pronouns, adjectives and numerals). Noun stems can be derived from verbal and adjectival stems as well as from other noun stems.

Ha nouns usually consist of the noun stem, the nominal prefix and the augment (also called preprefix). The augment takes the form of a vowel with the same quality as that of the vowel of the prefix. The subject and object prefixes of the verbs as well as all inflectional determiners are prefixed according to the noun class of the noun they modify.

5.1 Noun classes and concord prefixes

There are 16 noun classes, i.e. sets of nominal stems, in Ha. These correspond to the first 16 classes of the classes commonly proposed for reconstructed Proto-Bantu. Thus, Ha represents a rather typical Bantu noun class system that is not greatly reduced from the Proto-Bantu noun class system. In addition to these proper noun classes, traces of the locative classes 17, 18, and 23 can be found in locative prefixes and suffixes (cf. the section 5.3 below).

According to the typology of Bantu noun classes by Maho (1999), Ha is of type 1A. Both the noun prefixes and the concord prefixes are of the traditional type, i.e. the concord prefixes follow the noun class prefixes, not the meaning (e.g. animateness) of the noun, and the noun class prefixes mark noun class membership as well as grammatical number. Type 1B, where animate nouns are treated differently from other nouns, is the next step from the original Proto-Bantu noun class system. Ha might lean towards type 1B, as animate nouns are sometimes treated differently (cf. section 5.2.1 below). As Maho (1999:129) points out, 'the distinction between types 1A and 1B is gradual rather than clear-cut and fixed'.

The noun class prefixes and the concord prefixes (with the augment, cf. 7.1.1.1) are listed in Table 8 below. Only the forms considered basic are listed, the alternative forms of the prefixes (e.g. those that occur with vowel-initial stems) follow directly from the morphophonological rules presented in chapter 1. The class numbering is based on that of Meinhof (1932).²² For the locative classes 17, 18 and 23, only some of the concord prefixes are used.

²² The noun class numbering introduced by Meinhof has been retained as such in later publications, except that the class numbers 12 and 13 (*aka-* and *utu-*) have been switched.

Class	Class Prefix	Subject Prefix	Object Prefix	Adjective Prefix	Determiner Prefix
1	umu-	a-	mu-	mu-	u-
1a	-	a-	mu-	mu-	u-
2	aba-	ba-	ba-	ba-	ba-
3	umu-	gu-, u-	wu-	mu-	u-
4	imi-	i-	yi-	mi-	i-
5	i-	ri-	ri-	ri-	ri-
6	ama-	ga-	ya-	ma-	ya-
7	iki-	ki-	ki-	ki-	ki-
8	ibi-	bi-	bi-	bi-	bi-
9	iN-	i-	yi-	n-	yi-
10	iN-	zi-	zi-	zi-	zi-
11	uru-	ru-	ru-	ru-	ru-
12	aka-	ka-	ka-	ka-	ka-
13	utu-	tu-	tu-	tu-	tu-
14	ubu-	bu-	bu-	bu-	bu-
15	uku-	ku-	ku-	ku-	ku-
16	aha-	ha-	ha-	ha-	ha-
17	ku-				ku-
18	mu-				mu-
23	i-				i-

Table 8: *Ha* noun class and concord prefixes

Only one noun class prefix can be attached to a noun stem at one time, e.g. the plural class prefix replaces the singular class prefix. However, the locative prefixes of classes 17 and 18 are an exception to this in that they are attached to the noun class prefixes, not the noun stems (cf. section 5.3 Locatives below).

(221) umu+ntu umuntu

CP1+'person' 'person'

(222) aba+ntu abantu

CP2+'person' 'people'

As can be seen in Table 8, there are four types of concord prefixes, i.e. the subject prefix (SP), the object prefix (OP), the adjective prefix (AP), and the determiner

prefix (DP). These prefixes are based on the noun class prefixes (CP), but always occur without the augment.

The subject prefix (SP) indicates the subject of the verb, whether the referential subject noun (phrase) is present (223) or not (224). When the subject prefix refers to nouns of different noun classes or persons (225), or there is no overt noun (phrase) as the subject (226) the prefix of class 8 is usually used. With parts of the day, the prefix of class 14 is used (227).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (223) | umu+dyángo gu+ra+beer*+ir+ye
CP3+'door' SP3+Foc+'please'+Appl+Perf | Umudyángo gurabéereye.
'The door is good.' |
| (224) | gu+ra+beer*+ir+ye
SP3+Foc+'please'+Appl+Perf | Gurabéereye.
'It (e.g. the door) is good.' |
| (225) | imi+rúndi na*+ama+no bi+ra+n+ri*+a
CP4+'shin' AI+CP6+'toe' SP8+Foc+OP1ps+'eat'+FV | Imirúndi námano birándya.
'The shins and the toes are aching.' |
| (226) | bi+vug*+u+a
SP8+'say'+Pass+FV | Bivugwa...
'It is said (that)...' |
| (227) | bu+ra+goroob*+ye
SP14+Foc+'get dark'+Perf | Buragóroovyey.
'It is getting dark.' |

The object prefix (OP) refers to the direct or indirect object. If both the direct and the indirect object are involved, the object prefix refers to the indirect object.²³ It is also possible, but not common, to have two object prefixes in one verb (cf. section 7.1.1.3 in Syntax).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (228) | n+ra+mu+bon*+a
SP1ps+Foc+OP1+'see'+FV | Ndamúbona.
'I see him.' |
| (229) | n+á+mu+ha*+ye iki+tabo
SP1ps+RPast+OP1+'give'+Perf CP7+'book' | Ndamúhaaye igitabo.
'I gave him the book.' |

The adjective prefix (AP) is chosen according to the noun the adjective modifies, and it is attached to the adjective stem.

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (230) | umu+ríma mu+tóoyi
CP3+'field' AP3+'small' | umuríma mutóoyi
'small field' |
| (231) | imi+ríma mi+tóoyi
CP4+'field' AP4+'small' | imirima mitóoyi
'small fields' |
| (232) | iki+tabo ki+iizá
CP7+'book' AP7+'good' | igitabo chiizá
'good book' |
| (233) | ibi+tabo bi+iizá
CP8+'book' AP8+'good' | ibitabo vyiiizá
'good books' |

The determiner prefix (DP) is used with inflectional pronouns, the connexive -a*, and numerals.²⁴

²³ The indirect object is typically higher in animacy than the direct object, and, thus, more likely to agree with the verb.

²⁴ Except class 6 numeral prefix is often *a-* instead of *ya-*. See Table 9.

- (234) iki+tabo ki+a*+nje igitabo cháanje
 CP7+'book' DP7+Con+Poss1ps 'my book'
- (235) ibi+tabo vi+a*+nje ibitabo vyáanje
 CP8+'book' DP8+Con+Poss1ps 'my books'

In most instances, the Ha noun classes and concord prefixes correspond to those of reconstructed Proto-Bantu in a systematic way, but there are slight differences in their distribution. Some concord prefixes of Ha show variation which can be accounted for with reference to the concord system of Proto-Bantu, i.e. some of the changes from Proto-Bantu to contemporary Ha have not yet been completed.

In Proto-Bantu (as reconstructed by Meeussen 1967), the prefixes for nouns and adjectives were the same (NP). In Ha, the noun class prefixes (CP) have the augment, whereas the adjective prefixes (AP) can be derived from the noun class prefixes by dropping the augment. Class 5 CP (*i-*) is the only class prefix without the augment in Ha (cf. section 5.2.3 below), but the noun prefix for vowel-initial nouns is *idy-* (< *iri-*).²⁵ Class 5 AP has taken the same form as the rest of class 5 concord prefixes (*ri-*, cf. Table 9).

Proto-Bantu ²⁶					Ha				
	NP	EP	PP	VP		CP	AP	DP	SP
3	mu-	mu-/u-	gu-	gu-	3	umu-	mu-	u-/gu-	gu-/u-
5	j-	di-	di-	di-	5	i-	ri-	ri-	ri-
6	ma-	ma-/a-	ga-	ga-	6	ama-	ma-	ya-/ga-	ga-/ya-
9	n-	n-/i-	ji-	ji-	9	iN-	n-/yi-	yi-	i-
10	n-	j-	ji-	ji-	10	iN-	zi-/ny-	zi-	zi-

Table 9. Proto-Bantu equivalents for the variation in the prefixes of Ha

In class 10, the vowel-initial adjective stems have the noun class prefix *ny-* instead of *zi-*. This variation can be explained by the fact that in Proto-Bantu class 10 adjectives had the same prefix as class 10 nouns (namely **n-*, cf. Table 9), and Ha has retained the original prefix. With class 9 AP, *yi-* is sometimes used instead of *n-*. This could be due to the same process of change as with class 5 AP: the adjective prefix is changing from the Proto-Bantu form towards the other concord prefixes of class 9.

Class 9 and 10 prefixes take the form *iny-* before vowel-initial noun stems. This points to reconstructing the prefixes for these classes as **ni-* instead of **n-*. In addition, the augment *i-* of classes 9 and 10 points to a palatal vowel in the class prefix.

²⁵ The class prefix for class 5 is **li-* in some reconstructions.

²⁶ From Meeussen 1967. NP: nominal prefix; EP: numeral prefix; PP: pronominal prefix; VP: verbal initial prefix.

The determiner prefixes (DP) have variation in classes 3 and 6 (*gu-* is sometimes used for *u-* and *ga-* for *ya-*). The same variation can be seen with the subject prefixes, but the forms *gu-* and *ga-* are more common. In Proto-Bantu, both the pronoun prefixes (PP) and verbal prefixes (VP) for classes 3 and 6 have been reconstructed as **gu-* and **ga-*, respectively. Thus, the change from the Proto-Bantu forms has progressed further with Ha determiner prefixes than with the subject prefixes.

In addition to the concord prefixes of the 16 noun classes, there are subject and object prefixes for the first and second person.

	Subject Prefix	Object Prefix
1. person sg.	n- ²⁷	n- ²⁸
2. person sg.	u-	ku-
1. person pl.	tu-	tu-
2. person pl.	mu-	ba-

Table 10: First and second person subject and object prefixes

5.2 Noun class pairing and semantics

The semantic coherence of Bantu noun classes, in particular Proto-Bantu and Swahili noun classes, has been argued for in several recent works (e.g. Denny & Creider 1986, Contini-Morava 1994, 1997, 1999, Moxley 1998). Although it is impossible to find a common semantic denominator for all the nouns associated with a given class, except perhaps classes 1 and 2, 'each class shows a great deal of internal coherence, with nouns or groups of nouns related to one another either by shared semantic properties or by familiar principles of metaphoric or metonymic extension' (Contini-Morava 1999:12). Although the Ha noun class system is more complex than that of Swahili, at least in relation to noun class pairings (see below), it is possible to make generalisations on the semantic contents of the classes.

In Ha, noun class prefixes 1 (and 1a), 3, 5, 7, 11, and 12 always convey singularity, and classes 2, 4, 8, and 13 plurality. Classes 6 and 14 convey plurality when alternating with one of the singular prefixes, but for some noun stems there is no alternation. Class 15 conveys singularity with noun stems alternating with the class 6 prefix, but it also contains the infinitive forms of the verbs. Classes 9 and 10 do not show difference in the prefixation of the noun, but the singular - plural distinction is shown by the agreement. In the following subsections, I describe some general features of the semantic contents of the noun classes, but a thorough analysis of the wide variety of the pairings and the semantic motivation of the classes requires separate, in-depth study.

The alternation between the classes expressing singularity and plurality seems to be quite complex (Figure 4, examples in Table 11, both consonant-initial and vowel-

²⁷ *nd-* before a vowel.

²⁸ *ny-* before a vowel.

initial noun stems are given for each pair if found in my data), but in practice the class prefixes for classes 1, 3, 5, 7, and 9 alternate fairly regularly with class 2, 4, 6, 8, and 10 prefixes, respectively, covering more than 80 percent of the ca. 1000 noun stems in my database (see below). With the other classes there is more variation in the alternation. The total number of possible noun class pairings is at least 18.

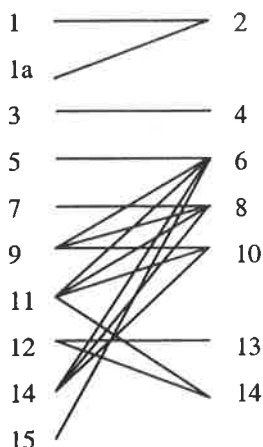


Figure 4: Ha noun class pairings

5.2.1 Classes 1 and 2

All the noun stems that use the class 1 prefix *umu-* alternate with the class 2 prefix *aba-* (ca. 100 stems in my database). This pairing 1/2 is the most clearly defined, content-wise. Most of the noun stems denoting human beings are associated with these classes, in Ha and in Bantu languages in general. However, some stems referring to human beings are also found in other classes.

The prefixless stems of the subclass 1a take class 2 in plural (ca. 30 stems), but usually without the augment *a-*. These stems include kinship terms and some other human nouns denoting close relationships. Proper names made of nouns and verbal forms are also associated with the 1a/2 prefixes and follow their agreement. Anthroponymes, which are formed with any class prefix without the augment, e.g. *ijoro* (*i+joro*, cl. 5) 'night' and *Kajoro* (*aka+joro*, cl. 12) 'Mr. Born-at-night', follow 1/2 agreement, regardless of the class prefixes.

Words denoting personified animals (the typical characters of traditional stories) are formed by dropping the augment of the noun class prefix, e.g. *agakwáavu* (*aka+kwáavu*) 'little rabbit' and *Gakwáavu* 'Mr. Rabbit'. These nouns sometimes follow the concords of 1/2, but not necessarily.²⁹ When a personified animal name is formed by prefixing the noun stem with the diminutive prefix *ka-* (cf. section

²⁹ This could be influenced by Swahili (being the national language and the language of primary education in Tanzania), where all the animate nouns follow the concords of 1/2. The same phenomenon is found in other Bantu languages as well, to different degrees, but has not been attested in other Zone D languages (Maho 1999:124).

5.2.7 below) without the augment, the noun follows 1/2 concords. However, human/animate noun stems associated with other noun class pairings than 1/2 normally follow the concords of the class they belong to, and not the 1/2 concords.

	Singular	Plural	Gloss
1/2	umupfumú	abapfumú	'doctor'
	umwáana	abáana	'child'
1a/2	daayí	badáayí	'father'
3/4	umugázi	imigázi	'oil palm'
	umwóngá	imyóngá	'river'
5/6	iví	amávi	'knee'
	idyíinyo	améenyoyi	'tooth'
6	amáazi		'water'
7/8	ikirenge	ibirenge	'foot'
	ichoobo	ivyoobo	'hole'
9/10	intaama	intaama	'sheep'
	inyíshu	inyíshu	'answer'
9/6	inkúmi	amakúmi	'teenager (girl)'
9/8	imbeba	ibibeba	'rat'
11/10	urutoke	intoke	'finger'
	ugweeso	inzeeso	'pot'
11/6	uruno	amano	'toe'
11/8	urukúndo	ibikúndo	'love'
11/14	urukwáavu	ubukwáavu	'hare'
	ugwóoba	ubwóoba	'mushroom'
12/13	akajíko	utujíko	'small spoon'
12/14	akasamfina	ubusamfina	'scorpion'
14/6	ubuhiri	amahiri	'stick (a kind of)'
14/8	ubuyuuka	ibiyuuka	'a small ant'
14/10	ubwáato	inzáato	'canoe'
14	ubwiizá		'goodness'
15/6	ukuguru	amaguru	'leg'
	ugwáaha	amáaha	'armpit'

Table 11: Examples of Ha noun class pairings

5.2.2 Classes 3 and 4

All the noun stems associated with the class 3 prefix *umu-* alternate with the class 4 prefix *imi-* (ca. 125 stems). The semantic category characterising the semantic content of this class is "entities with vitality" (Contini-Morava 1994), nouns that are

neither human nor animal, and other nouns connected to them. These are, for example, trees (*umugázi* 'oil palm'), plants (*uwáagi* 'sugar cane') and objects made of plants or resembling the shape of trees (*umudyángo* 'door', *umugózi* 'rope'). In addition, some body parts (*umubiri* 'body', *umuhógo* 'throat') extended in one dimension are included in this class. Other branches of vitality include nouns that refer to supernatural phenomena (*umuziro* 'taboo', *umwáaku* 'omen') and to natural phenomena (*umugezi* 'river', *umutúragaro* 'thunder', *umwáaka* 'year').

The class 3 subject prefix is most often *gu-* but also *u-* occurs (cf. Table 9 above). Class 4 agreement prefixes are sometimes mixed with those of class 10, i.e. class 10 agreement prefixes are used with class 4 nouns.³⁰

5.2.3 Classes 5 and 6

The central semantic category of class 5 is that of fruits and other offspring of plants (*ichúngwa* 'orange', *ibabi* 'leaf', *ishúugwi* 'flower'). The characteristics of fruits, e.g. round, large and able to contain seeds (Contini-Morava 1994), are extended to similar objects, such as some body parts (*ibéere* 'breast', *ifyígo* 'kidney'), containers (*ikópo* 'tin'), and other round and/or hollow objects (*igí* 'egg', *isemo* 'ploughing hole', *ihémbe* 'horn'). The only animal in class 5 in my data is *ibingira* 'wild dog'.

The leaf-like shape, flat and curved, is the semantic motivation for including words such as *ibába* 'wing' in class 5. Class 5 also includes nouns associated with activities which require more than one participant (Moxley 1998:233), such as *ijambo* 'word' and *ijwí* 'voice'.

The class prefix of class 5 is *i-*, but the vowel-initial stems take the prefix *idy-*. With vowel-initial stems the prefix consists clearly of an augment *i-* and the class prefix *ri-*, (which becomes *dy-* because of the morphophonemic variation, cf. section 2.3.2), but whether class 5 prefix *i-* consists of an augment or the noun class prefix only is not quite clear. It is deleted in instances where the augment is deleted with other classes, such as after a demonstrative pronoun (236) or the negative existential copula (237). On the other hand, it is retained after the locative prefixes, where all the other classes lose their augment (238). However, there are a few class 5 nouns that lose the prefix even after the locative prefixes (239).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (236) | <i>dyáa i+gúfa</i> | <i>dyáa gúfa</i> |
| | 5DPron5 CP5+ 'bone' | 'that bone' |
| (237) | <i>ntaa i+zúuba</i> | <i>ntaa zúuba</i> |
| | NegEx CP5+ 'sun' | 'there is no sun' |
| (238) | <i>mu+i+seburá</i> | <i>mwiseburá</i> |
| | Loc18+CP5+ 'valley' | 'in the valley' |

³⁰ The same phenomenon is found in some other Bantu languages as well, e.g. Kwanyama (R21), where class 4 concords have shifted almost completely to those of class 10 (Riikka Halme, p.c.). Maho (1999:161) notes that 'most of the mergers and near-mergers involving classes 4 and 10 are attested in the central and south-western areas, seemingly concentrated in the confluence of zones D, L and M as well as southern and/or eastern parts of zones R and K'.

(239) ku+i+zúiko kuzúiko
 Loc17+CP5+'fire place' 'in the kitchen'

All the noun stems associated with the class 5 prefix alternate with the class 6 prefix *ama-* (ca. 130 stems), but the class 6 prefix alternates with several other singular class prefixes as well, with plural meaning: all the class 15 nouns and a handful of the class 9, 11, and 14 nouns. When not alternating with classes conveying singular meaning, class 6 is associated with nouns that refer to liquids, masses and other enumerables (*amáta* 'milk', *amáse* 'dung', *amahéra* 'money').

5.2.4 Classes 7 and 8

In Bantu languages class 7 is traditionally conceived as the 'thing class', the class for objects small enough to be held in one's hand, but the semantic content can be extended to small, immature or defected entities in general (Contini-Morava 1994, 1999). In Ha, these are, for example, small animals (*ikinyúgunyúgu* 'butterfly', *igifweero* 'snail'), small body parts (*icháara* 'nail', *igikónjo* 'elbow'), artefacts (*ikibéezi* 'axe', *ikiráato* 'shoe'), and human beings with a marked meaning (*ikimúga* 'lame person', *igikweérere* 'unmarried man'). Smallness can also be associated with part of a whole (*icháanya* 'period of time', *igitóoke* 'banana'). Names of languages and nationalities take the class 7 prefix.

In my data, there are ca. 170 stems that alternate in association between classes 7 (*iki-*) and 8 (*ibi-*). Class 7 always conveys singularity, but class 8 can also convey collectiveness when associated, for example, with some cultivated plants (*ibiharagi* 'bean', *ibitéekwa* 'yams'). Sometimes it alternates with the class 11 and 14 prefixes, and possibly even with the class 9 prefix, to express plurality.

Nouns of other classes can be associated with class 7 to give them a pejorative or augmentative meaning, depending on the context, e.g. *imbwá* 'a dog' and *ikibwá* 'a bad/big dog'. Class 7 can be used to form adverbs from nouns, e.g. *umuzúngú* 'foreigner' and *ingeso zíkizúngú* 'foreign habits (lit. habits of the foreign way)', and *umugorégore* 'woman' and *kigorégore* 'in a female way'.

5.2.5 Classes 9 and 10

The prefixes of noun classes 9 and 10 are identical, but the concord prefixes are different. The class prefixes have several variants: only the augment *i-* is used for *ny-*, *n-*, *m-*, *f-*, *s-* and *sh-*initial noun stems and for loan words, and the nasal prefix with the augment is used for other noun stems (*iny-* for vowel-initial stems, and *iN-* elsewhere)³¹. The class 9 prefix most commonly alternates with the class 10 prefix (ca. 220 stems in my data), but some stems associated with the class 9 prefix alternate either with class 6 or 8 prefixes. On the other hand, the class 10 prefix also

³¹ *iN-* meaning that the nasal of the prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of the stem-initial consonant, so that it is realised as [im] before bilabial consonants, as [inj] before labiodental consonants, as [in] before alveolar consonants, as [ip] before palatal consonants, and as [iŋ] before velar consonants. In the orthography, *im-* is used with all labial stems and *in-* elsewhere. Some speakers also use the variant *iN-* before *s*.

alternates with class 11 and 14 prefixes, whereupon a *z-* is added between the stem and class 10 noun prefix with vowel-initial stems (cf. section 2.3.3).

Semantically, class 9 is the most heterogeneous, and it may even be conceived as a 'left-over class', a class for nouns that do not fit the semantic descriptions of any other classes. Class 9 includes nouns that refer, for example, to manufactured goods (*imbúgitá* 'knife', *indóbo* 'bucket'), animals (*imbwá* 'dog', *imfyísi* 'hyena'), abstract concepts (*ingeso* 'habit', *impanuro* 'advice') and quite a few loan words (cf. below).

5.2.6 Class 11

There are ca. 80 stems associated with the class 11 prefix *uru-* in my data, half of which alternate with the class 10 prefix. The others alternate with classes 6, 8, and 14, or they do not alternate at all. Semantically, class 11 consists of long and thin things (*urubaabo* 'board', *uruzwĩri* 'hair') and metonymically related abstractions as well as body parts (*urugendo* 'journey', *urubiro* 'speed', *urutoke* 'finger', *urubavu* 'rib'), but also, for example, some artefacts (*ugweeso* 'pot', *urubuye* 'stone grinder') and animals (*uruyúki* 'bee', *uruyige* 'locust').

Nouns associated with other classes in their basic meaning can be associated with class 11 to form augmentatives, pejoratives, and even melioratives, depending on the context. Thus, *urúbwa* (from *imbwá* 'a dog', cl. 9) can mean either 'a big dog', 'a bad dog', or 'a good dog'.

5.2.7 Classes 12 and 13

The class 12 prefix *aka-* conveys diminutiveness, and nouns that are normally associated with other classes may take the class 12 prefix (*umwáana* 'child', *akáana* 'small child'). Class 13 *utu-* alternates with the diminutive prefix. The class 12 prefix is also associated with some noun stems, all possibly small, that alternate with the class 14 prefix (*akayugi* 'centipede', *akasamĩna* 'scorpion').

5.2.8 Class 14

Most of the nouns in class 14 are abstract (*ubwáana* 'childhood', *ubúbi* 'badness'), or inherently plural referents (*ubwáanwa* 'moustache', *ubweene* 'finger millet'), non-solid substances (*ubúuku* 'honey', *ubwénga* 'brain') or names of regions (*Buha* 'the Ha land', *Buganda* 'Uganda'). These nouns do not alternate with any other prefixes. There is also a handful of inherently singular noun stems, which alternate with either class 6, 8, or 10 prefixes, and some stems that are plural by meaning when associated with class 14 alternate with either class 11 or 12 prefixes.

Class 14 may also be used to form adverbials (cf. section 7.1.6.1 in Syntax).

5.2.9 Class 15

As in many other Bantu languages, infinitives use class 15 prefixes in Ha, but usually without the augment. There are probably less than 10 non-infinitive nouns associated with the class 15 prefix, some body parts (*ugútwi* 'ear', *ukubóko* 'arm')

and *ukwéezi* 'month'.³² These nouns are singular and alternate with the class 6 prefix.

5.2.10 Class 16

Class 16 is a locative class, and there is only one noun stem, *ahantu* 'place', associated with this prefix. However, the prefixes are used quite widely with nouns of other classes, verbs and pronouns to denote location and time (cf. section 5.3.1 below).

5.2.11 Loan Words

Most of the loan words are taken from Swahili, which is the lingua franca and the language of primary education in the Ha area as well as in the whole country. These words are often originally from Arabic or English, but they have come to Ha typically with penultimate lengthening, caused by the penultimate stress of Swahili.

The loan verbs are adjusted into the morphophonological system of Ha. They do not have their own inflectional class like, for example, in Swahili, but they follow the normal inflections. For instance, the Swahili word *kushtaki* 'to accuse' (loan from Arabic) is *ugusítaaka* in Ha.

Loan nouns are normally assigned to either class 5 or 9, the noun class marker being only the augment *i-* for both classes. Thus the difference with class 5 and 9 nouns is in the concord prefixes, but with many loan noun stems these two classes are used interchangeably, without any difference in meaning. The plurals of these nouns are formed in classes 6 and 10. Loan words that refer to humans are usually assigned to class 1.

Sometimes the assignment of loan words into the noun classes follows phonetic criteria, i.e. the initial elements are re-analysed as the noun class prefix. For example, the word for book comes from Arabic (through Swahili). The first root consonant and the following vowel (*kitabun*) match the form of class 7 prefix, and leads to *iki+tabo* '(a) book', *ibi+tabo* 'books'.

5.3 Locatives

There is one proper locative noun class, i.e. class 16. This class has only one noun, but the concord prefixes are used extensively to denote place and time. Locative classes 17, 18, and 23 are not found as proper noun classes in Ha, but the concords of these nouns are used as secondary prefixes and verbal affixes. The connotations for Proto-Bantu locative classes (as reconstructed in Meeussen 1967) are 'on (surface)' for class 16, 'to, from, on (top)' for class 17, and 'in' for class 18. In addition to the locative concords, location can also be expressed with the applicative extension (cf. 7.3.2 in Syntax). The use of locative concords in invariables is described in the chapter on syntax (cf. 7.1.6.3).

³² According to Maho (1999), these are found in class 15 throughout the Bantu area.

5.3.1 Class 16

The noun class prefix of class 16 is *aha-*, and all the concord prefixes for class 16 are *ha-*.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (240) | <i>aha+ntu ha+iizá</i> | <i>ahantu heezá</i> |
| | CP16+'place' AP16+'good' | 'a good place' |
| (241) | <i>aho n+ha+pfu*+ir+a</i> | <i>Aho ndahápfíira.</i> |
| | 2DemP16 SP1ps+OP16+'die'+Appl+FV | 'There I can die.' |

The class prefix *aha-* may be used with some verb stems instead of the infinitive prefix *uku-*. The meaning of such nouns is a place characterised with the semantic content of the verb stem.

- | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|
| (242) | <i>aha+bon*+a ahabóna</i> |
| | CP16+'see'+FV 'an open place' |

The subject prefix of class 16 is often used in the presentative and existential construction 'there is' (243). In these clauses, the noun may be prefixed with class 17 or 18 prefixes (244), or the verb may be suffixed with any of the locative suffixes (245), but the subject prefix is always that of class 16. The concords of class 16 are also used with reference to time (246). The negative existential constructions are formed with the negative existential copula *ntaa* (cf. 6.1.6).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (243) | <i>keéra ha+ra+ba*+ye umu+aámi</i> | <i>Keéra harabáaye umwáámi.</i> |
| | 'long ago' SP16+Foc+'be'+Perf CP1+'king' | 'Once upon the time there was a king.' |
| (244) | <i>mu+uku+áaha ha+ra+z+a</i> | <i>Mukwáaha haraaza amasuúmbi.</i> |
| | Loc18+CP15+'armpit' SP16+Foc+'come'+FV | 'There are glands in the armpit.' |
| | <i>ama+suúmbi</i> | |
| | CP6+'gland' | |
| (245) | <i>ha+ri+mwó aba+ntu</i> | <i>Harimwó abantu murugereero.</i> |
| | SP16+'be'+Pro18 CP2+'person' | 'There are people at the market.' |
| | <i>mu+uru+gereero</i> | |
| | Loc18+CP11+'market' | |
| (246) | <i>ha+ra+shik+a iki+áanya</i> | <i>Harashika icháanya.</i> |
| | SP16+Foc+'arrive'+FV CP7+'time' | 'The time arrived.' |

The noun stem *-ha*, denoting the Ha people (*abaha*), their language (*igiha*), and their land (*Buha*), possibly originates from the locative class concords (Chubwa 1986:12, cf. also 1.1.).

The relative pronoun *ahó* (often without the augment, cf. 5.4.1 below) of class 16 indicates both location and time (247)-(249). The dependent substitutive *hó* (cf. 5.4.1 below) of class 16 can be suffixed to verbs or verbal copulas to mark a locative (250)-(251) or temporal object (252) (cf. section 7.1.1.3 in Syntax).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------------------|
| (247) | <i>aha+ntu hó+ba+shik+*+ir+ye</i> | <i>ahantu hóbashikiye</i> |
| | CP16+'place' RPro16+SP2+'arrive'+M2+Appl+Perf | 'the place where they arrived' |
| (248) | <i>hó+ba+sohor+*+a Mugunzu</i> | <i>hóbasohóra Mugunzu</i> |
| | RPro16+SP2+'arrive'+M2+FV PropN | 'when they arrive at Mugunzu' |

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (249) | kíra hó+ba+huur*+*+ye
'every' RPro16+SP2+'meet'+M2+Perf | kíra hóbahuuyé
'every time they met' |
| (250) | Buganda ba+á+ra+ichar+*+ye+hó
PropN SP2+RPast+Foc+'live'+M+Perf+Pro16
ama+éezi chénda
CP6+'month' 'ten' | Buganda baáriichayehó
'In Uganda they lived
améezi chénda.
for ten months.' |
| (251) | ha+ri+hó aya+ndi*
SP16+'be'+Pro16 CP6+'other' | Harihó ayándi?
'Is there anything else?' |
| (252) | uku+shik+a+hó
CP15+'arrive'+FV+Pro16 | gushikahó
'until' |

The class 16 prefixes are not used as secondary class prefixes as the prefixes of the other locative classes (cf. below), except in some lexicalised adverbs (cf. 7.1.1.3).

5.3.2 Classes 17 and 18

The concords *ku-* and *mu-* of locative classes 17 and 18 are used as secondary prefixes with nouns, giving the noun a locative meaning. The meaning of class 17 prefixes is 'to, on, for' (253)-(254). The augment is deleted after a locative prefix. Class 18 prefixes mean 'in, into, among' (255)-(256), also in reference to time (257)-(258). With words without the augment, the connexive *-a** is used in addition to the locative prefix (259)-(261).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (253) | ku+i+zfiko
Loc17+CP5+'fire place' | kuzfiko
'to/on the fire' |
| (254) | ku+aba*+zi+gomb+a
Loc17+SPRel2+OP10+'want'+FV | kubazígomba
'for those who want them' |
| (255) | mu+uru+sí
Loc18+CP11+'ground' | murúsi
'in the ground' |
| (256) | mu+ri+* ma+ínshi
Loc18+'be'+M2 AP6+'many' | murí ménshi
'among many (things)' |
| (257) | mu+iri i+júma
Loc18+1DemP5 CP5+'week' | mwiri júma
'this week' |
| (258) | mu+uku+ihumuur*+a
Loc18+CP15+'wash face'+FV | mukwífumuura
'while washing his face' |
| (259) | n+gend+*+e ku+a* Mariámu
SP1ps+'go'+M2+Subj Loc17+Con PropN | Ngendé kwa Máriámu.
'Let me go to Mariamu.' |
| (260) | ba+rim+a ku+a* Tunguhore
SP2+'cultivate'+FV Loc17+Con PropN | Barima kwa Túnguhore.
'They cultivate for Tunguhore.' |
| (261) | mu+a* Chiisohoye
Loc18+Con PropN | mwa Chíisohoye
'at Chisohoye's' |

Class 17 prefixes are often used to indicate manner in invariables formed with locatives (cf. 7.1.6.3), but also with some noun and adjective stems. For instance, *kuntu* 'how' is formed from the noun stem *-ntu* 'thing', and *kwínshi* 'a lot, really' is formed from the adjective stem *-ínshi* 'many'.

The relative pronouns *kó* and *mwó* of the locative classes 17 and 18 are used without the augment. As class 16 verbal affixes, these can be prefixed or suffixed to verbs or verbal copulas. The class 17 relative prefix marks progressive tense (262) (cf. section 6.1.7.1 in Verbal Morphology). The dependent substitutives suffixed to verbs mark locative relative clauses (263)-(264) and object location (265).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (262) | kó+tu+ra+kin*+a | kóturakína |
| | RPro17+SP1pp+Foc+'play'+FV | 'we are playing' |
| (263) | u+ronder+a+kó | uronderakó |
| | SP2ps+'look for'+FV+Pro17 | 'where you look for' |
| (264) | ku+rind+a iN+zu | kurinda inzu nĩbirĩmwó |
| | CP15+'guard'+FV CP9/10+'house' | 'to guard the house and what is in there' |
| | na*+ibi+ri+mwó | |
| | AI+SPRel8+'be'+Pro18 | |
| (265) | a+a+suk+ye+mwó ama+zi* | yasutsemwó amáazi |
| | SP1+Past+'pour'+Perf+Pro18 CP6+'water' | 'she poured in the water' |

5.3.3 Class 23

The class 23 concord prefixes are especially used in reference to places that have some special relevance in the context, e.g. the places that are thought of as the home area or home country (266). Some other names of places may also use class 23 prefixes, often as secondary prefixes (267)-(268). Class 23 prefixes also frequently occur with the possessive pronouns that denote 'our place, our area' (269).

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (266) | iN+táara yi+a*+i+Kibondo | intáara yĩKibondo |
| | CP9/10+'area' DP9+Con+CP23+'Kibondo' | 'the area of Kibondo' |
| (267) | nga*+aha i+ubu+ha | ngaáha Ibuha |
| | PI+1DemP16 Loc23+CP14+'Ha' | 'here in Ha land' |
| (268) | i+muhíra | imuhíra |
| | Loc23+'home' (from NCL3 noun *-híra) | 'at home' |
| (269) | háno i+u+a*+chu | háno iwáachu |
| | 3DemP16 Loc23+DP3+Con+Poss1pp | 'here in our area' |

The lexicalised locative adverbs formed with any of the locative prefixes have the class 23 prefixes in their determiners (270)-(271). The demonstrative pronouns of class 23 are used to indicate location, in general (272).

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (270) | ha+i+juru i+a*+iki+bambaazi | hejuru yĩkibambaazi |
| | Loc16+CP5+'sky' DP23+Con+CP7+'pillar' | 'on the pillar' |
| (271) | mu+i+sí i+a*+iN+méeza | muusí yĩméeza |
| | Loc18+CP9/10+'ground' DP23+Con+CP9/10+'table' | 'under the table' |
| (272) | íno ní uru+táre ídya ní uru+táre | Íno ní urutáre, idyá ní urutáre. |
| | 3DemP23 Cop CP11+'rock' 4DemP23 Cop CP11+'rock' | 'This way there is a rock, that way there is a rock.' |

The relative pronoun *iyó* (273) and the dependent substitutive *yó* (274) of class 23 are used in a similar manner as those of the other locative classes.

- (273) *ba+á+ra+tu+baz*+*+ye* Baáratúbajije yótuvá.
 SP2+RPast+Foc+OP1pp+'ask'+M+Perf 'They asked us where we come from.'
yó+tu+vu++a*
 RPro23+SP1pp+'come'+M2+FV
- (274) *ino ha+ri+yó ama+buye ma+ínshi* Inó hariyó amabuye ménshi.
 3DemP23 SP16+'be'+Pro23 CP6+'stone' AP6+'many' 'There are lots of stones here.'

5.4 Pronouns

The pronouns form quite a varied set of determiners and proforms. Most of the pronouns make use of the full concord system and take the determiner prefixes according to the noun they modify.

5.4.1 Substitutives

The independent substitutives are formed with the stem *-eéne* and the determiner prefix. They are used as personal pronouns, but mainly for emphasis and/or contrast, since the verbs are obligatorily prefixed with subject prefixes (SP) and optionally with object prefixes (OP).

- (275) *u+eéne nti+a+meny+*+a* Weéne ntamenyá.
 DP1+Pro Neg+SP1+'know'+M2+FV 'He does not know.'
- (276) *bi+eéne bi+ra+karih*+ye* Vyeéne birakárishe.
 DP8+Pro SP8+Foc+'be sharp'+Perf 'They are sharp.'

In addition to the independent substitutives, there are dependent substitutives that are used in several different constructions. The dependent substitutives are formed with the pronominal stem *-ó* and the determiner prefix (cf. Table 12). A class 1 dependent substitutive is irregular, in class 2 the dependent substitutive has an irregular form with some pronouns (cf. below).

The dependent substitutives are often used with the associative index *na** (cf. 7.1.6.2). The construction then means 'and it/he/they, with it/him/them' (277). It can also mark emphasis (278)-(279). The negative existential copula *ntaa* with the substitutive is used in negating a clause (280) or for 'nothing' (281). In locative constructions, both the independent (282) and the dependent substitutives (283) can be used.

- (277) *ibi+húgo na*+vyó bi+ra+hinduk+a* Ibihúgo navyó birahinduka.
 CP8+'country' AI+Pro8 SP8+Foc+'change'+FV 'The countries change, too.'
- (278) *ama+chúngwa na*+yó* Amachúngwa nayó sindáayádyá.
 CP6+'orange' AI+Pro6
nti+n+ráa+ya+ri+a*
 Neg+SP1ps+Ant+OP6+'eat'+FV 'However, I have not eaten oranges.'
- (279) *uku+gamb+a chááne* Kugamba chááne
 CP15+'speak'+FV 'a lot' 'To speak a lot
sí+kwó uku+ya+mar+a sikwó kuyamara.
 CopN+Pro15 CP15+OP6+'finish'+FV 'is not to finish it.'

- (280) *tu+a+mu+ha*+ye ubu+gari* , Twamuháaye ubugari,
 SP1pp+Past+OP1+'give'+Perf CP14+'ugali' 'We gave him ugali,
aríko ntaa+bwó a+a+gomb++a* aríko ntaabwó yagombá.
 'but' NegEx+Pro14 SP1+Past+'want'+M2+FV but he did not want it.'
- (281) *ntaa+chó a+fise+** Ntaachó afisé.
 NegEx+Pro7 SP1+'have'+M2 'He has nothing (lit. there is not that he has).'
- (282) *mu+ri+* ri+eéne* murí dyeéne
 Loc18+'be'+M2 DP5+Pro 'in it'
- (283) *mu+ri+*+zó iN+butó* murízo imbutó
 Loc18+'be'+M2+Pro10 CP9/10+'seed' 'among these seeds'

Class	Independent substitutive	Dependent substitutive	Relative pronoun
1	weéne	wé	uwó
2	beéne	bó/bé	abó
3	weéne	wó	uwó
4	yeéne	yó	iyó
5	dyeéne	dyó	idyó
6	yeéne	yó	ayó
7	cheéne	chó	ichó
8	vyeéne	vyó	ivyó
9	yeéne	yó	iyó
10	zeéne	zó	izó
11	gweéne	gwó	ugwó
12	keéne	kó	akó
13	tweéne	twó	utwó
14	bweéne	bwó	ubwó
15	kweéne	kó/kwó	ukó
16	heéne	hó	ahó
17		kó	ukó
18		mwó	
23		yó	iyó

Table 12: Independent and dependent substitutives and relative pronouns

The dependent substitutives are also used in possessive constructions (cf. section 5.4.2 below), and with some other pronominal stems (cf. section 5.4.4 below). The dependent substitutives of the locative classes are used as verbal suffixes (cf. section 5.3 above).

Singular and plural participants have special substitutive forms as well as the subject and object prefixes.

	Independent substitutive	Dependent substitutive	Subject prefix	Object prefix
1. person sg.	jewé	je/nje	n-	n-
2. person sg.	wewé	we	u-	ku-
1. person pl.	twebwé	twe	tu-	tu-
2. person pl.	mwemwé	mwe	mu-	ba-

Table 13: Singular and plural participant substitutives and corresponding subject and object prefixes

The dependent substitutives with an augment (which, however, is deleted if not phrase-initial) form relative pronouns (cf. Table 12). These pronouns are segmentally identical to the second series of the demonstrative pronouns (cf. 5.4.3 below), but they have an accent on the stem.

- (284) ibi+ríibwa ivyó+ba+ri*+*+a ibiríibwa vyóbadyá
 CP8+'food' RPro8+SP2+'eat'+M2+FV 'the food that they eat'
- (285) umu+áanya uwó+tu+ichar+*+an+ye umwáanya wótwicháranye
 CP3+'time' RPro3+SP1pp+'live'+M2+Rec+Perf 'the time that we lived together'
- (286) ahó+uku+ichar+a ahókwichara
 RPro16+CP15+'sit'+FV 'where to sit'

5.4.2 Possessives

The connexive *-a** forms possessive constructions, and it takes determiner prefixes according to the noun class of the possessed, which precedes the connexive. The possessor follows the connexive. The vowel of the connexive is deleted before an augment (287). Before the infinitive prefix *ku-*, the connexive is of the form *-o** (288). (Cf. section 7.1.1.2 in the chapter on syntax for syntactic means for marking possession and section 7.1.1.3 for other functions of the connexive.)

- (287) aba+óoroozi ba+a*+iN+gurube abóoroozi bíngurube
 CP2+'herder' DP2+Con+CP9/10+'pig' 'herders of pigs'
- (288) iki+he ki+a*+uku+suuguur+a igihe chógusuuguura
 CP7+'time' DP7+Con+CP15+'harvest'+FV 'time of the harvest'

The connexive is used in possessive pronouns. The pronoun is formed with the determiner prefix of the possessed, the connexive and the dependent substitutive of the possessor (289)-(290). Sometimes the possessive forms are formed with the connexive and the independent substitutive *-ééne* (291).

- (289) imi+gezi na*+iN+sóoko zi+a*+yó imigezi nínsóoko záayo
 CP4+'river' AI+CP9/10+'spring' DP10+Con+Pro4 'the rivers with their springs'
- (290) iN+nyúngu zi+a*+vyó inyúngu záavyo
 CP9/10+'benefit' DP10+Con+Pro8 'their (e.g. of the animals, NCL8) benefits'

- (291) umu+twé u+a*+u+eéne umútwe wawéene
 CP3+'head' DP3+Con+DP3+Pro 'the head of it (e.g. a mountain, NCL3)'

There are special possessive stems for the third person singular and all the plural participants. The first and second person singular possessive forms are regularly constructed with the independent substitutes.

	singular	plural
1. person	-a*-nje	-a*-chu
2. person	-a*-we	-a*-nyu
3. person	-a*-ge	-a*-bu

Table 14: Singular and plural participant possessive forms

- (292) iki+tabo ki+a*+nje igitabo cháanje
 CP7+'book' DP7+Con+Poss1ps 'my book'
- (293) ibi+tabo bi+a*+bu ibitabo vyáabu
 CP8+'book' DP8+Con+Poss3pp 'their books'

The possessive pronouns of the participants may be suffixed directly to some nouns denoting humans, mainly kinship terms. The determiner prefix of the possessive is then left out.

- (294) umu+kóobwa+nje umukóobwaanje
 CP1+'daughter'+Poss1ps 'my daughter'
- (295) umu+íshwa+we umwíshwaawe
 CP1+'nephew'+Poss2ps 'your nephew'

The possessive pronouns of the participants are nominalised with the class 3 determiner prefix (*u-*) and class 23 locative (*i-*) prefix (cf. 5.3.3 above). Literally, they mean 'my place, your place, etc.', but they are also used as possessive pronouns which do not have a head noun.

	singular	plural
1. person	iwáanje	iwáachu
2. person	iwáawe	iwáanyu
3. person	iwáage	iwáabu

Table 15: The nominalised forms of the possessive pronouns

- (296) ní bi+i+u+a*+chu Ni vyíwáachu.
 Cop DP8+Loc23+DP3+Con+Poss1pp 'They are ours.'
- (297) ku+bi+i+u+a*+ge kuvyiwáage
 Loc17+DP8+Loc23+DP3+Con+Poss3ps 'on his own, alone'

5.4.3 Demonstrative pronouns

The semantic system of demonstrative pronouns is fairly complex. The demonstrative pronouns are used to express proximity and non-proximity of location, but often the aspects of discourse have to be taken into account: the choice of the demonstrative pronoun indicates not only concrete and metaphorical proximity but it can also be used to emphasise the most relevant discourse items. The demonstrative pronouns precede the noun they modify, and the augment of the following noun is deleted after a demonstrative pronoun.

There are five series of demonstrative pronouns. These pronouns are formed with the determiner prefixes and the pronoun stem. The sound alternations are regular (as described in the chapter on segmental phonology). Class 1 pronouns have the exceptional *u-* prefix. The demonstrative stems correspond to the five types of demonstratives reconstructed for Proto-Bantu by Meeussen (1967).

	1	2	3	4	5
1	uyu/uwu	uyo/uwo	unó	udyá	wáa
2	aba	abo	báno	bádyá	báa
3	uyu/uwu	uyo/uwo	unó/gúno	udyá/gúdyá	wáa/gwáa
4	iyi	iyo	inó	idyá	yáa
5	iri	idyo	ríno	rídyá	dyáa
6	aya	ayo	yáno	yádyá	yáa
7	iki	icho	kíno	kídyá	cháa
8	ibi	ivyo	bíno	bídyá	vyáa
9	iyi	iyo	inó	idyá	yáa
10	izi	izo	zíno	zídyá	nzáa/záa
11	uru	ugwo	rúno	rúdyá	gwáa
12	aka	ako	káno	kádyá	káa
13	utu	utwo	túno	túdyá	twáa
14	ubu	ubwo	búno	búdyá	bwáa
15	uku	uko	kúno	kúdyá	kwáa
16	aha	aho	háno	hádyá	háa
23			inó	idyá	yáa

Table 16: *Ha* demonstrative pronouns

The first type of demonstrative pronouns (1DemP) is the most common proximal demonstrative pronoun, used for referents that are nearby. It can often be translated into English as 'this' or 'these'. The speakers of *Ha* describe this demonstrative as that used for referents that the speaker holds or touches.

Although the first series of demonstrative pronouns is formed with the determiner prefix, it is not used as a prefix but as the stem of the pronoun. An initial vowel³³, identical with the stem vowel, precedes the stem. If the stem consists of a vowel only, -y- is added between the vowels (in class 1 and 3 sometimes the semi-vowel between the vowels is -w-). The Proto-Bantu correlate 'this' is characterised as V-PP (vowel of the following element - pronominal prefix).

- (298) izi iN+kokó izi nkokó
 1DemP10 CP9/10+'hen' 'these hens'
- (299) mu+izi imi+sí mwizi mísi
 Loc18+1DemP10 CP4+'day' 'nowadays'

The second type of demonstrative pronoun (2DemP) is less proximal than the first demonstrative pronoun. The Proto-Bantu correlate is described as a pronoun referring to referents near to the one spoken to or to referents already mentioned. Ha speakers say that this pronoun is used for referents that are a bit further away, so that the speaker cannot touch them but can point at them. It is often used for referents commonly known or just mentioned.

The second series of demonstrative pronouns is formed so that the final vowel of type 1 pronoun is changed to -o (Proto-Bantu V-PP-o). Some sound alternations take place as, they normally would, before a vowel-initial root, i.e. in *u*-final prefixes the consonant is labialised, in *i*-final prefixes the consonant is palatalised, and the final -a of prefixes is deleted.

- (300) iyo iN+horé iyo mporé
 2DemP9 CP9/10+'information' 'that information'
- (301) ayo ama+héra ayo mahéra
 2DemP6 CP6+'money' 'that money'

Type three demonstrative pronouns (3DemP) are described by the speakers as referring to things that the speaker holds. They indicate stronger emphasis than type one demonstratives, and are, thus, proximal. The corresponding Proto-Bantu demonstrative is translated as 'this', something that is close to the speaker. These pronouns are formed with the determiner prefix and the stem -nó (Proto-Bantu PP-nó). There is an accent on the prefix of the pronoun (302)-(303), which is shifted to the stem if the prefix is only a vowel (304).

- (302) zíno iN+nyáanya zíno nyáanya
 3DemP10 CP9/10+'tomato' 'these tomatoes'
- (303) yáno ama+karataási yáno makárataási
 3DemP6 CP6+'paper' 'these papers'
- (304) íno ní uru+tare inó ní urutare
 3DemP23 Cop CP11+'rock' 'this way there is a rock'

Type four demonstrative pronouns (4DemP) are distal. These can often be translated into English as 'that' or 'those'. The speakers of Ha describe these as

³³ Not an augment since this vowel is not deleted, for example, after a locative prefix as the augments.

pronouns that refer to things that are far away and cannot be seen by the speaker. The Proto-Bantu correlate (PP-díá) has the meaning 'that (over there)'. The stem of this pronoun is *-dyá* (*-yá* in some dialects), and it is used with determiner prefixes. The accent is on the prefix (305), and it is shifted to the stem if the prefix consists of a vowel only (306).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (305) | <i>gúdyá umu+dyángo</i> | <i>gúdyá mudyángo</i> |
| | 4DemP3 CP3+'door' | 'that door' |
| (306) | <i>ídyá iN+nyáabu</i> | <i>idyá nyáabu</i> |
| | 4DemP9 CP9/10+'cat' | 'that cat' |

The fifth demonstrative pronoun (5DemP) is a discourse pronoun, labelled as 'a weak anaphoric' in Proto-Bantu. It is also used in Ha mainly in narratives to refer to the main participants, most often animate. It can be translated into English as the definite article. The stem of this demonstrative is *-áa*, and it takes the determiner prefix (in Proto-Bantu only PP).

- | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------------------|
| (307) | <i>ba+fuuhur*+a wáa umu+sóre</i> | <i>Bafuuhura wáa musóre</i> |
| | SP2+'bless'+FV 5DemP3 CP3+'teenage boy' | 'They blessed the boy |
| | <i>na*+yáa iN+kúmi</i> | <i>nayáa nkúmi.</i> |
| | AI+5DemP9 CP9/10+'teenage girl' | and the girl.' |

5.4.4 Other pronouns

There are several other pronouns that are inflected. These determiners are used either with the head noun or independently. There are also some determiner stems that are not inflected but they co-occur with a noun or another pronoun.

5.4.4.1 Inflected pronouns

The pronouns stem *-se** 'all' occurs in several different constructions. It is prefixed with the dependent substitutive. The vowel of the substitutive is lengthened and the tone is spread to both moras of the lengthened vowel. *-se** with singular substitutives means 'the whole, every, each' (308)-(309), and 'all' with plural substitutives (310)-(312). 'Both' is formed with *-se** and the numeral *-bíri* 'two' (313), and *-se** with a reduplicated substitutive means 'any, whatever' (314).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (308) | <i>umu+ríma wó+se*</i> | <i>umuríma wóóse</i> |
| | CP3+'field' Pro3+'all' | 'the whole field' |
| (309) | <i>wé+se*</i> | <i>wéése</i> |
| | Pro1+'all' | 'everyone' |
| (310) | <i>ama+gambo yó+se*</i> | <i>amagambo yóóse</i> |
| | CP6+'speech' Pro6+'all' | 'all the speeches' |
| (311) | <i>twe+se*</i> | <i>twéése</i> |
| | Pro1pp+'all' | 'we all' |
| (312) | <i>mwe+se*</i> | <i>mwéése</i> |
| | Pro2pp+'all' | 'you all' |
| (313) | <i>bó+se* ba+bíri</i> | <i>bóóse babíri</i> |
| | Pro2+'all' DP2+'two' | 'both (of them, cl.2)' |

- (314) iki+tabo ch6+ch6+se* igitabo choch66se
 CP7+'book' Redupl+Pro7+'all' 'whichever book'

-mwé is actually the numeral 'one', but its meaning is often also 'same, certain', with determiner prefixes (315)-(317). It can also be used with plural determiner prefixes, and, thus, the meaning is 'some, a few' (318).

- (315) umu+sí u+mwé umúsi umwé
 CP3+'day' DP3+'one' 'one (a certain) day'
- (316) ní iki+ntu ki+mwé Ni ikintu kimwé.
 Cop CP7+'thing' DP7+'one' 'It is the same (thing).'
- (317) ha+mwé hamwé
 DP16+'one' 'near (in one place), probably'
- (318) aba+ntu ba+mwé abantu bamwé
 CP2+'person' DP2+'one' 'some people'

There are several interrogative stems that are inflected. *-ndé* with the determiner prefix means 'who, what, what kind of' (319). In class 1 there is no prefix (320). From the same stem *-ndé*, with the connexive *-a**, a class 3 determiner prefix and a class 23 locative prefix, *-iwándé* 'whose' is formed (321) (cf. nominalised pronouns in section 5.4.2).

- (319) aba ní ba+ndé Aba ní bandé?
 1DemP2 Cop DP2+'who' 'Who are these?'
- (320) uyu umu+gabo ní+ndé Uyu mugabo nindé?
 1DemP1 CP1+'man' Cop+'who' 'Who is that man?'
- (321) iki iki+tabo ní Iki gitabo ní chíwandé?
 1DemP7 CP7+'book' Cop 'Whose book is this?'
 ki+a*+i+u+a*+ndé
 DP7+Con+Loc23+DP3+Con+'who'

The connexive *-a** is also used with the interrogative *-hé*. The form is prefixed with the determiner prefix, and means 'which, what' (322). The vowel preceding *-hé* is lengthened. *-ngáahé* 'how much/many' possibly has the same question marker *-hé*, but it is synchronically unanalysable (323).

- (322) iki+jíjiji ki+a*+hé Ikijíjiji cháahé?
 CP7+'village' DP7+Con+'what' 'Which village?'
- (323) aba+ána ba+ngáahé Abána bangáahé?
 CP2+'child' DP2+'how many' 'How many children?'

The interrogative *-kí* 'what' is used with the class prefixes (324), the class prefix being that of class 5, if the noun class of the head noun is not known (325). With the locative class 17 prefix it means 'why' (326), and with the connexive *-a** 'what kind of' (327)-(328).

- (324) ibi ní ibi+kí Ibi ní ibikí?
 1DemP8 Cop CP8+'what' 'What are these?'

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (325) | u+gomb+a i+kí
SP2ps+'want'+FV CP5+'what' | Ugomba ikí?
'What do you want?' |
| (326) | ku+kí
Loc17+'what' | Gukí?
'Why, for what?' |
| (327) | Ní iki+tabo ki+a*+i+kí
Cop CP7+'book' DP7+Con+CP5+'what' | Ni igitabo chiiki?
'What kind of a book is it?' |
| (328) | iri ní i+duúka ri+a*+i+kí
1DemP5 Cop CP5+'shop' DP5+Con+CP5+'what' | Iri ní iduúka dyiiki?
'What kind of a shop is this?' |

The pronoun *-ndi** 'other' also takes the class prefix, except that the prefix is *uwu-* for classes 1 and 3. The accent of the pronoun is realised on the vowel of the prefix. *-ndi** precedes the noun it modifies, and the augment of the noun is deleted.

- | | | |
|-------|--|---------------------------------|
| (329) | uwu+ndi* umu+sí
CP3+'other' CP3+'day' | uwúndi músi
'another day' |
| (330) | izi+ndi* iN+táara
CP10+'other' CP9/10+'place' | izíndi ntáara
'other places' |

Some forms of *-ndi** have special usage.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (331) | ejó búndi
ukúndi
kwa kúndi
kándi | 'day before yesterday/day after tomorrow (cl. 14)'
'in another way (cl. 17)'
'in the same way (cl. 17)'
'and, also (cl. 12)' |
|-------|---|---|

The pronouns *-nyéne* 'oneself' and *-nka* 'alone' are preceded by the dependent substitutives (332)-(333). The vowel of the substitutive is lengthened with *-nyéne*, and the substitutives that do not have an accent also receive an accent. When used with the independent substitutive, *nyéne* means 'oneself' (334).

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (332) | wé+nyéne
Pro1+'oneself' | wéenyéne
'he alone/by himself' |
| (333) | wé+nka
Pro1+'alone' | wénka
'he alone/by himself' |
| (334) | weéne nyéne
DP1+Pro 'oneself' | weéne nyéne
'he himself' |

5.4.4.2 Uninflected pronominal forms

Some pronouns are not inflected, but always occur with the head noun. These are *kíra* 'every' (335)-(336), *burú* 'each' (used only with *umuntu* 'person') (337), and *nya** 'certain' (338). The accent of *nya** is realised on the following syllable.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (335) | kíra umu+ntu
'every' CP1+'person' | kíra muntu
'every person' |
| (336) | kíra iki+tabo
'every' CP7+'book' | kíra gitabo
'every book' |

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (337) | burú umu+ntu | burú muntu |
| | 'each' CP1+'person' | 'each person' |
| (338) | nya* umu+góre | nya múgore |
| | 'certain' CP1+'woman' | 'that (certain) woman' |

5.5 Adjectives

As typical for Bantu languages, there are only a few adjectives in Ha. These adjectives emanate from Proto-Bantu roots and occur in many other Bantu languages as well. Semantically, they match the cross-linguistic consistency of the meanings a closed class of adjectives tends to express, i.e. value, age, dimensions, etc. The range of meaning of each adjective is typically rather wide. Most of the typical adjectival meanings are expressed with verbs and nouns (cf. sections 7.1.1.3 and 7.1.5.1 in Syntax).

-bí	'bad'
-bísi	'raw'
-gúfi	'short'
-iizá/-iíza	'good'
-ké/-kéeyi	'a little, few'
-kúru	'great'
-níni	'big, large'
-ré-re	'long' (always reduplicated)
-sa	'empty'
-shaásha	'new'
-sóre ³⁴	'good'
-tó/-tóoyi/-tóori ³⁵	'small, little, young'

The adjectives take the adjective prefixes according to the noun class of the noun they modify or refer to. In most of the classes the adjective prefixes are identical to the class prefix, but without the augment.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (339) | umu+áana mu+tóoyi | umwáana mutóoyi |
| | CP1+'child' AP1+'small' | 'a small child' |
| (340) | umu+dyángo mu+bí | umudyángo mubí |
| | CP3+'door' AP3+'bad' | 'a bad door' |
| (341) | iki+tabo ki+shaásha | igitabo kishaásha |
| | CP7+'book' AP7+'new' | 'a new book' |

³⁴ Used in Kasulu and Kigoma.

³⁵ -tóoyi in Kibondo, -tóori in Kasulu

- (342) iyi iN+zu ní n+iizá Iyi nzu ní nyiizá.
 1DemP9 CP9/10+ 'house' Cop AP9+ 'good' 'This house is good.'

The adjective *-ré-re* 'long' is always reduplicated, and the vowel of the first part is lengthened (343). Other adjectives may also be reduplicated whereupon the meaning is enforced (344)-(345).

- (343) iki+gáaniiro ki+ré+ki+ré ikigáaniiro kiréekire
 CP7+ 'conversation' AP7+ 'long'+AP7+Redupl 'a long conversation'
 (344) umu+uunyu mu+ké+mu+ké umuunyu mukéemuke
 CP3+ 'salt' AP3+ 'a little'+AP3+Redupl 'a little bit of salt'
 (345) umu+áana mu+tó+mu+tó umwáana mutóomuto
 CP1+ 'child' AP1+ 'little'+AP1+Redupl 'a thin/very small child'

The quantifier *-ínshi* 'many, a lot' also takes adjectival prefixes.

- (346) aba+óoroozi ba+ínshi abóoroozi bénshi
 CP2+ 'herdsman' AP2+ 'many' 'many herdsmen'
 (347) ka+ínshi kénshi
 AP12+ 'many' 'often, many times'

Adjective stems are also used in adverb formation, see section 7.1.6.1 in the chapter on syntax.

5.6 Numerals

Only the words for numbers 1-5 and *-tandátu* 'six' are proper numerals. They are inflected and take the determiner prefixes (except that the numeral prefix of class 6 is sometimes *a-* instead of *ya-*). All the other concepts for numbers are nouns, which, however, are used in a way that is not possible for other nouns, i.e. as juxtaposed modifiers.

Numerals 1-5 correspond to those of Proto-Bantu, as reconstructed by Meeussen (1967). *-tandátu* could be derived from *-taanu* and *-tatu* (5+3), but the meaning has been shifted to 'six'.³⁶

1	-mwé	umúsi umwé	'one day'
2	-bíri	izo súka zibíri	'those two hoes'
3	-tatu	impúsha zitatu	'three weeks'
4	-nné	amachúmi anné	'forty (four tens)'
5	-taanu	imirongo itaanu	'fifty (five tens)'
6	mukaága	imibágwa mukaága	'six days'
6	-tandátu	imibágwa zitandátu	'six days'
7	mushanju	abo bantu mushanju	'those seven people'
7	indwi	abo bantu indwi	'those seven people'

³⁶ Hurford (1975:234) describes, but does not explain, this shift for other Bantu languages, as well as some other rather peculiar shifts and variation in the meaning of numerals in other languages. In BLR2 'six' is reconstructed as *tandatU*.

8	munaáni	imirongo, munaáni	'eighty (eight tens)'
9	chénda	améezi chénda	'nine months'

For the numeral meanings 'six' and 'seven', there are two different words of which *mukaága* and *mushanju* are preferred in the Kibondo area and *-tandátu* and *indwi* in the Kasulu area. *mukaága*, *mushanju* and *munaáni* have the form of class three nouns, though without the augment. *indwi* is a class 9 noun³⁷ and *ichénda* a class 7 noun, also often without the augment.³⁸

The terms for tens, hundred, thousand, hundred thousand, and million are nouns:

10	ichúmi/amachúmi	NCL 5/6
	imirongo	NCL 4
50	igwitaanu ³⁹	
60	urukaága	NCL 11
70	urushanju	NCL 11
	irindwi	NCL 5
80	urunaáne	NCL 11
	inaáne	NCL 5
90	ugwénda	NCL 11
100	ijana/amajana	NCL 5/6
1000	igihumbi/ibihumbi	NCL 7/8
100,000	iráaki	NCL 9/10
	ikinono/ibinono	NCL 7/8
	imízo	NCL 4
1,000,000	imírioni	NCL 9/10
	urúzo	NCL 11

Both stems for 'ten', *-chúmi* and *-rongo*, have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (BLR2). *Ichúmi* is most often used with numbers 11-19, *imirongo* with numbers from 20 on.

50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 are all from the roots of the corresponding numerals 5-9. Class 11 is most often used as the noun class for these nouns meaning tens. These nouns are not used in plural.

³⁷ The form of prefix could also be that of class 5. Since this noun is not modified with, e.g. adjectives, the difference between classes 5 and 9 is not visible. However, the word for 'seventy' is *irindwi*, with the prefix *iri-*, which is the older form of the class 5 prefix (see 5.1 above).

³⁸ A possible Proto-Bantu reconstruction for *ichenda* is *jenda in class 5 (BLR2), and this class would suit the form of the noun in Ha. However, the word *ugwenda* 'ninety' seems to be from the same root *-enda*, with the class 11 prefix.

³⁹ The prefix *igw-* is not found in the prefix inventory of Ha. This could be a shortening of *mirongwitaanu* (*imirongo itaanu*) 'fifty (lit. tens five)'.

20, 30, and 40 are expressed with the *amachúmi/imirongo* 'ten' + the appropriate numeral 2-4 (inflected according to *amachúmi/imirongo*). 50, 60, 70, 80, and 90 are, alternatively, also expressed this way.

(348) ama+chúmi a+bíri/imi+rongo i+bíri amachúmi abíri/imirongo ibíri
CP6+'ten' NumP6+'two'/CP4+'ten' DP4+'two' 'twenty'

(349) ama+chúmi a+taanu/imi+rongo i+taanu amachúmi ataanu/imirongo itaanu
CP6+'ten' NumP6+'five'/CP4+'ten' DP4+'five' 'fifty'

11-19 are formed with *ichumi* + *na** + number 1-9, prefixed (numbers 1-6) with the DP of the noun the number refers to.

(350) iN+nyáabu i+chúmi na*+zi+bíri inyáabu ichúmi nazíbiri
CP9/10+'cat' CP5+'ten' AI+DP10+'two' 'twelve cats'

(351) ibi+tabo i+chúmi na*+bi+bíri ibitabo ichúmi nabíbiri
CP8+'book' CP5+'ten' AI+DP8+'two' 'twelve books'

21-29, 31-39, etc. are expressed with *amachúmi/imirongo* + number 1-9 (inflected according to *amachúmi/imirongo*) + *na** + number 1-9 (inflected according to the noun the number modifies).

(352) imi+rongo i+taanu na*+zi+taanu imirongo itaanu nazítaanu
CP4+'ten' DP4+'five' AI+DP10+'five' 'fifty five (cl. 10 nouns)'

Hundreds and thousands are expressed with the nouns, possibly combined with the numerals.

(353) ama+jana a+bíri amajana abíri
CP6+'hundred' NumP6+'two' 'two hundred'

(354) ibi+humbi mukaága ibihumbi mukaága
CP8+'thousand' 'six' 'six thousand'

(355) i+jana na*+ama+chúmi a+taanu ijana námachúmi ataanu
CP5+'hundred' AI+CP6+'ten' NumP6+'five' 'a hundred and fifty'

Here is a summary of the Ha numeral system:

11	10 + 1
19	10 + 9
20	10 x 2
21	10 x 2 + 1
30	10 x 3
31	10 x 3 + 1
40	10 x 4
50	50 / 10 x 5
51	10 x 5 + 1
90	90 / 10 x 9
200	100 x 2
202	100 x 2 + 2
222	100 x 2 + 10 x 2 + 2

When counting the numeral 'one' has a class 5 prefix, the other numerals a class 12 prefix. The nouns with a numeral meaning have only their class prefix, i.e. there is no augment.

1	rimwé
2	kabíri
3	gatatu
4	kanné
5	gataanu
6	mukaága / katandátu
7	mushanju / indwi
8	munaáni
9	chénda
10	chúmi

The ordinal numbers are formed with the connexive *-a**, which takes the prefix according to the noun it modifies. The nouns *imbere* (often without the augment) 'front' (356), the verb *ukubanza* 'to start' are used for 'the first' (357), and the noun *inyuma* (often without the augment) 'back' is used to express 'the last' (358). From 'the second' on, the numbers in counting are used (359)-(362). The numerals from 2 to 6 use the prefix *ka-* (determiner prefix for class 12).

(356)	umu+ <i>sí</i> u+a*+iN+bere	umúsi wambére
	CP3+'day' DP3+Con+CP9/10+'front'	'the first day'
(357)	iki+suso ki+a*+uku+banz+a	igisuso chókubanza
	CP7+'example' DP7+Con+CP15+'start'+FV	'the first example'
(358)	umu+ <i>sí</i> u+a*+iN+nyuma	umúsi wanyúma
	CP3+'day' DP3+Con+CP9/10+'back'	'the last day'
(359)	umu+áaka u+a*+ka+tatu	umwáaka wagátatu
	CP3+'year' DP3+Con+DP12+'three'	'the third year'
(360)	umu+ <i>sí</i> u+a*+ka+tandatu	umúsi wakátandatu
	CP3+'day' DP3+Con+DP12+'six'	'the sixth day'
(361)	uku+éezi ku+a*+munaáne	ukwéezi kwamúnaáne
	CP15+'month' DP15+Con+'eight'	'the eight month'
(362)	umu+ <i>sí</i> u+a*+chumi na*+chénda	umúsi wachúmi nachénda
	CP3+'day' DP3+Con+'ten' AI+'nine'	'the nineteenth day'

The reduplicated numerals are used for 'one by one' etc. (363)-(365), as well as in some temporal expressions (366). The numerals with class 12 prefixes function as multiplicatives (367).

(363)	ki+mwé ki+mwé	kimwé kimwé
	DP7+'one' DP7+'one'	'one by one (of cl.7 nouns)'
(364)	zi+bíri zi+bíri	zibiri zíbiri
	DP10+'two' DP10+'two'	'two by two, two at a time, two each'

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (365) | zi+taanu zi+taanu | zitaanu zítaanu |
| | DP10+'five' DP10+'five' | 'five by five, five each' |
| (366) | ri+mwé ri+mwé | rimwé rimwé |
| | DP5+'one' DP5+'one' | 'every now and then' |
| (367) | ka+tatu ku+i+zúuba | gatatu kuzúuba |
| | DP12+'three' Loc17+CP5+'sun' | 'three times a day' |

5.7 Derivation of nouns

Nouns are derived from other nouns by adding affixes or by changing the noun class prefix, from adjectives by adding noun class prefixes, and from verbs by adding nominal suffixes and/or prefixes.

5.7.1 Nouns stems switched to other noun classes

Some noun stems commonly occur in different noun classes forming a series of semantically related nouns. Some noun stems that denote ethnic or national identity when associated with classes 1/2 prefixes denote language when associated with class 7 prefix and region with class 14 prefix.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| (368) | umu+ha/aba+ha | umuha/abaha |
| | CP1+'Ha'/CP2+'Ha' | 'Ha person/Ha people' |
| | iki+ha | igiha |
| | CP7+'Ha' | 'Ha language' |
| | ubu+ha | Buha |
| | CP14+'Ha' | 'the Ha country' |

The common Bantu root *-ntu* occurs in the following classes:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| (369) | umu+ntu/abá+ntu | umuntu/abantu |
| | CP1+'person'/CP2+'person' | 'human being/people' |
| | iki+ntu/ibi+ntu | ikintu/ibintu |
| | CP7+'thing'/CP8+'thing' | 'thing/things' |
| | aha+ntu | ahantu |
| | CP16+'place' | 'place' |
| | ku+ntu | kuntu |
| | Loc17+'thing' | 'how' |

Some noun stems denoting plants are associated with classes 3/4 prefix with the meaning 'tree, plant' and with classes 5/6 prefixes with the meaning 'fruit':

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|-----------------------|
| (370) | umu+chúngwa | umuchúngwa/imichúngwa |
| | CP3+'orange' | 'orange tree/trees' |
| | i+chúngwa | ichúngwa/amachúngwa |
| | CP5+'orange' | 'orange/oranges' |

Nouns with abstract meaning are formed from other nouns with class 14 prefixes:

- (371) umu+áana umwáana
 CP1+'child' 'child'
 ubu+áana ubwáana
 CP14+'child' 'childhood'
- (372) umu+sazi umusazi
 CP1+'crazy' 'crazy person'
 ubu+sazi ubusazi
 CP14+'crazy' 'craziness'

Other stems that have different meanings in different classes:

- (373) i+buye ibuye
 CP5+'stone' 'stone'
 uru+buye urubuye
 CP11+'stone grinder' 'stone grinder'
- (374) iki+dandi ikidandi
 CP1+'spider' 'spider'
 ubu+dandi ubudandi
 CP14+'cobweb' 'cobweb'
- (375) iki+gánza ikigánza
 CP1+'wrist' 'wrist'
 uru+gánza urugánza
 CP11+'gourd' 'gourd'
- (376) uru+yúki uruyúki
 CP11+'bee' 'bee'
 ubu+úuki ubúuki
 CP14+'honey' 'honey'

The derivation of diminutives, augmentatives and pejoratives is discussed in section 5.2.

5.7.2 Nouns formed with adjective stems

Nouns can be formed from adjective stems by adding a noun class prefix. These nouns refer to abstract conceptions or people with certain characteristics.

- (377) ubu+bí ubúbi
 CP14+'bad' 'badness'
- (378) umu+tóoyi umutóoyi
 CP1+'little' 'younger sibling'
- (379) umu+ííza umwííza
 CP1+'good' 'good person'

5.7.3 Deverbal derivation

Nouns can be derived from verbal stems by suffixation. This is a common process in Bantu languages, and some derivational suffixes have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu. The tones of the derived nouns are not predictable by the tones of the verb stems in Ha.

Nouns denoting humans, often agent-like, are derived with the suffix *-yi*. This suffix palatalises the stem-final consonant. Since the origin of the derivational suffix is **-i* in Proto-Bantu (with a close vowel), the stem-final consonant undergoes the same sound changes as historically all Proto-Bantu consonants do before a close vowel (cf. 2.5.1).⁴⁰ These derived nouns most often use class 1/2 prefixes.

- (380) umu+hanuur*+yi umuhanuuzi
 CP1+'tell'+NDer 'advisor'
- (381) umu+andik+yi umwandísi
 CP1+'write'+NDer 'writer'
- (382) umu+ragir+yi umuragizi
 CP1+'herd'+NDer 'shepherd'

Nouns derived with the suffix *-e* indicate, e.g. humans (classes 1/2) and instruments (different classes). The suffix is attached to the final consonant of the verbal stem.

- (383) umu+ken+e umukéne
 CP1+'miss'+NDer 'poor person'
- (384) ubu+ken+e ubukéne
 CP14+'miss'+NDer 'poverty'
- (385) uru+shing+e urushíngé
 CP11+'put'+NDer 'needle'

The derivational stem *-o* occurs with nouns of several different classes, though not 1/2. Semantically, these nouns show great variety. They indicate, for example, place, instruments, some abstract conceptions and action.

- (386) iki+sus+o igisuso
 CP7+'resemble'+NDer 'example'
- (387) iN+sus+o isuso
 CP9/10+'resemble'+NDer 'character'
- (388) uru+gend+o urugendo
 CP11+'go'+NDer 'journey'

Nouns with a range of meanings are formed with the derivational suffix *-a* (389). As in Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1967:94), the *-a* suffix is also used instead of *-yi* with causative stems (390).

- (389) umu+er*+a umwéera
 CP3+'be white'+NDer 'dry (white) skin'

⁴⁰ Thus, it is possible that this derivation has already taken place in Proto-Bantu, and these nouns have come to Ha as lexicalised forms.

- (390) umu+fat*+i+a umufásha
 CP1+'touch'+Caus+NDER 'assistant'

5.7.4 Complex nouns

Complex nouns can be formed, for example, by combining verbs with nouns, nouns with nouns, and by reduplication. When a noun is combined with a verb to form a complex noun, the verb is prefixed with a noun class prefix and the augment of the following noun is deleted. The tones of the stems are preserved, except the first H is deleted due to Meeussen's Rule if two Hs are on adjacent syllables. If the only accent of a complex noun is further than two moras from the stem-initial mora, the accent is copied onto that mora (cf. 3.2.4).

- (391) umu+nyo*+a+ama+zi* umunywámaázi
 CP3+'drink'+FV+CP6+'water' 'rainbow'
- (392) umu+shing+a+iN+taáhe umushíngantaáhe
 CP1+'put'+FV+CP9/10+'tradition' 'chairman, person with traditional knowledge'
- (393) ama+gi+a+mbere amajambere
 CP6+'go'+FV+'front' 'development'

There are stems, such as *nyené-* 'owner' (394), *nya**- 'certain' (395) (cf. 5.4.4.2), *nyina-* 'mother' (396), *mukáa-* 'female' (397) and *sé-* 'father' (398) that can be prefixed to other noun stems or substitutives. *-kazi* 'female' (399), *-kúru* 'grand parent/child' (400), *-kuruza* 'great grand parent/child' (401), *-sengé* 'relative of father's side' (402), *-rúme* 'relative of mother's side' (403), and *-kwé* 'in-law' are stems that are suffixed to noun stems. Nouns can also be combined with numerals (404).

- (394) nyené+iN+zu nyenínu
 'owner'+CP9/10+'house' 'owner of the house'
- nyené+yó nyénéyo
 'owner'+Pro9 'owner of it (e.g. a house)'
- (395) umu+nya*+ama+hanga umunyámahanga
 CP1+'certain'+CP6+'remote place' 'foreigner (lit. sb from a remote place)'
- nya*+imi+sózi Nyamísozi
 'certain'+CP4+'mountain' 'God of the mountains (lit. the one of the mountains)'
- (396) nyina+ubu+ja nyinabuja
 'his mother'+CP14+'slavery' 'female owner/master'
- nyina+ubu+kwé nyinábukwe
 'his mother'+CP14+'in-law' 'his mother-in-law'
- (397) mukáa+daayí mukáadaayí
 'female'+ 'my father' 'my step-mother'
- (398) sé+ubu+ja séebuja
 'his father'+CP14+'slavery' 'male owner/master'
- sé+ubu+kwé seebúkwe
 'his father'+CP14+'in-law' 'his father-in-law'

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (399) | umu+rámu
CPI + 'sibling-in-law' | umurámu
'brother-in-law' |
| | umu+rámu+kazi
CPI + 'sibling-in-law' + 'female' | umurámukazi
'sister-in-law' |
| (400) | so+kúru
'your father' + 'grand parent' | sookúru
'your grand father' |
| | nyoko+kúru
'your mother' + 'grand parent' | nyokokúru
'your grand mother' |
| (401) | so+kuruza
'your father' + 'great grand parent' | sookúruza
'your great grand father' |
| (402) | séngé
'father's sister' | séngé
'(my) father's sister' |
| | na+séngé
? + 'father's sister' | naséngé
'his father's sister' |
| (403) | na+rúme
? + 'mother's brother' | narúme
'his mother's brother' |
| (404) | ama+yira+bíri
CP6 + 'path' + 'two' | amayirábiri
'crossroads' |

The reduplication of noun stems can be either reduplication of the first syllable of the stem or reduplication of the whole stem. The reduplication of the first syllable is not productive (405). The reduplication of the noun stems produces new stems of which the meaning is not always predictable. The relationship between the stem and the reduplicated stem is, for example, the cause and the effect or a part and the whole (406)-(408). The accent of the reduplicated stem is copied to the reduplication only if it is on the first syllable of the stem.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------------|
| (405) | iN+rírimbo
CP9/10 + 'song' | indírimbo
'song' |
| (406) | iN+hené
CP9/10 + 'goat' | impené
'goat' |
| | ama+hené+hené
CP6 + 'goat' + Redupl | amahenéhene
'goat droppings' |
| (407) | ibi+sóoya
CP8 + 'maize' | ibisóoya
'maize' |
| | ibi+sóoya+sóoya
CP8 + 'maize' + Redupl | ibisóoyasóoya
'maize husk' |
| (408) | iN+géne
CP9/10 + 'sort' | ingéne
'sort' |
| | ubu+géne+géne
CP14 + 'sort' + Redupl | ubugénegéne
'behaviour' |

6. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

The verbal morphology of Ha is rich, both in inflection and in derivation. Inflection covers subject and object concords and tense-aspect-mood (TAM) marking. The derivation of verbs is frequent, as typical for Bantu languages. There are also some defective verbs that do not show full inflectional and derivational variation.

Verbal morphology is divided here into inflectional and derivational morphology according to Bantu tradition, so that prefixation is considered inflectional and suffixation mainly derivational (except for the final suffix). This division is supported by the distribution of the morphemes; the derivational morphemes are closer to the root than the inflectional morphemes (Greenberg 1966:93). The morphemes are arranged as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Loc	TAM	SP	TAM	TAM	TAM	TAM	OP	Root	Deriv	TAM	Loc

Slots 1 and 12 can be filled with locative clitics. Slots 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 11 are occupied by tense-aspect-mood markers. The subject prefix (SP) takes slot 3 and the object prefixes (OP) slot 8. At least three derivational extensions (slot 10) may be suffixed to the root (slot 9). The minimal combination is the root with the final vowel (slot 11) in the imperative (409), and at least eight slots may be filled at the same time (410)-(411). Slots 1 and 12 (cf. 5.3) and slots 2 and 4 (cf. section 6.1.3.11 below) are mutually exclusive. Furthermore, the focus marker in slot 6 is not used with the negation markers (slots 2 and 4), and with the persistive marker of slot 7, only slots 6 and 11 of the TAM markers may be filled (cf. 6.1.3.10 below).

- (409) gend+a 'Genda!
'go'+FV 'Go!'
- (410) hó+a+á+ra+tu+gur+*+ir+ye hóyarátuguriye
RPro16+SP1+RPast+Foc+OP1pp+'buy'+M+Appl+Perf 'when he bought for us'
- (411) nti+n+róo+ku+rond+ir+a sindóokurondera
Neg+SP1ps+Fut+OP2ps+'look'+Appl+FV 'I will not look for you'

Loan verbs follow the same inflectional pattern, i.e. even though verbs of Arabic origin have variable final vowels in Swahili (through which the loans from Arabic have probably come), in Ha, the unmarked final vowel is always -a.

- (412) ku+sitaak*+a kusítaaka (Swa: kushtaaki)
CP15+'accuse'+FV 'to accuse'

The verbal base is the lexical part of the verb. It consists of the root and possible derivational extensions. The verbal base (with or without extensions) with the final suffix (slot 11) is called the stem of the verb. A macrostem consists of the stem, the final suffix and possible object prefixes.

The verbal roots show tonal contrast so that a root may or may not be accented, and this root accent, together with the grammatical accent(s), forms the tonal realisation

of the verb form. A full tonal account with examples is given in the chapter 3 on tonology. The derivational extensions do not affect accents.

6.1 Verbal inflection

Verbal inflection covers the TAM marking (slots 2, 4-7, 11 in the scheme above) as well as the subject and object concords (slots 3 and 8). Slot 11 has to be filled in every verb form; other slots may be left empty in some forms.

6.1.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by prefixing the verbal stem (i.e. the base with the final suffix) with the noun class 15 prefix *ku-*, usually without the augment, and it occupies slot 3 in the scheme above. The tonal contrast is preserved, the accent being realised on the first mora of the macrostem (413)-(414). The infinitive forms may have object prefixes (415), derivational extensions (416) and locative clitics (417).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (413) | ku+ha*+a | guhá |
| | CP15+'give'+FV | 'to give' |
| (414) | ku+meny+a | kumenya |
| | CP15+'know'+FV | 'to know' |
| (415) | ku+mu+ha*+a | kumúha |
| | CP15+OP1+'give'+FV | 'to give him' |
| (416) | ku+tu+kor*+ir+a | kudúkorera |
| | CP15+OP1pp+'work'+Appl+FV | 'to work for us' |
| (417) | ku+shír+a+mwó | gushíramwó |
| | CP15+'put'+FV+Pro18 | 'to put in' |

The negated infinitive is formed by adding the prefix *-ta-* (slot 4 in the scheme) with two accents, one of which is realised as a high tone on the negative marker itself and the other on the second syllable of the macrostem. The tonal contrast of the verbal roots is neutralised in the negated infinitive.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------|
| (418) | ku+tá+meny+*+a | kutámenyá |
| | CP15+Neg+'know'+M2+FV | 'not to know' |
| (419) | ku+tá+kund*+*+a | kutákundá |
| | CP15+Neg+'like'+M2+FV | 'not to like' |

The infinitive prefix may also occur for phonetic reasons with tense markers that have a long vowel (e.g. the future and the potential tenses) when the root is vowel-initial (420). In these instances, the infinitive prefix fills slot 8, since it is not needed if the object prefix is present (421).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (420) | u+oo+ku+ishur+ye | wookwiishuye |
| | SP2ps+Pot+CP15+'answer'+Perf | 'you would answer' |
| (421) | u+oo+tu+ishur+ye | wootwiishuye |
| | SP2ps+Pot+OP1pp+'answer'+Perf | 'you would answer us' |

6.1.2 Subject and object prefixes

The subject prefix is required in all finite verb forms except in the imperative. The subject prefix is chosen according to the noun class of the subject. All transitive verbs may take the object prefix, but the object prefix is not obligatory when the object noun (phrase) follows (cf. 7.1.1.3 in Syntax). The subject and object prefixes do not carry accents of their own. The subject and object prefixes of all the noun classes are listed in the concord table on page 54.

The third person/class 1 subject prefix *a-* becomes *y-* before a vowel (422)-(423). The first person subject prefix *n-* is not realised immediately before *m-* and *n-* initial stems (424), and it is often *nd-* before a vowel (425). Any other variation is regular (426).

(422)	a+andik+a	yandika
	SP1+'write'+FV	'he writes'
(423)	a+end*+a	yenda
	SP1+'take'+FV	'he takes'
(424)	*+n+mar+ye	máze
	Part+SP1ps+'finish'+Perf	'when I finish'
(425)	n+a+gi+ye	ndagiye/nagiye
	SP1ps+Past+'go'+Perf	'I went'
(426)	n+bon*+a	mbona
	SP1ps+'see'+FV	'I see'

6.1.3 Tense-Aspect-Mood (TAM)

The term 'tense' is used here to refer to the whole set of ways of encoding the tense-aspect-mood system, not exclusively time. These morphological markers occupy slots 2, 4-7 and 11 in the morphotactic scheme (p. 86). They cover the temporal marking (future, present, past), the aspects (simple, perfective, consecutive, persistive, progressive), the moods (indicative, subjunctive, imperative, potential, conditional), and also partly focus marking. In addition to the segmental markers, tone is an essential part of the tense-aspect-mood marking.

6.1.3.1 Imperative

The imperative is formed with the verbal base and the final vowel *-a* (427). An object prefix may be attached to the stem, and it usually refers to the indirect object (428). If the object prefix refers to any other participant than the first person singular (429)-(430) or the verb is in the reflexive form (431), the final vowel is *-e*. The tonal contrast of the verbal roots is neutralised in the imperative, and the imperative verbs are all pronounced with the same tonal pattern, without high tones.

(427)	ichar+a	Ichara!
	'sit'+FV	'Sit!'
(428)	n+bwiir*+a	Mbwiira!
	OP1ps+'tell'+FV	'Tell me!'

- (429) mu+bwiir*+e Mubwiire!
 OP1+'tell'+FV 'Tell him!'
- (430) tu+bwiir*+e Tubwiire!
 OP1pp+'tell'+FV 'Tell us!'
- (431) í+umv*+iir+e Iyumviire!
 Refl+'hear'+Int+FV 'Imagine!'

The imperative is used only in the second person singular; the subjunctive may be used for other persons and noun classes as well as for the negated imperative (cf. below).

There are some verbs with exceptional imperative forms. For the stem *-enda* 'take', the imperative is *inda*. The regular infinitive *mpa* 'give me' of *-há* 'give' is sometimes replaced with *impa*. The imperative for *-za* 'come' is *ingo*.

6.1.3.2 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is used in exhortations, wishes, pieces of advice and polite commands. The subjunctive is formed with a subject prefix, a verbal base, the final vowel *-e* (432), and an optional object prefix (433). In polite commands of transitive verbs, the second person subject prefix is sometimes omitted and only the object prefix precedes the stem (434). In the subjunctive, the tonal contrast of the verbal roots is neutralised, but there is a tense accent, which is realised as H on the second syllable of the macrostem.

- (432) tu+gend*+*+e Tugendé!
 SP1pp+'go'+M2+Subj 'Let us go!'
- (433) tu+ba+ha*+*+e ibi+ríibwa Tubahé ibiríibwa.
 SP1pp+OP2+'give'+M2+Subj CP8+'food' 'Let us give them food.'
- (434) n+ha*+*+e ubu+gari Mpé ubugari!
 OP1ps+'give'+M2+Subj CP14+'ugali' 'Give me ugali!'

In the subjunctive, the subject prefix of the second person singular is *niu-* with vowel-initial stems instead of the normal *u-* (435). The same pre-initial *ni-* may be attached to other subject prefixes as well (436)-(437).⁴¹ When an object prefix is used with the first person subject prefix, the subject prefix is *nda-* instead of *n-* (438).

- (435) ni+u+end*+*+e Niwendé!
 PreIn+SP2ps+'take'+M2+Subj 'Please take!'
- (436) ni+mu+gend*+*+e Nimugendé!
 PreIn+SP2pp+'go'+M2+Subj 'Go (pl.)!'
- (437) ni+a+gend*+*+e Naagendé!
 PreIn+SP1+'go'+M2+Subj 'Let him go!'

⁴¹ In Rundi, *ni-* has several functions in the verb paradigm, and with the subjunctive it makes the exhortation even more polite (Rodegem 1967:67). In Ha, *ni-* was attested only in the subjunctive, and my informants consider the subjunctive forms with and without *ni-* identical in meaning.

- (438) *n+ku+bwiir*+*+e* Ndakubwiire!
 SP1ps+OP2ps+'tell'+M2+Subj 'Let me tell you!'

The subjunctive may also occur with the future tense marker *-roo-*, and, thus, express wishes and polite commands, which will be fulfilled later than in the immediate future.⁴² This form, unlike the simple future (cf. 6.1.3.7 below) has an accent, which is realised as H on the first mora of the future marker, in addition to the accent of the subjunctive.

- (439) *a+á+n+bwiir*+ye* Yambwíye ndóogendé ejó.
 SP1+RPast+OP1ps+'tell'+Perf 'He told me to go tomorrow.'

n+róo+gend++e ejó*
 SP1ps+Fut+'go'+M2+Subj 'tomorrow'

- (440) *a+á+n+bwiir*+ye* Yambwíye ndóobigéze ejó.
 SP1+RPast+OP1ps+'tell'+Perf 'He told me to try them tomorrow.'

n+róo+bi+gez++e ejó*
 SP1ps+Fut+OP8+'try'+M2+Subj 'tomorrow'

6.1.3.3 Perfective

The most unmarked final suffix of the verb forms is *-a* (slot 11 in the morphotactic scheme). This is an aspect marker that could be called the imperfective suffix, but since it is the default final suffix it will be called the simple aspect.⁴³ It may be used with all affirmative forms, and it is the only possible final suffix for imperatives as well as for infinitives.

The perfective suffix is *-ye*. It may be used with the present and past tenses. The perfective forms typically denote single events that have taken place in the past, but the exact meaning depends on the tense. Dahl (1985:117) claims that 'in languages with a PFV:IPFV [perfective:imperfective] distinction, PAST categories tend to be used only when a perfective is not used'. In Ha, however, the past tenses, especially the remote past, most often occur with the perfective suffix. The perfective suffix does not affect the tonal pattern of the verb.

Since more than one derivational extension is of the form *-Vr-* (vowel + consonant *r*), the majority of verb bases end with *r*. All these derived verbs form their perfective by replacement of the final *r* with the perfective suffix *-ye* (441)-(443). The same applies to underived stems that have a long stem vowel and *r* as the root-final consonant (444)-(445).

⁴² In Nurse & Muzale (1999:530), it is claimed that the final *-e* of subjunctive with future reference is 'linked to Near, not Far, Future; it is linked with uncertain, contrasted with certain, Near Future', and that it is not attested in West Highlands languages. The combination of subjunctive and future could reflect uncertainty rather than remoteness in Ha.

⁴³ In Nyarwanda, there is a separate imperfective suffix *-aga* in addition to the simple suffix *-a*.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| (441) | huur*+ir+ye | -huuriiye ⁴⁴ |
| | 'meet'+Appl+Perf | 'meet at (Perf)' |
| (442) | andik+ir+ye | -andikiiye |
| | 'write'+Appl+Perf | 'write to (Perf)' |
| (443) | imb+ur+ye | -imbuye |
| | 'dig'+Separ+Perf | 'store (Perf)' |
| (444) | huur*+ye | -huuye |
| | 'meet'+Perf | 'meet (Perf)' |
| (445) | kuur*+ye | -kuuye |
| | 'dig out'+Perf | 'dig out (Perf)' |

With other stems, the perfective suffix is attached to the base-final consonant, resulting in a sequence consonant + semi-vowel *y*, whereupon the consonant is palatalised. However, the palatalisation that takes place with the perfective suffix is not the synchronic variation described in the chapter on segmental phonology. The perfective suffix is reconstructed as *-ide in Proto-Bantu, according to Meeussen (1967:110). The first vowel of the suffix is the close front vowel, which triggered spirantisation of plosives. This historical process surfaces in Ha perfectives, when the base-final consonants alternate with the same sounds as in the historical process. Thus, it could be said that the perfective stems go back to Proto-Bantu perfective stems (compare with section 2.5 in Segmental Phonology).

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (446) | t+ye → se | huut+ye | -huuse |
| | | 'move quickly'+Perf | 'move quickly (Perf)' |
| (447) | ts+ye → kije ⁴⁵ | ramuts*+ye | -ramukije |
| | | 'greet'+Perf | 'greet (Perf)' |
| (448) | k+ye → tse | vyuuk*+ye | -vyuutse |
| | | 'be born'+Perf | 'be born (Perf)' |
| (449) | b+ye → vye | gomb+ye | -gomvye |
| | | 'want'+Perf | 'want (Perf)' |
| (450) | d+ye → ze | kund*+ye | -kunze |
| | | 'love'+Perf | 'love (Perf)' |
| (451) | g+ye → ze | sang+ye | -sanze |
| | | 'meet'+Perf | 'meet (Perf)' |
| (452) | vy+ye → bije ⁴⁶ | hamvy*+ye | -hambije |
| | | 'reach'+Perf | 'reach (Perf)' |

Note that in underived *r*-final bases with a short vowel the final *r* with the perfective suffix *-ye* becomes *-ze*. Compare (455) to (445), where the base with a

⁴⁴ When the perfective suffix is attached to the applicative extension *-ir-* the preceding vowel is usually lengthened. The surface tones are not marked in this section since they are determined by the tense, which is not included in these examples.

⁴⁵ *ts* is historically the result of spirantised **k* before the close vowel **i*.

⁴⁶ *vy* is historically the result of spirantised **b* before the close vowel **i*.

long vowel follows the normal inflection, while the short-vowel base is spirantised.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (453) | mar+ye | -maze |
| | 'finish'+Perf | 'finish (Perf)' |
| (454) | bor+ye | -boze |
| | 'get rotten'+Perf | 'get rotten (Perf)' |
| (455) | kur*+ye | -kuze |
| | 'grow'+Perf | 'grow (Perf)' |

The other perfective stems are formed as follows:

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (456) | m+ye → mye | gum+ye | -gumye |
| | | 'be hard'+Perf | 'be hard (Perf)' |
| (457) | n+ye → nye | bon*+ye | -bonye |
| | | 'see'+Perf | 'see (Perf)' |
| (458) | ny+ye → nye | meny+ye | -menye |
| | | 'know'+Perf | 'know (Perf)' |
| (459) | s+ye → she | sees+ye | -seeshe |
| | | 'pour'+Perf | 'pour (Perf)' |
| (460) | s+ye → sheje ⁴⁷ | mes+ye | -mesheje |
| | | 'wash'+Perf | 'wash (Perf)' |
| (461) | z+ye → je | hweez*+ye | -hweeje |
| | | 'finish'+Perf | 'finish (Perf)' |
| (462) | z+ye → jeje ⁴⁸ | gez+ye | -gejeje |
| | | 'try'+Perf | 'try (Perf)' |
| (463) | ch+ye → she | ich*+ye | -ishe |
| | | 'kill'+Perf | 'kill (Perf)' |
| (464) | h+ye → she | rih+ye | -rishe |
| | | 'pay'+Perf | 'pay (Perf)' |
| (465) | v+ye → vise | umv*+ye | -umvise |
| | | 'hear'+Perf | 'hear (Perf)' |

sh-final bases have suffix *-ijel-eje* in perfective, *-eje* being used with bases where the last vowel is *e-*, *o-* and *a-* and *-ije* elsewhere. Most, if not all, *sh*-final bases are causatives.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------------|
| (466) | igiish*+ye | -igiishije |
| | 'teach'+Perf | 'teach (Perf)' |
| (467) | koreesh*+ye | -koreesheje |
| | 'use'+Perf | 'use (Perf)' |

The root vowels of the monosyllabic verbs show up in the perfective forms.

⁴⁷ The longer perfective ending is used when the base consists of a short vowel only.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

(468)	ukubá 'to be'	-ba*-	-baaye 'be (Perf)'	< *-bá-
(469)	uguchá 'to cut'	-chi*-	-chiiye 'cut (Perf)'	< *-tú-
(470)	uguchá 'to dawn'	-ke*-	-keeye 'dawn (Perf)'	< *-ké-
(471)	ukudyá 'to eat'	-ri*-	-riiye 'eat (Perf)'	< *-dí-
(472)	ukuja ⁴⁹ 'to go'	-gi-	-giiye 'go (Perf)'	< *-gI-
(473)	ukugwá 'to fall'	-gu-	-guuye 'fall (Perf)'	< *-gU-
(474)	uguhá 'to give'	-ha*-	-haaye 'give (Perf)'	< *-pá-
(475)	ugukwá 'to give bride wealth'	-ko*-	-kooye 'give bride wealth (Perf)'	< *-kó-
(476)	ukumwa 'to cut hair'	-mo-	-mooye 'cut hair (Perf)'	< *-mo-
(477)	ukunya 'to defecate'	-ne-	-neeye 'defecate (Perf)'	< *-ne-
(478)	ukunywá 'to drink'	-nyo*-	-nyooye 'drink (Perf)'	< *-nyó-
(479)	ugupfá 'to die'	-pfu*-	-pfuuye 'die (Perf)'	< *-kú-
(480)	ugushá 'to burn'	-hi*-	-hiiye 'burn (Perf)'	< *-pí-
(481)	ugusya 'to grind'	-si-	-seeeye 'grind (Perf)'	< *-ce-
(482)	ugutá 'to throw'	-ta*-	-taaye 'throw (Perf)'	< *-tá-
(483)	ukuva 'to come from, leak'	-vu-	-vuuye 'come from (Perf)'	< *-du-

⁴⁹ In the simple aspect, the verb *-genda* is used much more often than *-ja*, but *-genda* does not have a perfective form. Thus, *-giiye* is used for both verbs.

- (484) ukuuza⁵⁰ -z- -je
 'to come' 'come (Perf)'

6.1.3.4 Present

The present tense is the most unmarked verb form. There is no tense prefix, but the subject prefix immediately precedes the macrostem. The tonal contrast of the verbal roots is neutralised in the present, and the tense does not have an accent of its own. Thus, there are no H tones in the present tense.

The simple present expresses action that takes place at the present moment, habitually, repeatedly, or it describes generic behaviour or someone's desire, liking, etc. (485)-(486). When used with adverbials of time, it can refer to action that takes place in the immediate past or future. It is also frequently used in narratives of past time reference, so that the first verb of the sentence is in a past tense and the other verbs that follow within the same sentence are in the present (487). Thus, the first verb of the sentence sets the time frame of that sentence, and the following verbs are in the time-related unmarked form.

- (485) n+gomb+a uku+meny+a iki+ha Ngomba kumenya igiha.
 SP1ps+'want'+FV CP15+'know'+FV CP7+'Ha' 'I want to know Ha.'
- (486) uyu umu+sí ba+rim+a Uyu músi barima kwúyu.
 1DemP3 CP3+'day' SP2+'cultivate'+FV 'Today they cultivate at somebody's.'
 ku+a*+uyu
 Loc17+Con+1DemP1
- (487) a+á+toor*+ye ibi+túnguru Yatóoye ibitúnguru
 SP1+RPast+'take'+Perf CP8+'onion' 'He took the onions'
 a+shir*+a mu+ama+vúta ashira mumavúta.
 SP1+'put'+FV Loc18+CP6+'oil' and put them into the oil.'

The present perfective is most often used in the participial form, where there is an accent of the participial (cf. 6.1.8.1 below). The present perfective also indicates immediate past, i.e. the action has taken place just before the moment of speech. The shady borderline between the perfective and the near past is also attested in other Bantu languages.⁵¹

- (488) i+guruk*+ir+ye heéhe Igurukiiye heéhe?
 SP9+'fly'+Appl+Perf 'where' 'Where did it fly?'

When an object prefix is attached to a verb stem in the present tense, the first person singular subject prefix takes the form *nda-* instead of just *n-*.

- (489) n+mu+ha*+a uru+pápuro ndamúha urupápuro
 SP1ps+OP1+'give'+FV CP11+'paper' 'I give him a piece of paper'

⁵⁰ -za lengthens the preceding vowel (cf. 2.2 in Segmental Phonology). It is possible that -za is historically vowel-initial and, thus, disyllabic.

⁵¹ E.g. Nurse & Muzale (1999:532), where the suffix -ile is the marker of Perfect.

6.1.3.5 Recent past

The Bantu languages typically make use of remoteness distinctions with the past tenses, a two-way distinction of recent and preterit past being reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Meeussen 1967:109). Most of the Great Lake Bantu languages have a three way distinction for past tenses, but the West Highlands languages make an exception to this by distinguishing only between 'earlier today' and 'before today' (Nurse & Muzale 1999:530). Ha belongs to this group.

The recent past refers to events that have taken place earlier on the same day. In addition to the morphological marker *-a-* (in slot 5), this tense is marked by an absence of the accent of the verb stem. Thus, all the verbs in the recent past are pronounced with a low tone throughout.

The simple recent past carries an anterior meaning with two positions indexed on the time line: the situation has taken place in the past but it is relevant to or continues at the moment of speech (490). Much more commonly, the recent past is used with the perfective suffix, resulting in a simple past meaning: The action has taken place in the near past and is now complete (491)-(492).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (490) | tu+a+kor*+a nga*+aha
SP1pp+Past+'work'+FV PI+1DemP16
uku+vu+a kééra
CP15+'come'+FV 'long ago' | Twaakora ngaáha kuva kééra.
'We have worked since long ago.' |
| (491) | a+a+toor*+ye iki+túnguru
SP1+Past+'take'+Perf CP+'onion' | yatooye igitúnguru
'he took an onion' |
| (492) | n+a+gi+ye mu+uru+gereero
SP1ps+Past+'go'+Perf Loc18+CP11+'market' | ndagiye murugereero
'I went to the market' |

6.1.3.6 Remote past

The remote past tense is used for events that have taken place before today. The simple remote past is used rather infrequently, it usually indicates a generic situation. The perfective remote past functions similarly as the perfective recent past, indicating simple past, but the action has taken place earlier than the action referred to by the recent past.

The morphological marker of the remote past on the segmental level is the same *-a-* as for the recent past, but the remote past carries an accent (493)-(494). The accent is realised on the tense marker itself or on first mora of the macrostem, depending on the shape of the subject prefix (cf. 3.1.2.2). The tonal contrast of the stems is neutralised. Thus, the only difference between the recent past and the remote past is the accent, as in (495) and (491).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (493) | ba+á+voom+a ama+zi*
SP2+RPast+'draw'+FV CP6+'water' | baávooma amáazi
'they drew water' |
| (494) | a+á+twaa*+a iN+dáha
SP1+RPast+'carry'+FV CP9/10+'bag' | yatwáara indáha
'he carried a bag' |
| (495) | a+á+toor*+ye iki+túnguru
SP1+RPast+'take'+Perf CP7+'onion' | yatóoye igitúnguru
'he took an onion' |

6.1.3.7 Future

Unlike many other Great Lakes Bantu languages, Ha has only one future tense. The morphological marker is *-roo-* (in slot 5), and the tonal contrast of the verbal root is neutralised. The future is used to refer to any action that the speaker plans to carry out or expects to take place in the future, more or less remotely. The final suffix is *-a*, but the future tense can also be used in the subjunctive (cf. 6.1.3.2 above).

- (496) a+roo+gend+a Aroogenda.
 SP1+Fut+'go'+FV 'He will go.'
- (497) n+roo+mu+bwiir*+a Ndoomubwiira.
 SP1ps+Fut+OP1+'tell'+FV 'I will tell him.'

6.1.3.8 Consecutive

The consecutive is marked with the prefix *-ka-* (in slot 5) and the final vowel *-a*. Tone-wise there are two consecutives one of which is a post-verbal focus form, and the other shows verbal focus (cf. 6.1.3.11 below). The verbal focus consecutive preserves the tonal contrast of the verbal roots (498), while in the post-verbal focus form the contrast is neutralised (499). The lexical accent of the verbal focus consecutive is realised on the first mora of the macrostem. With accentless stems there is no distinction between the verbal and post-verbal focus forms (500).

- (498) a+ka+teer*+a ..agatéera.
 SP1+Cons+'sow'+FV '...and he also sowed.'
- (499) a+ka+teer*+a iN+butó ..agateera imbutó.
 SP1+Cons+'sow'+FV CP9/10+'seed' '...and he also sowed the seed.'
- (500) ba+ka+rim+a ibi+haragi ...bakarima (ibiharagi).
 SP2+Cons+'cultivate'+FV CP8+'bean' '...and they also cultivate (beans).'

The consecutive tense is used when a series of events are related and expressed in the order they are supposed to take or have taken place, preceded by a verb in a present or a past tense, respectively. The event marked with the consecutive tense may be either a consequence of the preceding action (501) or depend on it chronologically (502). The consecutive may also express co-ordination between two similar predicates (503). The use of the consecutive is not as common in Ha as in some other Bantu languages, e.g. Swahili, more often the unmarked present tense is used instead (cf. 6.1.3.4 above).

- (501) iN+kokó i+ra+hweer*+a Inkokó yirahwéera
 CP9/10+'hen' SP9+Foc+'die'+FV 'When the hen dies
 ama+gí ya+ka+bor+a amági yakabora.
 CP6+'egg' SP6+Cons+'get rotten'+FV the eggs get rotten.'
- (502) ejó ba+rim+a ku+a* Juma Ejó barima kwa Júma,
 'tomorrow' SP2+'cultivate'+FV Loc17+Con PropN 'Tomorrow they cultivate at Juma's,
 +bu+ke+ye ba+ka+rim+a búkeeye bakarima
 Part+SP14+'dawn'+Perf SP2+Cons+'cultivate'+FV and the day after they cultivate
 ku+a* Tunguhore kwa Túnguhore.
 Loc17+Con PropN at Tunguhore's.'

- (503) a+á+chumb+ye ubu+gari Yachúmvyé ubugari
 SP1+RPast+'cook'+Perf CP14+'ugali' 'She prepared ugali
 a+ka+shuuh+i+a ama+zi* agashuusha amáazi.
 SP1+Cons+'be hot'+Caus+FV CP6+'water' and also boiled water.'

The consecutive *-ka-* can also express 'if' condition. In the conditional sense, the consecutive is usually not preceded by another predicate in the same clause (504). However, when it is not the first predicate of the clause the conditional meaning emanates from the context (505).

- (504) n+ka+gend+a mu+uru+gereero Nkagenda murugereero
 SP1ps+Cons+'go'+FV Loc18+CP11+'market' 'If I go to the market
 n+ra+gur+a ibi+túnguru ndagura ibitúnguru.
 SP1+Foc+'buy'+FV CP8+'onion' I will buy onions.'
- (505) n+roo+mu+bwiir*+a n+ka+mu+bon*+a Ndoomubwiira nkamúbona.
 SP1ps+Fut+OP1+'tell'+FV SP1ps+Cons+OP1+'see'+FV 'I will tell him if I see him.'

6.1.3.9 Potential

The potential form *-oo-*⁵² (in slot 5) with the final vowel *-a* indicates possibility and ability (506)-(507). The perfective forms indicate intention and supposition (508)-(509). The tonal contrast of the verb roots is neutralised in the post-verbal focus potential (cf. 6.1.3.11 below), but in the verbal focus form the accent of the root is retained. The accent is realised on the first mora of the stem.

- (506) u+oo+tung*+a wootúnga
 SP2ps+Pot+'tame'+FV 'you can tame'
- (507) n+oo+gur+a noogura
 SP1ps+Pot+'buy'+FV 'I can buy'
- (508) tu+oo+kor*+ye twookóze
 SP2pp+Pot+'work'+Perf 'we would work'
- (509) n+oo+mu+bwiir*+ye noomubwíye
 SP1ps+Pot+OP1+'tell'+Perf 'I would tell him'

When the potential is in the subordinate clause of another potential clause ('if' clause, protasis), the accent of subordination is realised on the second syllable of the macrostem. The accent of the verb root is deleted.

- (510) tu+oo+baz*+*+ye ibi+bázo Twoobájíje ibibázo wootwiishuye.
 SP1pp+Pot+'ask'+M2+Perf CP8+'question' 'If we asked questions you would answer us.'
 u+oo+tu+ishur+ye
 SP2ps+Pot+OP1pp+'answer'+Perf
- (511) n+oo+mu+bwiir*+ye Noomubwíye noomubónye.
 SP1ps+Pot+OP1+'tell'+Perf 'I would tell him if I saw him.'
 n+oo+mu+bon*+*+ye
 SP1ps+Pot+OP1+'see'+M2+Perf

⁵² Sometimes *-aa-*, as in the neighbouring language Nyarwanda (e.g. Sibomana 1974).

6.1.3.10 Persistentive

The persistentive tense implies that the action begun in the past still continues at the present moment (512)-(513). It is sometimes referred to as the 'still tense'. The segmental marker is *-cháa-*, which occupies slot 7 of the morphotactic scheme, with the final vowel *-a*⁵³ and an accent that is realised on the tense prefix itself. The lexical accent is preserved, and it is realised on the first mora of the stem. The verbal focus marker *-ra-* (in slot 6) may be used together with the persistentive marker (514). The persistentive is commonly found in the Great Lake Bantu languages, and for the Proto-Great Lakes it has been reconstructed as **-kiaa-* (Nurse & Muzale 1999:526).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (512) | n+cháa+ri na*+imi+áaka
SP1ps+Pers+'be' AI+CP4+'year' | Ncháari nfiimyáaka.
'I still have years (i.e. I am still young).' |
| (513) | n+cháa+som+a iN+shúure
SP1ps+Pers+'read'+FV CP9/10+'school' | Ncháasoma ishúure.
'I still go to school.' |
| (514) | a+ra+cháa+mu+kor*+ir+a
SP1+Foc+Pers+OP1+'work'+Appl+FV | Aracháamukórerá.
'He is still working for him.' |

6.1.3.11 Verbal focus marking

Focus is often considered to be a determining factor of syntactic structures, but in many African languages it also has effects on the morphology and phonology. In Ha, there are syntactic ways of marking focus, but the verbal vs. post-verbal focus is marked on the morphological and tonological level. The terms 'disjunct' and 'conjunct' are also used for these forms, in short, in lists and tables.⁵⁴ The function of the verbal vs. post-verbal focus as well as the other focus types is discussed in the chapter on syntax (cf. 7.5).

For each of the focally unmarked, i.e. the post-verbal focus of the present, recent past and remote past tenses, there is a verb form marked for focus, as opposed to post-verbal focus. The present tense focus marker is *-ra-* in slot 6 of the morphotactic scheme. While in the post-verbal focus present tense the accent of the verb roots is deleted (515)-(516), in the verbal focus form it is retained, and it is realised as a high tone on the first mora of the macrostem (517)-(518).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (515) | ba+teer*+a ibi+haragi
SP2+'sow'+FV CP8+'bean' | Bateera ibiharagi.
'They sow beans.' |
| (516) | ba+rim+a ibi+haragi
SP2+'cultivate'+FV CP8+'bean' | Barima ibiharagi.
'They cultivate beans.' |
| (517) | ba+ra+teer*+a
SP2+Foc+'sow'+FV | Baratéera.
'They sow.' |
| (518) | ba+ra+rim+a
SP2+Foc+'cultivate'+FV | Bararima.
'They cultivate.' |

⁵³ In Rundi the persistentive may also be used with the perfective suffix (Rodegem 1967:45).

⁵⁴ Meeussen (1959), for example, uses the terms 'disjoint' and 'conjoint'.

The verbal focus form of the recent past is formed with *-a-*, which also occupies slot 6, and with the tonal contrast of the stem (519)-(520), as opposed to the neutralisation of the contrast in the post-verbal focus recent past (521)-(522). The accent of the verbal focus recent past is realised on the first mora of the stem (523), not on the first mora of the macrostem, as in the verbal focus present (524).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (519) | a+a+a+teer*+ye
SP1+Past+Foc+'sow'+Perf | Yaatéeye.
'He sowed (earlier today).' |
| (520) | a+a+a+rim+ye
SP1+Past+Foc+'cultivate'+Perf | Yaarimye.
'He cultivated (earlier today).' |
| (521) | a+a+teer*+ye ibi+góori
SP1+Past+'sow'+Perf CP8+'maize' | Yateeye ibigóori.
'He sowed maize (earlier today).' |
| (522) | a+a+rim+ye ibi+góori
SP1+Past+'cultivate'+Perf CP8+'maize' | Yarimye ibigóori.
'He cultivated maize (earlier today).' |
| (523) | a+a+a+mu+ha*+ye umu+kaaté
SP1+Past+Foc+OP1+'give'+Perf CP3+'bread' | Yaamuháaye umukáaté.
'He gave him bread (earlier today).' |
| (524) | a+ra+mu+ha*+a umu+kaaté
SP1+Foc+OP1+'give'+FV CP3+'bread' | Aramúha umukáaté.
'He gives him bread.' |

The verbal focus remote past uses *-ra-* as does the present tense. The accent of the root is deleted as with the post-verbal focus form (525)-(526), but the verbal focus form has an accent of its own, realised on the first mora of the macrostem, in addition to the accent of the tense (527)-(528).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (525) | níjoro ba+á+teer*+ye ibi+góori
'yesterday' SP2+RPast+'sow'+Perf CP8+'maize' | Níjoro baatéeye ibigóori.
'Yesterday they sowed maize.' |
| (526) | níjoro ba+á+rim+ye ibi+góori
'yesterday' SP2+RPast+'cultivate'+Perf CP8+'maize' | Níjoro baarímeye ibigóori.
'Yesterday they cultivated maize.' |
| (527) | níjoro ba+á+ra+teer*+*+ye
'yesterday' SP2+RPast+Foc+'sow'+M+Perf | Níjoro baáratéeye.
'Yesterday they sowed.' |
| (528) | níjoro ba+á+ra+rim+*+ye
'yesterday' SP2+RPast+Foc+'cultivate'+M+Perf | Níjoro baárarímeye.
'Yesterday they cultivated.' |

In forms where the subject prefix is of the form CV, the difference in the length of the vowel is neutralised between the verbal focus recent past (529) and the post-verbal focus remote past (525). In the remote past, the second accent of the stem is neutralised by Meeussen's Rule (see 3.1.1 in Tonology) if the subject prefix is not of the form CV (530).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (529) | ba+a+teer*+ye
SP2+Past+'sow'+Perf | Baatéeye.
'They sowed (earlier today).' |
| (530) | níjoro a+á+ra+teer*+*+ye
'yesterday' SP1+RPast+Foc+'sow'+M+Perf | Níjoro yarátéeye.
'Yesterday he sowed.' |

The verbal focus present is used also for the near future (531) and for the present continuous (532). In the remote past the verbal focus form often seems to displace the post-verbal focus forms, because with the focus marking *-ra-* the remote past is

much more clearly distinguished from the recent past than in the post-verbal focus form where the distinction is only tonal.

- (531) *ejó n+ra+gend+a mu+uru+gereero* *Ejó ndagenda murugereero.*
 'tomorrow' SP1ps+Foc+'go'+FV Loc18+CP11+'market' 'Tomorrow I will go to the market.'
- (532) *ba+ra+rím+a* *Bararima.*
 SP2+Foc+'cultivate'+FV 'They are cultivating.'

In addition to these tenses that combine both segmental and tonal marking of the verbal focus, the verbal focus distinction is marked only on the tonal level in the consecutive (-*ka*-) and the potential (-*oo*-) tense (cf. 6.1.3.8 and 6.1.3.9). In these tenses, the tonal opposition is preserved in the verbal focus forms (533), (535), and neutralised in the post-verbal focus forms (534), (536). The difference between verbal and post-verbal focus in these tenses does not surface with accentless stems.

- (533) *a+ra+rím+a a+ka+teer*+a* *Ararima agatéera.*
 SP1+Foc+'cultivate'+FV SP1+Cons+'sow'+FV 'He cultivates and also sows.'
- (534) *ba+teer*+a iN+butó* *Bateera imbutó*
 SP2+'sow'+FV CP9/10+'seed' 'They sow the seed'
na+twe tu+ka+teer*+a iN+butó* *natwé tugateera imbutó.*
 AI+Pro1pp SP1pp+Cons+'sow'+FV CP9/10+'seed' and we too sow the seed.'
- (535) *a+oo+teer*+ye* *Yootéeye.*
 SP1+Pot+'sow'+Perf 'He would sow.'
- (536) *a+oo+teer*+ye iN+butó* *Yooteeeye imbutó.*
 SP1+Pot+'sow'+Perf CP9/10+'seed' 'He would sow the seed.'

Thus, focus is not marked purely tonally in Ha, as it is with the Bantu languages in general. Hyman (1999b:152) claims that 'the relationship is not a direct one: The semantics of focus does not directly affect tone in Bantu. Instead, there is always mediation by the grammar system such that tone-focus correlations are imperfect at best.' This can also be seen in the widened use of the verbal focus present and remote past forms.

	Post-verbal focus (conj.)		Verbal focus (disj.)	
	segmental marking	lexical accent	segmental marking	lexical accent
Present	Ø	deleted	-ra-	preserved
Recent past	-a-	deleted	-a-a-	preserved
Remote past	-a-	deleted, tense accent	-a-ra-	deleted, two tense accents
Consecutive	-ka-	deleted	-ka-	preserved
Potential	-oo-	deleted	-oo-	preserved

Table 17: The tenses marked for post-verbal vs. verbal focus

The descriptions of the tenses involving verbal focus in the neighbouring languages Nyarwanda and Rundi are somewhat contradictory. In some descriptions, the concept of verbal focus is omitted altogether and the verbal focus marker *-ra-* is named as only the continuous marker (e.g. Dubnova 1984 on Nyarwanda). In others, the focus marking is described solely as the presence or absence of verbal complements (e.g. Sibomana 1974 and Kimenyi 2002 on Nyarwanda). In addition, some descriptions claim that the verbal focus forms have a high tone or a lexical tone on the verb stem, while in the post-verbal forms the tone of the stem is low, and that tone does not have 'any direct focus function in Rundi' (Edenmyr 2000:30). This clearly shows that the area of morphologically marked focus in these languages is still not properly explored and described.

6.1.4 Negation

Many Bantu languages distinguish two different types of morphological verbal negation, i.e. pre- and postinitial negation (Güldemann 1999:551). These negation types are conditioned syntactically. In addition to these two negation types, the negation can be expressed by periphrastic constructions in Ha, so that the auxiliary verb is negated instead of the main verb (cf. 7.2.6 in Syntax).

Finite affirmative verbs in main clauses (as well as the imperative and the subjunctive) are negated with the preinitial *nti-* (*si-* for the first person singular) that occupies slot 2 in the morphotactic scheme (on page 86), e.g. (541)-(544) below. The vowel of the negative prefix does not palatalise the preceding consonant, but it is deleted before another vowel, which is then lengthened (cf. 2.4.1 in Segmental Phonology). The negation prefix used in sub-ordinate and non-finite clauses is the postinitial *-ta-*, and it occupies slot 4 in the morphotactic scheme (cf. 6.1.1 and 6.1.9).

Focus marking may not be used with the negative markers. Neither do the affirmative and negative tenses correspond to each other in a one-to-one fashion (cf. 7.2.6 in Syntax).

6.1.4.1 Negated subjunctive

The negated subjunctive is formed with the negation prefix *nti-* of slot 2 (537)-(538). It also functions as the negation of the imperative (539). In the negated subjunctive the accent is realised on the subject prefix, and the accent of the root is deleted. In the remote future negated subjunctive, there is also an accent on the first mora of the stem (540).

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (537) | <i>nti*+tu+ibagir+e</i> | Ntitwífbagire! |
| | Neg+SP1pp+'forget'+Subj | 'Let us not forget!' |
| (538) | <i>nti*+i+zi+ich*+e</i> | ntífziiche |
| | Neg+SP9+OP10+'kill'+Subj | 'so that it will not kill them' |
| (539) | <i>nti*+u+kor*+e</i> | Ntuúkore! |
| | Neg+SP2ps+'work'+Subj | 'Do not work!' |
| (540) | <i>nti*+tu+roo+tangur*+*+e</i> | ntitúrootángure |
| | Neg+SP1pp+Fut+'start'+M+Subj | 'let us not start' |

6.1.4.2 Negated present

The negated present tense carries an accent, which is realised as a high tone on the second syllable of the macrostem. The tonal opposition of the verb root is neutralised.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (541) | nti+n+gend+*+a | singendá |
| | Neg+SP1ps+'go'+M2+FV | 'I do not go' |
| (542) | nti+u+gend+*+a | ntuugendá |
| | Neg+SP2ps+'go'+M2+FV | 'you do not go' |
| (543) | nti+u+n+ha*+*+ye | Ntuumpaayé? |
| | Neg+SP2ps+OP1ps+'give'+M2+Perf | 'Have you not given me?' |
| (544) | nti+tu+baz*+*+ye | ntitubajfje |
| | Neg+SP1pp+'ask'+M2+Perf | 'we have not asked' |

The first person subject prefix becomes *nda-* when there is an object prefix.

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| (545) | nti+n+ya+gomb+*+a | sindayagómba |
| | Neg+SP1ps+OP6+'want'+M2+FV | 'I do not want them' |

6.1.4.3 Negated past

For past time reference, there are two negated tenses that correspond to the two degrees of remoteness of the affirmative verbs. The segmental markers of both the negated past tenses are *nti-* and *-a-*. The tonal contrast of the verb roots is neutralised in both the negated recent and the remote past, but the negated remote past carries an accent (547) while the negated recent past does not (546). The accent is realised either on the first mora of the macrostem or the second mora of the past marker *-a-*, depending on the shape of the subject prefix (cf. 3.1.2.2). The single event negated past is expressed with the perfective form (548)-(549), and the negated simple aspect has an anterior sense (550)-(551).

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (546) | nti+n+a+gi+ye | sindagiiye |
| | Neg+SP1ps+Past+'go'+Perf | 'I did not go (recent)' |
| (547) | nti+n+á+gi+ye | sindagiye |
| | Neg+SP1ps+RPast+'go'+Perf | 'I did not go (remote)' |
| (548) | nti+tu+a+kor*+ye | ntitwaakoze |
| | Neg+SP1pp+Past+'work'+Perf | 'we did not work (recent)' |
| (549) | nti+tu+á+kor*+ye | ntitwaákoze |
| | Neg+SP1pp+RPast+'work'+Perf | 'we did not work (remote)' |
| (550) | nti+tu+a+kor*+a | ntitwaakora |
| | Neg+SP1pp+Past+'work'+FV | 'we have not worked (recent)' |
| (551) | nti+tu+á+kor*+a | ntitwaákorá |
| | Neg+SP1pp+RPast+'work'+FV | 'we have not worked (remote)' |

6.1.4.4 Negated future

The negated future differs tonally from the affirmative future, the negated form having one or two accents while the affirmative does not have any (cf. 6.1.3.7

above). The tense accent is realised on the first mora of the future prefix, and the possible lexical accent on the first mora of the stem.⁵⁵

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| (552) | nti+n+róo+gend+a | sindóogenda |
| | Neg+SP1ps+Fut+'go'+FV | 'I will not go' |
| (553) | nti+u+róo+gend+a | ntuuróogenda |
| | Neg+SP2ps+Fut+'go'+FV | 'you will not go' |
| (554) | nti+tu+róo+bon*+an+a | ntituróobónana |
| | Neg+SP1pp+Fut+'see'+Rec+FV | 'we will not see each other' |

6.1.4.5 Negated anterior⁵⁶

The morpheme *-ráa-* (in slot 5) is only used in negated verb forms. There is an accent on the first mora of the tense prefix, and the lexical accent of the verb stem is realised on the first mora of the stem. This form refers to a negative anterior situation, which can be translated as 'not yet' in English. The anterior *-ráa-* does not occur in the affirmative in Ha, unlike in Rundi (Rodegem 1967:44). In Ha, the affirmative anterior is expressed with the recent past and complex tenses (cf. 6.1.3.5 and 6.1.7.4).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (555) | nti+ba+ráa+ronk+a | Ntibaráaronka. |
| | Neg+SP2+Ant+'receive'+FV | 'They have not yet received.' |
| (556) | nti+n+ráa+tangur*+a | Sindáatángura. |
| | Neg+SP1ps+Ant+'start'+FV | 'I have not yet started.' |
| (557) | nti+u+ráa+mar+a | Ntuuráamara? |
| | Neg+SP2ps+Ant+'finish'+FV | 'Have you not finished yet?' |

6.1.4.6 Negated persistive

The persistive is negated with the negation prefix *nti-* and the tense prefix *-ki-*. Note that the tense prefix is different from the affirmative persistive prefix *-cháa-*.⁵⁷ *-ki-* also occurs in the persistive in subordinate clauses. The negated persistive does not have an accent of its own, and the lexical accent of the verb root is deleted.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (558) | nti+tu+ki+kin*+a | ntitukikina |
| | Neg+SP1pp+Pers+'play'+FV | 'we are no longer playing' |
| (559) | nti+a+ki+rir+a | ntaakirira |
| | Neg+SP1+Pers+'cry'+FV | 'he is no longer crying' |

⁵⁵ Meeussen (1959) and Rodegem (1967) report that in Rundi in the negated future as well as in the participial and relative forms of the future the lexical accent is neutralised and there is a tense accent on the first mora of the stem, whereas in Nyarwanda the lexical accent is preserved in these forms (Sibomana 1974, Kimenyi 2002). In Ha, there seems to be some variation between these two alternatives.

⁵⁶ The term 'anterior' is used here instead of the term 'perfect', which is often confused with 'perfective', as suggested by Rose, Beaudoin-Lietz & Nurse (2002:63).

⁵⁷ Possibly a combination of *-ki-* and the past tense marker *-a(a)-* (Nurse & Muzale 1999:526).

6.1.4.7 Negated potential

The main clause *-oo-* potential is negated with the prefix *nti-*. The accent is realised on the second syllable of the macrostem, and the possible accent of the verb root is deleted.

- (560) *nti+tu+oo+baram*+*+ye* *ntitwoobarámye*
 Neg+SP1pp+Pot+'visit'+M2+Perf 'we would not visit'
- (561) *nti+n+oo+mu+bwiir*+*+ye* *sinoomubwíye*
 Neg+SP1ps+Pot+OP1+'tell'+M2+Perf 'I would not tell him'

When the 'if' clause of the potential tense (protasis) is negated, the tonal pattern follows that of negated relative clauses, i.e. the accent is realised on the second syllable of the macrostem, and the negation prefix is *-ta-*.

- (562) *tu+ta+oo+kor*+*+ye* *tutookozé*
 SP1pp+Neg+Pot+'work'+M2+Perf 'if we did not work'
- (563) *tu+ta+oo+baram*+*+ye* *tutoobarámye*
 SP1pp+Neg+Pot+'visit'+M2+Perf 'if we did not visit'

6.1.5 Defective verbs

The defective verbs show restricted inflection, slot 11 of the morphotactic scheme (the final vowel or the perfective morpheme) is never filled because the defective verbs already have a final vowel. The defective verbs are only used in a restricted set of tenses, and they do not take derivational extensions, nor do they have the infinitive form. The monosyllabic defective roots *-ri* 'be', *-ti* 'say', and *-zi** 'know' have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (*-dI, *-tI, and *-(j)jI, respectively). In Ha, there is also the defective root *-fise* 'have'.⁵⁸

-fise may be inflected in the present and past tenses in the affirmative and negative (564)-(567). *-zi** also occurs in the present and past tenses, and it always has an object prefix (568)-(570). *-ti* is used only with the noun class 1 subject prefix *a-*, and it functions as a conjunction that introduces a subordinate clause (571) or direct speech (572).

- (564) *u+fise aba+áana ba+ngáahé* *Ufise abáana bangáahé?*
 SP2ps+'have' CP2+'child' DP2+'how many' 'How many children do you have?'
- (565) *tu+ra+fise ibi+góori* *Turafise ibigóori.*
 SP1pp+Foc+'have' CP8+'maize' 'We have maize.'
- (566) *a+á+ra+fise+* aba+kózi* *Yaráfise abakózi.*
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'have' +M CP2+'servant' 'He had servants.'
- (567) *nti+tu+fise+* ibi+góori* *Ntitufisé ibigóori.*
 Neg+SP1pp+'have'+M2 CP8+'maize' 'We do not have maize.'

⁵⁸ In Rundi, *-fise* also occurs in the simple aspect as *-fita* (Rodegem 1967:76), but in Ha only the perfective form seems to be in use.

- (568) *n+yi+zi** Ndayiizi.⁵⁹
 SP1ps+OP9+'know' 'I know it.'
- (569) *nti+n+yi+zi*+** Sindayiizi.
 Neg+SP1ps+OP9+'know'+M2 'I do not know it.'
- (570) *n+á+ra+ki+zi*+** Ndarákiizi.
 SP1ps+RPast+Foc+OP7+'know'+M 'I knew it.'
- (571) *umu+bágwa gu+á+ra+sohor*+*+ye* Umubágwa gwaárasóhoye
 CP3+'day' SP3+RPast+Foc+'arrive'+M+Perf 'The day arrived
a+ti ejó ba+ra+gend+a ati ejó baragenda.
 SP1+'say' 'tomorrow' SP2+Foc+'go'+FV that they would leave tomorrow.'
- (572) *ri+a+mu+bwiir*+*+ye a+ti* Dyaamubwiye ati ndoomuha impíya.
 SP5+Past+OP1+'tell'+Perf SP1+'say' 'It said: I will give him money.'
n+roo+mu+ha+a iN+píya*
 SP1ps+Fut+OP1+'give'+FV CP9/10+'money'

-ri 'be' is used in the present, the recent past, the remote past and the persistive tenses, both in the affirmative and negative, and inflected in person (573)-(577). The copula *nílsí* is usually used instead of *-ri* in the third person singular for identification in the present tense (cf. 6.1.6 below). In the tenses in which it is not possible to use *-ri*, the fully inflected *ukúba* 'to be' is used. When combined with the associative index *na** and inflected in person *-ri* gives the meaning 'have' (573), (576). Often *-ri* is used with the locative affixes and, thus, indicate being in a location (578)-(579) (cf. also 5.3 in Nominal Morphology). *-ri* is also used as an auxiliary verb (cf. 6.1.7.2 below).

- (573) *ba+ri na*+aba+úzikuru* Bari náabúzikuru.
 SP2+'be' AI+CP2+'grandchild' 'They have grandchildren.'
- (574) *bi+a+ri *+bi+beer*+ir+ye* Vyaari bíbeereye
 SP8+Past+'be' Part+SP8+'please'+Appl+Perf 'They were good.'
- (575) *ba+á+ri imi+sóre* Baári imisóre.
 SP2+RPast+'be' CP4+'teenager' 'They were teenagers.'
- (576) *n+cháa+ri na*+imi+áaka* Ncháari nímyáaka.
 SP1ps+Pers+'be' AI+CP4+'year' 'I still have years
 (i.e. I am still young.)'
- (577) *nti+a+ri*+ nka*+imi+sóre* Ntaari nkímisóre.
 Neg+SP1+'be'+M2 CI+CP4+'teenager' 'He is not like teenagers.'
- (578) *ha+ri+hó aya+ndi** Harihó ayándi?
 SP16+'be'+Pro16 CP6+'other' 'Is there something else?'
- (579) *mu+iN+zu ha+ri+mwó ibi+haragi* Munzu harimwó ibiharagi.
 Loc18+CP9/10+'house' SP16+'be'+Pro18 CP8+'bean' 'There are beans in the house.'

⁵⁹ See section 2.2 in the chapter on segmental phonology for the lengthening of the vowel.

6.1.6 Verbal copulas

There are verbal copulas that introduce predicatives. *ní* 'is, are' is used in present affirmative and interrogative main clauses to introduce nominal predicatives (580)-(582). The high tone of the copula is realised on the augment of the following word (cf. 3.3 in Tonology). The negative counterpart of *ní* is *sí* (583), and *arí* and *atári* are the respective forms used in subordinate clauses (584)-(587). The negative existential copula *ntaa* 'there is not' is used to introduce negative existential predicatives (588)-(590). Affirmative existential predicatives are introduced with locatives (cf. 5.3.1 in Nominal Morphology).

- | | |
|---|--|
| (580) <i>iyi ní iN+suka yi+a*+we</i>
IDemP9 Cop CP9/10+'hoe' DP9+Con+Poss2ps | <i>Iyi ní isúka yáawe.</i>
'This is your hoe.' |
| (581) <i>aba+óoroozi ní ba+ínshi</i>
CP2+'herdsman' Cop AP2+'many' | <i>Abóoroozi ní bénshi.</i>
'Herdsmen are numerous.' |
| (582) <i>aba ní ba+ndé</i>
IDemP2 Cop DP2+'who' | <i>Aba ní bandé?</i>
'Who are these?' |
| (583) <i>iyi sí iN+nyáabu</i>
IDemP9 CopN CP9/10+'cat' | <i>Iyi sí inyáabu.</i>
'This is not a cat.' |
| (584) <i>naahó ama+héra arí ma+tóoyi</i>
'even though' CP6+'money' CopS AP6+'little' | <i>Naahó amahéra arí matóoyi...</i>
'Even though money is little...' |
| (585) <i>David ní umu+genzi u+a* Peter nkíko</i>
PropN Cop CP1+'friend' DP1+Con PropN 'as' | <i>David ní umugenzi wa Péter, nkíko</i>
'David is Peter's friend, just as |
| <i>Salome arí umu+genzi u+a* Lilian</i>
PropN CopS CP1+'friend' DP1+Con PropN | <i>Salome arí umugenzi wa Lílían.</i>
Salome is Lilian's friend.' |
| (586) <i>ama+héra atári ma+ínshi</i>
CP6+'money' CopNS AP6+'many' | <i>Amahéra atári ménshi...</i>
'If there is not much money...' |
| (587) <i>tu+bon*+a atárikó bi+ri nóóne</i>
SP1pp+'see'+FV CopNS+Pro17 SP8+'be' 'now' | <i>Tubona atárikó biri nóóne.</i>
'We see that things are not as they are now.' |
| (588) <i>ntaa iN+gwaano</i>
NegEx CP9/10+'war' | <i>Ntaa ngwaano.</i>
'There is no war.' |
| (589) <i>ntaa uku+tiny*+an+a</i>
NegEx CP15+'fear'+Rec+FV | <i>Ntaa gutínyana.</i>
'There is no fearing each other.' |
| (590) <i>ntaa umu+iizá</i>
NegEx CP1+'good' | <i>Ntaa mwiizá atagirá inkóvu.</i>
'There is no good who does not have scars.' |
| <i>a+ta+gir*+a iN+kóvu</i>
SP1+Neg+'have'+M2+FV CP9/10+'scar' | |

6.1.7 Complex tenses

In addition to the tenses that are morphologically marked, there are several periphrastically marked tenses. Most of these complex tenses are formed with the defective verb *-ri* 'to be', but some other verbs can also function as auxiliaries. However, the term auxiliary is not quite accurate, since these verbs act as the main verbs of the clause, and the following, the so-called main verbs, behave like verbs

in subordinate clauses. This can be seen from the tonal patterns: the second verb of these constructions uses the tonal pattern of the participials, while the first is in the indicative. In addition, if the second verb is negated, the negation morpheme is that of the subordinate clauses (cf. 6.1.8.1 below).

There are also some restrictions that apply to the first verb in an auxiliary construction, but not to independent main verbs: the first verb may not have an object prefix, nor derivational extensions. However, this restriction may only be semantic, since only transitive verbs may have the object prefix.

6.1.7.1 Progressive

The progressive is marked with the locative substitutive *kó-* (in slot 1) and the present focus marker *-ra-*. The locative prefix carries an accent realised as H on the prefix itself, leaving the rest of the tonal pattern unaffected. The progressive is not used with stative predicates.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (591) | kó+tu+ra+kin*+a | Kóturakína. |
| | Pro17+SP1pp+Foc+'play'+FV | 'We are playing.' |
| (592) | kó+n+ra+gamb+a | Kóndagamba. |
| | Pro17+SP1ps+Foc+'speak'+FV | 'I am speaking.' |
| (593) | kó+n+ra+bu+ri*+a | Kóndabúdyá. |
| | Pro17+SP1ps+Foc+OP14+'eat'+FV | 'I am eating it.' |

The use of the locative substitutive as a progressive marker seems to be derived from a more complex construction where the locative affix is attached to the defective verb *-ri* 'be' (594). In this construction, the second verb behaves tonally as the main verb and preserves the tonal contrast of the root, unlike with other auxiliary constructions. When this longer form is used, the auxiliary construction may also be in the past tense, indicating that the progressive event took place in the past (595).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| (594) | tu+ri+kó tu+ra+kin*+a | Turikó turakína. |
| | SP1pp+'be'+Pro17 SP1pp+Foc+'play'+FV | 'We are playing.' |
| (595) | i+a+ri+kó i+ra+bik*+a | Yarikó irabíka. |
| | SP9+Past+'be'+Pro17 SP9+Foc+'crow'+FV | 'It was crowing.' |

The progressive can also be formed by using the verb *-há* 'give' as an auxiliary. Both the auxiliary and the main verb are inflected in person, the auxiliary being in the perfective and the main verb in the simple aspect. The accent of the auxiliary is deleted, while the main verb has the tonal pattern of the participials (cf. 6.1.8.1 below).

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|
| (596) | tu+ha*+ye *+tu+ri*+a | Tuhaaye túdyá. |
| | SP1pp+'give'+Perf Part+SP1pp+'eat'+FV | 'We are eating.' |
| (597) | a+ha*+ye *+a+kurug+a | Ahaaye akúruḡa. |
| | SP1+'give'+Perf Part+SP1+'stir'+FV | 'She is stirring.' |

6.1.7.2 Pluperfect

The pluperfect is formed with *-ri* 'be' as an auxiliary. The auxiliary is in the recent past tense and inflected in person. The main verb is in the perfective (except the defective verbs) and inflected in person and tense, and it behaves tonally like the participials (cf. 6.1.8.1 below). The pluperfect refers to an event that took place before another event in past time.

- (598) *n+a+ri *+n+a+gi+ye* Ndari ndágiiye murugereero.
 SP1ps+Past+'be' Part+SP1ps+Past+'go'+Perf 'I had gone to the market.'
mu+uru+gereero
 Loc18+CP11+'market'
- (599) *u+a+ri *+u+a+gi+ye heéhe* Wari wágiiye heéhe?
 SP2ps+Past+'be' Part+SP2ps+Past+'go'+Perf 'where' 'Where had you gone?'
- (600) *a+a+ri *+a+a+raab+ye* Yari yáaavye.
 SP1+Past+'be' Part+SP1+Past+'look'+Perf 'He was looking at.'

6.1.7.3 Narrative

The narrative auxiliary *-cha* 'do then' is used when narrating a sequence of actions within the main clause. It is inflected in person, and the following verb is in the present tense. The tone of the verb following *-cha* is that of the participials in the simple present (601), but when there is the verbal focus marker *-ra-*, the tone is as in the indicative verbal focus present (602). *-cha* may also be used with the future tense marker *-roo-* (603) and the consecutive marker *-ka-* (604).

- (601) *n+a+mu+ha*+ye ama+bóko* Namuhaaye amabóko
 SP1ps+Past+OP1+'give'+Perf CP6+'arm' 'I gave (i.e. showed) him (my) arms,
a+ra+ya+raab+a a+chi+a arayaraaba acha yándika.
 SP1+Foc+OP6+'look'+FV SP1+'do then'+FV he looked at them and then wrote.
 *+a+andik+a
 Part+SP1+'write'+FV
- (602) *a+á+ra+chi*+*+ye iN+nyama* Yaráchiiye inyama
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'cut'+M+Perf CP9/10+'meat' 'She cut the meat
a+chi+a a+ra+zi+rong+a. acha arazironga.
 SP1+'do then'+FV SP1+Foc+OP10+'wash'+FV and then washed it.'
- (603) *n+roo+chi+a n+ra+ki+zan*+a* ...ndoocha ndakfízana.
 SP1ps+Fut+'do next'+FV SP1ps+Foc+OP7+'bring'+FV '...then I will bring them.'
- (604) *a+ka+chi+a a+shuuh*+i+a* ...agacha ashúusha amáazi.
 SP1+Cons+'do next'+FV SP1+'be hot'+Caus+FV '...and then she also boiled water.'
*ama+zi**
 CP6+'water'

-chiiye, the perfective form of *-cha* is sometimes used in narratives to introduce the main clause after a subordinate clause. It is in the remote past form and inflected in person. The following verb is in the simple present.

- (605) a+bon*+ye *+zi+hi*+ye Abonye zíhiye
 SP1+'see'+Perf Part+SP10+'burn'+Perf 'When she found out that it was
 a+á+chi+ye a+zi+run+g+a yachíye azirunga.
 SP1+RPast+'do then'+Perf SP1+OP10+'season'+FV cooked she then seasoned it.'

6.1.7.4 Other auxiliaries

The perfective form of the verb *-mara* 'finish' is used as an auxiliary to indicate an action that immediately preceded another action or the utterance (606). It is also used to express anterior sense in the affirmative (607) (cf. 6.1.4.5 above). The following verb is in the infinitive.

- (606) n+mar+ye ku+ichar+a Máze kwichara
 SP1ps+'finish'+Perf CP15+'sit'+FV 'When I had sat
 a+a+hamvy*+ye uru+pápuro yahambije urupápuro.
 SP1+Past+'take'+Perf CP11+'paper' he took a paper.'
- (607) u+ra+mar+ye Uramaze gutámburira Kigoma?
 SP2ps+Foc+'finish'+Perf 'Have you already visited Kigoma?'
 ku+tambur*+ir+a Kigoma
 CP15+'walk'+Appl+FV PropN

The verb *-bá* 'be' is used as an auxiliary instead of *-ri* in tenses which are not possible for *-ri* (cf. 6.1.5 above). It is used for example to make the progressive forms refer to the future (608)-(609) or to the past (610). It is also used in 'if' clauses to carry the consecutive marker *-ka-* (611) or the potential marker *-oo-* (612).

- (608) a+roo+ba*+a a+ri+kó a+ra+ri*+a arooba arikó aradyá
 SP1+Fut+'be'+FV SP1+'be'+Pro17 SP1+Foc+'eat'+FV 'he will be eating'
- (609) a+roo+ba*+a a+a+ri+kó a+ra+ri*+a arooba yarikó aradyá
 SP1+Fut+'be'+FV SP1+Past+'be'+Pro17 SP1+Foc+'eat'+FV 'he will have been eating'
- (610) a+a+ba*+a a+ri+kó a+ra+bib*+a yabá arikó arabíba
 SP1+Past+'be'+FV SP1+'be'+Pro17 SP1+Foc+'plant'+FV 'he was planting'
- (611) n+ka+ba*+a *+n+a+mu+bon*+ye nkaba ndámubonye
 SP1ps+Const+'be'+FV Part+SP1ps+Past+OP1+'see'+Perf 'if I see him'
- (612) n+oo+ba*+*+ye *+n+á+mu+bon*+ye noobaayé ndámubonye
 SP1ps+Pot+'be'+M2+Perf Part+SP1ps+RPast+OP1+'see'+Perf 'if I had seen him'

The verb *-guma* 'be firm' can be used as an auxiliary instead of the persistent tense (613). The negated persistent may be replaced with *-héba* 'stop' as an auxiliary (614). The verb *-hóra* 'cool down' brings the adverbial meaning 'often' to a clause when used as an auxiliary (615).

- (613) ba+gum+a *+ba+tu+bon*+a baguma bátubona
 SP2+'be firm'+FV Part+SP2+OP1pp+'see'+FV 'they still see us'
- (614) a+á+ra+heb*+*+ye ku+kor*+a Yaráhevye gukóra.
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'stop'+M+Perf CP15+'work'+FV 'He is no longer working.'

(615) n+hor*+a *+n+gend+a

SP1ps+ 'cool down' +FV Part+SP1ps+ 'go' +FV

mu+uru+gereero

Loc18+CP11+ 'market'

Mpora ngénda murugereero.

'I often go to the market.'

6.1.8 Participials and relatives

The verbs in the participial and relative forms have different tonal patterns from the indicative forms. Some of these forms also differ from the indicative forms at the segmental level. The formation of the participial and relative forms is compared to that of the indicative forms in Table 18, and the forms are discussed in detail below. The tone is discussed in chapter 3.

	Indicative		Participial		Relative		Independent Relative	
Present	-	L	ˈ-	L	-	M2	-	M
Recent Past	-a-	L	ˈ-a-	R	-a-	M2	-á-	L
Remote Past	-á-	L	ˈ-á-	L	-á-	L	-á-	L
Future	-roo-	L	-róo-	R	-róo-	R	-róo-	R
Potential	-oo-	L	ˈ-oo-	L	-oo-	M2	-oó-	L
Persistent	-cháa-	R	ˈ-ki-	L	-ki-	M	-kí-	L

Table 18: The elements of the indicative, participial, relative and independent relative forms

R lexical accent (the accent of the verb root) realised as H on the first mora of the stem or macrostem

L no tense accent realised on the stem, lexical accent deleted

M tense accent realised as H on the first mora of the stem or macrostem, lexical accent deleted

M2 tense accent realised as H on the second syllable of the macrostem, lexical accent deleted

6.1.8.1 Participials

Participials are verb forms that occur in participial phrases (cf. also 7.1.5.2 in Syntax) and in auxiliary constructions (cf. 6.1.7 above). The characteristic of the participials is an accent, which is realised on the first mora of the verbal form (cf. chapter 3 for the movement rule with certain subject prefixes). The participial pattern is marked by an initial asterisk (*) in the morphological sketches.

The most common form of the participials is the present, i.e. the most unmarked form. The simple present participial form refers to simultaneous action (616)-(619), the perfective to action that takes place before the action of the main clause (620)-(623). Therefore, the semantic tense of the participial depends on the tense of the main clause. The only accent that is realised is that of the participial.

- (616) a+á+ra+mu+teeterez+*+ye yarámutéetereje avúga ngo
 SP1+RPast+Foc+OP+ 'mock' +M+Perf 'he mocked him saying that'
 +a+vug+a ngo
 Part+SP1+ 'say' +FV 'that'
- (617) ba+á+bon*+ye aba+ntu *+ba+z+a baábonye abantu báaza
 SP2+RPast+ 'see' +Perf CP2+ 'person' Part+SP2+ 'come' +FV 'they saw people coming'
- (618) ha+ri+hó *+ba+dandaz*+a harihó bádandaza
 SP16+ 'be' +Pro16 Part+SP2+ 'trade' +FV 'there are traders (i.e. those trading)'
- (619) zi+hotoor*+a *+zi+hiig*+u+a Zihotoora zíhiigwa.
 SP10+ 'grow old' +FV Part+SP10+ 'hunt' +Pass+FV 'They grow old while they are being hunted.'
- (620) *+zi+hi*+ye zíhiye
 Part+SP10+ 'burn' +Perf 'after they were cooked'
- (621) *+a+zi+rong+ye azíronze
 Part+SP1+OP10+ 'rinse' +Perf 'after she had rinsed them'
- (622) *+ba+tu+bon*+ye ba+ra+tu+keez*+a Bátubonye baratúkeeza.
 Part+SP2+OP1pp+ 'see' +Perf SP2+Foc+OP1pp+ 'greet' +FV 'When they see us they greet us.'
- (623) iki+túntu *+ki+uzur*+ye igitúntu chúuzuye
 CP7+ 'chest' Part+SP7+ 'get full' +Perf 'the chest being full'

The participial forms of the present tense are used in some type of subordinate clauses (624)-(625), as well as in auxiliary constructions (626)-(627). Sometimes participials express adjectival meanings (628).

- (624) iN+géne *+ba+ivun*+a ingéne bívuna
 CP9/10+ 'sort' Part+SP2+ 'boast' +FV 'how they boast'
- (625) ku+ntu *+a+á+mu+kund*+a kúntu yamúkunda
 Loc17+ 'thing' Part+SP1+RPast+OP1+ 'love' +FV 'how he loved her'
- (626) a+roo+chi+a *+a+subir*+a aroocha asúbira
 SP1+Fut+ 'do then' +FV Part+SP1+ 'repeat' +FV 'he will repeat'
- (627) i+ka+raar*+a *+i+her*+ye ikaraara yíheze
 SP9+Cons+ 'sleep' +FV Part+SP9+ 'end' +Perf 'until it was finished'
- (628) imi+dyángo i+garih+ye imidyángo igárishe
 CP4+ 'door' SP4+ 'be wide' +Perf 'wide doors'

The participial present perfective can also be used as a conditional (629). The subject prefix for the first person singular is *nda-* instead of the regular *n-* when there is an object prefix (630).

- (629) *+tu+raab+ye túraavye
 Part+SP1pp+ 'look at' +Perf 'if we look at'
- (630) *+n+ya+bon*+ye ndáyabonye
 Part+SP1ps+OP6+ 'see' +Perf 'if I see them'

For participials with past time reference, both the recent (631) and the remote past forms are used (632)-(633). In the remote past the lexical accent is deleted, while in the recent past it is realised on the first syllable of the stem.

- (631) i+gúfa *+ri+a+kiikam*+ye igúfa dyáakíikamye
 CP5+'bone' Part+SP5+Past+'get stuck'+Perf 'a bone that had got stuck'
- (632) ba+á+ra+garuk*+*+ye baáragárutse bááhindutse
 SP2+RPast+Foc+'return'+M+Perf 'they returned having changed'
 *+ba+a+hinduk+ye
 Part+SP2+RPast+'change'+Perf
- (633) ní iN+kámba *+zi+á+ri+hó ni inkámba záárihó nyínshi
 Cop CP9/10+'coal' Part+SP10+RPast+'be'+Pro16 'it is coal that there were plenty'
 n+ínshi
 AP10+'many'

The remote past sometimes occurs in the verbal focus form in a participial position. The tonal pattern in these instances is the same as in the indicative.

- (634) i+zúuba *+ri+á+ra+tibiir*+*+ye izúuba dyaáratíibiye
 CP5+'sun' Part+SP5+RPast+Foc+'set'+M+Perf 'when the sun had set'
- (635) a+huut+a *+a+á+ra+teg*+*+ye ahuuta yaráteze
 SP1+'hurry'+FV Part+SP1+RPast+Foc+'set'+M+Perf 'he quickly set the trap'

In the future tense participials, there is an accent on the future tense marker. In addition, the possible lexical accent of the stem is preserved, and it is realised on the first mora of the stem.

- (636) tu+ka+ba*+a tu+róo+kor*+a tukaba turóokóra
 SP1pp+Cons+'be'+FV SP1pp+Fut+'work'+FV 'if we will work'

In the participial forms of the potential, the only accent is that of participial (637). The persistive (-cháa- in main affirmative clauses) is expressed in the participial clauses with the same prefix as in negated main clauses, i.e. -ki-. The accent of the stem is deleted, and the accent of the participial is realised on the subject prefix (638). When the subject prefix is only a vowel, the accent is realised on the tense marker -ki- (639).

- (637) iN+géne *+ba+oo+kor*+a ingéne bóokóra
 CP9/10+'sort' Part+SP2+Pot+'work'+FV 'how they can work'
- (638) kare *+tu+ki+ri ba+tóoyi kare túkiri batóoyi
 'early' Part+SP1pp+Pers+'be' AP2+'little' 'when we were young'
- (639) ku+vu+a *+a+ki+ri umu+áana kuva akíri umwána
 CP15+'come'+FV Part+SP1+Pers+'be' CP1+'child' 'since he was a child'

6.1.8.2 Relatives

On the segmental level, the relatives and the participials are identical, but the relative forms have a tonal pattern of their own that differs from that of the participial forms (cf. Table 18). A relativised subject noun phrase is marked on the restrictive clause with the subject concord and the relative tonal pattern. A

relativised object noun phrase is marked with a relative pronoun and the relative tone, with the object prefix and the relative tone, or only with the relative tone. There are also independent relative clauses.

The tonal contrast of the verbal roots is neutralised in all but the future tense relatives. In addition to the relative clauses, the relative forms are used in several other subordinate clauses (cf. 7.4 in Syntax).

As with participials, the most common tense used with the relative forms is the present tense, which covers the present time reference in relatives as well as expressions without specified time reference. The relative accent is realised on the second syllable of the macrostem, and the lexical accent of the verb stem is deleted.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|--------------------------------|---------|
| (640) umu+húngu a+it*+*+u+a | Lameck | umuhúngu yitwá | Lameck |
| CP1+'boy' SP1+'call'+M2+Pass+FV | PropN | 'a boy (that is) called | Lameck' |
| (641) umu+áana a+rir*+*+a | | umwáana arirá | |
| CP1+'child' SP1+'cry'+M2+FV | | 'a child who is crying' | |
| (642) umu+áana a+tu+raab*+*+a | | umwáana aturáaba | |
| CP1+'child' SP1+OP1pp+'look'+M2+FV | | 'a child who looks at us' | |
| (643) iN+naúri i+ba+shik*+*+i+a | | inaúri ibashítsa | |
| CP9/10+'fare' SP9+OP2+'arrive'+M2+Caus+FV | | 'fare that brought them' | |
| (644) ibi+úuma tu+kor*+*+iish+a | | ivyúuma tukoréesha | |
| CP8+'iron' SP1pp+'work'+M2+Caus+FV | | 'the iron we use' | |
| (645) ama+vúta ga+shuuh*+*+ye | | amavúta gashuushé | |
| CP6+'oil' SP6+'be hot'+M2+Perf | | 'oil that is boiling' | |
| (646) i+gúnira ri+uzur*+*+ye iN+butó | | igúnira dyuuzúye imbutó | |
| CP5+'sack' SP5+'become full'+M2+Perf | CP9/10+'seed' | 'a sack that is full of seeds' | |

In the recent past relatives, the accent is realised on the second syllable of the macrostem (647)–(649), but in the remote past, the only accent that is realised is that of the tense (650)–(651). It is realised on the tense prefix *-a-* or on the first syllable of the macrostem, depending on the shape of the subject prefix (cf. chapter 3). The lexical accent of the stem is deleted in both the recent and the remote past relative.

- | | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------|--|
| (647) ama+héra n+a+ha*+*+u+ye | | amahéra nahaawé | |
| CP6+'money' SP1ps+Past+'give'+M2+Pass+Perf | | 'the money I was given' | |
| (648) iN+nyama n+a+biik*+*+i+ye | | inyama nabiikíje | |
| CP9/10+'meat' SP1ps+Past+'store'+M2+Caus+Perf | | 'the meat that I left' | |
| (649) iN+básekeeri n+a+yi+biik*+*+i+ye | | ibásekeeri nayibíikíje | |
| CP9/10+'bicycle' SP1ps+Past+OP9+'store'+M2+Caus+Perf | | 'the bicycle that I left' | |
| (650) umu+áana a+á+tu+bon*+*+ye | | umwáana yatúbonye | |
| CP1+'child' SP1+RPast+OP1pp+'see'+Perf | | 'the child who saw us' | |
| (651) aba+áana ba+á+tu+bon*+*+ye | | abáana baátubonye | |
| CP2+'child' SP2+RPast+OP1pp+'see'+Perf | | 'the children who saw us' | |

In the future relatives, the accent of the stem is preserved, and it is realised on the first mora of the stem. There is also an accent on the first mora of the future prefix *-roo-*.

- (652) iN+beba i+róo+shobor*+*+a imbeba iróoshóbora
 CP9/10+ 'rat' SP9+Fut+ 'be able'+M2+FV 'a rat which will be able'
- (653) aba+áana ba+róo+n+meny+a abáana baróomenya
 CP2+ 'child' SP2+Fut+OP1ps+ 'know'+FV 'children who will know me'

The relative accent of the persistive is realised on the first mora of the macrostem. The lexical accent of the stem is deleted.

- (654) umu+áana a+ki+rir+*+a umwáana akiríra
 CP1+ 'child' SP1+Pers+ 'cry'+M+FV 'the child who is still crying'
- (655) aba+ntu ba+ki+tu+bon*+*+a abantu bakitúbona
 CP2+ 'person' SP2+Pers+OP1pp+ 'see'+M+FV 'people who still see us'

In the potential, the relative accent is realised on the second syllable of the macrostem. Again, the lexical accent of the stem is deleted.

- (656) aba+ntu ba+oo+kor*+*+a abantu bookorá
 CP2+ 'person' SP2+Pot+ 'work'+M2+FV 'people who can work'
- (657) aba+ntu ba+oo+tu+bon*+*+ye abantu bootubónye
 CP2+ 'person' SP2+Pot+OP1pp+ 'see'+M2+Perf 'people who would see us'
- (658) bi+oo+ba*+*+ye vyoobaayé
 SP8+Pot+ 'be'+M2+Perf 'which would be'

In the relative forms, the *o*-stem relative pronoun (cf. 5.4.1 in Nominal Morphology), with an accent but often without the augment, is used as a relative pronoun for emphasising the object. It is placed before the subject prefix. The verb that follows the relative pronoun is in the relative form.

- (659) vyó+n+gomb+*+a vyóngombá
 RPro8+SP1ps+ 'want'+M2+FV 'that I want'
- (660) wó+ki+ronk*+*+ye wókironsé
 RPro1+SP7+ 'get'+M2+Perf 'whom it gets'
- (661) chó+a+bon*+*+ye chábonyé
 RPro7+SP1+ 'see'+M2+Perf 'which he saw'
- (662) vyó+ba+á+rankur*+*+ye vyóbaárankuye
 RPro8+SP2+RPast+ 'purchase'+Perf 'that they had purchased'
- (663) yó+a+á+ba*+*+a+mwó yóyaábamwó
 RPro9+SP1+RPast+ 'be'+M2+FV+Pro18 'which he has lived in'

The relative pronoun is frequently used in locative class 16 to refer to time or place (664)–(665). The relative pronoun of the locative class can also be used with the infinitive forms (666).

- (664) hó+tu+á+kor*+a hótwaákora
 RPro16+SP1pp+RPast+ 'work'+FV 'when we worked'
- (665) hó+a+oo+ronk+ye hóyooronsé
 RPro16+SP1+Pot+ 'get'+Perf 'where he would get'
- (666) hó+ku+ichar+a hókwichara
 RPro16+CP15+ 'sit'+FV 'where to sit'

Independent relative clauses are formed with the relative subject prefix and an accent. Class 1 has the special relative prefix *uu-*, which is sometimes *uwu-* or *owu-*, in all the other classes the relative subject prefix is identical to the noun class prefix with the augment (cf. 5.1 in Nominal Morphology). The accent of the independent relative clause is realised as H on the mora, which follows the relative subject prefix, if the subject prefix is of the form VCV-. When the subject prefix is of the form VV-, H spreads to the second mora of the prefix, or it is moved to the stem, depending on the shape of the tense marker (cf. below).

Since in the present tense there is no tense marker, the accent of the independent relative is realised on the first mora of the macrostem (667)-(670). With the class 1 relative subject prefix, H also spreads to the prefix (671)-(672).

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (667) | aba*+jish+a ibi+seke | abájísha ibiseke |
| | SPRel2+'make'+FV CP8+'container' | 'those who make containers' |
| (668) | aba*+ank*+an+a | abaánkana |
| | SPRel2+'hate'+Rec+FV | 'those who hate each other' |
| (669) | iki*+ku+fash*+a | ikigúfasha |
| | SPRel7+OP2ps+'help'+FV | 'what helps you' |
| (670) | ibi*+mu+kwiiir*+ye | ibimúkwiie |
| | SPRel8+OP1+'be enough'+Perf | 'what is enough for him' |
| (671) | uu*+gomb+a | uúgómba |
| | SPRel1+'want'+FV | 'he who wants' |
| (672) | uu*+guz+a | uúgúza |
| | SPRel1+'sell'+FV | 'the seller i.e. the one who sells' |

In the independent relative, there is no difference between the recent and the remote past. With VV-type relative subject prefixes, the accent is realised on the first syllable of the macrostem (673). With VCV-type prefixes the accent is realised on the tense marker -a- (674). In the future the independent relative accent is realised on the first mora of the future prefix (675), and it spreads to the VV-type prefix (676)-(677). The future is the only tense that preserves the tonal contrast of the stems, the lexical accent being realised on the first syllable of the stem.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (673) | uu*+a+ri*+ye | uwaríiye |
| | SPRel1+Past+'eat'+Perf | 'he who ate' |
| (674) | aba*+a+sigar*+ye | abaásigaye |
| | SPRel2+Past+'remain'+Perf | 'those who remained' |
| (675) | aba*+roo+kor*+a | abaróokóra |
| | SPRel2+Fut+'work'+FV | 'those who will work' |
| (676) | uu*+roo+kor*+a | uúróokóra |
| | SPRel1+Fut+'work'+FV | 'he who will work' |
| (677) | uu*+roo+n+kuur*+a | uúróonkúura |
| | SPRel1+Fut+OP1ps+'remove'+FV | 'he who will remove for me' |

In the potential, the independent relative accent is realised on the second mora of the tense marker *-oo-* (678)-(680). In the persistive, it is realised on the persistive marker *-ki-* (681), and spreads to VV-type prefixes (682)-(683).

- (678) *uu*+oo+kor*+ye* *uwoókoze*
 SPRel1+Pot+'work'+Perf 'he who would work'
- (679) *uu*+oo+rir+ye* *uwoórise*
 SPRel1+Pot+'cry'+Perf 'he who would cry'
- (680) *aba*+oo+rir+ye* *aboórise*
 SPRel2+Pot+'cry'+Perf 'those who would cry'
- (681) *aba*+ki+rir+a* *abakírita*
 SPRel2+Pers+'cry'+Perf 'those who are still crying'
- (682) *uu*+ki+rir+a* *uúkírita*
 SPRel1+Pers+'cry'+Perf 'he who is still crying'
- (683) *uu*+ki+kor*+a* *uúkíkora*
 SPRel1+Pers+'work'+Perf 'he who is still working'

6.1.9 Negated participial and relative forms

Participial, relative and infinitive forms are negated with the prefix *-ta-* that occupies slot 4. Slots 2 and 4 are mutually exclusive. The tonal contrast is preserved in the future and the anterior, in the other tenses the accent of the stem is deleted. The elements are listed in Table 19, and the forms are discussed below.

	Indicative		Participial		Relative		Independent Relative	
Present	<i>nti-</i>	M2	<i>-tá-</i>	M2	<i>-ta-</i>	M2	<i>-tá-</i>	M2
Recent Past	<i>nti-a-</i>	L	<i>-tá-a-</i>	L	<i>-ta-a-</i>	M2	<i>-tá-a-</i>	L
Remote Past	<i>nti-á-</i>	L	<i>-tá-á-</i>	L	<i>-ta-á-</i>	L	<i>-tá-á-</i>	L
Future	<i>nti-róo-</i>	R	<i>-tá-róo-</i>	R	<i>-ta-róo-</i>	R	<i>-ta-róo-</i>	R
Potential	<i>nti-oo-</i>	M2	<i>-tá-oo-</i>	L	<i>-ta-oo-</i>	M2	<i>-tá-oo-</i>	L
Persistive	<i>nti-ki-</i>	L	<i>-tá-ki-</i>	L	<i>-ta-ki-</i>	L	<i>-tá-ki-</i>	L
Anterior	<i>nti-ráa-</i>	R	<i>-tá-ráa-</i>	R	<i>-ta-ráa-</i>	R	<i>-tá-raa-</i>	R

Table 19: The elements of the negated indicative, participial, relative, and independent relative forms

- R lexical accent (the accent of the verb root) realised as H on the first mora of the stem or macrostem
- L no tense accent realised on the stem, lexical accent deleted
- M tense accent realised as H on the first mora of the macrostem, lexical accent deleted
- M2 tense accent realised as H on the second syllable of the macrostem, lexical accent deleted

6.1.9.1 Negated participials

The negation marker of the subordinate marker *-ta-* carries the participial accent in the negated participial forms. In the present negated participial there is also an accent, which is realised as H on the second syllable of the macrostem (684)-(686). The negated participials with the perfective suffix can also express a negated conditional (687).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (684) | a+roo+pfu*+a a+tá+kandagiir*+*+ye
SP1+Fut+'die'+FV SP1+Neg+'step'+M2+Perf | aroopfa atákandágiye
'he will die without stepping' |
| (685) | bi+a+ri bi+tá+meny*+*+ik+an+a
SP8+Past+'be' SP8+Neg+'know'+M2+Neut+Rec+FV | vyaari bitámenyéekana
'they were not known' |
| (686) | iN+túmba zi+tá+gwaar*+*+ye
CP9/10+'grain' SP10+Neg+'get ill'+M2+Perf | intumba zitágwaayé
'grains not infected' |
| (687) | n+tá+mu+bon*+*+ye
SP1ps+Neg+OP1+'see'+M2+Perf | ntámubónye
'if I do not see him' |

In the negated past participial, the distinction between the recent and the remote past is the tense accent on the tense marker of the remote past. The accent of the negated participial is realised on the negation marker *-ta-* (688)-(689). In the negated future participial, there are two realised accents: the future accent on the future marker *-roo-*, and the lexical accent of the stem, which is realised on the first mora of the stem (690).

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (688) | n+tá+a+mu+bon*+ye
SP1ps+Neg+Past+OP1+'see'+Perf | ntámubonye
'if I did not see him (earlier today)' |
| (689) | n+tá+á+mu+bon*+ye
SP1ps+Neg+RPast+OP1+'see'+Perf | ntámubonye
'if I did not see him (before today)' |
| (690) | ba+tá+róo+ku+igoor*+a
SP2+Neg+Fut+CP15+'stress'+FV | batáróokwíigoora
'(that) they will not get worn out' |

In the participial negated potential (691) and persistive (692), the only accent is the accent of the negation marker *-ta-*. The lexical accent is deleted. In the participial negated anterior, there are two or three realised accents: the accent of the negated participial on the negation marker *-ta-*, the accent of the anterior on the anterior marker *-raa-*, and the possible lexical accent of the verb stem, which is realised on the first mora of the stem (693)-(694).

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (691) | n+ra+tangaar+a kingéne
SP1ps+Foc+'wonder'+FV 'how' | Ndatangaara kingéne batóokora.
'I wonder how they cannot work.' |
| (692) | kare tu+tá+ki+kor*+a
'early' SP1pp+Neg+Pers+'work'+FV | Kare tutákikora...
'When we did not work anymore...' |
| (693) | a+tá+ráa+teer*+a
SP1+Neg+Ant+'sow'+FV | atáráatéera
'before he sowed' |
| (694) | n+tá+ráa+gay+a
SP1ps+Neg+Ant+'get angry'+FV | ntáráagaya
'I haven't got angry' |

6.1.9.2 Negated relatives

In the negated relative present, there is an accent on the second syllable of the macrostem.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (695) | a+ta+tumbagir+*+a
SP1+Neg+'travel'+M2+FV | atatumbágira
'who does not travel' |
| (696) | ha+ta+gir+*+a
SP16+Neg+'have'+M2+FV | hatagirá
'where there is not' |
| (697) | a+ta+meny+*+a
SP1+Neg+'know'+M2+FV | atamenyá
'who does not know' |
| (698) | iN+gwáara a+ta+gwaar*+*+ye
CP9/10+'sickness' SP1+Neg+'get ill'+M2+Perf | ingwáara atagwaayé
'sickness that he did not get' |
| (699) | yó+u+ta+n+bwir+*+a
RPro23+SP2ps+Neg+OP1ps+'tell'+M2+FV | yóutambwiirá
'that you didn't tell me' |

In the negated relative recent past, there is an accent on the second syllable of the macrostem (700)-(701). In the remote past, there is only the accent of the tense on the tense marker *-a-* (702)-(703). However, the recent past form seems to be also used to refer to the remote past, since the main clause usually sets the time frame anyway. In the negated relative future, the lexical accent of the stem is preserved, and it is realised on the first syllable of the stem. In addition to the possible lexical accent, there is the accent of the future (704)-(706).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (700) | aba+áana ba+ta+a+rir+*+ye
CP2+'child' SP2+Neg+Past+'cry'+M2+Perf | abáana bataarizé
'children who did not cry' |
| (701) | aba+áana ba+ta+a+tu+bon*+*+ye
CP2+'child' SP2+Neg+Past+OP1pp+'see'+M2+Perf | abáana bataatubónye
'children who did not see us' |
| (702) | aba+ntu ba+ta+á+kor*+ye
CP2+'person' SP2+Neg+RPast+'work'+Perf | abantu bataákoze
'people who did not work (remote)' |
| (703) | hó+tu+ta+á+baram*+a
RPro16+SP1pp+Neg+RPast+'visit'+FV | hótutaábarama
'when we didn't visit (remote)' |
| (704) | aba+ntu ba+ta+róo+tangur*+a
CP2+'person' SP2+Neg+Fut+'start'+FV | abantu bataróotángura
'people who will not start' |
| (705) | aba+áana ba+ta+róo+rir+a
CP2+'child' SP2+Neg+Fut+'cry'+FV | abáana bataróorira
'children who will not cry' |
| (706) | aba+ntu ba+ta+róo+tu+bon*+a
CP2+'person' SP2+Neg+Fut+OP1pp+'see'+FV | abantu bataróotubóna
'people who will not see us' |

In the negated relative anterior, there is an accent realised on the anterior marker *-raa-*, and the possible lexical accent of the verb stem is realised on the first mora of the stem (707). In the potential, there is an accent on the second syllable of the macrostem (708). In the persistive, there are no realised accents (709)-(710).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (707) | u+ta+ráa+n+bwir+*+a
SP2ps+Neg+Ant+OP1ps+'tell'+FV | utaráambwifira
'that you have not told me' |
|-------|--|---|

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (708) | aba+ntu ba+ta+oo+tu+bon*+*+ye
CP2+'person' SP2+Neg+Pot+OP1pp+'see'+M2+Perf | abantu batootubónye
'people who would not see us' |
| (709) | aba+ntu ba+ta+ki+kor*+a
CP2+'person' SP2+Neg+Pers+'work'+FV | abantu batakikora
'people who are no longer working' |
| (710) | aba+ntu ba+ta+ki+tu+bon*+a
CP2+'person' SP2+Neg+Pers+OP1pp+'see'+FV | abantu batakitubona
'people who do not see us anymore' |

In the negated independent relative forms, the accent of the independent relative is realised on the syllable following the relative subject prefix, and it is spread to the subject prefixes of the type VV-, as in the affirmative independent relative. The lexical tonal contrast of the verb stems is neutralised in all but the future and the anterior tense. In the present tense, there is also an accent realised on the second syllable of the macrostem (711)-(713).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (711) | uu*+ta+rim+*+a
SPRel1+Neg+'cultivate'+M2+FV | uútárimá
'the one who does not cultivate' |
| (712) | aba*+ta+rir+*+a
SPRel2+Neg+'cry'+M2+FV | abatárirá
'the ones who do not cry' |
| (713) | aka*+ta+ri*+*+u+ye
SPRel2+Neg+'eat'+M2+Pass+Perf | akatáriíwe
'the one who is not eaten' |

In the negated independent relative, the difference between the recent past (714) and the remote past (715)-(716) is the accent of the remote past, which is realised on the tense marker *-a-*. The remote past is also usually in the perfective, while the recent past is in the simple aspect. In the future tense, the lexical accent of the verb stem is realised on the first syllable of the stem (717)-(718). In addition to the possible lexical accent, there is the accent of the independent relative and the future marker *-roo-*.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (714) | uu*+ta+a+rir+a
SPRel1+Neg+Past+'cry'+FV | uútáarira
'the one who did not cry (today)' |
| (715) | uu*+ta+á+rir+ye
SPRel1+Neg+RPast+'cry'+Perf | uútáárise
'the one who did not cry (before today)' |
| (716) | uu*+ta+á+kor*+ye
SPRel1+Neg+RPast+'work'+Perf | uútáákoze
'the one who did not work (before today)' |
| (717) | uu*+ta+róo+kor*+a
SPRel1+Neg+Fut+'work'+FV | uútáróokóra
'the one who will not work' |
| (718) | aba*+ta+róo+kor*+a
SPRel2+Neg+Fut+'work'+FV | abatáróokóra
'the ones who will not work' |

In the negated independent relative persistive (719)-(720) and potential (721)-(722), the only accent realised is the accent of the independent relative. The lexical accents are deleted. In the negated independent relative anterior, the lexical tonal contrast is preserved, and there are also accents of the independent relative and the negated anterior (723).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (719) | uu*+ta+ki+rir+a
SPRel1+Neg+Pers+'cry'+FV | uútákirira
'the one who does not cry anymore' |
|-------|---|--|

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (720) | uu*+ta+ki+kor*+a | uútákikora |
| | SPRel1+Neg+Pers+ 'work' +FV | 'the one who does not work anymore' |
| (721) | uu*+ta+oo+rir+ye | uútóorize |
| | SPRel1+Neg+Pot+ 'cry' +Perf | 'the one who would not cry' |
| (722) | uu*+ta+oo+kor*+ye | uútóokoze |
| | SPRel1+Neg+Pot+ 'work' +Perf | 'the one who would not work' |
| (723) | aba*+ta+ráa+tangur*+a | abatárátángura |
| | SPRel2+Neg+Ant+ 'start' +FV | 'the ones who have not started yet' |

6.2 Verbal derivation

Verbs are derived from other verbs and from adjectives with derivational extensions that are suffixed to the verbal root (slot 10 in the morphotactic scheme). Some of the extensions are highly productive, such as the applicative, passive, reciprocal, and causative. Some extensions are recognisable from Proto-Bantu reconstructions and semantics, but are not productive in Ha. There are also some verbs that are never used without an extension. The verbs with more than two root syllables are considered to be derived but some of these forms have been lexicalised so that the origins are not to be traced anymore.

A verbal base may have at least three extensions, with some restrictions. The less productive extensions are placed nearest to the root, and the argument structure is determined by the last extension (cf. 7.3 in Syntax). Monosyllabic verb roots have special forms with extensions.

6.2.1 Applicative

The applicative extension is *-ir-* (Proto-Bantu *-id-) with the variant *-er-* which is used with *e-* and *o-* stems (cf. 2.2.2 in Segmental Phonology). The applicative is highly productive.

The range of meanings of the applicative extension is wide, most often it adds the beneficiary, goal or location of action as a new argument to the verb. Sometimes the meaning does not directly follow that of regular applicatives, but it is lexicalised.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|-----------------|------------|
| (724) | -andika | andik+ir+a | -andikira |
| | 'write' | 'write'+Appl+FV | 'write to' |
| (725) | -húura | huur*+ir+a | -húurira |
| | 'meet' | 'meet'+Appl+FV | 'meet at' |
| (726) | -gura | gur+ir+a | -gurira |
| | 'buy' | 'buy'+Appl+FV | 'buy for' |

The applicative extensions for monosyllabic roots behave differently. The extension is *-ir-* when the root vowel is *i* or *u*, and it is *-er-* when the root vowel is *a*, *o*, or *e*. The vowel of the applicative extension is lengthened.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------|--------|-----------|
| (727) | -chá | -chi*- | -chíira |
| | 'cut' | | 'cut for' |

(728)	-dyá 'eat'	-ri*-	-rfíra 'eat from'
(729)	-gwa 'fall'	-gu-	-gwiira 'fall to'
(730)	-há 'give'	-ha*-	-héera 'give through something'
(731)	-kwá 'give bride wealth'	-ko*-	-kwéera 'give bride wealth for'
(732)	-mwa 'cut hair'	-mo-	-mweera 'cut hair in'
(733)	-nywá 'drink'	-nyo*-	-nywéera 'use sth to drink'
(734)	-pfá 'die'	-pfu*-	-pfíira 'die for/in'
(735)	-sya 'grind'	-si-	-seera 'grind for'
(736)	-tá 'throw'	-ta*-	-téera 'throw to'
(737)	-va 'come from, leak'	-vu-	-viira 'leak for'

When the perfective suffix *-ye* is attached to the applicative extension of the monosyllabic verbs, an additional *-ir-* is added between the applicative extension and the perfective suffix.⁶⁰

(738) *chi*+ir+ye* *-chíiriye*
'cut'+Appl+FV 'cut for (Perf)'

(739) *pfu*+ir+ye* *-pfíiriye*
'die'+Appl+FV 'die in (Perf)'

6.2.2 Passive

The passive is considered to be derivative in Bantu linguistics because the passive extension occupies the same morphological slot as the other extensions. However, when the passive co-occurs with other extensions it is always placed closest to the final suffix. The passive is highly productive and semantically the most regular derivation.

The passive extension is *-u-* (*-ú-). Since the extension consists of a vowel only, the base-final consonant is labialised when the passive extension precedes the final vowel *-a* (740)-(742). The agent of the passive verb is marked with the associative index *na** (743)-(744).

⁶⁰ An additional *-VC-* suffix with the perfective forms of the monosyllabic verbs is also attested in other Bantu languages, the *-ir-/er-* suffix being the most common (Hyman 1993:20).

- (740) -heeka heek+u+a -heekwa
 'carry' 'carry'+Pass+FV 'be carried'
- (741) -hámba hamb*+u+a -hámbwa
 'bury' 'bury'+Pass+FV 'be buried'
- (742) -béera beer*+u+a -béegwa
 'please' 'please'+Pass+FV 'be pleased'
- (743) ri+twaar*+u+a na*+ama+zi* ...ritwaagwa náamáazi.
 SP5+'carry'+Pass+FV AI+CP6+'water' '...and it is carried by water.'
- (744) a+a+ri *+a+a+tuk*+u+ye Yari yátutswe naNyámweeru.
 SP1+Past+'be' Part+SP1+Past+'insult'+Pass+Perf 'He was insulted by Nyamweeru.'
 na*+Nyamweeru
 AI+PropN

When the passive extension is suffixed to a verb with the perfective suffix *-ye*, the base-final consonant alternates, as with the perfective suffix without the passive, i.e. the passive extension is found between the *-y-* and the *-e* of the perfective suffix (cf. 6.1.3.3 above for the changes in the base-final consonant).⁶¹

- (745) -andika -andikwa andik+u+ye -andiswe
 'write' 'be written' 'write'+Pass+Perf 'be written (Perf)'
- (746) -zána -zánwa zan*+u+ye -zánywe
 'bring' 'be brought' 'bring'+Pass+Perf 'be brought (Perf)'

In the passive forms of the monosyllabic stems, the root vowels usually emerge (747)-(749), but in some verbs the passive is irregular (750). The passive extension is in the form *-bu-* with the monosyllabic stems (**-ibU-* in Proto-Bantu), and the vowel preceding the passive extension is lengthened. In the perfective, the extension is again reduced to *-u-*.

- (747) -há -ha*- -háabwa -háawe
 'give' 'be given' (Perf)
- (748) -dyá -ri*- -ríibwa -ríiwe
 'eat' 'be eaten' (Perf)
- (749) -mwa -mo- -moobwa -moowe
 'cut hair' 'be cut' (Perf)
- (750) -tá -ta*- -téebwa -téewe
 'throw' 'be thrown' (Perf)

6.2.3 Causative

There are two causative extensions in Ha. The first causative extension *-i-* emanates from Proto-Bantu **-í-*. The second causative extension is *-iish-* with a variant *-eesh-*, which is used with *e-* and *o-* final bases. It emanates from Proto-Bantu

⁶¹ In Kinyamwezi, the passive extension *-w-* is located between the *l* and *e* of the perfective suffix *-ile* (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992:150). Thus, it could be said that it is the perfective stem that is passivised.

causative extension *-ici-, which was the variant used with vowel-final roots, but its range of environments has been extended in Ha.

With the *-i-* causative the base-final consonants alternate, as with the perfective suffix *-ye* (751)-(753) (cf. 6.1.3.3). Even though the *-i-* causative is lexicalised, and it is not productive, it is frequently used since all the *-Vr-* derived bases, such as the applicatives, take this causative (754).

(751)	-gura 'buy'	gur+i+a 'buy'+Caus+FV	-guza 'sell'
(752)	-ruhuuka 'rest'	ruhuuk+i+a 'rest'+Caus+FV	-ruhuutsa 'make rest'
(753)	-shúuha 'be hot'	shuuh*+i+a 'be hot'+Caus+FV	-shúusha 'boil'
(754)	-bwíira 'say'	bwíir*+ir+i+a 'say'+Appl+Caus+FV	-bwíiriza 'teach'

The other causative suffix *-iish/-eesh-* can be used with any base with which the *-i-* causative is not used.

(755)	-kóra 'work'	kor*+iish+a 'work'+Caus+FV	-kóreesha 'use'
(756)	-híta 'pass'	hit*+iish+a 'pass'+Caus+FV	-hítiisha 'let through'
(757)	-íga 'learn'	ig*+iish+a 'learn'+Caus+FV	-ígiisha 'teach'
(758)	-chumba 'cook ugali'	chumb+iish+a 'cook ugali'+Caus+FV	-chumbiisha 'cook ugali with'

The causative extension is productive and semantically fairly regular. It adds a new argument to the verb, which most often refers to somebody/something that is made to do something. It is also used for designating an instrument (cf. 7.3.2).

The monosyllabic roots have, again, some unpredictable forms.

(759)	-chá 'cut'	-chi*- 'cut with'	-chíisha 'cut with'
(760)	-dyá 'eat'	-ri*- 'feed'	-ríisha 'feed'
(761)	-há 'give'	-ha*- 'give with'	-héesh 'give with'
(762)	-kwá 'give bride wealth'	-ko*- 'receive bride wealth'	-kóosha 'receive bride wealth'
(763)	-mwa 'cut hair'	-mo- 'cut with'	-mweesha 'cut with'
(764)	-nywá 'drink'	-nyo*- 'make drink'	-nywéesha 'make drink'

(765)	-pfá	-pfu*-	-pfiisha
	'die'		'kill'

6.2.4 Neuter

The neuter is a derivational form that is sometimes called the middle voice or mediopassive. The syntactic subject is in a passive role, but there is no agent in these constructions. The neuter implies that the subject is capable or likely to undergo or has undergone the action, and these forms are intransitive. The neuter suffix is *-ik-* (**-Ik-*) with a variant *-ek-* for *e-* and *o-*final roots. The neuter is not productive.

(766)	-fáta	fat*+ik+a	-fátika
	'touch'	'touch'+Neut+FV	'be touched'
(767)	-bóna	bon*+ik+a	-bóneka
	'see'	'see'+Neut+FV	'be seen'
(768)	-ména	men*+ik+a	-méneka
	'brake'	'brake'+Neut+FV	'be/become broken'

6.2.5 Impositive

The impositive has the same extensions as the neuter (*-ik-/ek-*, **-Ik-*), but the meaning is different. While the neuter is intransitive, the impositive is transitive and implies that something is put somewhere or in a certain position. The impositive extension usually replaces the *-Vr-* ending of the stem, either in the root or the extension. The impositive is not productive.

(769)	-ambara	ambar+ik+a	-ambika
	'wear'	'wear'+Impos+FV	'dress, tie'
(770)	-remeera	remeer+ik+a	-remeeka
	'become heavy'	'become heavy'+Impos+FV	'put a load on somebody'

6.2.6 Reciprocal

The reciprocal derivation extension implies that the action of the predicate is carried out either together with or against each other. In some Bantu grammars, the reciprocal is called the associative. The morphological marker for the reciprocal is *-an-* (**-an-*), and it is highly productive.

(771)	-ánka	ank*+an+a	-ánkana
	'refuse'	'refuse'+Rec+FV	'refuse each other'
(772)	-bira	bir+an+a	-birana
	'secrete'	'secrete'+Rec+FV	'secrete from'
(773)	-híta	hit*+an+a	-hítana
	'pass'	'pass'+Rec+FV	'pass by somebody'
(774)	-ichara	ichar+an+a	-icharana
	'live, sit'	'live'+Rec+FV	'stay/sit with somebody'
(775)	-íruka	iruk*+an+a	-írunkana
	'run'	'run'+Rec+FV	'chase somebody'

- | | | | |
|-------|----------|-----------------|----------------------|
| (776) | -sígara | sigar*+an+a | -sígarana |
| | 'remain' | 'remain'+Rec+FV | 'stay with somebody' |

Some of the monosyllabic verbs also have reciprocal forms. The vowel of the extension is lengthened.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|--------|--------------------------|
| (777) | -bá | -ba*- | -báana |
| | 'be' | | 'live together' |
| (778) | -dyá | -ri*- | -dyáana |
| | 'eat' | | 'eat without sb' |
| (779) | -há | -ha*- | -háana |
| | 'give' | | 'give to each other' |
| (780) | -nywá | -nyo*- | -nywáana |
| | 'drink' | | 'drink with, be friends' |

After the causative extension, the reciprocal extension is in the form *-any-* (781)-(782). The same form of the extension occurs sometimes with roots with a sibilant final consonant (783)-(784).

- | | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (781) | -émeza | emer*+i+an+a | -émezanya |
| | 'affirm' | 'agree'+Caus+Rec+FV | 'agree with each other' |
| (782) | -suhuuza | suhuuk+i+an+a | -suhuuzanya |
| | 'visit' | 'move'+Caus+Rec+FV | 'visit each other' |
| (783) | -susa | sus+an+a | -susaanya |
| | 'resemble' | 'resemble'+Rec+FV | 'resemble each other' |
| (784) | -kééza | keez*+an+a | -kéézanya |
| | 'greet' | 'greet'+Rec+FV | 'greet each other' |

6.2.7 Positional

The positional derivational extension is not productive, and the positional forms attested do not have non-positional counterparts. The positional extension is established by semantics and Proto-Bantu reconstruction. The morphological marker is *-am-* (*-am-).

- | | |
|-------|------------------------------------|
| (785) | -fúkama |
| | 'kneel, be in a kneeling position' |
| (786) | -garama |
| | 'lie on one's back' |

6.2.8 Separative

The separative usually comes in pairs of two different extensions of which *-ur-/or-* (*-Ud-) is transitive and *-uk-/ok-* (*-Uk-) intransitive. As the name suggests, it implies the taking or coming apart of something, but often the meaning is not

semantically predictable.⁶² The underived form of the verb is known only in some instances. The separative extension is not productive.

(787)	-hindura	-hinduka	
	'change (tr.)'	'change (intr.)'	
(788)	-ruhuura	-ruhuka	-ruha
	'help'	'rest'	'become tired'
(789)	-shóbora	-shóboka	
	'be ready/able to'	'be possible'	
(790)	-sohora	-sohoka	
	'arrive at'	'go out'	
(791)	-bambura	-bambuka	
	'make sb wake up'	'wake up'	

With some stems the separative occurs in the reduplicated form *-urur-/uruk-* (792)-(793). The separative extension with a long vowel (788) is probably reduced from the reduplicated form.

(792)	-dáha	-dáhurura
	'scoop'	'reduce water'
(793)	-héra	-héruruka
	'end'	'be last'

6.2.9 Reduplication

Reduplication intensifies the meaning or marks it as a repetitive or diminutive action. The whole stem with the final vowel is reduplicated. The possible accent of the root is not repeated, but it occurs on the first part of the reduplicated stem. Stem reduplication is productive.

(794)	-búmba	-búmbabumba
	'mould'	'knead'
(795)	-kóra	-kórakora
	'work, touch'	'feel (with fingers)'

Partially reduplicated stems are lexicalised. The reduplicated part is the first consonant and vowel of the root. The possible accent falls on the reduplicated syllable. Partial reduplication does not seem to be productive.

(796)	-rírimba
	'sing'
(797)	-hihiira
	'be content'

⁶² The more widely used name for this derived form is *reversive*. The term *separative* has been introduced by Schadeberg, who claims that the form implies reversed action 'only when the underived verb refers to putting something together', and that the general meaning is to 'take apart or come apart' (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992:159).

6.2.10 Reflexive

The reflexive extension *-i-* (*-i-) differs from the other extensions since it precedes the stem. It occupies the same slot as the object prefix (slot 8), but it brings an accent to the stems that do not have an accent in the underived form. However, in the imperative, the reflexive triggers the same final vowel change as with the object prefixes other than that of the 3rd person (cf. 6.1.3.1). The reflexive implies that the action is directed towards or for the subject.

(798)	-hámba	í+hamb*+a	-íhamba
	'bury'	Refl+'bury'+FV	'bury oneself'
(799)	-hindira	í+hindir+a	-íhindira
	'lock'	Refl+'lock'+FV	'lock the door from the inside'
(800)	-menya	í+meny+iish+a	-ímenyeesha
	'know'	Refl+'know'+Caus+FV	'introduce oneself'
(801)	-vúga	í+vug*+ir+a	-ívugira
	'say'	Refl+'say'+Appl+FV	'boast (say about oneself)'

6.2.11 Other extensions

There are still some other verbal extensions that are not productive, but they are recognisable in comparison with Proto-Bantu and other Bantu languages.

The intensive extension is *-iir-* (802)-(803). As the name suggests, the intensive intensifies the meaning of the stem. There is no Proto-Bantu cognate for the intensive extension, but it is also documented for some other Bantu languages, e.g. Nyarwanda (Kimenyi 2002). When a causative extension is added after the intensive extension the combination of the two extensions becomes *-iriz-* (804), which suggests that the intensive is originally derived from the applicative by reduplication (Maganga & Schadeberg 1992:157).

(802)	-úmva	umv*+iir+a	-úmviira
	'hear'	'hear'+Int+FV	'feel, listen'
(803)	-menya	meny+iir+a	-menyeera
	'know'	'know'+Int+FV	'be used to'
(804)	-úmva	umv*+iir+i+a	-úmviriza
	'hear'	'hear'+Int+Caus+FV	'taste, listen to'

The contactive extension *-at-* (*-at-) is also found in some lexicalised verbs in Ha.

(805)	-paraata
	'bind'

The extension *-ar-* (*-ad-) occurs frequently, but its meaning is not easily defined and the stems with this extension often do not have underived forms (806)-(808). It is sometimes called extensive (Schadeberg 2003). The extension *-ar-* occurs also in the fully reduplicated form *-arar-* (809).

(806)	-sígara	-síga
	'remain'	'leave'

- (807) -bágara
 'weed'
 (808) -bábara
 'hurt'
 (809) -hágara/-hágarara
 'stand up'

The extensions *-agir-* (810)-(812), *-agar-* (813), and *-agur-* (814) all express some kind of intensity, but the exact shades of the intensity are yet to be investigated. Most of the bases with these extensions seem not to have their roots in use, and the meanings are often lexicalised.

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (810) | | -búragira |
| | | 'ache' |
| (811) | | -úhagira |
| | | 'wash' |
| (812) | -huuta | -huutagiriza |
| | 'move in haste' | 'hurry up more' |
| (813) | -túra | -túragara |
| | 'hit' | 'thunder' |
| (814) | -káta | -kátagura |
| | 'cut' | 'cut into pieces' |

The derivational extension *-h-* is used to derive verbs from adjectives, and it is called inceptive. This extension is rare and not productive, but it has been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (*-p-).

- | | | | |
|-------|--------|-----------------|---------------|
| (815) | -ré | ré+h+a | -reeha |
| | 'long' | 'long'+Incep+FV | 'become long' |
| (816) | -ké | ké+h+a | -kéeha |
| | 'few' | 'few'+Incep+FV | 'become few' |

7. SYNTAX

The distribution and functions of the word classes are described in the following sections, as well as the order of the elements both on the clausal and phrasal level. Separate sections have been designated to clause types, valence and voice, complex sentences, and focus. Since the borderline between morphology and syntax is by no means clear, there are quite a few cross-references to the relevant sections of previous chapters.

7.1 Parts of speech

In the previous chapters entitled Nominal Morphology and Verbal Morphology, the word classes of verbs, nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals are identified by the type of inflectional elements they take. Of these classes, adjectives, pronouns and numerals are closed classes. Verbs take subject and object concords and TAM-marking, while nouns have noun class prefixes and adjectives have adjective prefixes. Pronouns and numerals share the same set of prefixes for the most part, and could thus be grouped together as determiners. In addition to these classes, there are adverbs and other words that are not inflected. These are called invariables.

7.1.1 Nouns

Ha common nouns typically consist of a noun stem, noun class prefix (CP) and augment, as described in the chapter on nominal morphology. Nouns function as heads of noun phrases, which are characterised by the concord system.

Proper names form an exceptional subclass of nouns in that they do not have an augment and in many instances neither do they have the noun class prefix. Only those proper names that are derived from common nouns have the class prefix (817), while the loan words (818) and the proper names formed from other word classes than nouns do not have the class prefix (819)-(820). However, the modifiers of the proper names follow noun classes 1 and 2.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| (817) ama+gambo | Magambo |
| CP6+'speech' | 'the one with lots of words' |
| (818) Sara | Sara |
| PropN | 'PronN' |
| (819) nya*+imi+sózi | Nyamísozi |
| 'certain'+CP4+'mountain' | 'the one of mountains, i.e. the God of mountains' |
| (820) nti+i+ha*+*+a+bó+se* | Ntiháboose |
| Neg+SP9+'give'+M2+FV+Pro2+'all' | 'he (God) does not give everyone' |

7.1.1.1 The augment

The role of the augment is not clear in Ha, nor in many other Bantu languages. For the closely related language Nyarwanda, it has been claimed that the augment

fulfils a similar function to that of an article, while others see it only as a euphonic vowel (cf. e.g. Nkusi 1995, de Bfois 1970). The fact that the augment does not co-occur with pronominal determiners in Rundi leads Meeussen to treat the augment as a demonstrative (Meeussen 1959:192).

In Ha, the augment can be hosted by common nouns, infinitives, independent i.e. nominalised relative verbs (cf. 6.1.8.2), relative pronouns (cf. 5.4.1), and the pronouns *-kí* 'what' and *-ndi** 'other' (cf. 5.4.4.1). The augment is absent if the noun is not the first constituent of the noun phrase, i.e. if it is preceded by a modifier (821) or the negative existential copula *ntaa* (822), or it is the second constituent of a compound construction (823). In addition, when a noun is made a proper name or it is used as a vocative, the augment is dropped (824). Many kinship terms, e.g. 'mother' and 'father', belong to class 1a, which does not have a class prefix nor augment in the singular and only the prefix in the plural. Additionally, kinship terms in other noun classes often occur without the augment in the singular (825). On the other hand, the augment always co-occurs with the copula *ní* and the index forms, even with the infinitives (cf. 4.4). Although the presence or the absence of the augment does not seem to be contrastive by itself, but conditioned by syntactic structure, a thorough analysis of this possibly wide and complex issue is left for future study.

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---|
| (821) | umudyángo wáanje | 'my door' |
| | kudya mudyángo | 'that door' |
| (822) | ntaa mudyángo | 'there is no door' |
| (823) | umushíngantaáhe | 'chairman' (from <i>-shinga</i> 'put a stick in the ground' and <i>intaáhe</i> 'tradition') |
| (824) | agakwáavu | 'a small rabbit' |
| | Gakwáavu | 'Mr. Rabbit' |
| (825) | daayí - badáayí (NCL1a/2) | 'my father - my fathers' |
| | murámu - abarámu (NCL1/2) | 'brother-in-law - brothers-in-law' |

7.1.1.2 The noun phrase and the concord system

The noun phrase consists of a noun and its modifiers, i.e. pronouns (cf. 5.4), numerals (cf. 5.6), adjectives (cf. 5.5), possessives (cf. 5.4.2), or relative and participial clauses (cf. 6.1.8). The concord system, which is one of the outstanding features of Bantu languages, affects all the inflected constituents of the noun phrase, as they have a prefix that agrees with the noun class of the head noun. The adjective modifiers have an adjective prefix (826), and the pronouns, numerals and the possessive constructions are all prefixed with the determiner prefix (827)-(828). Relative and participial modifiers take their subject concords according to the head noun (829). (Cf. p. 54 for the concord table.)

- | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------------|
| (826) | aba+ntu ba+iizá | abantu beezá |
| | CP2+ 'person' AP2+ 'good' | 'good people' |
| (827) | uru+toke ru+a*+nje ru+mwé | urutoke gwáanje rumwé |
| | CP11+ 'finger' DP11+Con+Poss1ps DP11+ 'one' | 'one finger of mine' |

- (828) iN+toke zi+a*+nje zi+taanu intoke záanje zitaanu
 CP9/10+'finger' DP10+Con+Poss1ps DP10+'five' 'five fingers of mine'
- (829) i+gúnira ri+uzur*+*+ye iN+buto igúnira dyuuzúye imbutó
 CP5+'sack' SP5+'get full'+M2+Perf CP9/10+'seed' 'a sack full of seeds (i.e. a sack which is full of seeds)'

The noun phrases are head-initial with the exception that the demonstrative pronouns and some of the indefinite pronouns, such as *-ndi** 'other', *kíra* 'every' and *burú* 'each' precede the head noun (830)-(831). The order of the possessive, indefinite pronoun, adjective and numeral modifiers may vary, without a change in the meaning (832)-(836). Relative and participial determiners follow the pronominal, possessive, adjectival and numeral determiners (837).

- (830) izo iN+súka zi+bíri izo súka zibíri
 2DemP10 CP9/10+'hoe' DP10+'two' 'those two hoes'
- (831) uwu+ndi* umu+sí uwúndi músi
 CP3+'other' CP3+'day' 'another day'
- (832) iN+máari i+a*+bu yó+se* imáari yáabu yóóse
 CP9/10+'wealth' DP9+Con+Poss2 Pro9+'all' 'all their wealth'
- (833) iN+kokó zi+níni zi+bíri inkokó ziníni zibíri
 CP9/10+'hen' DP10+'big' DP10+'two' 'two big hens'
- (834) iN+kokó zi+bíri zi+níni inkokó zibíri ziníni
 CP9/10+'hen' DP10+'two' DP10+'big' 'two big hens'
- (835) iN+kokó zi+a*+nje zi+níni zó+se* inkokó záanje ziníni zóóse
 CP9/10+'hen' DP10+Con+Poss1ps AP10+'big' Pro10+'all' 'all the big hens of mine'
- (836) iN+kokó zi+níni zó+se* zi+a*+nje inkokó ziníni zóóse záanje
 CP9/10+'hen' AP10+'big' Pro10+'all' DP10+Con+Poss1ps 'all the big hens of mine'
- (837) uru+eeso ru+tóoyi ugweeso rutooyi
 CP11+'pot' AP11+'small' 'the small pot'
- ru+ri+* ku+i+zíiko rurí kuzíiko
 SP11+'be'+M2 Loc17+CP5+'fire place' 'that is on the fire'

Possessive constructions are, in most instances, formed with the connexive *-a** (cf. section 5.4.2). It follows the head noun, prefixed with the determiner prefix that agrees with the head noun. The possessor noun phrase or pro-form follows the connexive.

- (838) ubu+áato bu+a*+daatá ubwáato bwadáatá
 CP14+'canoe' DP14+Con+'my father' 'the canoe of my father'
- (839) ubu+áato bu+a*+nje ubwáato bwáanje
 CP14+'canoe' DP14+Con+Poss1ps 'my canoe'

In kinship terms, the connexive is often omitted. In addition, the augment is left out, as in the compound nouns (cf. section 7.1.1.1 below).

- (840) umu+éene umu+pfumú mwéene mupfumú
 CP1+'child' CP1+'doctor' 'child of a doctor'

- (841) nyina Kara nyina Kara
 'mother' PropN 'Kara's mother'
 (842) nyina ubu+kwé nyinábukwe
 'mother' CP14+'in-law' 'mother-in-law'

Inalienable possession can be expressed either with the connexive (843) or with juxtaposition only, in which case the possessor precedes the possessed noun phrase (844).

- (843) nyina a+á+ra+og*+*+i+ye Nyina yaróógeje
 'mother' SP1+RPast+Foc+'wash'+M+Caus+Perf 'The mother washed
 ama+guru ya+a*+umu+áana amaguru yúumwáana.
 CP6+'leg' DP6+Con+CP1+'child' the feet of her child.'
 (844) nyina a+á+ra+og*+*+i+ye Nyina yaróógeje umwáana amaguru.
 'mother' SP1+RPast+Foc+'wash'+M+Caus+Perf 'The mother washed the feet of her child.'
 umu+áana ama+guru
 CP1+'child'CP6+'leg'

7.1.1.3 Syntactic functions of noun phrases

Noun phrases typically function as subject and object arguments for predicate verbs. Ha is a head-marking language, and the grammatical subject and object are coded as concord prefixes on the verb. The subject prefix precedes the object prefix, and it is obligatory in all finite verb forms, except in the imperative. The overt subject argument can be omitted when it refers to a noun phrase that has been earlier introduced or is generally known or by the context.

- (845) umu+twé gu+ra+buragir*+a umútwe gurabúragira
 CP3+'head' SP3+Foc+'ache'+FV 'the head is aching'
 (846) ama+so* ga+tonekar*+a amáaso gatonekara
 CP6+'eye' SP6+'hurt'+FV 'the eyes hurt'
 (847) a+á+ra+mu+bwiir*+*+ye yarámubwíiye
 SP1+RPast+Foc+OP1+'tell'+M+Perf 'he told him'

The object prefix is not obligatory if an overt noun phrase functioning as the grammatical object is present (848). When there are two objects in the clause, the object prefix refers to the more indirect object (849), unless the direct object noun phrase is absent (850). It is possible to code two objects in the verb, but this kind of structure seems to be rare (851). When there are two object prefixes the more indirect object prefix is closer to the stem. Up to six object prefixes have been reported for the closely related Rundi and Nyarwanda (e.g. Sibomana 1974 and Kimenyi 1978), but more than two were not accepted by my Ha informants.

- (848) a+á+ha*+ye umu+kaaté umu+áana Yaháaye umukáaté umwáana.
 SP1+RPast+'give'+Perf CP3+'bread' CP1+'child' 'She gave the child bread.'

- (849) a+á+mu+ha*+ye umu+kaaté Yamúhaaye umukáaté umwáana.
 SP1+RPast+OP1+'give'+Perf CP3+'bread' 'She gave the child bread.'
 umu+áana
 CP1+'child'

- (850) a+á+wu+ha*+ye umu+áana Yawúhaaye umwáana.
 SP1+RPast+OP3+'give'+Perf CP1+'child' 'She gave it (bread) to the child.'

- (851) a+á+wu+mu+ha*+ye Yawumúhaaye.
 SP1+RPast+OP3+OP1+'give'+Perf 'She gave it to him.'

Maho (1999:113) describes suffixed object concords found in some Bantu languages. In Ha, these are restricted to locatives only, as is the case with some other languages described by Maho (idem).

- (852) u+ra+mar+ye ku+baram*+ir+a Kigoma Uramaze kubáramira Kigoma?
 SP2ps+Foc+'finish'+Perf CP15+'visit'+Appl+FV PropN 'Have you already visited Kigoma?'
 n+á+ra+baram*+*+ir+ye+yó Ndarábaramiiyeyó.
 SP1ps+RPast+Foc+'visit'+M+Appl+Perf+Pro23 'I have already visited (it).'

When subject or object noun phrases of different noun classes are co-ordinated, the concords of class 8 are usually used (853)-(854). However, when the co-ordinated nouns refer to people, class 2 concords are used (855).

- (853) imi+rúndi na*+ama+no bi+ra+n+ri*+a Imirúndi námano birandyá.
 CP4+'shin' AI+CP6+'toe' SP8+Foc+OP1ps+'eat'+FV 'My shins and toes are aching.'
 (854) n+a+gur+ye iki+tabo na*+i+karáamu Naguze igitabo níkaráamu.
 SP1ps+Past+'buy'+Perf CP7+'book' AI+CP5/6+'pen' 'I bought a book and a pen.'
 n+a+bi+gur+ye Kigoma Nabiguze Kigoma.
 SP1ps+Past+OP8+'buy'+Perf PropN 'I bought them from Kigoma.'
 (855) umu+áana na*+umu+sóre Umwáana númusóre
 CP1+'child' AI+CP3+'teenager' 'A child and a teenager'
 kó+ba+ra+kin*+a kóbarakína.
 Pro17+SP2+Foc+'play'+FV 'are playing.'

In addition to functioning as the subject and object arguments or heads of arguments, noun phrases frequently act as predicate nominals with copulative verbs (cf. 6.1.6 in Verbal Morphology).

- (856) uyu ní umu+dyángo Uyu ní umudyángo.
 IDemP Cop CP3+'door' 'This is a door.'
 (857) ntaa umu+áana n+bon*+*+a Ntaa mwáana mboná.
 NegEx CP1+'child' SP1ps+'see'+M2+FV 'There is not a child that I see.'

When prefixed with the locative prefixes, noun phrases may function as adverbials. Adverbials of time are formed from the nouns denoting the parts of the day by prefixing them with the locative prefix of classes 17 or 18 (858)-(864).

- (858) ku+umu+górooba kumugórooba
 Loc17+CP3+'evening' 'in the evening'

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| (859) | ku+umu+sí | kumúsi |
| | Loc17+CP3+'day' | 'one day, sometimes' |
| (860) | ku+umu+táaga | kumutáaga |
| | Loc17+CP3+'day' | 'at the day time' |
| (861) | ku+umu+fijima | kumwfijima |
| | Loc17+CP3+'darkness' | 'at night (i.e. at dark)' |
| (862) | mu+iki+tóndo | mugitóndo |
| | Loc18+CP7+'morning' | 'in the morning' |
| (863) | mu+i+joro | mwijoro |
| | Loc18+CP5+'night' | 'at night' |
| (864) | mu+izi imi+sí | mwizi mési |
| | Loc18+1DemP10 CP4+'day' | 'nowadays' |

Adverbial phrases of place are formed from nouns with the locative prefixes of classes 16 and 18 (865)-(866). Yet, when there is a determiner, it follows the concords of the locative class 23 (867)-(869). *hóofi* 'near' is formed with the locative prefix *ha-* and the adjective stem *-gúfi* 'short'.

- | | | |
|-------|---|------------------------------|
| (865) | mu+iN+zu | munzu |
| | Loc18+CP9/10+'house' | 'inside, in a building' |
| (866) | ha+iN+sí | háási |
| | Loc16+CP9/10+'ground' | 'down, on the ground' |
| (867) | mu+iN+sí i+a*+iN+méeza | múúsi yíiméeza |
| | Loc18+CP9/10+'ground' DP23+Con+CP9/10+'table' | 'under the table' |
| (868) | ha+i+juru i+a*+iki+bambaazi | hejuru yíkibambaazi |
| | Loc16+CP5+'sky' DP23+Con+CP7+'log' | 'on (above) the log' |
| (869) | uku+gaaniir*+a ha+i+juru | ukugáaniira hejuru yúrúbánza |
| | CP15+'discuss'+FV Loc16+CP5+'sky' | 'to discuss the matter' |
| | i+a*+uru+bánza | |
| | DP23+Con+CP11+'matter' | |

The noun stems *-mbere* 'front' and *-nyuma* 'back' of class 9 have become lexicalised adverbs, and often occur without the augment *i-*. They indicate both place (870)-(872) and time (873), and can be prefixed with the locative prefixes (874). *Imbavu* 'rib' is a class 9 noun, which can be used for the meaning 'beside' (875).

- | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|
| (870) | iN+mbere yi+a*+aba+ntu | imbere yábantu |
| | CP9/10+'front' DP9+Con+CP2+'person' | 'in front of people' |
| (871) | uku+ba+twaa*+a iN+mbere | kubátwaa imbere |
| | CP15+OP2+'carry'+FV CP9/10+'front' | 'to carry them further' |
| (872) | iN+nyuma yi+a*+iN+zu | inyuma yínzu |
| | CP9/10+'back' DP9+Con+CP9/10+'house' | 'behind the house' |
| (873) | iki+ráato n+a+bon*+*+ye iN+mbere | ikiráato nabonyé mbere |
| | CP7+'shoe' SP1ps+Past+'see'+M2+Perf CP9/10+'front' | 'the shoes I saw previously' |

- (874) a+á+z+ye mu+nyuma Yajé muunyuma yáanje,
 SP1+RPast+'come'+Perf Loc18+'back' 'He came after me,
 i+a*+nje ha+nyuma a+chi+a haanyuma acha adyá ibiribwa.
 DP23+Con+Poss1ps Loc16+'back' SP1+'do next'+FV and later on he ate food.
 a+ri*+a ibi+ríibwa
 SP1+'eat'+FV CP8+'food'
- (875) iN+bavu i+a*+iN+zu imbavu yínzu
 CP9/10+'rib' DP9+Con+CP9/10+'house' 'beside the house'

Hagáti 'between' and *hanzé* 'outside' are also lexicalised adverbs. The stems of these adverbs cannot be identified synchronically, but they possibly originate from nouns with locative prefixes. The possible determiners of these words follow the concords of locative class 23.

- (876) *hagáti* i+a*+imi+rongo *hagáti* yímirongo
 'between' DP23+Con+CP4+'line' 'between the lines'
- (877) *hanzé* i+a*+Tanzania *hanzé* yaTánzania
 'outside' DP23+Con+PropN 'outside Tanzania'

Noun phrases can also be used to introduce clausal complements and prepositional phrases. For example, the noun stem *-ntu* 'thing' prefixed with a class 17 locative prefix and the noun *ingéne* 'sort' introduce clausal complements of manner.

- (878) a+á+ra+vug+*+ye ku+ntu yarávuze kuntu yamúkunda
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'say'+M+Perf Loc17+'thing' 'he told how he loved her'
 a+á+mu+kund*+a
 SP1+RPast+OP1+'love'+FV
- (879) iN+géne *+ba+ivun*+a ingéne bívuna
 CP9/10+'sort' Part+SP2+'boast'+FV 'how they boast'

Apart from expressing possession, the possessive constructions formed with the connexive *-a** can also express, for example, adjectival meanings (880)-(881), order (882), identification (883), and location (884). Nouns can also modify other nouns simply by juxtaposition, as seen in (840)-(841).

- (880) umu+taama u+a*+iki+gongwe umutaama wíkgongwe
 CP1+'old man' DP1+Con+CP7+'kindness' 'a sympathetic old man'
- (881) imi+áaka i+a*+i+shímwe ri+níni chááne imyáaka yiishímwe riníni
 chááne
 CP4+'year' DP4+Con+CP5+'joy' AP5+'big' 'really' 'really happy years'
- (882) uku+éezi ku+a*+mu+shanju ukwéezi kwamúshanju
 CP15+'month' DP15+Con+CP3+'seven' 'July, i.e. the seventh month'
- (883) ibi+túngwa bi+a*+ubu+óoko vyó+se* ibitúngwa vyubwóoko vyóóse
 CP8+'animal' DP8+Con+CP14+'type' Pro8+'all' 'all sorts of animals'

- (884) n+a+gi+ye ku+a*
 SP1ps+Past+'go'+Perf Loc17+Con
 i+u+a* Juma
 DP23+CP3+Con PropN

Ndagiiye kwa/iwa Júma.⁶³
 'I went to the doctor.'

7.1.2 Pronouns

When pronouns are substitutes for noun phrases they function as subject and object arguments, as well as predicate complements (885)-(886). Pronouns can also modify the head noun in a noun phrase (887) (cf. section 5.4 in Nominal Morphology).

- (885) bó+se* ba+á+ra+sek+*+a
 Pro2+'all' SP2+RPast+Foc+'laugh'+M+FV
 Bóóse baáraséka.
 'They all laughed.'
- (886) a+a+sig*+ye vyó+se* ku+iN+méeza
 SP1+Past+'leave'+Perf Pro8+'all' Loc17+CP9/10+'table'
 Yasize vyóóse kuméeza.
 'She put (it) all to the table.'
- (887) ama+gambo yó+se*
 CP6+'explanation' Pro6+'all'
 amagambo yóóse
 'all the explanations'

Some of the pronouns have adverbial functions. *Ukúndi* 'in another way', *kwa kúndi* 'in the same way', *kándi* 'again, also', and *ejó búndi* 'the day before yesterday/the day after tomorrow' are formed with the indefinite pronoun *-ndi** 'other', while *gwóóse* 'entirely' is formed with the pronoun *-se** 'all'. The demonstrative pronouns are used in some adverbial constructions such as *uyu músi* 'today' (i.e. 'this day'), *mwakúyu* 'last year' (i.e. 'year this'), and *ubu* 'nowadays' (class 14 demonstrative pronoun).

7.1.3 Numerals

Most of the numerals are nouns by form, but their function differs from that of nouns. The numerals modify the head noun in the noun phrase, simply by juxtaposition, and they can be further modified by other numerals (888). The proper, i.e. the inflected numerals take the determiner prefixes (889). (Cf. section 5.6 in Nominal Morphology.)

- (888) i+shíringi ibi+humbe umu+kaága ishíringi ibihumbi mukaága
 CP5+'shilling' CP8+'thousand' CP3+'six' 'six thousand shillings'
- (889) ama+jana a+tatu amajana atatu námachúmi atatu
 CP6+'hundred' NumP6+'three' 'three hundred thirty'
 na*+ama+chúmi a+tatu
 A1+CP6+'ten' NumP6+'three'

The numeral *-mwé* 'one' with the class 16 or 17 prefix literally means 'one place', but it functions as an adverbial that indicates nearness, both of location and time. The determiners follow locative class 23.

⁶³ The structure *kwa* is probably borrowed from Swahili.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (890) | ha+mwé i+a*+iN+zu
Loc16+'one' DP23+Con+CP9/10+'house'
i+a*+nje
DP9+Con+Poss1ps | hamwé yínzu yáanje
'near my house' |
| (891) | ha+mwé
Loc16+'one' | hamwé
'probably' |
| (892) | ha+mwé ha+mwé
Loc16+'one' Loc16+'one' | hamwé hámwe
'sometimes' |
| (893) | tu+ri*+*+e ha+mwé
SP1pp+'eat'+M2+Subj Loc16+'one' | Tudyé hamwé!
'Let's eat together!' |
| (894) | aka+samáaki ku+mwé na*+iN+wáari
CP12+'fish' Loc17+'one' AI+CP9/10+'rice' | agasamáaki kumwé níwáari
'fish together with rice' |

7.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are one of the inflected word classes that modify nouns (cf. 5.5 in Nominal Morphology). In addition to the modifying role in noun phrases, adjectives have a predicative function in copulative clauses (895)-(896). Adjectives may also have adverbs of degree as modifiers (897).

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (895) | iki iki+tabo ní ki+iizá
IDemP7 CP7+'book' Cop AP7+'good' | Iki gitabo ní chiizá.
'This book is good.' |
| (896) | ibi ibi+tabo ní bi+iizá
IDemP8 CP8+'book' Cop AP8+'good' | Ibi bitabo ní vyiizá.
'These books are good.' |
| (897) | i+shímwe ri+níni chááne
CP5+'joy' AP5+'big' 'very' | ishímwe riníni chááne
'a very big joy' |

Since there are only a handful of adjectives (listed on page 76), the typical adjectival meanings are often expressed with nouns (cf. section 7.1.1.3 above) and verbs (cf. 7.1.5.1 below). Adjectives can be nominalised by addition of the augment (cf. section 5.7 in Nominal Morphology). The adjective stems can also be used to form adverbs (cf. 7.1.6.1 below).

7.1.5 Verbs

The structure of verbal roots, as well as the inflectional and derivational elements they take, are discussed in the chapter entitled Verbal Morphology. That chapter also describes verbs where an auxiliary precedes the verb and the main verb is in the participial form (cf. 6.1.7). Verbal argument structure is discussed in section 7.3 below.

7.1.5.1 Finite verbs

The function of the finite verbs is to act as predicates for clauses, both in main clauses as well as in certain types of subordinate clauses (cf. section 7.4 below). The predicate verbs typically show full inflection in person and TAM-marking.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------------|
| (898) | n+ra+mu+kund*+a
SP1ps+Foc+OP1+'love'+FV | Ndamúkunda.
'I love him.' |
|-------|--|------------------------------|

The predicate verbs take adverbial arguments (cf. section 7.4 below), but some of the tenses themselves include adverbial meanings. These are the persistive tense with the meaning 'still' (899), the negated persistive 'not anymore' (900), and the negated anterior 'not yet' (901). Auxiliary constructions can also convey adverbial meanings such as 'again' and 'often' (902)-(903) (cf. 6.1.7).

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (899) | n+cháa+som+a iN+shúure
SP1ps+Pers+'read'+FV CP9/10+'school' | Ncháasoma ishúure.
'I still go to school.' |
| (900) | nti+tu+ki+kin*+a
Neg+SP1pp+Pers+'play'+FV | ntitukikina
'we are not playing anymore here' |
| (901) | nti+u+ráa+mar+a
Neg+SP2ps+Ant+'finish'+FV | Ntuuráamara?
'Have you not finished yet?' |
| (902) | a+á+subir+ye ku+bagar*+a
SP1+RPast+'repeat'+Perf CP15+'weed'+FV | Yasúbiye kubágara.
'He weeded again (i.e. he repeated to weed).' |
| (903) | n+hor*+a *+n+gend+a
SP1ps+'cool down'+FV Part+SP1ps+'go'+FV
mu+uru+gereero
Loc18+CP11+'market' | Mpora ngénda murugereero.
'I often go to the market.' |

Finite verbs are frequently used to put across typically adjectival meanings. The present perfective forms of verbs are used to indicate that e.g. the subject 'has become X' i.e. 'is X' (904)-(905). With the verbs that imply the concept of 'is X' the simple aspect is used (906). In addition, the defective verb *-ri* 'be' with the associative index *na** is used to express some adjectival meanings (907)-(908).

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (904) | idya iN+nyáabu i+ra+vyibuh+ye
4DemP9 CP9/10+'cat' SP9+Foc+'become fat'+Perf | Idya inyáabu iravyibushe.
'That cat has become fat (i.e. is fat).' |
| (905) | uwu umu+fuko nti+u+remeer+ye
1DemP3 CP3+'bag' Neg+SP3+'become heavy'+Perf
u+ra+reeruk*+ye
SP3+Foc+'become light'+Perf | Uwu mufuko ntiwuremééye,
'This bag is not heavy,
uraréeruse.
it is light.' |
| (906) | iki iki+tabo ki+ra+er*+a
1DemP7 CP7+'book' SP7+Foc+'be white'+FV | Iki gitabo kireéra.
'This book is white.' |
| (907) | n+a+ri na*+iN+nyootá
SP1ps+Past+'be' AI+CP9/10+'thirst' | Ndari nínyóotá.
'I was thirsty.' |
| (908) | ki+ri na*+aka+mooto ka+iizá
SP7+'be' AI+CP12+'smell' AP12+'good' | Kiri nákamooto keezá.
'It (the food) smells good.' |

The defective verbs *-ri* 'be' and *-ti* 'say' occur in some lexicalised words. *-ri* with the locative substitutive and the class 1 subject prefix means 'but' (909), and *-ti* with the class 1 subject prefix is used to introduce a direct quotation (910). *-ri* 'be' with the class 18 locative prefix means 'among' (911)-(912), and with the class 16 prefix and suffix it serves as an existential copula (913).

- (909) *n+ri na*+ubu+hínga bu+ínshi*
 SP1ps+'be' AI+CP14+'solution' AP14+'many'
a+ri+kó wewé ntaa ubu+hinga
 SP1+'be'+Pro17 'you' NegEx CP14+'solution'
 Ndi núbuhinga bwínshi
 'I have many solutions.
aríko wewé ntaa buhinga.
 but you don't have solutions.'
- (910) *ri+a+bwiir*+ye a+ti*
 SP5+Past+'tell'+Perf SP1+'say'
n+roo+mu+ha+a iN+piya*
 SP1ps+Fut+OP1+'give'+FV CP9/10+'money'
 Dyaabwiiye ati
 'It said:
 ndoomuha impiya.
 I will give him money.'
- (911) *mu+ri+*+zó*
 Loc18+'be'+M2+Pro10
 murízo
 'among those'
- (912) *mu+ri+* ma+ínshi*
 Loc18+'be'+M2 AP6+'many'
 murí ménshi
 'among many'
- (913) *ha+ri+hó iki+he*
 SP16+'be'+Pro16 CP7+'time'
 harihó igihe
 'sometimes (i.e. there are times)'

7.1.5.2 Non-finite verbs

There are three types of non-finite verb forms, i.e. infinitives, participials, and relatives. Infinitives are nominalised verbs, and can, thus, perform most of the functions of the noun phrases. Although participials and relatives show tense distinctions in Ha, they only occur in dependent clauses. Participials are used in subordinate and auxiliary constructions as well as in adverbials and as modifiers of nouns. Relative clauses modify nouns, and independent relatives have the same functions as noun phrases (discussed in section 7.4 below).

Infinitives follow the concords of noun class 15, and they function like noun phrases as subjects, objects (914), predicative complements (915) and modifiers (916). They can also have pronominal modifiers (917)–(919). Infinitives differ from nouns, in that they can be modified by adverbs (920) and have object arguments (921) as well as an object prefix (922). The final vowel of the infinitives is always *-a*.

- (914) *uku+chumb+a ku+gomb+a*
 CP15+'cook'+FV SP15+'want'+FV
uku+itond+a*
 CP15+'be patient'+FV
 Kuchumba kugomba
 'Cooking requires
 kwítonda.
 patience (i.e. to be patient).'
- (915) *uku+gu+a ha+iN+sí*
 CP15+'fall'+FV Loc16+CP9/10+'ground'
ní uku+ruhuuk+a
 Cop CP15+'rest'+FV
 Kugwa háási ní ukuruhuuka.
 'To fall down is to rest.'
- (916) *iN+sabúni i+a*+uku+mes+i+a*
 CP9/10+'soap' DP9+Con+CP15+'wash'+Caus+FV
 isabúni yókumeseesha
 'washing soap'
- (917) *uku+chumb+a ku+dya*
 CP15+'cook'+FV 4DemP15
 ukuchumba kudya
 'this (kind of) cooking'

- (918) uku+meny+a ku+a*+bu ukumenya kwáabu
 CP15+'know'+FV DP15+Con+Poss3pp 'their knowledge'
- (919) uku+bagar*+a ku+a*+ka+bíri ukubágara kwakábiri
 CP15+'weed'+FV DP15+Con+DP12+'two' 'the second weeding'
- (920) uku+ri*+a chááne ukúdyá chááne
 CP15+'eat'+FV 'really' 'to eat a lot'
- (921) uku+ib*+a iN+goma Ukwííba ingoma ntikugoorá.
 CP15+'steal'+FV CP9/10+'drum' 'To steal a drum is not difficult.'
 nti+ku+goor*+a
 Neg+SP15+'be difficult'+M2+FV
- (922) uku+mu+bon*+a kumúbona
 CP15+OP1+'see'+FV 'to see him'

Infinitives are also frequently used in adverbials. Adverbial phrases are formed, for example, with the verbs *-va* 'come' (923)-(925), *-shika* 'arrive', *-shikahó* 'arrive at' (926)-(927), and *-rénga* 'go beyond' (928). With the locative prefixes, infinitives form adverbials of place and time (929)-(930).

- (923) ku+vu+a nga*+aho kuva ngaáho
 CP15+'come'+FV Pl+2DemP16 'from then on'
- (924) ku+vu+a *+a+ki+ri umu+áana kuva akíri umwáana
 CP15+'come'+FV Part+SP1+Pers+'be' CP1+'child' 'since he was a child'
- (925) ku+vu+a ha+iN+sí kuva háási nihéjuru
 CP15+'come'+FV Loc16+CP9/10+'ground' 'from the bottom to the top'
 na*+i+ha+i+juru
 Al+Loc23+Loc16+CP5+'sky'
- (926) mu+iki+tóndo ku+shik+a mugitóndo gushika
 Loc18+CP7+'morning' CP15+'arrive'+FV 'morning to
 ku+umu+górooba kumugórooba
 Loc17+CP3+'evening' evening (i.e. the whole day)'
- (927) a+á+ra+bagar*+*+ye ku+shik+a+hó Yarábagaye gushikahó
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'weed'+M+Perf CP15+'arrive'+FV+Pro16 'He weeded until
 umu+ríma gu+her*+*+ir+ye umuríma guheréeye.
 CP3+'field' SP3+'finish'+M2+Appl+Perf the field was completed.'
- (928) iN+táara yó+yó+se* ku+reng*+a intáara yoyóóse kurénga
 CP9/10+'place' Redupl+Pro9+'all' CP15+'go beyond'+FV 'any place except that
 iyo *+a+a+ba*+mwó iyo yáabamwó
 2DemP9 Part+SP1+Past+'be'+Pro18 he lived in'
- (929) a+ni+erek+a hó+ku+ichar+a anyereka hókwichara
 SP1+OP1ps+'show'+FV RPro16+CP15+'sit'+FV 'he showed me where to sit'
- (930) mu+ku+ihumuur*+a mukwííhumuura
 Loc18+CP15+'wash face'+FV 'in/when washing one's face'

The comparison of adjectives and adjectival meanings is performed with the infinite form of the verb *-súmba* 'to surpass', i.e. in the form 'X is Y to surpass Z' (931). The superlative is expressed in the form 'X is very Y (to surpass Z)' (932)-(933).

- (931) iki iki+tabo ní ki+iizá Iki gitabo ní chiizá
 1DemP7 CP7+'book' Cop AP7+'good' 'This book is better
 ku+sumb*+a kidya iki+tabo gusúmba kidya gitabo.
 CP15+'surpass'+FV 4DemP7 CP7+'book' than that book.'
- (932) iki iki+tabo ní ki+iizá chááne Iki gitabo ní chiizá chááne.
 1DemP7 CP7+'book' Cop AP7+'good' 'really' 'This book is very good (i.e. the best).'
- (933) iN+zu zi+a*+nooné Inzu zanóoné
 CP9/10+'house' DP10+Con+'now' 'The houses of these days
 zi+ra+beer*+a chááne zirabéera chááne
 SP10+Foc+'please'+FV 'really' are very good,
 ku+sumb*+a zi+a*+keéra. gusúmba zakéera.
 CP15+'surpass'+FV DP10+Con+'long ago' better than those of before (i.e. the best).'

Participial forms are used in several types of subordinate clauses (cf. 7.4 below) and with auxiliaries (cf. 6.1.7 in Verbal Morphology). Moreover, participials function as adverbial clauses of time and manner (934)-(937). Some of these clauses have become lexicalised adverbs of time (938)-(939).

- (934) zi+hotoor*+a Zihotoora zíhiigwa.
 SP10+'grow old'+FV 'They grow old while they are being hunted.'
 +zi+hiig+u+a
 Part+SP10+'hunt'+Pass+FV
- (935) *+a+zi+rong+ye azíronze
 Part+SP1+OP10+'rinse'+Perf 'after she had rinsed them'
- (936) *+n+injir*+ye nínjiye
 Part+SP1ps+'enter'+Perf 'when I had entered'
- (937) a+tá+kandagiir*+ye atákandágiye
 SP1+Neg+'step'+M2+Perf 'without (him) stepping'
- (938) *+bu+ke*+ye búkeeye
 Part+SP14+'dawn'+Perf 'the following day (i.e. after the dawn)'
- (939) *+bu+roo+ke*+a buróochá
 Part+SP14+Fut+'dawn'+FV 'good-bye/until tomorrow (i.e. after it has dawned)'

The perfective participial with the class 7 subject prefix of the verb *-reka* 'leave' has become a lexicalised conjunction meaning 'except that' or 'but' (940).

- (940) *+ki+rek+ye imi+rúndi na*+ama+no Kíretse imirúndi námano
 Part+SP7+'leave'+Perf CP4+'shin' AI+CP6+'toe' 'Except that the shins and toes
 bi+ra+n+ri*+a birándya.
 SP8+Foc+OP1ps+'eat'+FV are aching.'

- (941) nti+a+á+tambur*+ye a+gi+a muhíra Ntiyatámbuyeye aja muhíra,
 Neg+SP1+RPast+ 'walk'+Perf SP1+ 'go'+FV 'home' 'He did not walk home,
 *+ki+rek+ye a+á+iruk+ye kítetse yíirutse.
 Part+SP7+ 'leave'+Perf SP1+RPast+ 'run'+Perf but he ran.'

Participials also function as modifiers of nouns.

- (942) umu+ntu *+a+fise iN+kokó umuntu afíse inkokó
 CP1+ 'person' Part+SP1+ 'have' CP9/10+ 'hen' 'a person having hens'
 (943) iN+píya zi+tá+gir+*+a iki+mazi impíya zitágirá ikimazi
 CP9/10+ 'money' SP10+Neg+ 'have'+M2+FV CP7+ 'value' 'money without value'

7.1.6 Invariables

There are quite a number of words that are not inflected. Thus, they cannot be assigned to any of the classes described above. Some of these invariables are derived from nominal or verbal stems, but others cannot be analysed into smaller units, at least not synchronically. Syntactically, invariables function, for example, as adverbs and conjunctions.

7.1.6.1 Adverbs

In addition to the great number of nouns and verbs that function as adverbials, there are some lexical adverbs that function as adverbials and as modifiers for adjectives and other adverbs.

(944)	keéra	'long ago'	Keéra haárabáaye imbeba. 'Once upon the time there was a rat.' Baátanguye keéra. 'They started long ago.' abakéera 'ancestors'
	kare	'early, formerly'	mugitóndo chakáre 'early in the morning' Kare túkiri batóoyi... 'When we were young...'
	ejó	'tomorrow' (also 'yesterday' in Kasulu)	Ejó ndoogenda murugereero. 'Tomorrow I will go to the market.' ejó búndi 'the day after tomorrow'
	nooné/ nóóne	'now' (also frequently used as a discourse marker)	Nóóne tukora ikí? 'What should we do now?'
	nóonáha	'presently' (formed with nóóne and the DemP <i>aha</i>)	Nóonáha barakóra. 'They are working now.'

kure/ kuréere	'far' (possibly class 17 prefix, and the adjective -ré-re 'long')	Inzu yáawe iri kure yínzu yáanje. 'Your house is far from my house.' Bagiye kuréere chááne. 'They went very far.'
chááne	'a lot, really'	Ni vyiizá chááne. 'They are very good.' chááne chááne 'especially'
nyéne	emphatic word	Wavyáawe aha nyéne? 'Were you born here?'
reéro	emphatic word	Ivyo reéro vyaari ibikógwa bikéeyi gusa. 'Those were a few jobs only.'

The stems *-ntyá* 'like this, now' and *-ntyó* (sometimes *-tyá* and *-tyó*) 'that way, so' are described as defective verbs in Rundi (Rodegem 1967), but in Ha they only occur as lexicalised adverbs, which are attached to verbs (945)-(948), to the connexive *-a** (949), the associative index *na** (950) or to class prefixes (951)-(953). When they occur independently, an initial vowel *i-* is added (954).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (945) | bi+vug*+a+ntyá* | bivugántya |
| | SP8+'say'+FV+'like this' | 'it is said that' |
| (946) | uku+kor*+a+ntyó* | gukorántyo |
| | CP15+'work'+FV+'like that' | 'to do like that' |
| (947) | bi+ri+ntyó* | biríntyó |
| | SP8+'be'+ 'like, that' | 'it is the same' |
| (948) | ku+ri+ntyó* | kuríntyó |
| | Loc17+'be'+ 'like that' | 'therefore' |
| (949) | ibi+koréeshwa bi+a*+ntyá* | ibikoréeshwa vyaántya |
| | CP8+'utensils' DP8+Con+'like this' | 'modern utensils' |
| (950) | na*+ntyá* | nantyá |
| | AI+'like this' | 'until now' |
| (951) | aba+ntyá* | abantyá |
| | CP2+'like this' | 'people of this generation' |
| (952) | ku+ntyó* | gútyó |
| | Loc17+'like that' | 'the same' |
| (953) | ku+ntyó* ku+ntyó* | gútyó gútyó |
| | Loc17+'like that' Loc17+'like that' | 'in the same way' |
| (954) | intyá* nyéne | intyá nyéne |
| | 'like this' 'thoroughly' | 'right now' |

Adverbs can also be derived from adjective and noun stems. The class 14 prefix, without the augment, is used with the adjective stems *-ké* 'a little' (reduplicated) and *-shaásha* 'new' to form adverbs such as *bukéebuke* 'slowly' and *bushaásha*

'again, anew'. *Kénshi* 'many times' and *gatóogato* 'a little' are formed with class 12 prefixes from the stems *-ínsht* 'many' and *-tó* 'little', respectively.

The adjective stem *-sa* 'empty' is used in several adverbs. *Gusa*, with a class 17 prefix, means 'only, alone, naked'. *Ubúsa* with a class 14 noun prefix means 'in vain', but also 'naked' (955)-(956). Class 7 noun prefixes can derive adverbs from nouns of other classes (957) (cf. also 5.2.4).

- (955) *umu+áana a+ri ubu+sa* *Umwáana ari ubúsa.*
 CP1+'child' SP1+'be' CP14+'empty' 'The child is naked.'
- (956) *uku+asam+ir+a ubu+sa* *Ukwáasamira ubúsa ní ukurira.*
 CP15+'open'+Appl+FV CP14+'empty' 'To open the mouth for nothing is crying.'
ní uku+rir+a
 Cop CP15+'cry'+FV
- (957) *iN+geso zi+a*+iki+zungú* *ingeso zíkizúngú*
 CP9/10+'habit' DP10+Con+CP7+'European' 'European habits'

The associative index (AI) *na** (cf. 7.1.6.2 below) is used with nouns and adjective stems in adverb formation. For example, *níngoga* 'quickly' is derived from the noun *ingoga* 'hurry' and *níjoro* 'yesterday' from the noun *ijoro* 'night'. *Neezá* 'well' and *naabí* 'badly' are derived from the adjective stems *-iizá* 'good' and *-bí* 'bad', respectively.

7.1.6.2 Index forms

The index forms are preclitics attached primarily to nouns. There are three index forms: associative index, comparative index, and presentative index.

The basic meaning of the associative index (AI) *na** is 'with'. It has an accent, which is realised as a high tone on the augment of the following noun. If the following word does not have an augment, the accent is realised on the first syllable of the word in case the word does not have an accent (cf. 3.3 in Tonology).

- (958) *na*+ama+bóko* *námabóko*
 AI+CP6+'hand' 'with hands'
- (959) *aka+samáaki ku+mwé na*+iN+wáari* *agasamáaki kumwé níiwáari*
 CP12+'fish' Loc17+'one' AI+CP9/10+'rice' 'fish together with rice'
- (960) *ku+pfu*+a na*+iN+zara* *gupfá nínzara*
 CP15+'die'+FV AI+CP9/10+'hunger' 'to die from hunger'

The associative index attaches to nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns (in particular to the substitutive pronouns, cf. section 5.4.1 in Nominal Morphology), and to adverbs. In addition to the basic meaning, the associative index is frequently used as a conjunction between noun phrases and other nominals (961)-(964). When attached to a single noun it can mean 'also' (965), with the verbs meaning 'be' it expresses 'have' (966). The associative index also marks the agent of a passive clause (967). The associative index is sometimes used as a conjunction between clauses (cf. 7.4.1).

- (961) *iN+hené na*+iN+kokó* *impené nínkokó*
 CP9/10+'goat' AI+CP9/10+'hen' 'goats and hens'

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (962) | iN+zu na*+ibi*+ri+mwó
CP9/10+ 'house' AI+SPRel8+ 'be'+Pro18 | inzu n̄birímwo
'the house and what is inside it' |
| (963) | na*+ibi+ndi* vyó+se*
AI+CP8+ 'other' Pro8+ 'all' | nibíndi vyóóse
'and all the others (things)' |
| (964) | uku+huur*+a na*+uku+imbur+a
CP15+ 'tresh'+FV AI+CP15+ 'store'+FV | guhúura n̄kwimbura
'threshing and storing' |
| (965) | n+herez*+a na*+i+sigára zi+taanu
OP1ps+ 'give'+FV AI+CP9/10+ 'cigarette' DP10+ 'five' | Mperezera n̄sigára zitaanu.
'Give me also five cigarettes.' |
| (966) | u+ri na*+iN+horé
SP2ps+ 'be' AI+CP9/10+ 'information' | Uri n̄mporé?
'Do you have the information?' |
| (967) | ri+twaar*+u+a na*+ama+zi*
SP5+ 'carry'+Pass+FV AI+CP6+ 'water' | ritwaagwa náamaázi
'it is carried by the water' |

The comparative index (CI) *nka** indicates the notion of 'as, like, such as, as if', and it can be attached to nominals and invariables. *nka** has an accent, which is realised in the same way as the accent of *na**.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| (968) | nka*+umu+vyéeyi nkúmuvyéeyi
CI+CP1+ 'old woman' 'like an old woman' |
| (969) | ní nka*+iki ni nkíki
Cop CI+1DemP7 'it is like this' |
| (970) | sí nka*+keéra si nkakéera
CopN CI+ 'long ago' 'not like before' |

The presentative index (PI) *nga** is used only with demonstrative pronouns, and it indicates 'here'. It most often occurs with the class 16 demonstrative pronouns *aha* and *aho*. The vowel of the index is deleted, and the initial vowel of the demonstrative pronoun is lengthened. The presentative index has an accent which is realised as H on the second mora of the lengthened vowel.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (971) | iN+nóti nga*+iyi
CP9/10+ 'note' PI+1DemP9 | inóti ngííyi
'this note here' |
| (972) | iN+nyáanya nga*+izi
CP9/10+ 'tomato' PI+1DemP10 | inyáanya ngíízi
'these tomatoes here' |
| (973) | nti+tu+kor*+*+a ibi+kóogwa nga*+aha
Neg+SP1pp+ 'work'+M2+FV CP8+ 'work' PI+1DemP16 | Ntitukorá ibikóogwa ngaáha.
'We do not work here.' |
| (974) | uku+vu+a nga*+aho
CP15+ 'come'+FV PI+2DemP16 | kuva ngaáho
'from now on' |

7.1.6.3 Invariables formed with locatives

Locative constructions have many functions. The locative class 16 acts as a proper noun class (cf. 5.3.1 in Nominal Morphology), and the concords of the other locative classes may be used as secondary prefixes on nouns (cf. 5.3.2 and 5.3.3). Locative concords may also be attached to verbs, either prefixed as relative pronouns or suffixed as locative substitutes (cf. 5.4.1). In addition to these

purposes, the locative concords occur in constructions that function as conjunctions and adverbials.

Yúúkolyúko 'that' (975), *mukó* 'when' (976), *kukó* 'because' (977), *kólkwó* 'that, because, in order to' (978)-(979), *nahó* 'even though, even if' (980), *nkíko/nkúko* 'as' (981) are all formed with the locative concords. The verb in subordinate clauses introduced by these invariables is in the relative form. The defective verb *-ri* 'be' is used in some locative constructions such as *harahó* 'sometimes', and the associative index *na** is used in constructions such as *honáho* 'immediately'.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(975) <i>tu+meny+*+e yúúko</i> Lameck arí
 SP1pp+'know'+M2+Subj 'that' PropN CopS
 <i>umu+sáaza u+a*+Angelina</i>
 CP1+'brother' DP1+Con+PropN</p> | <p>Tumenyé yúúko Lameck arí
 'Let us bear in mind that Lameck is
 <i>umusáaza waÁngelina.</i>
 Angelina's brother.'</p> |
| <p>(976) <i>mukó ha+tá+ráa+her*+a umu+áaka</i>
 'when' SP16+Neg+Ant+'end'+FV CP3+'year'</p> | <p><i>mukó hatarááhéra umwáaka</i>
 'before a year ended (i.e. when the year has not ended)'</p> |
| <p>(977) <i>kukó iN+zóga yi+a*+nje</i>
 'because' CP9/10+'beer' DP9+Con+Poss1ps
 <i>yi+ra+kar*+ye chááne</i>
 SP9+Foc+'be sharp'+Perf 'really'</p> | <p><i>Kukó inzóga yáanje yirakáze chááne.</i>
 'Because my beer is very strong.'</p> |
| <p>(978) <i>kó+ru+oo+yi+hekeny*+*+a</i>
 RPro17+SP11+Pot+OP9+'chew'+M2+FV</p> | <p><i>kógwooyihekénya</i>
 'that it would chew it'</p> |
| <p>(979) <i>kwó+ba+shobor*+*+a</i>
 RPro17+SP2+'be able'+M2+FV</p> | <p><i>kwóbashobóra</i>
 'as much as they could'</p> |
| <p>(980) <i>nahó ama+héra arí ma+tóoyi</i>
 'even though' CP6+'money' CopS AP6+'little'</p> | <p><i>nahó amahéra arí matóoyi</i>
 'even though there is not much money'</p> |
| <p>(981) <i>nkíko Salome arí</i>
 'as' PropN CopS
 <i>umu+éenewáabu u+a*+Lilian</i>
 CP1+'sibling' DP1+Con+PropN</p> | <p><i>nkíko Salome arí</i>
 'as Salome is
 <i>mwéenewáabu waLilian</i>
 Lilian's sister'</p> |

7.1.6.4 Other invariables

Other invariables include conjunctions (982), question words (983) and interjections (984).

(982)	ngo	'that' (introduces the complement clause after e.g. 'say', 'believe', 'hope')	Agira ngo tugendé. 'He said: 'Let's go.'
	chánke	'or' (disjunction between clauses and noun phrases)	impené chánke intaama 'goats or sheep'
	nyámare	'but' (normally sentence initial, often expresses strong contrast or change of topic in discussion)	Nyámare mwizi mísi... 'But nowadays...'

(983)	dyáari?	'when?'	Ugaruka dyáari? 'When will you return?'
	heéhe?/hé?	'where?'	Uri heéhe? 'Where are you?'
	gúte?	'how?' (possibly class 17 prefix)	Ibiharagi vyáawe uguza gúte? 'How do you sell (i.e. How much are) your beans?'
	-nté?	'how, what?' (suffixed to verbs)	Wogiranté? 'What can you say?'
	mbere?	question marker (emphatic)	Mbere urabira ichuúya mwijoro? 'Do you really sweat at nights?'

(984)	eegó/ee	'yes, OK'
	oyayé/kópo	'no (in Kibondo)'
	aayé/ekáye	'no (in Kasulu)'
	yé/mwá/wé/ga	vocative markers
	há	'really?'
	hmm	'I see'

7.2 Basic clause structure

The declarative clause is naturally the most frequent and the unmarked clause type in Ha. This section also describes the other clause structures, i.e. interrogatives, commands, exhortations, predication and negation of all the sentence types. Intonation of declaratives and interrogatives is described in the chapter on tonology.

7.2.1 Declaratives

The basic word order is SVO, where S is the subject, V the predicate verb and O represents both the direct and indirect object (985). Subject and object positions can be filled with noun phrases, pro-forms, or nominalised verbs and adjectives (cf. section 7.1 above). However, as the subject is obligatorily coded on the verb with the subject prefix, the overt subject may be omitted or sometimes even placed after the predicate (986)-(988).

(985)	iN+beba zi+á+ra+tiny*+*+a iN+nyáabu CP9/10+'rat' SP10+RPast+Foc+'fear'+M+FV	Imbeba zaáratínya inyáabu. 'The rats feared the cat.'
(986)	zi+ra+ragan+a SP10+Foc+'agree'+FV	Ziraragana. 'They (e.g. the rats) agreed.'
(987)	n+roo+gur+a imi+úngu SP1ps+Fut+'buy'+FV CP4+'pumpkin'	Ndoogura imyúngu. 'I will buy pumpkins.'

- (988) *ba+mu+fash*+*+e aba+genzi* *bamufáshe abagenzi*
 SP2+OP1+ 'help'+M2+Subj CP2+ 'friend' 'so that the friends would help him'

The coding of the object on the predicate verb is not obligatory if there is an overt object (989)-(991). First and second person substitutes are used as overt subjects and objects only for emphasis (992).

- (989) *ba+ra+tu+bon*+a* *baratúbona*
 SP2+Foc+OP1pp+ 'see'+FV 'they see us'
- (990) *ba+á+bon*+ye aba+ntu* *baábonye abantu*
 SP2+RPast+ 'see'+Perf CP2+ 'person' 'they saw people'
- (991) *a+á+n+ha*+ye ama+héra* *yampááye amahéra*
 SP1+RPast+OP1ps+ 'give'+Perf CP6+ 'money' 'he gave me money'
- (992) *a+á+yi+gur+ye Kigoma* *Yayíguze Kigoma,*
 SP1+RPast+OP9+ 'buy'+Perf PropN 'She bought it in Kigoma'
a+n+zan+ir+a jewé* *anzanira jewé.*
 SP1+OP1ps+ 'bring'+Appl+FV Pro1ps and brought it to me.'

With ditransitive predicates where both objects are overt, the direct object precedes the indirect object, and the indirect object is optionally coded on the verb with the object prefix (993). The direct and the indirect object are not grammatically differentiated, but usually the object higher in the animacy hierarchy is conceived to be the indirect object. Thus, the relative order of the direct and the indirect object can be reversed, when the objects can be differentiated semantically (994). When there is no overt direct object, it can be coded onto the verb (995). Changes in the argument structure of the predicate are discussed in section 7.3, Transitivity and voice, below.

- (993) *a+á+mu+ha*+ye umu+kaaté* *Yamúhaaye umukáaté umwáana.*
 SP1+RPast+OP1+ 'give'+Perf CP3+ 'bread' 'He gave bread to the child.'
umu+ána
 CP1+ 'child'
- (994) *a+á+mu+ha*+ye umu+ána* *Yamúhaaye umwáana umukáaté.*
 SP1+RPast+OP1+ 'give'+Perf CP1+ 'child' 'He gave bread to the child.'
umu+kaaté
 CP3+ 'bread'
- (995) *a+á+wu+ha*+ye umu+ána* *Yawúhaaye umwáana.*
 SP1+RPast+OP3+ 'give'+Perf CP1+ 'child' 'He gave it to the child.'

The class 8 subject prefix can function as a general dummy subject (996), the subject prefix of class 14 is used when talking about the parts of the day (997), and the subject prefix of class 2 when talking about unspecified humans (998). The locative prefixes may also function as dummy subjects when expressing place or time (999).

- (996) *bi+vug*+u+a* *Bivugwa...*
 SP8+ 'say'+Pass+FV 'It is said (that)...

- (997) bu+ra+goroob*+ye Buragóroove.
 SP14+Foc+'get dark'+Perf 'It is getting dark.'
- (998) ba+ra+ubak*+a iN+zu Barúubaka inzu.
 SP2+Foc+'build'+FV CP9/10+'house' 'People build houses.'
- (999) keéra ha+ri+hó umu+kóobwa Keéra harihó umukóobwa.
 'long ago' SP16+'be'+Pro16 CP1+'girl' 'Once upon the time there was a girl.'

In addition to subject and object arguments, predicates can have adverbial arguments. Adverbial arguments are formed with locative prefixes (cf. 7.1.1.3 above) or they are adverbs (cf. 7.1.6.1 above). The adverbials of time are most often clause-initial, although the clause-final position is also possible (1000)-(1001).⁶⁴ Sometimes the adverbial phrase of time is between the subject and the predicate (1002). The adverbial phrases of location and manner follow the predicate and its object arguments and their relative order is free (1003)-(1005). Adverbial phrases of location may also occupy the sentence-initial slot when the location is emphasised (1006). However, only one adverbial phrase at a time can precede the predicate.

- (1000) mu+nyuma a+toor*+a iN+bóga Muunyuma atoora imbóga.
 Loc18+'back' SP1+'take'+FV CP9/10+'sauce' 'Later on she took the sauce.'
- (1001) ama+twí ga+ra+umv*+a nóonáha Amátwí garúmva nóonáha.
 CP6+'ear' SP6+Foc+'hear'+FV 'presently' 'The ears can hear presently.'
- (1002) Rushatsi umu+sí u+a*+uku+rúvakó Rushatsi umúsi
 PropN CP3+'day' DP3+Con+CP15+'finish mourning' 'On the day of finishing the
 a+á+ra+vug*+*+ye wókurúvakó yarávuze...
 SP1+RPast+Foc+'say'+M+Perf mourning Rushatsi said...'
- (1003) a+a+mu+ha*+ye umu+kaaté Yamuháaye umukáaté
 SP1+Past+OP1+'give'+Perf CP3+'bread' 'She gave him bread
 ku+umu+óonga kumwóonga.
 Loc17+CP3+'river' at the river.'
- (1004) ga+ra+hekeny*+a Garahékenya
 SP6+Foc+'ache'+FV 'They ache
 mu+iN+gíngo chááne chááne mungíngo chááne chááne.
 'Loc18+CP9/10+'joint' really' 'really' especially in the joints.'
- (1005) a+a+gend+a bu+ké+bu+ke Yagenda bukée buke
 SP1+Past+'go'+FV AP14+'a little'+AP14+Redup 'He walked slowly
 mu+umu+háruo mumuháruo.
 Loc18+CP3+'road' along the road.'
- (1006) hádya a+a+mu+ha*+ye umu+kaaté Hádya yamuháaye umukáaté.
 4DemP16 SP1+Past+OP1+'give'+Perf CP3+'bread' 'There he gave him bread.'

⁶⁴ This is an interesting fact, since the adverbial phrase, being clause-initial, sets the time frame for the clause, and often makes it possible to comprehend the temporal context without the correct production and/or interpretation of the tones of the verb.

7.2.2 Interrogatives

There are two main types of interrogative clauses, yes-no questions and content questions.

7.2.2.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions are often not marked at all, but they are understood as questions by the context, usually by the second person subject concord or pronoun. The word order does not change. Question intonation may be used to mark the question so that the downdrift does not take place and the final syllable, which is normally low, is raised instead (cf. chapter 3). This question intonation is marked with ^.

(1007) Ndimbé ikíndi choobô? 'Should I dig another hole?'

(1008) Ntuupungúza ibeyî? 'Don't you reduce the price?'

7.2.2.2 Content questions

There are several question words that form content questions, some of which are inflected interrogative pronouns (cf. 5.4.4.1 in Nominal Morphology); other question words are uninflected (cf. 7.1.6.4 above). Question words usually occupy the clause-final position (1009)-(1011). *Mbere* is a question marker that is sometimes used in the beginning of a sentence to emphasise questions, both yes-no questions and content questions (1012). The intonation pattern of the content questions does not need to differ from that of statements, but the content questions can be marked with the question intonation as the yes-no questions.

(1009) Uva mukijíji cháahé? 'From which village do you come from?'

(1010) Ugaruka dyáari? 'When will you return?'

(1011) Wogiranté? 'How/what can you do?'

(1012) Mberé urabira ichuúya mwijoro? 'Do you really sweat at nights?'

Content questions can also be formed with the copula *ní*, in which case the lexical verb is in the participial form.

(1013) Ní gukí ataráaza? 'Why has he not come? (lit. It is for what that he has not come?)'

7.2.3 Commands and exhortations

The imperative form is used in second person singular commands. In other persons, in the negative as well as in exhortations, wishes, pieces of advice and polite commands of all persons the subjunctive is used. The morphology, as well as the tonal patterns of these forms, are discussed in the chapter on verbal morphology (cf. 6.1.3.1 and 6.1.3.2), the word order is the same as with declaratives. When there are two commands that follow each other, the second command is in the subjunctive (1014).

(1014) Genda uteeké! 'Go and cook!'

7.2.4 Exclamations and terms of address

In addition to the interjections (cf. 7.1.6.4 above), exclamations can be formed, for example, with kinship terms. These express surprise and astonishment as well as reprimand, depending on the intonation and the context.

- (1015) *Badáayí!* lit. 'My fathers!'
Maamadáayí! lit. 'My mother my father!'
Maamasha! lit. 'Little mother!'
Bagábo! lit. 'Husbands!'

When addressing people kinship terms are often used, even if the relation expressed by the term is literally not true. Any older or respectable man may be called 'my father', and woman similarly 'my mother'. People of the same age and status are called siblings. Additionally, some special particles, such as *yé*, *wé* and *ga* are used when addressing somebody or drawing somebody's attention.

- (1016) *Yé, Kasase,* 'Mr. Kasase,'
Kagoma, wé, 'Mr. Kagoma,'
Yé mugabo, 'Mister!'
Yé bagabo/baga, 'You men,'
Mwá baana, 'You children,'
Ga dáayí mganga, 'Oh doctor,'
Ga kóoyó, 'Dear mother,'

7.2.5 Predicative clauses

Nominal, adjectival and pronominal predicatives are introduced in the present tense with the copula *ní* (1017)-(1020), its negative counterpart *sí*, and *arí* and *atári* in subordinate clauses (cf. 6.1.6). The copulas can also be used as predicators when there is no overt subject (1021). In the past tenses, the defective verb *-ri* 'be' is used (1022)-(1023), and the verb *-bá* 'be' is used in the other tenses (1024).

- (1017) *Uyu ní mwíshiki wáanje.* 'This is my sister.'
(1018) *Abóoroozi ní bénshi.* 'Herdsmen are numerous.'
(1019) *Aha ní heezá.* 'This place is good.'
(1020) *Iyi méeza ní yáanje.* 'This table is mine.'
(1021) *Ni cháanje.* 'It is mine.'
(1022) *Baári imisóre.* 'They were teenagers.'
(1023) *Abahéeshi baári bénshi.* 'The blacksmiths were numerous.'
(1024) *Jackson arooba arí umúkwe waFráncis naPrisca.* 'Jackson would be Francis and Prisca's son-in-law.'

Locative predicatives are introduced either with the copulas *ní* and *sí* or with the defective verb *-ri* (cf. 6.1.5 in Verbal Morphology).

- (1025) *Kasulu ni hóofi, sí kuréere.* 'Kasulu is near, it is not far away.'
(1026) *Inzu yáawe iri kure yínzu yáanje.* 'Your house is far from my house.'

- (1027) ugweeso rutóoyi rurí kuzíiko 'small pot that is on the fire'
 (1028) Imbúgítá nyínshi ziri mumuhíni umwé. 'Many knives are in one handle.'

The defective verb *-ri* is also used for existential predicatives with the locative substitutes (cf. 5.3 in Nominal Morphology). The locative prefix of class 16 is used as the subject prefix for the locative existential (1029)-(1031), otherwise the subject prefix of class 8 is used (1032). For the negated existential predicatives, the negative existential copula *ntaa* is used (cf. section 6.1.6 in the chapter on verbal morphology and 7.2.6 below).

- (1029) Harihó ayándi. 'There is something else.'
 (1030) Háno harihó ichumba kibí. 'There is a bad smell here.'
 (1031) Munzu harimwó ibiharagi. 'There are beans in the house.'
 (1032) nkíko biri mwizi mísi 'as it is nowadays'

7.2.6 Negation

The two morphological negation types, the preinitial *nti-* (slot 2 of the morphotactic scheme, p. 86) for main clauses and the postinitial *-ta-* (slot 4) for subordinate clauses have been presented in the chapter on verbal morphology (cf. 6.1.8 above). Some of the tense distinctions are neutralised in negated clauses, and the tones of the negated clauses differ from the tones of the affirmative clauses. Predicative clauses are negated with negative copulas (cf. 6.1.6).

	Affirmative	Negated
Present	- L	nti- M2
Recent Past	-a- L	nti-a- L
Remote Past	-á- L	nti-á- L
Future	-roo- L	nti-róo- R
Potential	-oo- L	nti-oo- M2
Subjunctive	-, -e M2	ntí- -e L
Persistent	-cháa- R	nti-ki L
Consecutive	-ka- L	---
Anterior	---	nti-ráa- R
Imperative	- L	---

Table 20: The segmental and tonal markers of the simple tenses in affirmative and negation

R lexical accent (the accent of the verb root) realised as H on the first mora of the stem or macrostem

L no tense accent realised on the stem, lexical accent deleted

M2 tense accent realised as H on the second syllable of the macrostem, lexical accent deleted

The negation marker *nti-* is systematically attached to most of the affirmative tenses, i.e. the present, the recent past, the remote past, the future, the potential, and the subjunctive. However, the negative forms also differ from the corresponding affirmative forms with tone, which has different realisations on each of the tenses. In the negated persistent, the segmental tense marker is also different from that of the affirmative. The consecutive and the imperative do not have negated forms, but the negated present and the negated subjunctive are used, respectively. The anterior only has a negated form, while in the affirmative complex tenses are used.⁶⁵

Negated subordinate clauses are formed on the segmental level by substituting *nti-* with *-ta-*, but the tonal realisations differ (cf. 6.1.9 in Verbal Morphology).

In morphological negation of the complex tenses, the negation prefix may be attached either to the lexical verb or the auxiliary. Since in these structures the lexical verb becomes non-finite, the negation prefix of the lexical verb is *-ta-* of the subordinate clause.

(1033) Ntitaarikó turabárama. 'We have not been visiting.'

(1034) Twaarikó tutábaráma. 'We have not been visiting (i.e. we have been not visiting)'

There are no inherently negative quantifiers or adverbs. Some of the quantifiers and adverbs are negated with the negative copula *sí* (1035), while other negative meanings are expressed with the negative existential copula *ntaa* 'there is not'. *ntaa* can attach to a nominal, in which case the following verb is in the relative form (1036)-(1039). *ntaa* can also attach to an independent relative form (1040). When *ntaa* is attached to a substitutive pronoun, the following clause is in the relative form (1041)-(1042).

(1035) *sí ba+ínshi ba+oroor*+*+a*
CopN AP2+'many' SP2+'herd'+M2+FV

si bénshi booróora
'(there are) not many who herd'

(1036) *ntaa umu+ntu a+ri+*+mwó*
NegEx CP1+'person' SP1+'be'+M2+Pro18
mu+iN+zu
Loc18+CP9/10+'house'

Ntaa muntu arímwo munzu.
'There is no one in the house.'

(1037) *ntaa iN+zu i+ki+ubak*+*+u+a*
NegEx CP9/10+'house' SP9+Pers+'build'+M+Pass+FV
umu+bágwa u+mwé
CP3+'day' DP3+'one'

Ntaa nzu ichúúbakwa
'No house is built
umubágwa umwé.
in one day.'

(1038) *ntaa umu+iizá*
NegEx CP1+'good'
a+ta+gir++a iN+kóvu*
SP1+Neg+'have'+M2+FV CP9/10+'scar'

Ntaa mwiizá
'There is no good
atagirá inkóvu.
who does not have scars.'

(1039) *ntaa uwu+ndi**
NegEx CP1+'other'

ntaa wúndi
'there is no one else'

⁶⁵ In Rundi and Nyarwanda, the anterior is reported also to be used in the affirmative, but normally in interrogatives only (see e.g. Rodegem 1967:46, who calls it inceptif).

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (1040) | ntaa uu*+mu+fash*+a
NegEx SPRel1+OP1+'help'+FV | ntaa uúmúfasha
'there is no one to help him' |
| (1041) | ngo u+eéne ntaa+chó a+fise+*
'that' DPI+Pro NegEx+Pro7 SP1+'have'+M2 | ngo weéne ntaachó afisé
'that he had nothing' |
| (1042) | ntaa+bwo* a+a+gomb+*+a
NegEx+Pro14 SP1+Past+'want'+M2+FV | Ntaabwó yagombá.
'She did not want it.' |

The negation particle *kópo* may be used as the negator when the negative clause is contrasted with the affirmative clause.

- (1043) Nyina ari námaguru umwáana kópo. 'Mother has legs but the child does not.'

7.3 Transitivity and voice

Although, syntactically, verbs can be divided into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive verbs according to the number of arguments they require or allow, many verbs can be assigned to more than one of the classes both syntactically and semantically. The transitivity of a verb may be increased or decreased by derivational extensions (cf. also 6.2 in Verbal Morphology). Changes in the relational category of voice also affect the transitivity of a verb.

The effects of derivational processes on the argument structure and semantics of the verbs are rather complicated in Ha and in many other Bantu languages. The verbs should not only be classified according to their transitivity, but also according to the semantic content that the different derivational extensions bring to different verbal roots. For example, the applicative extensions imply location with some roots and beneficiary meaning with other roots, while some roots may have either of the meanings, depending on the context. Thus, this section presents only some examples of the syntactic processes.

7.3.1 Verb classes

The shapes of the verb roots are described in the chapter on segmental phonology (cf. 2.4). Semantically, intransitive roots do not take an object argument (1044), while semantically transitive verbs may also usually occur without the object, syntactically (1045). Semantically, ditransitive verbs allow two object arguments. Some of these verbs, such as *-há* 'give' *-bwíira* 'tell', require at least the indirect object, either as an overt object or coded on the verb with an object prefix (1046).

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (1044) | Isaáke irikó irabíka. | 'A rooster is crowing.' |
| (1045) | Búkeeye ndoodya isamáaki.
Ngomba kudyá. | 'The following day I will eat fish.'
'I want to eat.' |
| (1046) | Yampááye amahéra.
Ndookubwiira. | 'He gave me money.'
'I will tell you.' |

7.3.2 Transitivity increasing processes

In the applicative constructions, a new argument is added to the predicate or an oblique argument is promoted to the object position. The verb is morphologically marked with the applicative extension *-ir-* (cf. 6.2.1). The applicativisation can add

a goal as a direct object to intransitive verbs (1047) or a beneficiary to both intransitive and transitive verbs (1048)-(1049), or promote an oblique locative to the object position (1050)-(1051).

(1047)	-rira	'cry'
intrans:	Ahaaye aríra.	'He is crying.'
Appl, trans:	Umwáana aririra iwémbe.	'The child is crying for a razor.'
(1048)	-pfá	'die'
intrans:	Yaapfúúye.	'He is dead (i.e. has died).'
Appl, trans:	kumúpfíira	'to die for him'
(1049)	-gura	'buy'
trans:	Ngomba kugura igitabo.	'I want to buy a book.'
trans, oblique loc:	Yakíguze kwiduúka.	'He bought it in a shop.'
Appl, ditrans, oblique loc:	Yatúguriye igitabo kwiduúka.	'He bought a book for us in a shop.'
(1050)	-bágara	'weed'
intrans:	Yasúbiye kubágara.	'He repeated the weeding.'
intrans, oblique loc:	Umuntu abagara iwáage.	'A person weeds at his own place.'
Appl, trans:	kubágarira amasebura	'to weed the valleys'
(1051)	-gúruka	'fly'
intrans:	Inyoni iragúrutse.	'A bird is flying.'
Appl, trans:	Igurukiiye heéhe?	'Where did it fly?'

The semantic interpretations of the applicative differ according to the semantics of the root, and some of the applicative stems may have different interpretations in different contexts, while others are strictly limited to one of the interpretations. For example, the applicative *-rira* of the verb *-dyá* 'eat' refers to place, but *-gurira*, the applicative of the verb *-gura* 'buy', adds the beneficiary reading.

The causative construction also introduces a new subject argument, i.e. the one who causes something to happen. The former subject is demoted to the object or oblique argument position. The causative extensions are *-i-* and *-iish-* (cf. 6.2.3).

(1052)	-aaka	'burn'
intrans:	Umuriro kóguraaka.	'A fire is burning.'
Caus, trans:	Waatsé umuriro!	'Light a fire!'
(1053)	-kúra	'grow up'
intrans:	inzoká ikúze	'a big snake (i.e. a snake that has grown)'
Caus, trans:	Ukubáramira abagenzi kurakúza urukúndo.	'Visiting the friends increases love.'
(1054)	-dyá	'eat'
trans:	Mpaaye ndyá ubugari.	'I'm eating ugali.'
Caus, ditrans:	Aramúriisha ubugari.	'He is feeding him ugali.'

Some verbs that are semantically reflexive and, thus, syntactically intransitive lose their reflexivity when they receive the causative extension and have an object. The new object of the causative may again be promoted to the position of syntactic subject by passivisation (cf. 7.3.3 below).

(1055)	-óga	'bathe'
intrans:	Ahaaye yóóga.	'He is bathing.'
Caus, trans:	Ahaaye yóóza imishatsi.	'He is washing his hair.'

The causative can also introduce an instrument as the new argument. Then the subject is thought to make the instrument work so that something happens.

(1056)	-bágara	'weed'
intrans, oblique instr:	Yasúbiye kubágara námabóko.	'He repeated the weeding with hands.'
Caus, trans:	Baábagaža amabóko.	'They weeded with hands.'

7.3.3 Voice

In passivisation objects are promoted to the subject position, and the subject is either demoted to an oblique position and marked with the associative index *na**, or it is deleted. The verb itself is marked with the passive extension *-u-* (cf. 6.2.2). The most frequent type of passivisation is that of a clause with an agent subject and patient object (1057), but recipients (1058) and benefactives (1059) also may be promoted to subject position if they are objects. In addition, some stative verbs can be passivised (1060).

(1057)	-chíira	'dig'
trans:	Kamana yaráchiiye amasemo.	'Kamana dug the holes.'
Pass, intrans, oblique agent:	Amasemo yachíibwa (naKámana).	'The holes were dug (by Kamana).'
(1058)	-há	'give'
ditrans:	Kamana yaháaye umwáana amahéra.	'Kamana gave the child money.'
Pass (patient subject), trans, oblique agent:	Amahéra yaháawe umwáana (naKámana).	'Money was given to the child (by Kamana).'
Pass (recip subject), trans, oblique agent:	Umwáana yaháawe amahéra (naKámana).	'The child was given money (by Kamana).'
(1059)	-keba	'cut'
trans:	Nyina yakévyé inyama.	'Mother cut the meat.'
Appl, ditrans:	Nyina yakébeeye umwáana inyama.	'Mother cut the meat for the child.'
Appl, Pass (ben subject), trans, oblique agent:	Umwáana yakébegwa inyama (nanyína wáage).	'The child was cut the meat for (by his mother).'
(1060)	-kúnda	'like'
trans:	Baramúkunda.	'They like him.'
Pass, intrans:	Arakúndwa.	'He is liked.'

Oblique arguments (except locatives) have to be promoted to the object position before they can be promoted to the subject position by passivisation. For example, if an instrument is first promoted to the subject position by causativisation (cf. 7.3.2 above) it can be further promoted to the subject position by passivisation (1061). The possessor of an inalienable possessive constructions (cf. 7.1.1.2 above) may also become the subject of a passive clause (1062). Locatives can be promoted to subject position directly, without first being promoted to objects (1063).

(1061)	-kóra	'work'
intrans, oblique instr:	Umwáana yakóra númutóozo.	'The child worked with a toothbrush.'
Caus, trans:	Umwáana yakóreesha umutóozo.	'The child used a toothbrush.'
Caus, Pass, intrans, oblique agent:	Umutóozo wakóreesha (núumwáana).	'The toothbrush was used (by the child).'
(1062)	-íba	'steal'
trans:	Umusúma yariívye indáha yúmugabógabo.	'The thief stole the bag of the man.'
ditrans:	Umusúma yariívye umugabógabo indáha.	'The thief stole the bag of the man.'
Pass, trans, oblique agent:	Umugabógabo yariíbwe indáha yáage (númusúma).	'*The man was stolen his bag (by the thief).'
(1063)	-guza	'sell'
Caus, trans, oblique loc:	Abantu baguza ibintu vyínshi murugereero.	'People sell lots of things at the market.'
Caus, Pass, trans, oblique agent:	Murugereero haguzwa ibintu vyínshi (nábantu).	'Many things are sold at the market (lit. at the market there are sold many things) (by the people).'

With verbs such as *-kóma* 'plait' and *-bóha* 'tie' the instrument can be promoted to the subject position directly, by passivisation.

(1064)	-kóma	'plait'
trans:	Abantu bakoma inzuugi.	'The people plait doors.'
Pass, trans:	Ivyáatsi bikomwa inzuugi.	'Grass is plaited to make doors. (lit. Grass is plaited doors.)'

The subject does not need to be an agent to be demoted by passivisation. For example, with verbs such as *-búragira* 'ache' the one being hurt becomes the subject of the passive clause while the body part is demoted to the object position (1065). With some verbs such as *-sukaara* 'thatch' the non-agent subject similarly becomes the direct object, while the former object is promoted to the subject position by passivisation (1066).

(1065)	-búragira	'ache'
intrans:	Umútwe uhaaye ubúragira.	'(My) head is aching.'
Pass, trans:	Mpaaye mbúragigwa umútwe.	'* I am ached head.'

(1066)	-sukaara	'thatch, cover'
trans:	Ivyáatsi bisukaara inzu.	'Grass covers the house.'
Pass, trans:	Inzu isukaagwa ivyáatsi.	'* The house is covered grass.'

Some verbs are not passivised, but a similar function is achieved by the neuter extension, which could also be called a middle voice. As in the passive, the grammatical object is promoted to subject position, but in the neuter the former subject is deleted altogether, i.e. no agent construction is possible (1067). The neuter extension is *-ik-* (cf. 6.2.4). Some verbs may have either the passive or the neuter extension, but the meaning of the derived stems may differ (1068). The neuter extension is also used with verbs that may not be passivised (1069).

(1067)	-bóna	'see'
trans:	Ndamúbona.	'I see him.'
Neut, intrans:	Gurabóneka ntigufatika.	'It can be seen, but not touched.'
(1068)	-fáta	'touch, catch'
ditrans:	Imbwá ziramúfata.	'The dogs caught him.'
Neut, intrans:	-fátika	'be touched'
Pass, intrans:	-fátwa	'be caught'
(1069)	-menya	'know'
Neut, intrans:	Biramenyeekana.	'It is known.'

The impositive has the same extension of the same shape as that of the neuter (cf. 6.2.5), but it transfers the intransitive forms into transitive forms while the neuter does the opposite. The impositive may also be passivised, which is not possible for the neuter.

(1070)	-remeera	'become heavy'
intrans:	Umufuko ntiwureméeye.	'This bag is not heavy (has not become heavy).'
Impos, trans:	-remeeka	'put a load to one's back'
Impos, Pass, intrans:	-remeekwa	'be carried'

The reciprocal is another voice that changes the argument structure of the predicate by implying that the action of the predicate is carried out either together with or against or to each other. The reciprocal is highly productive, and the applicative, causative, neuter and impositive stems may all have a reciprocal extension (cf. 7.3.4 below). The reciprocal extension is *-an-* (cf. 6.2.6).

(1071)	-bóna	'see'
trans:	Ndamúbona.	'I see him.'
Rec, intrans:	Turoobonana.	'We will see each other.'
(1072)	-gaya	'get angry'
intrans:	Iruka ntáraagaya!	'Run before I get angry!'
Rec, intrans:	Baragayana.	'They do not like each other.'

Since the semantics of the reciprocal imply interaction, the grammatical subject of the reciprocal forms is most often in the plural. However, it is also possible to use

singular subjects with the reciprocal forms. In these instances, the other participant is expressed as an oblique complement marked with the associative index *na** (1073) or with the object concord (1074). With some verbs the meaning of the reciprocal derivation has been lexicalised. Thus, the associative index is not needed even with singular subjects (1075).

(1073)	-ja	'go'
intrans:	Ndooja ejó.	'I will go tomorrow.'
Rec, intrans:	Ajaana níimbwá záage.	'He walks with his dogs.'
(1074)	-sígara	'remain'
trans:	Abahéeshi basigaye bakéeyi.	'There are very few blacksmiths left.'
Rec, trans:	yáa nyama ndagúsigaranye	'that meat I left at your place (i.e. with you)'
(1075)	-íruka	'run'
intrans:	Ahaaye yíruka.	'He is running.'
Rec, trans:	Igikóókó ntichiirúkana igikóókó kigenzi cháage.	'An animal does not chase a animal friend.'

The reflexive is a voice that differs from the other derivations in that it precedes the verb stem. It also brings an accent to the accentless stems. The action of a reflexive predicate is directed towards or for the subject. The reflexive marker is *-i-*, and it occupies the same slot as the object prefix (cf. 6.2.10).

(1076)	-úhagira	'wash'
trans:	Baragenda baramwúuhagira.	'They went to wash her.'
Refl, intrans:	Ndiíyúhagire.	'Let me wash myself.'

The reflexive marker can be attached either to an underived or derived stem, the number of post-root extensions does not seem to put any restrictions on the occurrence of the reflexive marker.

(1077)	-remeera, cf. (1070)	'become heavy'
Refl, Impos, Appl:	-íremeekera	'take upon oneself'

7.3.4 Combinations of derivational extensions

It is not unusual that verb roots are derived with more than one derivational extension. Although it is logically possible to attach an unlimited number of derivational extensions to a root, stems with more than three extensions are rare and sometimes difficult to grasp, even for native speakers. With such stems, the intermediate stages with fewer extensions are not always used. Some of the derived stems have been lexicalised and the meanings are not directly traceable to the meanings of the derivational extensions. Overall, the system of possible extensions and their derived meanings is so abundant that only a few basic features are considered here.

Although there are more than ten different derivational extensions, their relative order is rather fixed and the realised combinations are limited. The unproductive extensions, i.e. the neuter, separative, impositive, positional, intensive, inceptive, and extensive always occupy the slot closest to the root (initial slot in Figure 5

below), thus, they seem to be mutually exclusive. They do not seem to restrict the occurrence of the productive extensions, and these stems can be conceived as lexicalised verbs (cf. 6.2).

Initial slot	Middle slot	Final slot
Neut Separ Impos Pos Int Incep Ext	Appl Appl-Caus Caus Caus-Appl	Rec Rec-Pass Rec-Appl Rec-Caus Rec-Caus-Pass Pass

Figure 5: The order and combinations of the derivational extensions

The applicative is the most freely distributed extension. It occupies the middle slot of the extension scheme, either alone (1078), or together with the causative. When the applicative is causativised, the vocalic *-i-* causative is used (1079). The applicative extension can also occupy the final slot after the reciprocal extension (1080).

(1078)	-gaba	'give'
Separ	-gabura	'divide'
Separ Appl	-gaburira	'divide for'
(1079)	-	
Separ	-hinduka	'change'
Separ Appl	-hindukira	'turn around'
Separ Appl Caus	-hindukiza	'make turn around'
(1080)	-búura	'resolve'
Rec	-búurana	'resolve with each other'
Rec Appl	-búuranira	'be heard on both sides'

When the causative extension occupies the middle slot by itself, both the *-iish-* and *-i-* causatives are used (cf. 6.2.3). When the *-iish-* causative is applicativised, the combined extension is *-iishiriz-* (1081).⁶⁶ On the other hand, when the *-i-* causative is applicativised the order of the extensions is applicative - causative (1082). When the root-final consonant is not *r*, the combination applicativised causative extension is *-iriz-* (1083). Only the *-i-* causative can follow the reciprocal extension (1084).

(1081)	-íga	'learn'
Caus	-ígiisha	'teach'
Caus Appl	-ígiishiriza	'teach for'

⁶⁶ This seemingly double causative could be a remain of the obligatory co-occurrence of the two causative extensions in Proto-Bantu (Hyman 2000:1).

(1082)	-gura	'buy'
Caus	-guza	'sell'
Caus Appl	-guriza	'sell for'
Appl	-gurira	'buy for'
(1083)	-shúuha	'be hot'
Caus	-shúusha	'boil'
Caus Appl	-shúuhiriza	'boil for'
(1084)	-fáta	'touch'
Rec	-fátana	'touch each other'
Rec Caus	-fátanya	'make touch each other'

The final extension slot is filled with either the passive (1085) or reciprocal extension (1086). The applicative (1080), the *-i-* causative (1084) or the passive extension can follow the reciprocal extension.

(1085)	-íga	'learn'
Caus Appl Pass	-ígiishirizwa	'be taught for'
(1086)	-bárama	'visit'
Appl	-báramira	'visit sb'
Appl Rec	-báramirana	'visit each other'

The generalisation that *-V-* suffixes come after *-VC-* (Hyman 2003c:20) also applies to Ha. In example (1087), the stem is first causativised with the *-i-* causative, but when the reciprocal and passive extensions are added the order is fixed. The relative order of the applicative and causative extensions is also fixed, so that the applicative follows the *-iish-* causative and precedes the *-i-* causative extension. Thus, the suffix ordering is driven by the Proto-Bantu default template CARCP presented by Hyman (2003c).

(1087)	-fáta	'touch'
Caus	-fásha	'help'
Caus Rec Pass	-fátanwya	'be helped by each other'

7.4 Complex sentences

In complex sentences, two or more clauses are combined together by means of co-ordination or subordination. The types of subordination are complementation, relativisation and adverbial clauses.

7.4.1 Co-ordination

The consecutive tense marker *-ka-* maybe used to express co-ordination (1088) (cf. 6.1.3.8). However, much more often there is no conjunction nor any consecutive tense to mark the co-ordinated clauses. Instead, co-ordination is marked by juxtaposition (1089). The narrative construction is also used for co-ordination (1090) (cf. 6.1.7.3).

- (1088) Ibikóogwa birahinduka, ísí nayó igahinduka, 'Work changes, the ground changes
ibihúgo bigahinduka, námajambo as well, countries change, and
gagahinduka kándi. happenings change as well.'
- (1089) Yasútsemwó amáazi arakwángwasha 'She poured in the water and washed
námabóko. (it) with hands.'
- (1090) Yaráhanze umuríma wóóse acha akómorora 'He dug the whole field, harrowed it,
yaapanduye imyáandé acha atéera imbutó. constructed ridges and sowed the
seed.'

Co-ordination of clauses can also be marked with *kándi*, the pronoun *-ndi** prefixed with the class 12 prefix (1091) (cf. 5.4.4.1), and with *aríko* 'but', which is formed with the defective verb *-ri* (1092) (cf. 7.1.5.1 above). Noun phrases are co-ordinated with the associative index *na** (1093). Probably due to the influence of Swahili, the associative index is also used for co-ordinating clauses (1094).

- (1091) Nibushaášha kándi buramera neezá. 'It is new and germinates well.'
- (1092) Gakwáavu agomba kwíruka aríko imbwá 'The hare wants to run, but the dogs
ziramúfata. catch it.'
- (1093) Imirúndi námano birandyá. 'Shins and toes are aching.'
- (1094) Yaráwiibagiye muhíra na acha abóna isóni 'He forgot it at home and felt shy to
kubáza. ask.'

Disjunction is expressed with the invariable *chánke*.

- (1095) Haanyuma uzisiyóokore kuméeza chánke 'Then smash them on a board or pound
ubisékure mwisékuro. them in a mortar.'

7.4.2 Complement clauses

Complement clauses function as arguments for the main clause predicate. The predicate of a complement clause can be either finite or non-finite, i.e. infinitive, relative, or participial.

Arguments of predicates of utterance, e.g. 'say', 'reply' can have either indirect quotation or direct quotation as a complement. When indirect quotations are introduced with invariables such as *ngo*, *yúúko/yíiko* and *kó* (cf. 7.1.6 above), they can be either in the finite form (1096)-(1097) or in the relative form (1098), or then in the relative form without a complementiser (1099). *-ntyá* and *ati* introduce direct quotations (1100)-(1101) (cf. 7.1.6.1 and 6.1.5).

- (1096) Yamubwiira ngo aroopfa atákandágiye 'He told him that he will die without
hanzé yíTanzania. stepping out of Tanzania.'
- (1097) Yavuze yíiko ntibaróotángura ejó. 'He said that they will not start tomorrow.'
- (1098) Yavuze yíiko bataróotángura ejó. 'He said that they will not start tomorrow.'
- (1099) Baáratúbajije yótuvá. 'They asked us where we come from.'
- (1100) Murugereero tubazántya: Uguzanté 'At the market we ask, 'How much are the
ibitóoke? bananas?'
- (1101) Magurumangwe avuga ati: Ndapfúuye. 'Magurumangwe said: I am dying.'

Predicates that express knowledge, such as 'know', 'find out', and 'remember' (1102)-(1104), and predicates of 'imagination' (1105) are expressed with complements in relative forms, with or without complementisers. The predicates of perception, such as 'hear', 'see', and 'feel' are followed by a participial complement (1106)-(1107).

- (1102) Ntaamenyá ní ingéne impamba itekéegwa. 'He does not know how packed meal is prepared.'
- (1103) Tubona atárikó bíri nkakáre. 'We find out that things are not as they once were.'
- (1104) Ntúwífáagire yúúko Francis arí sé waLámeck. 'Let us not forget that Francis is Lameck's father.'
- (1105) Niwiiyúmviire kuntu imiríma yáachu yivyaará. 'Imagine how our fields produce.'
- (1106) Ntoshó yari yárumvise Chiza avúga ati... 'Ntoshó had heard Chiza say that...'
- (1107) Ndiiumva igitúntu chúzuye. 'I feel that the chest is full.'

Predicates of order have sentence-like complements in the subjunctive or in the indicative form.

- (1108) Yavuze ndóogendé. 'He told me to go.'
- (1109) Yababwíye abatúuranyi baramúfasha kusuuguura. 'He told the neighbours to help him to harvest.'

Predicates of desire, liking and ability, such as 'want', 'like', 'can' and 'be able', typically have infinite verbs as their complements (1110)-(1111). Predicates that express the beginning or the end of action also use infinitive complements (1112)-(1113) (cf. also 6.1.7.4 in Verbal Morphology).

- (1110) Ngomba kumwoobwa imishatsi. 'I want to have my hair cut.'
- (1111) Arashóbora kubígaana abándi. 'He can imitate others.'
- (1112) Naatanguye kuzídyá. 'I have started to eat them.'
- (1113) Ntuurámara kuhéméra? 'Have you not finished shopping?'

In addition to functioning as object complements, infinitives can also function as subject complements. Then the subject concord of the predicate verb is that of class 15.

- (1114) Ukwííba ingoma ntikugoorá. 'To steal a drum is not difficult.'

Propositional subject complements can be introduced by *ingéne* 'sort' (cf. 7.1.1.3 above), and the subject prefix is that of class 9, according to *ingéne* (1115). The proposition can also be demoted to the object position, and the object is then promoted to the subject position (1116).

- (1115) Ingéne yahúuse kuuza yarántangaaye. 'That she came so early (lit. how she hurried to come) surprised me.'
- (1116) Ndarátangaaye ingéne yagúuye. 'That it had rained surprised me (lit. I was surprised how it rained).'

7.4.3 Relative clauses

Subjects (1117), direct objects (1118) and indirect objects (1119) may be relativised. In a relative construction, the restrictive clause follows the head. A relativised subject noun phrase is marked on the restrictive clause as the subject concord, and a relativised object noun phrase is marked with a relative pronoun, an object prefix, or it does not have any segmental marking. All relative clauses are marked with the relative tonal pattern, and the tenses that can be used in a relative clause are the present, the recent past, the remote past, the future, the potential, the persistive and the negated anterior (cf. 6.1.8.2 and 6.1.9.2). Relative clauses can also be used as adverbials (1120)-(1121).

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|---|
| (1117) | Umwáana ahaaye aríra. | 'The child is crying.' |
| | Ndabonye umwáana arirá. | 'I saw the child who is crying.' |
| (1118) | Ntitubonyé abáana. | 'We did not see the children.' |
| | abáana bótutábonye | 'the children we did not see' |
| (1119) | Yaháaye umwáana igitabo. | 'He gave the child a book.' |
| | Uyu ní wáa mwáana wóyaháaye igitabo. | 'This is the child to whom he gave the book.' |
| (1120) | ukwéezi kuuzá | 'next month (i.e. the month that is coming)' |
| (1121) | ijúma riizá | 'next week (i.e. the week that is coming)' |

Locatives can be relativised just by the relative tone pattern (1122), or the tone pattern and the locative clitic (1123). All other arguments need to be first promoted to object position before they can be relativised. For example, an instrument argument can be promoted by causativisation, and then relativised (1124).

- | | | |
|--------|--|---|
| (1122) | Ngomba ngendé aharí amashúugwi. | 'I want to go there where there are flowers.' |
| (1123) | igíti chówooronderakó imíti | 'a tree where you can look for medicine' |
| (1124) | Yaránditse ikéete níkaráamu. | 'He wrote a letter with a pen.' |
| | Ndarábonye ikaráamu yóyandikishije ikéete. | 'I saw the pen with which he wrote the letter.' |

The independent relative clauses function as subjects, objects and predicatives.

- | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------|--|
| (1125) | Uúgómbe kubéesha ajaana nímbwá. | 'The one who wants to lie goes with the dogs.' |
| (1126) | Ntaa uúménya. | 'There is nobody who knows.' |

7.4.4 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses function as modifiers of sentences and verb phrases. Different types of adverbial meanings are expressed with participials, relative clauses, infinitives, locative constructions, invariables and TAM-marking. All of these structures have been introduced in the previous chapters and sections. Some of the examples are repeated here for convenience. The adverbial clauses of time, location and manner are substitutable for by a single word or adverbial phrase, while the adverbial clauses of purpose and reason as well as simultaneous, conditional and substitutive adverbial phrases are not.

7.4.4.1 Time

The temporal adverbial clauses of 'when' are expressed in several different ways. The relative pronoun *ahó* (usually without the augment) of the locative class 16 and the relative tone pattern is used to express time with finite verbs (1127). The locative prefix *mu-* of class 18 is used for 'when' with infinite verbs (1128), the same structure can also express 'during' (1129). The same prefix *mu-* is used in the locative invariable *mukó* 'when', which also introduces adverbial clauses of time (1130). When the action of a 'when' -clause is the circumstance of the main clause, the participial form is used, and the structure is equal to 'after' -clauses (1131).

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (1127) | Hóbaásohora Mugunzu basanze abadúgu bamwé baárahwéereye. | 'When they arrived in Mugunzu they found out that some of their relatives had died.' |
| (1128) | Mukwichara ndííganya. | 'When I sit (i.e. in sitting) I am hurt.' |
| (1129) | Mukubágara baábagaza amabóko. | 'During the weeding they weeded with hands.' |
| (1130) | Mukó abantu báje... | 'When people have come...' |
| (1131) | Yavuze ndóogendé bámaze. | 'He told me to go when/after they had finished.' |

The relative pronoun *ahó* with the relative tone pattern is also used in adverbial clauses of 'since', 'until' and 'whenever'. They all include the notion of 'when': *kuva hó* 'to come when' (1132), *gushika hó* 'to arrive when' (1133), and *kira hó* 'every when' (1134), respectively. 'Since' can also be expressed with *kuva* and the persistive tense in the participial form (1135).

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (1132) | Kuva hómvuukiye amagambo ménshi gaárahíndutse kénshi kénshi. | 'Since I was born many things have changed several times.' |
| (1133) | Yarábagaye gushika húmuríma guheréye. | 'He weeded until the field was completed.' |
| (1134) | kíra hóbahuuyé | 'whenever they met' |
| (1135) | kuva akíri umwána ⁶⁷ | 'since he was a child' |

'while' -clauses and simultaneous clauses are expressed in a similar manner, i.e. with the participial form (1136)-(1137). Simultaneousness can also be indicated with *nkíko* 'as' (1138).

- | | | |
|--------|--|--|
| (1136) | Zihotoora zíhiigwa. | 'They grow old while they are being hunted.' |
| (1137) | Yapfúúye yééneena. | 'He died hanging.' |
| (1138) | Ibintu birahinduka nkíko imyáaka yihíta. | 'Things change as the years go by.' |

The adverbial clauses that indicate that something has happened or will happen before the action of the main clause are expressed with the negative participial. The same structure can often be used as a circumstantial 'without' -clause.

- | | | |
|--------|---|--|
| (1139) | Yamúbwiiye ngo aroopfa atákandágiye hanzé yiTánzania. | 'He told him that he will die before he has stepped /without stepping outside Tanzania.' |
|--------|---|--|

⁶⁷ The participial accent of *akíri* is realised on the tense marker because the subject prefix consists of a vowel only, cf. 3.1.2.2.

- (1140) Mukó határáahera umwáaka 'Before a year ended (i.e. when the year has not ended)
baárabaháaye imiríma. they gave them fields.'

In some adverbial clauses, finite verb forms are used. *-sanga* 'meet' can refer to time (1141), and the verbs *-geza* 'try' and *-raara* 'to sleep' introduce adverbial clauses with the notion 'until' (1142)-(1143).

- (1141) Umwáaka wagátatu gwáabasanze 'The third year (i.e. the third year met them) they
baárasóhoye Misiri. had arrived in Egypt.'
- (1142) kugeza hóbamaríye 'until they finished'
- (1143) Baáruubaka inzu ikaraara yíheze. 'They built the house until it was finished.'

7.4.4.2 Location

The adverbial clauses of location are expressed with relative clauses in a similar manner to the adverbial clauses of time. The relative pronoun *ahó* of locative class 16 is used.

- (1144) Baáhuuriye hóbáragáaniiye. 'They met were they had agreed to.'
- (1145) Akariizo kímpené kiiyaga hóhamvyá. 'The tail of a goat scratches where it reaches.'
- (1146) Anyereka hókwiichara. 'He shows me where to sit.'
- (1147) kíra hóyigiiyé 'wherever it goes'

7.4.4.3 Manner

The invariable *nkíko* is used in adverbial clauses of manner.

- (1148) David ní mweénewáabu waPéter, nkíko 'David is Peter's brother as Salome is
Sálome arí mwíshiki waLilian. Lilian's sister.'

7.4.4.4 Other adverbial clauses

The adverbial clauses of purpose, either realised or unrealised, are expressed with the infinitive (1149)-(1150) or with *kólyúko* and the potential tense in the relative form (1151)-(1152). Concessive adverbial clauses are indicated by the invariable *nahó* (1153), substitutive adverbial clauses are marked with the relative pronoun *ahó* (1154), both having the relative form on the verb. The potential tense and the participial present perfective that expresses conditional sense are both used in reality and unreality conditional clauses (1155)-(1156) (cf. 6.1.3.9 and 6.1.8.1).

- (1149) Ngomba ejó ndoogendé murugereero 'Tomorrow I want to go to the market and the
nímumaduúka guhémera. shops to do shopping.'
- (1150) Barahúura kugáaniira hejuru yúgwo 'They met in order to talk about this matter.'
rubánza.
- (1151) Abantu basoma kóbookwiigá. 'People study in order to learn.'
- (1152) Tukora yíiko twoodyá. 'We work in order to eat.'
- (1153) Nahó amahéra arí matóoyi ndooheza 'Even though there is not much money I will
ngúra imyúmbatí. buy cassava.'
- (1154) Nachíiye mpunira ahó noosomyé. 'I went to sleep instead of studying.'
- (1155) Twoobajíje ibibázo wootwiishuye. 'If we asked questions you would answer us.'

(1156) Ndooyazana ndáyaboonye. 'I will bring them if I see them'

7.5 Focus

The term focus is used here to describe instances where some part of a clause is pragmatically marked, as opposed to the unmarked, i.e. non-focused clauses. In Ha, there are different types of focus marking, of which the most frequent type is that of verbal focus versus post-verbal focus. Topicalisation of verbal complements can be marked with cleft-type constructions, special word order and emphatic invariables. By post-verbal constituent order, the most salient verbal constituent may be highlighted.

7.5.1 Verbal vs. post-verbal focus

The verbal focus is marked morphologically both on the segmental and the tonological level. The post-verbal focus forms ('conjunct') require a post-verbal complement (1157)-(1158), while with the verbal focus forms ('disjunct') it is optional (1159). The post-verbal complement may be either an argument of the predicate or an oblique complement (1160). The formation of the verbal focus is discussed in the chapter on verbal morphology (cf. 6.1.3.11).

(1157) Barima ibiharagi. 'They cultivate beans.'

(1158) *Barima.

(1159) Bararima (ibiharagi). 'They cultivate/are cultivating (beans).'

(1160) Barima kwa Tunguhore. 'They cultivate at Tunguhore's.'

The tenses that most often show the distinction between verbal focus and post-verbal focus are the present, the recent past and the remote past, which are the most common tenses altogether. In these three tenses, the focus is marked with a special verbal prefix (-*ra-* in the present and the remote past, -*a-* in the recent past). In addition to the segmental marking, the tonal contrast of the verbal stem is neutralised in all of the post-verbal focus forms, while it is preserved in the present and the recent past verbal focus forms. In the remote past, the tonal opposition is neutralised in both of the forms, but in the verbal focus form there are two accents of the tense, while in the post-verbal focus form there is only one tense accent.

In addition to these tenses that combine both segmental and tonal marking of the focus, the focus distinction is marked only on the tonal level in the consecutive and the potential tense. In these tenses, the tonal opposition is again preserved in the verbal focus forms (1161), and neutralised in the post-verbal focus forms (1162).

(1161) Ararima agatéera. 'He cultivates and also sows.'

(1162) Bateera imbutó natwébwe tugateera imbutó. 'They sow the seeds and we too sow the seed.'

This phenomenon is called verbal focus here, but not just verbs with or without complements (as does, for example, Kimenyi 2002), because with the post-verbal focus forms the complement is obligatory, but optional with the verbal focus forms, as seen in (1158) and (1159). Thus, the verbal focus forms cannot simply be called clause-final forms. In addition, the verbal focus forms do not seem to co-occur with

the cleft-type focus forms, where the focus is clearly in the clefted complement, not in the verb (1163)-(1164).

(1163) Yaráteeye ibigóori. 'He sowed maize.'

(1164) Nibigóori yáteeye. 'It is maize that he sowed.'

The existence of the focused forms of the participials is far from clear, the forms being also described in different ways in the descriptions of Rundi and Nyarwanda (e.g. Kimenyi 2002, Sibomana 1974, Meeussen 1959, Rodegem 1967). Focus marking may not be used in negated sentences (cf. 6.1.4), and the verbal focus forms of the present tense are also used for the progressive and the near future (cf. 6.1.3.11).

7.5.2 Clefting and word order

In cleft constructions, a part of a clause is moved to the beginning of the sentence for emphasis. The moved constituent is made the main clause with the copula *ní* and an optional relative pronoun. The following verb is in the relative form. Subjects, objects (1165) and locatives expressing both place (1166) and time (1167) can be put into a cleft construction.

- (1165) Umuhígi yíshe intáre mugísánze. 'The hunter killed a lion in the forest.'
 Numuhígi yíshe intáre mugísánze. 'It is the hunter who killed a lion in the forest.'
 Nintáre niyó umuhígi yíshe mugísánze. 'It is a lion that the hunter killed in the forest.'
- (1166) Abagabo bahanuurana amakúru ménshi kunzóga. 'Men discuss many matters over a beer.'
 Kunzóga nihó abagabo bahanúurana amakúru ménshi. 'It is over a beer that men discuss many matters.'
- (1167) Imvúra yiheba kugwa mukwéezi kwááhé? 'In which month do the rains stop?'
 Ni mukwéezi kwááhé imvúra hóyihebá kugwa? 'It is in which month that the rains stop?'

If an oblique argument is put into a cleft construction, it has to first be promoted to the object position by causativisation. Promoting and clefting of indirect objects were not accepted by my informants.

- (1168) Umuhígi yíshe intáre mugísánze níchumu. 'The hunter killed a lion in the plain with a spear.'
 Ichúmu nidyó umuhígi yíshije intáre mugísánze. 'It is with a spear that the hunter killed a lion in the plain.'

The direct object may be emphasised by changing the basic word order so that the direct object precedes the predicate. This is possible when there is no overt subject noun phrase, but the subject is only coded on the verb as the subject concord. The object is then obligatorily coded on the verb as the object prefix, and it is optionally followed by an emphatic pronoun.

- (1169) Ingwára yáanje sindayiizi. 'My sickness, I do not know it.'

- (1170) Amapéera sindayágomba. 'Guavas, I do not want them.'
- (1171) Amachúngwa nayo sindáayádyá imísi myínshi. 'But oranges I haven't eaten for ages.'

7.5.3 Post-verbal constituent order

As noted above (cf. 7.2.1), the relative order of the post-verbal complements is reversible, when it is possible to semantically differentiate between the direct and the indirect object (usually by animacy). Kimenyi (1980) says that in Nyarwanda in the more unmarked form the direct object precedes the indirect object, but in Ha both orders seem to be equally unmarked, the difference being in emphasis.

- (1172) Sara yarámurungikiye ikéete Maria. 'Sarah sent a letter to Maria.'
- (1173) Sara yarámurungikiye Maria ikéete. 'Sarah sent Maria a letter.'
- (1174) Umugorégore yamuhaaye umwáana umukáaté. 'The woman gave the child bread.'
- (1175) Umugorégore yamuhaaye umukáaté umwáana. 'The woman gave bread to the child.'

With verbs such as *-kubita* 'hit' which take two objects of which one is the instrument and the other the patient, the instrument precedes the patient (1176). If the patient is emphasised and moved to the position before the instrument, the instrument is demoted to an oblique argument position and marked with the associative index *na** (1177).

- (1176) Umugabógabo yakúbitse inkoni impené mumugóngo. 'The man hit the goat on the back with a stick.'
- (1177) Umugabogabo yakúbitse impené nínkoni mumugóngo. 'The man hit the goat on the back with a stick.'

The order of oblique arguments may be reversed, the more emphasised argument comes first (1178). If the locative precedes the patient, the marking of the inalienable possession by juxtaposition must be substituted by the possessive construction (1179)-(1180).

- (1178) Umugabógabo yakúbitse impené mumugóngo ninkoni. 'The man hit the goat on the back with a stick.'
- (1179) Umugabógabo yakúbitse mumugóngo wímpené ninkoni. 'The man hit the back of the goat with a stick.'
- (1180) Umugabógabo yakúbitse inkoni mumugóngo wímpené. 'The man hit the back of the goat with a stick.'

8. CONCLUSIONS

As seen above, Ha is a typical Bantu language. It also fits the descriptions of other Interlacustrine Bantu languages. It is closely related to Rundi and Nyarwanda, but Ha speakers believe they speak a different language from those of Burundi and Rwanda. The major differences seem to be in the vocabulary, and the Rundi and Nyarwanda orthographies, which look quite different from that of Swahili, cause problems to Ha speakers who have mostly become used to Swahili writing conventions. There are also differences in the pronunciation of some sounds and in the intonation. It is said in the Ha area that the Rundi speakers 'stretch' their speech. However, the exact differences between Ha, Rundi and Nyarwanda, as well as the other languages in the same group, i.e. Hangaza, Vinza and Shubi are yet to be surveyed and documented. The same applies to the level of bilingualism of the Ha speakers in regard to Swahili. And, since the present work is an initial effort at describing the grammar of the Ha language, there still remains room for further studies of the Ha language itself.

The sounds of the language discussed in chapter 2 are traceable to those of the reconstructed proto-language, and some synchronic sound changes still reflect the historical sound changes. With the data available, it has not been possible to define some of the sound correspondences between Proto-Bantu and Ha. These are, for example, the Ha correlate for the Proto-Bantu *jɛ, proto-forms for some labialised and palatalised sounds, such as /fʷ/, /sʷ/, /zʷ/, /tʃ/ and /zʃ/, and the different realisations of *ŋg and *j in Ha (cf. 2.3.1 and 2.3.2).

The tonal system of Ha emanates from the Proto-Bantu system, and although it is reduced in degree of tonality from that of Proto-Bantu, the underlying tones have usually been retained. The extent to which the tonal patterns of the bimoraic noun stems have been reduced to two only, and how the process is manifested in the neighbouring languages is yet to be discovered (cf. 3.2.2). Another area of phonology that should be further investigated is the characteristics of the lengthened vowels in different lengthening environments (cf. 2.2.1).

The nominal morphology is relatively straightforward in Ha. Although the noun classes function in a typical way for a Bantu language, the singular - plural pairings are numerous, compared to many other Bantu languages (cf. 5.2). The exact semantics and usage of the different demonstrative pronouns is not yet described. In addition, the rich variety of ways to use the locative affixes provides an interesting topic for further studies of the language.

A summary of the Ha verb forms with the tonal realisations is presented in Table 21 (p. 172). Some of the participial and relative forms are rarely used, and even the native speakers are found to be inconsistent in their pronunciation of the tonal patterns.

Now that the basics of Ha phonology and morphology are described, it would be an appropriate time to continue exploring the syntactic and semantic dimensions of the

language. This study presents the fundamentals of the syntax, but this is merely a scratch on the surface of reserves that are found in all natural languages. The constituent order within a noun phrase and the different shades the changes in the constituent order may bring to the semantics (cf. 7.1.1.2), the basic word order and the marked orders (cf. 7.2.1), the complex clauses (cf. 7.4), not to mention the augment (cf. 7.1.1.1) and the focus systems (cf. 7.5), would each provide a topic for individual research projects. The syntactic and semantic dimensions that the verbal derivation bring about are also truly worth exploring (cf. 6.2 above and 7.3) both for the sake of describing Ha thoroughly and for comparative reasons.

This work has put forward an overview of the different areas of the Ha language. My aim was not to give a thorough analysis of the whole language, but to present a basic language description which will contribute to the documentation of the languages of Africa, and provide data for further studies of Ha and its neighbouring languages as well as for comparative studies of Bantu languages. Most of all, it is hoped that this work will help the Ha people to understand and appreciate the value and richness of their native language and cultural heritage, that it will help them to take a step further towards establishing the official status of the Ha language, and that it will encourage them to preserve their language and culture for future generations.

	Indicative	Negated	Participial	Negated	Relative	Negated	Ind. Rel.	Negated
Pres conj.	- ---L	nti ---M2	---	-tá- ---M2	- ---M2	-ta- ---M2	- ---M	-tá- ---M2
Pres disj.	-ra- ---R							
Rec Past conj.	-a- ---L	nti-a- ---L	'a- ---R	-tá-a- ---L	-a- ---M2	-ta-a- ---M2	-á- ---L	-tá-a- ---L
Rec Past disj.	-aa- ---R							
Rem Past conj.	-á- ---L	nti-á- ---L	'á- ---L	-tá-á- ---L	-á- ---L	-ta-á- ---L	-á- ---L	-tá-á- ---L
Rem Past disj.	-ára- ---M		-ára- ---M					
Fut	-roo- ---L	nti-roo- ---R	-róo- ---R	tá-róo- ---R	-róo- ---R	-ta-róo- ---R	-róo- ---R	-ta-róo- ---R
Pot conj.	-oo- ---L	nti-oo- ---M2	'oo- ---L	-tá-oo- ---L	-oo- ---M2	-ta-oo- ---M2	-óó- ---L	-tá-oo- ---L
Pot disj.	-oo- ---R							
Pers	-cháa- ---R	nti-ki- ---L	'ki- ---L	-tá-ki- ---L	-ki- ---M	-ta-ki- ---L	-ki- ---L	-tá-ki- ---L
Ant		nti-ráa- ---R		-tá-ráa ---R		-tá-ráa- ---R		-tá-ráa- ---R
Cons conj.	-ka- ---L							
Cons disj.	-ka- ---R							
Subj	- ---M2	nti'- ---L						
Subj Fut	-róo- ---M2	nti'-roo- ---M						
Inf	ku- ---R	ku-tá- ---M2						
Imperative	- ---L							

Table 21: *Ha verb forms*

R lexical accent (the accent of the verb root) realised as H on the first mora of the stem or macrostem

L no tense accent realised on the stem, lexical accent deleted

M tense accent realised as H on the first mora of the macrostem, lexical accent deleted

M2 tense accent realised as H on the second syllable of the macrostem, lexical accent deleted

APPENDIX 1: HA TEXTS

The following texts are written as they were told by Mr. Enock Baziyaka, in Kibondo. The first two (A Hare and a Cock and A Big Bird and a Wild Dog) represent the rich heritage of traditional animal stories, also found in many other Bantu communities. The third story (Cooking) describes the steps of everyday cooking.

In the interlinearisation, the text is on the first line, and the sentences are numbered. The morphemes are on the second line, and their translations on the third line. The fourth line shows the grammatical categories of the morphemes. A free translation follows each of the stories.

A Hare and a Cock

1) Urukwáavu	nísaáke.
uru-kwáavu	na*- i- saáke
11- hare:11/14	with- 9/10- cock:9/10
CP- N	AI- CP- N

2) Isaáke	yarikó	irabíka
i- saáke	i- a-ri- kó	i- ra- bík-a
9/10-cock:9/10	9-Past- be:Def-17	9-Foc-crow-FV
CP- N	SP- TAM- V- Pro	SP- TAM- V- TAM

hejuru	yíkibambaazi	urukwáavu
ha- i- juru	i- a*- iki- bambaazi	uru-kwáavu
16- 5-sky:5	23- of- 7-wall:7/8	11- hare:11/14
CP- CP- N	DP- Con- CP- N	CP- N

rurayíbona	gwenda	kógwooyihékenya.
ru- ra- yi- bón-a	ru- end-a	kó- ru- oo- yi- hékeny-a
11- Foc- 9-see-FV	11- take-a	17-11- Pot-9-chew-FV
SP- TAM- OP- V- TAM	SP- V- FV	Pro- SP- TAM- OP- V- TAM

3) Gwaárayíbwiiye:	4) "Uri	nímporé?"
ru- á-ra- yi- bwíir -ye	u-ri	na*- iN- horé
11- RPast- Foc-9-tell -Perf	2ps-be:Def	with- 9/10- information:9/10
SP- TAM- TAM- OP- V- TAM	SP- V	AI- CP- N

5) Rusaáke	arabáza:
uru-saáke	a-ra- báz-a
11- cock:9/10	1-Foc-ask-FV
CP- N	SP- TAM- V- TAM

6) "Imporé	nyabakí?"	7) Rukwáavu	avuga:
iN- hore	nya- aba- kí	uru- kwáavu	a- vúg-a
9/10-information:9/10	certain- 2-what	11-hare:11/14	1-say-FV
CP- N	Pron- CP-Pron	CP- N	SP- V-TAM

8) "Yíiko ibikóókó	vyóóse	vyaakundánye
yíiko ibi- kookó	vyó-se	bi- a-kúnd-an- ye
that 8-animal:7/8	8-all	8-Past-love-Rec-Perf
Inv CP- N	Pro-Pron	SP- TAM-V-Der- TAM

na ntaa	ngwaano	irihó	kándi.
na* ntaa	iN-gwaano	i- ri- hó	ka-ndi*
with NegEx	9/10-war:9/10	9-be:Def-16	12-other
AI Cop	CP- N	SP-V-Pro	CP-Pron

9) Igikooko	ntichiirúkana	igikooko	kigenzi	kándi
iki- kooko	nti- ki- írúk-an-a	iki- kooko	iki- genzi	ka-ndi*
7-animal:7/8	Neg-7-run-Rec-FV	7-animal:7/8	7-friend:1/2	12-other
CP- N	TAM-SP-V-Der-TAM	CP- N	CP- N	CP-Pron

ntaa gutínyana."
ntaa uku- tíny-an-a
NegEx 15-fear-Rec-FV
Cop CP- V-Der-TAM

10) Rusaáke	yaránumye	agoroora	izosi
uru-saáke	a-á-ra- núm -ye	a-goroor-a	i- zosi
11- cock:11/10	1-RPast-Foc-be_silent-Perf	1-straighten-FV	5- neck:5/6
CP- N	SP-TAM-TAM-V- TAM	SP- V-TAM	CP- N

dyáage	yigira	nkubóna	ikintu.
ri- a*- ge	a-íg-ir-a	nka*-uku-bón-a	iki- ntu
5-of-Poss:3ps	1-learn-Appl-FV	like-15-see-FV	7-thing:7/8
DP-Con- Pro	SP- V-Der-FV	CI- CP-V-TAM	CP- N

11) Gakwáavu	arabáza:
aka- kwáavu	a-ra- báz-a
13:Dim-hare:11/14	1-Foc-ask-FV
CP- N	SP-TAM-V-TAM

12) "Uraaba	ibikí?"	13) Rusaáke	aramwishura:
u-raab-a	ibi- kí	uru-saáke	a-ra- mu- ishur-a
2ps-look_at-FV	8-what	11-cock:11/10	1-Foc-1-answer-FV
SP- V-TAM	CP- Pron	CP- N	SP-TAM-OP-V-TAM

14) "Mbona	menga	imbwá	zíhiiga	zíje	zíiruka."
n-bón-a	menga	iN- bwá	zi- híig-a	zi- z -ye	zi- íruk-a
1ps-see-FV	many	9/10-dog:9/10	10- hunt-FV	10-come-Perf	10- run-FV
SP- V-TAM	Pron	CP- N	SP- V-TAM	SP- V- TAM	SP- V-

TAM

15) Gakwáavu	agize:	16) "Ngaáho	nigiiré,	buróocha."
aka- kwáavu	a-gir -ye	ngaáho	ni- gi-e	buróocha
13:Dim-hare:11/14	1-say -Perf	there	1ps- go -Subj	good-bye
CP- N	SP-V-TAM	Inv	SP- V - TAM	Inv

17) Rusaáke	aramúbwiira:
uru-saáke	a-ra- mu- bwíir-a
11-cock:11/10	1-Foc-1-tell-FV
CP- N	SP-TAM-OP-V-TAM

18) "Utinya	ikí	káandi,	ntumpaayé
u-tíny-a	i- kí	ka-ndi*	nti- u-n-há -ye
2ps-fear-FV	9/10-what	12-other	Neg-2ps-1ps-give-Perf
SP- V-TAM	CP- Pron	CP-Pron	TAM-SP- OP- V - TAM

imporé	yúúko	ibikooko	vyóóse	vyaakundánye?"
iN- horé	yúúko	ibi- kooko	vyó-se	bi- a-kúnd-an- ye
9/10-information:9/10	that	8-animal:7/8	8-all	8-Past-love-Rec-Perf
CP- N	Inv	CP- N	Pro-Pron	SP-TAM-V-Der- AM

19) Gakwáavu	avuga:
aka- kwáavu	a- vúg-a
13:Dim-hare:11/14	1-say-FV
CP- N	SP- V-TAM

20) "Ni ukúri,	aríko	vyooshóboka	abo
ní uku-rí	a-ri- kó	bi- oo- shób-ok-a	abo
be 15-truth	1-be:Def-17	8-Pot-be_possible-Separ-FV	2DemP2
Cop CP- N	SP- V- Pro	SP- TAM- V-Der- TAM	DemP

ntibaráaronka	iyo	mporé."
nti- ba- ráa- ronk-a	iyo	iN- horé
Neg-2- Ant- get-FV	2DemP9	9/10-information:9/10
TAM-SP-TAM-V-TAM	DemP	CP- N

1) A hare and a cock. 2) A cock was crowing on a wall when a hare saw it and wanted to chew it. 3) It (the hare) said to it (the cock): 4) "Do you have the information?" 5) The cock asked: 6) "What kind of information?" 7) The hare said: 8) "That all the animals love each other and there will be no more war. 9) Animals will not chase their animal friends and they will not fear each other." 10) The cock was silent and straightened his neck pretending to see something. 11) The hare

asked: 12) "What do you see?" 13) The cock replied: 14) "I see many hunting dogs running towards us." 15) The hare said: 16) "Let me go, good-bye." 17) The cock asked him: 18) "What do you fear, haven't you told me that all animals love each other?" 19) The hare said: 20) "It is true, but it is possible that those (hunting dogs) have not heard this information."

A Big Bird and a Wild Dog

1) Ugwimba nǐbingira.
 uru-imba na*-i-bingira
 11- bird:11 with-5- wild_dog:5/6
 CP- N AI- CP- N

2) Ibingira dyaári nǐgúfa dyáakiikamye
 i-bingira ri- á- ri na*-i-gúfa ri-a-kíikam -ye
 5-wild_dog:5/6 5-RPast-be:Def with-5-bone:5/6 5-Past-get_stuck-Perf
 CP- N SP-TAM-V AI-CP- N SP- TAM- V - TAM

mumuhógo. 3) Rinanigwa kurivaanayó.
 mu-umu-hogo ri- nanig-w-a ku-ri-vaan-a -yó
 18-3- throat:3/4 5- fail-Pass-FV 15-5-remove-FV-23
 Loc- CP- N SP- V -TAM CP-OP-V-TAM-Pro

4) Dyaábwiye ibikóokó vyóóse ati:
 ri-a-bwíir -ye ibi- kookó vyó- se a- ti
 5-Past-tell-Perf 8-animal:7/8 8- all 1- say:Def
 SP-TAM-V-TAM CP- N Pro-Pron SP- V

5) "Uúróonkúura igúfa
 uu-róo-n-kúur-a i-gúfa
 1-Fut-1ps- remove-FV 5- bone:5/6
 SPRel-TAM-OP-V-TAM CP- N

ndoomuha impíya nyínshi."
 n-roo-mu- há-a iN- píya n- ínshi
 1ps- Fut-1-give-FV 9/10-money:9/10 9- many
 SP-TAM-OP-V-TAM CP- N AP-A-infl

6) Ugwimba gwaáraáje rushira umunwa wáago
 uru- imba ru- á- ra- za -ye ru- shír-a umu-nwa u- a*-gwó
 11- bird:11 11-RPast-Foc-come-Perf 11- put-FV 3-mouth:3/4 3- of-11
 CP- N SP-TAM-TAM-V-TAM SP- V-TAM CP- N DP-Con-Pro

gureeshe	ruvaanamwó	dyáa	gúfa.
gu-reeh -ye	ru- vaan-a-mwó	*dyáa	i-gúfa
3-be_long -Perf	11- remove-FV-18	5	5-bone:5/6
SP- V- TAM	SP- V-TAM-Pro	DemP	CP-N

7) Gwaáchiye	rúroreera	impémbo.
ru- á- chi-ye	ru- roreer-a	iN-pémbo
11-RPast-do_next-Perf	11- wait_for-FV	9/10-salary:9/10
SP- TAM- V-TAM	SP- V-TAM	CP- N

8) Ibingira	dyaárubwiye:
i- bingira	ri- á- ru- bwíir -ye
5- wild_dog:5/6	5- RPast-11- tell -Perf
CP- N	SP-TAM-OP-V-TAM

9) "Ugomba	iki	kandi?
u- gomba	i- ki	ka- ndi*
2ps- like	9/10- what	12- other
SP- V	CP-Pron	CP- Pron

10) Ntaa	níishímwe	ufise?
ntaa	na*-i-shímwe	u- fise
NegEx	with-5-joy:5	2ps- have:Def
Cop	AI-CP- N	SP- V

11) Washize	umútwe	wáawe	mukanwa
u- a- shír -ye	umu- twé	u- a*- we	mu-aka- nwa
2ps- Past- put-Perf	3- head:3/4	3- of- 2ps	8-13:Dim-mouth:3/4
SP-TAM-V-TAM	CP- N	DP-Con-Poss	Loc- CP- N

káanje	uvaanamwó	utábabáye	ntákuríye,
ka- a*- nje	u- vaan-a-mwó	u-tá- bábar -ye	n-tá-ku-rí-ye
13- of- 1ps	2ps- remove-FV-18	2ps-Neg- hurt-Perf	1ps-Neg-2ps-eat-Perf
DP- Con- Poss	SP- V-TAM-Pro	SP-TAM-V-TAM	SP-TAM-OP-V-TAM

nóóne	ugomba	impémbo.
nóóne	u-gomb-a	iN- pémbo
now	2ps- like-FV	9/10-salary:9/10
Adv	SP- V-TAM	CP- N

12) Iiruka	níngoga	ntaráagaya."
íruk-a	na*- iN-goga	n- tá- ráa- gay-a
run-FV	with- 9/10- hurry:9	1ps-Neg-Ant-be_angry-FV
V-TAM	AI- CP-N	SP-TAM- TAM- V-TAM

1) A big bird and a wild dog. 2) A wild dog had a bone caught in its throat. 3) It failed to remove it. 4) It told all the animals: 5) "I will give lots of money to him who removes the bone." 6) A bird came and put in his long beak and took out the bone. 7) Then it waited for the reward. 8) The wild dog said to the bird: 9) "What do you want? 10) Are you not thankful? 11) You put your head in my mouth and took it out unhurt and without me eating you, and now you want a reward. 12) Run away quickly before I get angry."

Cooking

1) Níjoro kooyó yaroogeje ugweeso.
 níjoro kooyó a- á- ra- ooz -ye uru- eeso
 yesterday mother:1a 1- RPast-Foc-wash-Perf 11- pot:11/10
 Adv N SP- TAM- TAM- V -TAM CP- N

2) Yasútsemwó amáazi arakwángwasha
 a- á- suk -ye-mwó ama- zi* a- ra- kwángwash-a
 1-RPast-pour -Perf-18 6- water:6 1- Foc- wash-FV
 SP- TAM-V-TAM-Pro CP- N SP- TAM- V-TAM

námabóko aheza araseesa amáazi.
 na*- ama- bóko a- héz-a a- ra- sees-a ama- zi*
 with- 6- arm:15/6 1- do_next-FV 1- Foc- pour_out-FV 6- water:6
 AI- CP- N SP- V-TAM SP- TAM-V-TAM CP- N

3) Yarasutsemwó amáazi arúgunyuza.
 a- á- ra- suk -ye-mwó ama- zi* a- ra- úgunyuz-a
 1-RPast- Foc- pour -Perf-18 6- water:6 1- Foc- rinse-FV
 SP- TAM- TAM- V-TAM-Pro CP- N SP- TAM- V-TAM

4) Haanyuma yarakataguye inyama
 haanyuma a-á- ra- kátagur -ye iN- nyama
 later_on 1- RPast- Foc- cut_in_pieces-Perf 9/10- meat:9/10
 Adv SP- TAM- TAM- V -TAM CP- N

mwibihimba bitóobito acha arazironga.
 mu- ibi- hímba bi- tó -bi- tó a- chi-a a- ra- zi- rong-a
 18- 8- piece:7/8 8- small - 8- small 1- do_next-FV 1- Foc- 10- wash-FV
 Loc- CP- N AP- A-infl-AP- A-infl SP- V-TAM SP- TAM- OP- V-TAM

5) Azíronze bwakábiri yachíye
 a- zi- rong -ye bu- a*- ka-bíri a- á- chi-ye
 1- 10- wash -Perf 14- of- DP12- two 1- RPast- do_next-Perf
 SP- OP- V -TAM DP- Con- DP-Num SP- TAM- V-TAM

azishiramwó	ugweeso	asukamwó
a- zi- shír-a-mwó	uru- eeso	a- suk-a-mwó
1- 10- put-FV-18	11- pot:11/10	1- pour-FV-18
SP- OP- V-TAM-Pro	CP- N	SP- V-TAM-Pro

amáazi	acha	atéreka	kuzfiko.
ama- zi*	a- chi-a	a- térek-a	ku- i- zfiko
6- water:6	1- do_next-FV	1- put-FV	17- 5- fire:5/6
CP- N	SP- V-TAM	SP- V-TAM	Loc- CP-N

6) Yaráchaaniye,	zíkamye	yahweeza	yuuhiira
a- á- ra- chaan- ir -ye	zi- kám-ye	ya- hwéez-a	a- úhiir-a
1-RPast-Foc-fire-Appl-Perf	10- dry-Perf	6- finish-FV	1- add-FV
SP-TAM- TAM- V -TAM	SP- V -TAM	SP-V-TAM	SP-V-TAM

amáazi	kushikahó	zihirfiye.
ama- zi*	uku- shik-a-hó	zi- hí-ir -ye
6- water:6	15- arrive-FV 16	10- burn- Appl -Perf
CP- N	CP- V-TAM- RPro	SP- V -Der -TAM

7) Abonye	zfhiiye	yachfiye	azirunga.
a- bón-ye	zi- hí -ye	a- á- chi-ye	a- zi- rung-a
1-see -Perf	10- burn -Perf	1-RPast- do_next-Perf	1- 10- season-FV
SP- V -TAM	SP- V -TAM	SP- TAM- V-TAM	SP- OP- V-TAM

8) Yatóoye	igitúnguru	kikatáguye	ashira
a- á- tóor-ye	iki- túnguru	ki- kátagur -ye	a- shír-a
1- RPast- take -Perf	7- onion:7/8	7- cut_in_pieces-Perf	1- put-FV
SP- TAM- V -TAM	CP- N	SP- V -TAM	SP- V -TAM

mumavúta	gashuushé	mugweeso
mu- ama- vúta	ga- shúuh-ye	mu- uru- eeso
18- 6- oil:6	6- boil -Perf	18- 11- pot:11/10
Loc- CP- N	SP- V -TAM	Loc- CP- N

rutóoyi	rurí	kuzfiko.
ru- tóoyi	ru- ri	ku- i- zfiko
1- little	11- be:Def	17- 5- fire:5/6
AP- A-infl	SP- V	Loc- CP- N

9) Yarákaranze	vyáa	bitúnguru
a- á- ra- kárang-ye	vyáa	ibi- túnguru
1-RPast- Foc- fry -Perf	8	8- onion:7/8
SP- TAM- TAM-V-TAM	5DemP	CP- N

haanyuma	ashiramwó	inyáanya	zikatáguye.
haanyuma	a- shír-a-mwó	iN- nyáanya	zi- kátatur -ye
later_on	1- put-FV-18	9/10- tomato:11/10	10- cut_in_pieces -Perf
Adv	SP- V-TAM-Pro	CP- N	SP- V -TAM

10) Inyáanya zihiiye
iN- nyáanya zi- hí -ye
9/10- tomato:11/10 10- burn -Perf
CP- N SP- V -TAM

yachíiye	ashiramwó	muunyu.
a- á- chi - ye	a- shír-a-mwó	umu- nyu
1-RPast- do_next-Perf	1- put-FV-18	3- salt:3
SP- TAM- V-TAM	SP- V-TAM-Pro	CP- N

11) Amáze kuváyanga nín dosho vyóóse
a- mar -ye uku- váyang-a na- iN- dosho vyó- se*
1- finish -Perf 15- mix-FV with-9/10- ladle:9/10 8- all
SP- V -TAM CP- V-TAM AI- CP- N Pro- Pron

yaváanye	kuzíiko	asukamwó	ugweeso
a- á- váan -ye	ku- i- zíiko	a- suk-a mu-	uru- eeso
1-RPast-remove-Perf	17- 5- kitchen:5/6	1- pour-FV 18-	11- pot:11/10
SP- TAM-V -TAM	Loc- CP- N	SP- V-TAM	Loc- CP- N

gwínyama	navyó	aguma	akáranga.
ru- a*- iN- nyama	na*-vyó	a- gum-a	a- kárang-a
11-of-9/10- meat:9/10	with-8	1- be_hard-FV	1- fry-FV
DP- Con- CP- N	AI-Pro	SP- V -FV	SP- V-TAM

12) Ahwéeje yachíiye asukamwó amáazi
a- hwéez-ye a- á- chi -ye a- suk-a- mwó ama- zi*
1- finish-Perf 1- Past- do_next-Perf 1- pour-FV- 18 6- water:6
SP- V -TAM SP- TAM- V-TAM SP-V-TAM- Pro CP- N

yúmufá	na	abónye	gátagase
ya-a*- umu- fa	na	a- bón -ye	ga- tagat -ye
6- of-3- sauce:3/4	with	1- see -Perf	6- boil -Perf
DP- Con-CP- N	AI	SP- V -TAM	SP- V -TAM

akuurakó	ashira	háási.
a- kúur-a- kó	a- shír-a	háási
1- remove-FV-17	1- put-FV	down
SP- V -TAM -Loc	SP- V-TAM	Adv

- 13) Yaráaritse ugwáarike.
a- á- ra- arik -ye urú- áarike
1-RPast-Foc- put_on_fire -Perf 11- pot:11
SP- TAM-TAM- V -TAM CP- N
- 14) Yahénze rusebúye
a- á- hend -ye ru- sebur -ye
1- RPast- wait-Perf 11- boil -Perf
SP- TAM- V -TAM SP- V -TAM
- aradáhuruura asukamwó
a- ra- dáhuruur-a a- suk-a-mwó
1- Foc- reduce_water-FV 1- pour-FV-18
SP- TAM- V -TAM SP- V-TAM-Pro
- ifuma agirakó achumba ubugari.
i- fuma a- gira-kó a- chumb-a ubu- gari
5- flour:5/6 1- then-17 1- make_ugali-FV 14- ugali:14
CP- N SP- do- Pro SP- V -TAM CP- N
- 15) Bwaárahiiye acha arahákura,
bu- á- ra- hí -ye a- chi-a a- ra- hákur-a
14- RPast- Foc- burn -Perf 1- do_next-FV 1- Foc- remove-FV
SP- TAM- TAM- V-TAM SP- V-TAM SP- TAM- V -TAM
- abushiramwó isaháani.
a- bu- shír-a-mwó i- saháani
1- 14- put-FV-18 5- plate:5/6
SP- OP- V-TAM-Pro CP- N
- 16) Muunyuma atoorá imbóga
muunyuma a- tóor-a iN- bóga
later_on 1- take-FV 9/10- sauce:9
Adv SP- V -TAM CP- N
- ashiramwó ibakúri.
a- shír-a-mwó i- bakúri
1- put -FV-18 9/10- bowl:9/10
SP- V -TAM-Pro CP- N
- 17) Vyóóse yasíze kuméeza.
vyó- se* a- á- síg -ye ku- iN- méeza
8- all 1- RPast- leave -Perf 17- 9/10- table:9/10
Pro- Pron SP- TAM- V -TAM Loc- CP- N

18) Hámaze	yadúhaaye	amáazi
ha- mara -ye	a- á- tu- há -ye	ama- zi*
16- finish -Perf	1- RPast- lpp- give -Perf	6- water:6
SP- V -TAM	SP- TAM- OP- V -TAM	CP- N

turakáraba	aratusengera
tu- ra- kárab-a	a- ra- tu- senger-a
lpp-Foc-wash_hands-FV	1- Foc- lpp- pray_for-Perf
SP- TAM- V- TAM	SP- TAM- OP- V -TAM

tucha	túdyá.
tu- chi-a	tu- rí -a
lpp-do_next-FV	lpp- eat-FV
SP- V -TAM	SP- V -TAM

19) Vyaári	bídyooshe	chááne.
bi- á- ri	bi- dyóoh- ye	chááne
8- RPast- be:Def	8- be_nice-Perf	really
SP- TAM- V	SP- V-TAM	Adv

1) Yesterday mother washed the pot. 2) She poured water in and washed it by hand, then she poured out the water. 3) Then she put in some more water and rinsed it. 4) Later on, she cut some meat into small pieces, and then washed them. 5) After washing for the second time she put them into the pot, poured in some water, and put the pot on the fire. 6) She set the fire, and when all the water had evaporated, she added some more water until the meat was cooked. 7) When the meat was cooked, she prepared the sauce. 8) She took an onion which had been cut into pieces, put it with some boiling oil into the small pot, which was on the fire. 9) She fried the onions, and then she added tomatoes which had also been cut into pieces. 10) When the tomatoes were cooked, she added salt. 11) After mixing all that had been cooked with a wooden spoon, she removed the pot from the fire, poured the meat to that pot, and continued frying. 12) After finishing, she poured in some more water for the sauce, and when it was boiling she removed it and put it down. 13) She then put the ugali pot on the fire to be boiled. 14) When she saw that it had boiled, she reduced the amount of water and put in flour, and then made ugali. 15) Once the ugali was ready, she removed it from its pot and put it on a plate. 16) Then she took the sauce and put it in a bowl. 17) She put all this on the table. 18) When she was ready, she gave us some water to wash our hands with, and then she prayed and we all ate. 19) It was very good.

APPENDIX 2: HA - ENGLISH VOCABULARY

This vocabulary consists of approximately 2000 entries, which I have collected alongside the grammatical analysis. The nouns are listed with the most common noun class prefixes that they are associated with, and the class numbers for the singular-plural pairing(s) follow the noun. Verbs are cited as stems, with derivations grouped together under the root or the least derived stem, but the most productive and semantically predictive derivations, i.e. the applicative, the passive and the *-iish-* causative are left out. The inflected adjectives are cited as stems.

Tones are given for the entries for which it is known. For verb stems, only H or L is marked, whereas with all the other categories the tone is marked for each vowel, except for the noun class prefix and the augment of the nouns.

A - a

- aba** *1DemP2* these.
- abakare** *N 2* ancestors, people of old days.
- abantya** *N 2* people of today.
- abo** *2DemP2* those.
- aga** *V H* scrape.
- iyaga** *V refl H* itch.
- Agafunda** *N* September.
- agasamiina** *N 12/14 LHLL* scorpion.
- agasema** *N 12* bad luck.
- agasu** *N 12* smell.
- agataasi** *N 12* cold season (before the rains).
- agatama** *N 12* red colour.
- Agatumba** *N* January.
- aha** *1DemP16* here.
- ahabona** *N 16 HL* open place.
- ahantu** *N 16 LL* place.
- aho** *2DemP16* there.
- aka** *1DemP12* this.
- aka** *V L* burn, recapture, become lit.
- atsa** *V caus L* light.
- akabi** *N 12 H* poison (of food).
- akadyooshe** *N 12* food (something delicious).
- akajambo** *N 12 LL* statement.
- akamaro** *N 12 LL* benefit.
- akamende** *N 12* cockroach.
- akamenyeero** *N 12* habit.
- akamina** *N 12/14 HL* scorpion.
- akanyabuyugi** *N 12/14* centipede.
- Akaremba** *N* August.
- akayoya** *N 12/13 HL* baby, newborn.
- akayugi** *N 12/14 LL* centipede.
- akiira** *V L* receive (a guest), go to meet sb coming.
- akiiyorooswa** *N 12* blanket.
- ako** *2DemP12* that.
- ama** *V H* bear fruit, be decorated.
- amaazi** *N 6 HL* water.
- amabese** *N 6 LL* palm oil.
- amachinya** *N 6* dysentery.
- amagara** *N 6*, 3 body.
- amahasa** *N 6 HL* twin.
- amahenehene** *N 6 LHLL* dung.
- amahera** *N 6 HL* money.
- amahoro** *N 6*, 14 peace, good news.
- amajambere** *N 6 LLL* development.
- amanamba** *N 6* seasonal workers.
- amaraso** *N 6 HL* blood.
- amarengarenga** *N 6 HLLL* (a kind of) reed.

amarushwa *N 6* tiredness, problems.
amase *N 6* dung.
amasoobe *N 6* urine.
amata *N 6 H* milk.
amatako *N 6* thigh.
amatambwe *N 6* spacing (between furrows).
amate *N 6 H* saliva.
amavuta *N 6 HL* oil.
amavyi *N 6* dung.
amayirabiri *N 6 LHL* crossroads.
amayugi *N 6* rattle, sleigh bell.
-ambara *V ext L* wear.
 -ambika *V impos L* tie.
 -ambuka *V separ L* fall off, become taken off.
 -ambura *V separ L* take off clothes.

-iyambura *V refl separ H* take off.
-ambuka *V L* cross.
ameeru *N 6* desire, lust, longing.
-andika *V L* write.
-andura *V L* be affected (by a disease).
 -andukira *V appl L* get sick.
 -andukiza *V appl caus L* spread.
-anguha *V H* cheat, lie.
-anika *V impos H* spread to dry.
-anka *V H* refuse, hate.
-arika *V impos* put, remove, separate, take apart.
ariko *Conj LHL* but, if.
-asama *V H* open the mouth.
-avuura *V L* crawl.
aya *1DemP6* these.
ayo *2DemP6* those.

B - b

-ba *V H* be, become.
 -baana *V rec* live with, live together.
baa *5DemP2 HL* those.
-baaga *V H* slaughter, cut open to take meat.
-baara *V H* be enough, be long enough.
-baaza *V L* shave wood.
-baba *V H* itch.
-babara *V H* ache, be painful, feel pain.
 -babarira *V appl H* forgive, feel pity.
 -babaza *V caus H* hurt.
baboo *Inv* welcome.
badya *4DemP2 HL* those.
-bagara *V H* weed.
 -bagaza *V caus H* weed with.
-bamba *V L* stretch the skin on a drum.
-bambuka *V separ L* wake up.
 -bambura *V separ L* make sb wake up.

-banguura *V H* settle a fight.
 -banguranya *V rec caus H* decide, settle a fight.
bano *3DemP2 HL* these.
-banza *V L* start.
-barama *V stat H* visit, go out.
-bariira *V L* sew.
 -bariiza *V caus L* sew with.
-baza *V H* ask, consult.
-beeha *V H* tell a lie, cheat.
 -beesha *V caus H* lie.
-beera *V H* please.
 -beereza *V appl caus H* make please.
 -beeza *V caus H* clean, wash, make a place good.
-bi *A-infl H* bad.
-biba *V H* plant.
bidya *4DemP8 HL* those.
-biika *V H* take charge of sth, store, bury, put.
 -biitsa *V caus H* deposit.
-biisa *V H* get out of the way.
-bika *V H* crow.

bino 3DemP8 HL these.
-bira V L secrete.
-biri Num-infl HL two.
-bisi A-infl HL raw.
-boha V H fasten, tie (a mat).
-bomora V H break a house.
-bona V H 1) see. 2) shine sth.
 -bonana V rec H see each other.
 -boneka V neut H be seen.
 -bonekana V neut rec H be seen.
 -bonera V appl H feel sth.
 -ibona V refl H boast.
 -iboneera V refl int H see ('with one's own eyes?').
-bonja V taste.
 -bonjesha V caus let try.
-bora V L get rotten, be rotten.

-boreza V L make drunk.
-borooka V L make noise.
budya 4DemP14 HL those.
-bukoza V H cry.
-bumba V H mold pottery, make a round-shaped thing.
buno 3DemP14 HL those.
-bura V H miss, be left behind.
-buragira V H ache.
-burura V LLL draw, set free.
-buura V H solve.
 -buurana V rec H fight with each other.
 -buuranira V rec appl H be heard at.
-bweega V L ripen, pull.
-bwiira V H tell, speak to sb, address, say.
-bwiiriza V appl caus H teach.

C - c

-cha V do next.
-cha V H cut, dig.
 -chiika V neut H end.
 -chiira V appl H cut for.
 -chiisha V caus H cut with.
-cha V H dawn, get bright.
 -keeye V perf be hot (the sun), dawn, finish (the rain).
-cha V H forbid, cease.
chaa 5DemP7 HL that.
-chaana V H light a fire, stir a fire.
 -chaaniira V int H put on fire.
chaane Adv HHL a lot, really.
chanke Conj HL or.
-checha V mock.
-cheereegwa V H be late.

-chiira V H light a fire.
-chiira V H spit.
-chiira V share of one's own (trad. of hunting).
-chonga V L curve.
-chumba V L make ugali, cook mush.
-chumbakira V L walk staggering.
-chunda V churn milk.
-chunda V L make way, let pass.
-chungura V H replace, redeem.
-chura V H forge.
-churikira V mourn.
-chuura V H inherit, marry brother of the dead husband.
-chuuza V caus leave to (inheritance).

D - d

daata N 1a/2 LLH my father.
-daata V refuse that sth was done.
daawe N 1a/2 LLH father.
daayi N 1a/2 LLH my father.

-daha V H scoop up with one's hand.
-dahiisha V caus H draw sth.
-dahurura V separ H reduce water.

- dahwa *V H* vomit.
- dandabagana *V H* stagger, move unsteadily.
- dandaza *V H* trade.
- dedemera *V L* shiver.
- dibika *V* immerse (the water pot into).
- dindiira *V H* brake.
- dya *V H* eat.
- dyaana *V rec H* eat without sb.

- riibwa *V pass H* be eaten.
- riisha *V caus H* feed, make sb eat.
- rira *V appl H* eat from.
- dyaa *5DemP5 HL* that.
- dyaama *V H* sleep.
- dyaana *V H* quarrel.
- dyaari *Inv HLL* when (interrogative).
- dyoooha *V incep H* be nice, be tasteful.

E - e

- eene *Pron LHL* substitutive pron
- egama *V H* lean.
- egemika *V impos H* put leaning.
- egeera *V L* approach, go close.
- egeeranya *V H* gather.
- ejo *Adv LH/HL* tomorrow, yesterday.
- emera *V H* nod, agree.

- emeza *V caus H* affirm.
- emezanya *V caus rec H* come to an agreement.
- enda *V L* take.
- eneena *V* hang.
- era *V H* be white, become clean.
- ereka *V H* show, point.
- erekana *V rec H* show.
- erura *V* winnow.

F - f

- fata *V H* touch, catch.
- fasha *V caus H* help.
- fatanya *V rec caus H* make touch each other.
- fatika *V neut H* be touched.
- fatuura *V separ H* get out of a trap.
- fise *V def H* have.
- fukama *V stat H* kneel.
- fumba *V* smoke.
- fumura *V separ H* undo (the hair).

- furira *V L* close.
- fuufura *V* be very busy, die because of a lot of work.
- fuuhura *V H* bless, give permission to marry.
- fyaatura *V H* fire.
- fyeeta *V H* lick.
- fyikimanga *V H* sob.
- fyindika *V impos* put a riddle.
- fyinduura *V separ* solve a puzzle.

G - g

- gaaha *V* get sour.
- gaana *V H* increase.
- gaaniira *V H* discuss.
- gaba *V L* give a portion of what one owns.
- gabanya *V rec caus L* share.

- gabura *V separ L* divide.
- gamba *V L* speak.
- gana *V L* tell (a story).
- gana *V* squeeze bananas/palm oil.
- ganda, -gandara *V L* mourn.

-ganura *V L* taste, eat the first of new crops.
-garama *V stat L* lie on one's back, bend down.
-gari *A-infl* wide.
-gariha *V incep L* be wide.
-garuka *V separ L* return.
 -garura *V separ L* return sth.
 -garusa *V separ caus L* return sth.
-gaya *V L* feel sad, get angry.
 -gayana *V rec L* not to like each other.
-gazura *V* dig a ditch.
-gema *V* shoot.
-gemuura *V* give gifts (when visiting sb).
 -gemuranira *V rec appl* give gifts to each other (when visiting).
 -igemuura *V refl H* admire.
-genda *V L* go.
-gera *V* arrive (of time), reach.
-gera *V L* measure (temperature, amount of rice, etc), plan.
 -gerera *V appl L* hire, measure for.
 -gerura *V separ L* reduce (price).
 -geruriza *V separ appl caus L* reduce for.
-gesa *V H* pick (finger millet), reap grain.
-geza *V L* try.

-gira *V* be used for, have, do, say, be made of.
-girira *V* set a trap for.
Gitukutu *N* October.
-gomba *V L* want, like, need.
-gona *V L* snore.
-goora *V L* be difficult, trouble.
-gorama *V L* bend, become bent.
 -goramika *V neut L* be bent.
 -goramya *V caus L* bend.
-gorooba *V H* set (of the sun), get dark.
-goroora *V L* straighten.
 -gororoka *V neut L* become straight.
-gufi *A-infl HL* short.
-guma *V L* be hard.
-gumbiira *V H* embrace.
gudya *4DemP3 HL* that.
-gura *V L* buy.
 -gurika *V neut L* be bought.
 -guriza *V appl caus L* sell.
 -guza *V caus L* sell.
-guruka *V H* jump (high), fly (away).
-guuma *V* make noises.
gwa *V L* rain, fall.
 -guuye *V perf L* fall.
 -gwiira *V appl L* fall on.
gwaa *5DemP11 HL* that.
-gwaana *V LLL* fight (a war).
-gwaara *V H* be ill.
-gwiira *V L* be numerous.

H - h

-ha *V H* give.
 -haabwa *V pass H* be given.
 -haana *V rec H* give each other.
 -heera *V appl H* give in sth.
 -heesha *V caus H* give with (use sth to give).
-haaga *V L* become full, become jammed.

haanyuma *Adv LLLL* later on, then, after that.
haasi *Adv LLH* down, on the ground.
hadya *4DemP16 HL* there.
-hagama, -haganya *V* get stuck.
-hagara *V H* stand up.
 -hagarara *V ext H* stand up, stop.

-hagaritsa *V neut caus H* stop sb, erect sth.
hagati *Adv LHL* between, middle, centre.
-hakura *V* collect honey.
-hakura *V H* remove (pot from fire).
-hamagara *V HLLL* call, beckon.
-hamba *V H* bury.
-hamvya *V H* reach, take, to meet sb on the way.
-handa *V L* dig.
-handira *V* bathe, apply hot compress on.
hano *3DemP16 HL* here.
-hanuura *V H* tell.
-hanuuz *V caus H* advice.
-hanzura *V H* move (to another place to get money).
-haragura *V* cut (hair).
-harura *V H* scratch, to graze one's skin.
-haruruka *V H* get bored.
-haruura *V H* count.
-heba *V H* stop.
heehe *Inv LHL* where.
-heeka *V L* carry.
-heema *V* breathe.
-heera *V H* start.
-heerekeza *V neut caus H* see off, accompany
-heesha *V caus H* continue.
-hehera, -hehura *V* blow.
-heherusha *V caus* make fly, blow.
hejuru *Adv LLL* on, above.
-hekenya *V H* ache, chew.
-hemba *V* give food for workers.
-hemera *V H* shop.
-henda *V H* deceive, tell lies, be poisonous.
-henuka *V H* fall.
-hera *V H* finish, come to an end, become exhausted.
-heruuka *V separ H* end with.
-heruruka *V separ H* be last.

-heza *V caus H* finish.
-hereka *V* weed burned land.
-hereza *V H* give.
-herura *V L* grind (not fine).
-heza *V H* do next (aux).
-hezagira *V L* praise, bless.
-hihiira *V L* be content, be enough.
-hiiga *V H* hunt.
-hinda *V LL* thunder, rumble.
-hindira *V L* lock.
-ihindira *V refl L* lock a door from inside (with a pole).
-hinduka *V separ L* change.
-hindukana *V separ rec L* be oppressive.
-hindukira *V separ appl L* turn, turn one's back, turn to the right, face.
-hindukiza *V separ appl caus L* make sth face sth.
-hindura *V separ L* change.
-ihindura *V refl separ H* turn oneself into.
-hinga *V* let.
-hinyura *V separ* know the plot against you.
-hinyuza *V separ caus* reveal the plot.
-hita *V H* pass.
hoofi *Adv HLL* near, soon, around.
-homba *V L* suffer loss/defeat.
-hona *V H* end.
honaho *Adv* at once, immediately.
-hooga *V L* dispute, argue.
-hoora *V L* cut off meat.
-hora *V H* cool down, become quiet.
-horeera *V int H* be quiet.
-horeza *V caus* tell, inform.
-hotora *V H* grow old.
-hotora *V H* twist the neck (of bird), strangle.
-hukuma *V H* judge.
-huma *V* curse.
-huma *V L* be/become blind.
-humiriza *V appl caus L* close eyes.

-humbira *V* gather.
hundu *N* 1a/2 *LH* boy, boy before
 named.
-hunira *V L* be drowsy.
-hurunguura *V H* thresh.
-huuma *V* growl.
-huura *V H* meet, assemble, find
 out.

-huuriza *V appl caus H* collect
 (livestock?).
-huura *V H* thresh.
-huuta *V L* move in haste, be quick.
-hweera *V H* die.
-hweeza *V H* finish.

I - i

-iba *V H* steal.
ibaba *N* 5/6 *HL* wing.
ibabi *N* 5/6 *LL* leaf.
-ibagira *V L* forget.
ibagiyo *N* 5/6 butchery.
ibahasha *N* 5/6 package.
ibakuri *N* 5/6 *LHL* bowl.
ibanda *N* 5/6 house.
ibara *N* 5/6 *HL* spot (of a leopard).
ibaraza *N* 5/6 court.
ibasekeeri *N* 5/6 *HLLLL* bicycle.
ibati *N* 5/6 roofing, galvanised
 iron.
ibavyi *N* 5/6 blister.
ibeere *N* 5/6 *HLL* breast, udder.
ibega *N* 5/6 *LL* shoulder.
ibeyi *N* 9/10 price.
ibi *1DemP8* these.
ibibano *N* 8 (kind of) reed.
ibichu *N* 8 clouds.
ibidyazazu *N* 8 food for funeral.
ibifyindo *N* 8, 6 puzzle.
ibigoori *N* 8 maize.
ibiharagi *N* 8 *LLL* bean.
ibiharo *N* 8 *HL* (kind of big) bean.
ibihintsi *N* 8 cold.
ibiita *N* 8 war.
ibinde *N* 5/6 valley.
ibingira *N* 5/6 *LLL* wild dog.
-ibira *V H* swim, dive.
ibiseru *N* 8 cold, flue.
ibisooya *N* 8 *HLL* maize.
ibisooyasooya *N* 8 *HLLHLL* husk
 of maize.
ibisovu *N* 8, 9 (kind of) grass.

ibiteekwa *N* 8 *HLL* (kind of) yams.
ibomba *N* 5/6 pipe.
Ibuha *N* 23&14 *L* Ha land.
-ibuka *V L* remember, have
 committed to memory.
ibuuji *N* 5 porridge.
ibuye *N* 5/6 *LL* stone.
ibwaami *N* 23 *LLL* chief's
 homestead.
-icha *V H* kill.
ichaa *N* 9 *HLL* tea.
ichamwa *N* 7/8 fruit.
ichaanda *N* 7, 3 dry season.
ichaanduruko *N* 7/10 *LLLLL* cause.
ichaara *N* 7/8, 11/10 *HLL* nail.
ichaari *N* 7/8, 11 nest, nest on the
 ground.
ichaatire *N* 7/8 large area.
-ichara *V L* sit, live.
ichenda *Num-N* 7 *HLL* nine.
ichenka *N* 10 *LLH* small grains.
icheti *N* 9/10 receipt.
ichiinjiji *N* 7 *LLLH* shade, dark.
ichiiremekero *N* 7/8 container.
ichiire *N* 7/8 mirror.
icho *2DemP7* that.
ichoobo *N* 7/8 basket.
ichoombo *N* 7/8 tool, dish.
ichoondo *N* 7/8 soil.
ichumba *N* 7/8 *HL* room.
ichumba *N* 7 *LL* smell.
ichumi *N* 5/6 *HL* ten.
ichumu *N* 5/6 *HL* spear.
ichungwa *N* 5/6 *HL* orange.
ichupa *N* 5/6 bottle.

- ichuti** *N 9/10 family.*
ichuuma *N 7/8 HLL iron.*
ichuuya *N 9 LHL sweat.*
idaftaari *N 5/6 exercise book.*
idakika *N 9/10 LHL minute.*
idaktari *N 9/10 doctor.*
idarasa *N 5/6 class room.*
idenga *N 5 LL wedding.*
iduuka *N 5/6 LHL shop.*
idya *4Demp9, 4DempP23 LH that.*
idyaande *N 5/4 LLH ridge.*
idyinyo *N 5/6 HLL tooth.*
idyo *2Demp5 that.*
idyo *N 5/6 H knowledge, talent.*
idyoganya *N 5/6 pea.*
idyooya *N 5/6 LHL feather.*
ifuma *N 5/6 LL flour.*
ifungu *N 5/6 HL heap.*
ifuro *N 5 HL foam.*
ifyigo *N 5/6 HL kidney.*
-iga *V H learn, imitate.*
 -igaana *V rec H learn, imitate sb.*
 -igiisha *V caus H teach.*
 -igiishana *V caus rec H teach each other.*
 -igiishira *V caus appl H make sb teach instead of me.*
 -igiishiriza *V caus appl H teach for sb (instead of).*
 -igira *V appl H pretend.*
 -igirishirizana *V caus appl rec H teach instead of each other.*
igambo *N 5/6 LL explanation, speech, case.*
iganya *N 5/6 mystery, discussion.*
igazi *N 5/6 HL nut of oil palm.*
igi *N 5/6 H egg.*
igifege *N 7/8 lame.*
igifugwe *N 7/8 turtle.*
igifuutu *N 7/8 snake (big brown).*
igifweero *N 7/8 LLL snail.*
igiha *N 7 L Ha language.*
igihako *N 7/8 wound.*
igihe *N 7/8 L time.*
igihere *N 7/8 LL bug, bed louse.*
igihimba *N 7/8 HL piece, half.*
igihindiro *N 7/8 LLL latch, locking bar.*
igiho *N 7/8 L cloud, sky.*
igihoori *N 7/8 grasshopper.*
igihoocho *N 7/8 spade.*
igihugo *N 7/8 HL country, land, world.*
igihuguhugu *N 7/8 LLHL (a kind of) bird.*
igihumbi *N 7/8 LL thousand.*
igihuuhuusi *N 7 HLLLL (a kind of) wind.*
igikandu *N 7/8 dough.*
igikanu *N 7/8 neck.*
igikara *N 7/8 LL wild cat.*
igikaraza *N 7/8 LHL chest.*
igikere *N 7/8 HL frog.*
igikogwa *N 7/8 HL work.*
igikombe *N 7/8 cup.*
igikonjo *N 7/8 HL elbow, cubit.*
igikooko *N 7/8 LLH animal.*
igikooto *N 7/8 HLL ant, big black.*
igikoreesha *N 7/8 LHLL tool.*
igikumu *N 7/8 HL thumb.*
igikweerere *N 7/8 LHLL unmarried man, full grown.*
igingi *N 5/6 season.*
igipfundikizo *N 7 HLLL stopper.*
igipfungu *N 7 HL mold, mist, fog.*
igipfunsi *N 7/8 fist, hit.*
igipiimo *N 7/8 LLL measurement.*
igiraasi *N 5/6 LHLL glass.*
igisaabo *N 7/8 LLL calabash bottle.*
igisamunaga *N 7/8 HLLL (a kind of) bird.*
igisamvu *N 7/8 leaf of cassava.*
igisanze *N 7/8 desert, pasture, forest (a plain with long grass and maybe with few trees).*
igisaruro *N 7/8 ornament.*
igisate *N 7/8 HL stick, piece, slice.*
igise *N 7/8 clan.*
igiseke *N 7/8 LL container, basket (made of e.g. bamboo).*
igishiika *N 7/8 room.*

igishuuruugwi *N 7/8 HLLLL* wind
 with lots of dust.
igisibo *N 7/8* curse.
igisigaanya *N 7 HLLL* flood.
igisigo *N 7/8* spirit.
igisiiga *N 7/8 LLL* hawk.
igisiizimwe *N 7/8 LLLH* spirit.
igisima *N 7/8* deep place (in water).
igisimbo *N 7/8* (a kind of) basket.
igisokozo *N 7/8, 11/10 HLL* comb.
igisonga *N 7* sting in the side,
 bronchitis.
igisookwe *N 7/8* riddle.
igisore *N 7/8 HL* unmarried man.
igisovyo *N 7* wooden digging stick.
igisusaanyo *N 7/8* example.
igisuso *N 7/8* example, chapter.
igisuuguugwa *N 7/8 LLHLL* crop.
igitabo *N 7/8 LL* book.
igitambara *N 7/8* cloth.
igitandara *N 7/8* rock.
igitanga *N 7/8 HL* pond, swamp.
igitangurigwa *N 7/8 LLHL* spider.
igitebe *N 7/8* chair.
igiti *N 7/8 H* tree.
igitiba *N 7/8* beehive, small
 container.
igitiku *N 7/8 HL* liver.
igitingatinga *N 7/8* tractor.
igitondo *N 7 HL* morning.
igitooke *N 7/8 HLL* banana.
igitsintsiiri *N 7/8 HLLL* heel.
igitumwa *N 7/8* aim, target.
igitunguru *N 7/8 HLL* onion.
igitungwa *N 7/8 HL* animal
 (domestic), cattle, wealth.
igituntu *N 7/8 HL* chest.
igituutu *N 7/8 HLL* shade,
 shadow.
igogo *N 5/6 LL* log.
igufa *N 5/6 HL* bone.
igunira *N 5/6 HLL* sack.
igwitaano *N* fifty.
ihaha *N 5/6 HL* lung.
ihakimu *N 5/6* judge.
ihanga *N 5/6* far away place.

ihembe *N 5/6 HL* horn, spirit, pain
 caused by spirits.
ihereeni *N 5/6 LHLL* earring.
ihiga *N 5/6 HL* cooking stone.
ihoma *N 5* fever.
ihundo *N 5/6* inflorescence.
ihwa *N 5/6, 7/8 H* thorn, fish bone,
 horn.
-iiza *A-infl LLH* good.
ijambo *N 9/8 LL* affair.
ijambo *N 5/6 LL* word, happening.
ijana *N 5/6 LL* hundred.
ijigo *N 5/6 LL* molar.
ijiisho *N 5/6* eye.
ijoro *N 5 LL* night.
ijuma *N 5/6 HL* week.
ijuru *N 5 LL* sky.
ijwi *N 5/6 H* voice.
ikabichi *N 9/10* cabbage.
ikabira *N 5/6* tribe.
ikahawa *N 9* coffee.
-ikangura *V L* wake up.
ikanisa *N 5/6* church.
ikara *N 5/6 HL* charcoal.
ikaraamu *N 9/10, 5/6* pen.
ikarabo *N 5/6* pot (small, for water).
ikarataasi *N 5/6 LLLHL* paper.
ikayoga *N 9* spirit, made of banana.
ikeete *N 5/6 HLL* letter.
ikenura *N 5/6* (a kind of) basket.
iki *1DemP7* this.
ikibambaazi *N 7/8 LLLL* wall.
ikibanda *N 7/8* farm.
ikibanza *N 7/8* field, ground.
ikibazo *N 7/8 HL* question.
ikibeezi *N 7/8 HLL* axe.
ikibero *N 7/8 LL* lap.
ikibira *N 7/8 LL* forest (small but
 very dense).
ikibiriiti *N 7/8 LHLL* match.
ikibonde *N 7/8* duck, (a kind of)
 bird.
ikiboze *N 7 HL* rotten meat.
ikibuno *N 7/8* buttock.
ikidandi *N 7/8 LL* spider.
ikidede *N 7/8* pearls, string of.

ikidonge *N 7/8 tablet.*
ikiduudu *N 7/8 insect.*
ikigaaniiro *N 7/8 HLLLL*
conversation.
ikigano *N 7/8 LL story.*
ikiganza *N 7/8 hand, wrist.*
ikigega *N 7/8 LL granary, basket*
for storage.
ikigezo *N 7/8 test.*
ikigogo *N 7/8 LL tree trunk, log*
bridge.
ikigomba *N 7/8 LL wild cat.*
ikigongwe *N 7/8 LL kindness,*
sympathy, pardon.
ikigooye *N 7/8 HLL difficult thing.*
ikigumba *N 7/8 thumb.*
ikigura *N 7/8 peel.*
ikijiji *N 7/8 HLL village.*
ikijiko *N 7/8 HL spoon.*
ikijogojogo *N 7/8 LLLL (a kind of)*
cricket.
ikijumbu *N 7/8 sweet potato.*
ikimangongo *N 7/8 train.*
ikimashine *N 7/8 machine.*
ikimazi *N 7/8 LL value.*
ikimuga *N 7/8 HL lame person.*
ikinigi *N 7/8 pearls, string of.*
ikinogo *N 7/8 pit.*
ikinono *N 7/8 LL hundred thousand.*
ikinono *N 7/8 LL good piece of*
meat.
ikintu *N 7/8 LL thing.*
ikinya *N 7 H numbness.*
ikinyaruvu *N 7/8 LHLL chameleon.*
ikinyo *N 7/8 H insect, worm.*
ikinyogoto *N 7/8 LHL porcupine.*
ikinyongoori *N 7/8 LLLL millipede.*
ikinyugunyugu *N 7/8 HLHL*
butterfly.
ikinyunyugu *N 7 blue colour.*
ikiraato *N 7/8 HLL shoe.*
ikirabo *N 7/8 local bar.*
ikirago *N 7/8 sleeping mat.*
ikiraro *N 7/8 LL bridge.*
ikiremba *N 7/8, 6 leaf.*
ikirenge *N 7/8 LL foot.*

ikiriibwa *N 7/8 HLL food.*
ikirimba *N 7/8 arrow container.*
ikiringanya *N 7/8 egg plant.*
ikiringo *N 7/8 HL affair.*
ikiruhuuko *N 7 LLLL holiday,*
break.
ikirumbu *N 7/8 LL sweet potato.*
ikivi *N 7/8 area, field.*
ikivoovo *N 7 valley.*
ikivumbura *N 7/8 lizard.*
ikivuuvuvu *N 7/8 LLLH chameleon.*
ikiyaago *N 7/8 discussion.*
ikiyoka *N 7/8 tape worm, parasitic*
worm, small snake.
ikoma *N 5/6 bar, stick.*
ikoori *N 5/6 tax, tribute.*
ikopo *N 5/6 tin.*
ikumi *N 5/6 ten.*
ikungu *N 5 forest.*
ikuru *N 5/6 HL affair, information,*
knowledge.
Imaana *N 9 God.*
imaari *N 9/10 HLL wealth,*
property.
imamba *N 9/10 LL crocodile.*
imata *N 5/6 LL drop.*
-imba *V L dig.*
-imbira *V appl L stick sth into*
the ground.
-imbura *V separ L store,*
harvest.
-imburura *V separ L dig out.*
imbaata *N 9/10 duck.*
imbaazo *N 9/10 chisel.*
imbaragasa *N 9 LHLL flea.*
imbari *N 9 side, corner.*
imbariro *N 9/10 stick.*
imbeba *N 9/8, 9/10 LL rat.*
imbega *N 9/10 zebra.*
imbegu *N 9/10 seed.*
imbeho *N 9 cold.*
imbere *N 9 front.*
imboga *N 9 sauce, side dish.*
imbogaboga *N 9/10 vegetable.*
imbogo *N 9/10 LL buffalo.*
imboogi *N 9 LLL wind.*

imbuga *N 9/10 HL* homestead, threshing floor.
imbugita *N 9/10, 5/6 LLH* knife.
imbumba *N 9/10 HL* clay.
imbuto *N 9/10 LH* seed, origin.
imbwa *N 9/10 H* dog.
imbwiiga *N 9/10* spinach, vegetable.
imeeza *N 9/10 HLL* table.
imfi *N 9/10 H* fish.
imfura *N 9/10 HL* first-born.
imfyisi *N 9/10 HL* hyena.
imibanda *N 4 LL* falling, wrestling.
iminwe *N 4 L* hands.
imivuba *N 4* bellows.
imizo *N 4* hundred thousand.
imodoka *N 9/10* car.
impamba *N 9/10 LL* packed meal.
impande *N 9/10 HL* nut (pistachio), white bean.
impango *N 9/10* giant.
impanuro *N 9/10* advice.
impeemu *N 9* breath, air.
impeetso *N 10* clothes for carrying babies.
impembo *N 9/10 HL* food given for workers during the break.
impene *N 9/10 LH* goat.
impeshi *N 9* cold season.
impetso *N 9/10 LL* baby sling.
impfiizi *N 9/10 HLL* male, castrated male, bull.
impindu *N 9/10* pin.
impinduko *N 9/10* change.
impiya *N 9/10 HL* money.
impongo *N 9/10 LL* bushbuck.
impore *N 9/10 LH* information, story.
impumyi *N 9/10 LL* blind person.
impundu *N 9/10* praising song (for congratulating mother for new baby).
impuuzu *N 9/10 LHL* cloth.
impweezo *N 9/10, 11 LLL* sickle, harvesting knife.
imuhana *Adv* at the neighbourhood.
imuhira *Adv* at home.

-imuka *V H* move.
-imura *V H* get married (for a man).
-imugwa *V pass H* be married (for a woman).
-imurana *V rec H* marry.
imva *N 9/10 H* grave.
invanda *N 9/10* hair that children are born with.
invubu *N 9/10* hippopotamus.
invugo *N 9/10 HL* speech, vocabulary.
imvunja *N 9/10 HL* jigger.
invura *N 9 HL* rain.
imyumbati *N 4 HLH* cassava.
inaama *N 9/10* meeting, agreement.
inaane *N 5, 11 LHL* eighty.
inaazi *N 9/10 LLL* coconut.
inanaasi *N 5/6* pineapple.
inanga *N 9/10 LL* instrument, small harp-like, local guitar.
inauri *N 9/10 LHL* fare.
inda *N 9/8, 9/10 LH* louse (head or bed).
inda *N 9 LL* pregnancy.
inda *N 9/10 LL* stomach.
indaaro *N 9/10* bed, traditional sleeping place.
indagano *N 9/10 LLL* lack.
indagara *N 9/10 LLL* small fish.
indagu *N 9* foretelling.
indaha *N 9/10 HL* bag, purse, ladle.
indege *N 9/10* bird.
indimo *N 9/10* field.
indobo *N 9/10 HL* bucket.
indogobwe *N 9/10* donkey.
indooto *N 9/10 HLL* dream.
indooyi *N 9/10 LLL* eland.
indorobo *N 9/10* tsetse fly.
indosho *N 9/10 LL* ladle, wooden spoon.
indwi *Num-N 9 L* seven.
indya *N 9/10 H* food; mouth.
ingambo *N 9/10 LL* language.
ingambo *N 9/10* shield, an ancestral relic used in spirit cults.
ingata *N 9/10 LH* head pad.

- ingene** *N 9/10 HL* sort, kind.
ingero *N 9/10* can, measurement, wages.
ingese *N 9 HL* rust.
ingeso *N 9/10 LL* habit.
ingete *N 9/10* piece of pot.
ingingo *N 9/10 HL* joint.
ingiri *N 9/10 LL* warthog.
ingiriga *N 9/10 LLH* zebra.
ingoga *N 9/10 LL* hurry.
ingoma *N 9/10 LL* drum, dance.
ingoocho *N 9/10 LHL* gun.
ingoono *N 9/10 LLL* crocodile.
ingovu *N 9/10 LL* strength.
ingumi *N 9 HL* fist.
ingurube *N 9/10 LLL* pig.
ingwa *N 9/10* white clay used to cover bodies of initiates into *kubandwa*.
ingwaano *N 9/10 LLL* war.
ingwaara *N 9/10, 5/6 HLL* sickness, illness.
ingwe *N 9/10 L* leopard.
-injira *V H* enter, get in.
inka *N 9/10 H* cow.
inkamba *N 9/10 HL* coal.
inkambare *N 9/10* (a kind of) fish.
inkanga *N 9/10* kanga cloth.
inkange *N 9/10* guinea-fowl.
inkara *N 9/10 HL* crab.
inkende *N 9/10 LL* (a kind of) small monkey.
inkengere *N 9/10* bell.
inkezyi *N 9/10 LL* (a kind of) rat.
inkimbo *N 9/10* can.
inkingi *N 9/10 HL* supporting pillar, king post.
inkobe *N 9/10 LL* baboon (big).
inkobogo *N 9/10 LHL* (a kind of) snake.
inkoko *N 9/10 LH* hen.
inkokora *N 9/10* elbow.
inkoma *N 9/10 HL* cobra.
inkomokomo *N 9/10 LLLL* nape of the neck.
inkonge *N 10 LL* red millet.
- inkoni** *N 9/10 LL* stick.
inkonji *N 9/10 HL* wildebeest, gnu.
inkonko *N 9/10* basket, small.
inkonko *N 9 HL* occiput.
inkoore *N 9/10 HLL* green bean, from *koole* plant.
inkoota *N 9/10* sword.
inkoro *N 9/10* rib.
inkorora *N 9 LLH* cough.
inkovu *N 9/10, 9/6 HL* scar.
inkumbu *N 9* loneliness.
inkumi *N 9/6 HL* teenage girl.
inkundy *N 9/10* pigeon.
inkungu *N 9* vapour or dust of the ground.
inkuri *N 9/10* stand for drying maize.
inkuru *N 9/10 HL* notice.
inkwaano *N 9 HLL* wedding present, betrothal present.
inkwaare *N 9/10* francolin, pigeon.
ino *3DemP4, 3DemP9, 3DemP23* LH this.
inonzi *N 9/10* (a kind of) fish.
inoti *N 5/6 HL* note.
insha *N 9/10 H* impala.
inshi *A-infl HL* many, a lot.
inswi *N 9/10 H* fish.
intaahe *N 9 LHL* tradition.
intaama *N 9/10 LLL* sheep.
intaara *N 9/10, 7/8 HLL* table for drying maize; another place, country.
intambwe *N 9/10, 7/8 LL* lion.
intango *N 9/10* pot (big, for water).
intanguro *N 9/10 HLLL* beginning.
intarafa *N 9/10* area, commune.
intare *N 9/10* lion (small).
intaro *N 9/10* (a kind of) container.
intebu *N 9/10* (a kind of) millet.
intemere *N 9/10* (a kind of) container.
intengwa *N 9/10 HL* a kind of bean (tree).
intigiri *N 9/10, 7/8, 6* heap, amount of food.

intimbiri *N 9/10* (a kind of) container.
intore *N 9/10* (a kind of) tomato.
intumba *N 9/10 HL* grain.
intumva *N 9/10* dumb.
intunguru *N 9/10 HLL* pigeon.
intwiiga *N 9/10 LLL* giraffe.
inuma *N 9/10* pigeon.
inusu *N 9* half.
inyaabu *N 9/10 HLL* cat.
inyama *N 9/10 LL* meat.
inyamaswa *N 9/10* animal of the forest.
inyanza *N 9/10 LL* sea, lake.
inyarema *N 9/10 LHL* bat.
inyenzi *N 9/10 LLH* cockroach.
inyishu *N 9/10 HL* answer.
inyonga *N 9/10* waist.
inyoni *N 9/10 LL* bird.
inyonyoori/inyenyeeri *N 9/10 HLLL* star.
inyoota *N 9 LLH* thirst.
inyuma *N 9* behind.
inyundo *N 9/10 LL* hammer.
inyungu *N 9/10 HL* benefit, profit.
inyungu *N 9/10* pipe for smoking.
inzamba *N 9/10* trumpet.
inzara *N 9 LL* hunger.
inzeeba *N 9/10 HLL* bird.
inzembagiza *N 9/10* (a kind of) spinach.
inzira *N 9/10, 5/6 LL* path, road.
inzitiro *N 9/10* fence.
inzoga *N 9/10 HL* beer, local banana alcohol.
inzogera *N 9/10* bell.
inzoka *N 9/10* snake.
inzovu *N 9/10 LL* elephant.
inzu *N 9/10 L* house
inzukuruza *N 9 LHLL* great-grandchild.
ipakiti *N 9/10* packet.
ipamba *N 10 HL* cotton.
ipapayu/ipapayi *N 5/6 LHL* papaya.
ipeeni *N 9/10 HLL* pen.
ipeera *N 5/6 HLL* guava fruit.

ipfundo *N 5/6* knot.
ipfupfu *N 5/6* hump.
ipicha *N 5/6* picture.
ipikipiki *N 9/10* motorbike.
ipiripiri *N 9* pepper.
iporo *N 5/6* forest.
-irabura *V H* be black.
iragiro *N 5/6* pasture.
iraaki *N 9/10 HLL* hundred thousand.
irangi *N 9/10 HL* colour.
iri *1DemP5* this.
iriba *N 5/6 LL* well.
-irika *V* give name.
irima *N 5/6 LL* ant.
irita *N 9/10* liter.
irobo *N 5/6* shilling.
-iruka *V H* run.
-irukana *V rec H* chase to catch, chase away.
irungu *N 5* sorrow, loneliness.
iruuru *N 9* noise.
isaa *N 9/10* hour, time.
isaanyi *N 9/10* family.
isaasi *N 5/6 HLL* bullet, lead.
isaazi *N 9/10* fly.
isabuni *N 5/6 LHL* soap.
isafari *N 9/10* journey.
isahaani *N 5/6 LHLL* plate.
isamaaki *N 9/10 LHLL* fish.
isarada *N 9/10* salad.
isato *N 9/10 HL* python.
isebura *N 5/6 LLL* moist piece of land in the valley.
isekuro *N 9/10* mortar for pounding.
isemo *N 5/6 LL* hole.
iserekaari *N 9/10 LHLL* government.
ishaka *N 5/6* millet.
ishamba *N 9/10, 5/6* field, savannah, steppe, grassland.
ishami *N 5/6 HL* branch.
ishati *N 5/6* shirt.
ishavu *N 5 HL* anger.
ishiga *N 5/6* cooking stone (one of three).

ishimwe *N 5 HL* joy, thankfulness.
ishindwi *N 5/6* (a kind of) fruit.
ishinga *N 5/6* spirit, stinging pain.
ishingwa *N 5/6 HL* horn.
ishiringi *N 5/6 HLL* shilling.
-ishura *V L* answer, reply, pay.
ishure *N 9/10 HLL* school.
ishuugwi *N 5/6 HLL* flower.
isi *N 9, 11 H* ground, land (as contrasted to sea), world.
isibitaari *N 9/10 LHLL* hospital.
isigara *N 5/6 LHL* cigarette.
isikeeti *N 9/10* skirt.
isiku *N 9/10* day.
isimbi *N 9* dice game (local).
isinzo *N 9/10* chisel.
isogi *N 9/10* (a kind of) vegetable.
isohoro *N 9/10* waist, side (good place to hit an animal to kill it).
isonga *N 5/6* point.
isoni *N 9 HL* guilt-consciousness, shyness.
isooko *N 9/10 HLL* spring.
isoro *N 9, 7 LL* board game.
isuka *N 9/6 HL* hoe.
isukaari *N 9 LHLL* sugar.
isumbi *N 5/6* gland.
isunzu *N 5* hair style (hair left only on crown of the head).
isurubare *N 5/6* trousers.
isuso *N 9/10* character.
-ita *V H* call.
itaabi *N 9* tobacco.

-itaba *V H* answer a call, reply.
itama *N 5/6 HL* cheek.
itambo *N 5/6* step.
itara *N 9/10 HL* lamp.
itebura *N 5/6* field.
iteeka *N 5/6 HLL* law, rule.
iteeko *N 5* kitchen.
itegeko *N 5/6* question.
iteke *N 5/6 LL* yams.
itete *N 5/6* (a kind of) reed.
itiro *N 5/6 HL* sleep.
itogi *N 5/6* cup (for oil).
-itonda *V H* be careful, be patient.
itunda *N 5/6* fruit.
iwaari *N 9 HLL* rice (cooked).
iwembe *N 9/10* razor.
ivi *N 5/6 H* knee.
ivu *N 5 H* dust.
-ivuna *V refl H* boast.
ivyo *2DemP8* those.
iyi *1DemP4, 1DemP9* this.
iyoy *2DemP4, 2DemP9* that.
iyooaba *N 5/6, 5/8* groundnut.
-iyorosora *V refl* uncover oneself (from blanket).
ize *N 5/6* health.
izi *1DemP10* these.
iziiko *N 5/6* fire, kitchen.
izina *N 5/6* name.
izo *2DemP10* those.
izosi *N 5/6 LL* neck.
izuuba *N 5, 9 HLL* sun.
izuuru *N 5/6 HLL* nose.

J - j

-ja *V L* go.
-jaana *V rec L* go with.
-jabuka *V* cross.
-jabura *V* take sth to eat while still cooking.
jewe *Pers Pron Ips LH I*.

-jisha *V* make (braid mats, baskets, etc).
-jonga *V* cultivate (in the summer before the rains).
-juguma *V L* shiver.
-juja *V* beat.

K - k

- kaaka** *N 1a/2 LLH* grandmother.
- kaama** *V L* stop sb from doing sth.
- kachamba** *V* wonder around, move from one place to another.
- kadya** *4DemP12 HL* that.
- kakama** *V* swell.
- kakara** *V H* pass through bush making sounds, make a sound.
- kakaza** *V caus H* make noise, be well.
- kama** *V* dry.
- kamyā** *V H* finish.
- kanda** *V H* 1) bathe, apply hot compresses on 2) knead.
- kandika** *V impos H* fill holes with mud.
- kandagira** *V int H* step on.
- kandakanda** *V redupl H* press.
- kano** *3DemP12 HL* that.
- kanya** *V H* feel cold.
- kanyuura** *V H* squeeze.
- kara** *V H* be sharp, be severe, become sharp, be ripe.
- kaza** *V caus H* tighten, light a lamp.
- karaba** *V H* wash hands.
- karanga** *V* fry.
- kare** *Adv LL* early, once, before
- kariha** *V incep H* be bitter, go sour, be sharp.
- karisha** *V incep caus H* whet, sharpen the edge.
- kata** *V H* cut.
- katagura** *V int H* cut.
- katwiikiro** *N 1a/2 LHLHL* courier of the king.
- ke** *A-infl H* a little, few.
- keba** *V L* cut (small pieces, with a knife).
- kecha** *V incep H* become few.
- keesha** *V incep caus H* deduct.
- keera** *Adv LHL* long ago, one day (future).
- keeyi** *A-infl HLL* little, small.
- keeza** *V H* greet.
- keezanya** *V rec H* greet each other.
- kena** *V L* fail, miss, lack, lose.
- kenga** *V* avoid, escape from.
- kengeera** *V int H* despise.
- kenguruka** *V L* honour, pay respect.
- kenyera** *V H* wear clothes (for women).
- kidya** *4DemP7 HL* that.
- kiikama** *V H* obstruct, be stuck.
- kiira** *V* receive.
- kina** *V H* play.
- kingiira** *V H* hide from, obstruct, be in the way.
- kino** *3DemP7 HL* this.
- kira** *Pron HL* every, each.
- kira** *V H* get saved, get healed.
- kiriza** *V appl caus H* straighten somebody, lift up.
- kirizakiriza** *V redupl H* shake.
- kirigita** *V H* tickle.
- koma** *V* make (a local door).
- kombā** *V H* scrape the food stuck to the bottom of the pot.
- komera** *V L* ripen, become mature (for a fruit).
- komeza** *V caus L* strengthen.
- komorora** *V H* smoothen.
- konganya** *V H* collect.
- kookorera** *V* trim, prune (banana plants).
- kooyo** *N 1a/2 LLH* (my) mother.
- kora** *V H* work, do, touch.
- korakora** *V redupl H* touch.
- koreesha** *V caus H* use.
- koreka** *V neut H* be done.
- koromeka** *V neut H* become injured.
- korora** *V H* cough.
- kuba** *V H* go around.
- kubiira** *V int H* wind around.

-kubita *V H* hit, strike, splash (water).
-kubuura *V H* sweep.
kudya 4*DemP15 HL* that.
-kuga *V H* bark (for dog).
-kumagira *V L* ache, throb painfully.
-kumbira *V L* rake.
-kumbura *V* long for.
-kunda *V H* like, love.
-kunguura *V L* wipe.
-kunja *V H* fold (paper).
-kunjurura *V separ H* unfold.
kuno 3*DemP15 HL* that.
-kura *V H* grow.
-kuza *V caus H* grow, raise.
kure *Adv LL* far.
-kurikira, -kwirikira *V appl H* follow, trace.
-kuru *A-infl* great.
-kuruga *V L* stir, knead, make soup.
-kuruza *N LLL* great-grand-.
-kuuka *V* go up, rise.

-kuura *V H* dig out, extract, scrape the soil, uproot, remove.
-kwa *V H* give betrothal present.
-koosha *V caus H* receive bride price.
-kweera *V appl H* pay bride wealth.
-kwaaba *V H* work as an immigrant.
-kwaakura *V* take by force.
-kwaama *V H* get stuck.
Kwagataano *N* Friday.
Kwagatatu *N* Wednesday.
Kwakabiri *N* Tuesday.
Kwakanne *N* Thursday.
Kwambere *N* Monday.
Kwamshanju *N* Sunday.
Kwamukaaga *N* Saturday.
-kwangwasha *V caus H* wash, rub.
-kweega *V L* pull.
-kwiikira *V H* put a wooden handle.
-kwiima *V L* refuse.
-kwiira *V H* be enough, fit, be sufficient.
-kwiirira *V appl H* be valuable.

M - m

maama *N 1a LLH* mother.
-maanyura *V separ H* break into pieces.
-maanyuka *V separ H* become broken into pieces/two.
maarume *N 1a/2 LLHL* my uncle.
-maatuka *V separ H* become cracked.
maawe *N 1a/2 LLH* mother, our/my mother.
maayi *N 1a/2 LLH* (my) mother.
Mahimba *N* north.
Mahimburo *N* south.
-manika *V impos L* hang (sth on the wall), put (to dry).
-mara *V L* finish, accomplish.
mbere *Inv* emphatic question marker.
-mena *V H* break, smash.

-meneka *V neut H* become broken, become smashed.
-menya *V L* know, understand.
-menyeeka *V neut L* be revealed (e.g. a secret).
-menyeekana *V neut rec L* be known.
-menyeetsa *V neut caus L* inform.
-menyeetsana *V neut caus rec L* inform each other.
-menyeera *V int L* get accustomed to sth.
-menyeeza *V int caus L* give/make sb get experience.
-imenyesha *V refl caus L* introduce oneself.
-mera *V L* germinate, come out.
-mesa *V L* wash (clothes, hair).
-mira *V L* swallow.

-mota *V* smell good.
-mugara *V H* become lame.
Mugwiiro *N* west.
mukaaga *Num-N 3 LHL* six.
mukaadaayi *N 1a/2 LLLLLL* step mother.
munaani *Num-N 3 LHL* eight.
muramu *N 1/2 HL* brother-in-law.
muramukazi *N 1/2 HLLL* sister-in-law.
mushanju *Num-N 3 LL* seven.
Muturuko *N* east.
muusi *Adv HHL* under.
-mwa *V L* cut the hair.

-moobwa *V pass L* cut hair.
-mweera *V appl L* cut in.
-mweesha *V caus L* cut with.
mwakeeye *Inv* good morning.
-mwe *Num-infl H* one.
mweene *N 1/2 LLL* sibling, brother, sister, child.
mweenewaabu *N 1/2 LHLHLL* his relative (male), brother.
mwemwe *Pers pron 2pp LH* you pl.
-mwenyagura *V L* smile.
Mwigarama *N* west.
mwiriwe *Inv* greeting (in the afternoon or evening).

N - n

na *Ind H* associative index.
-namba *V* suffer.
-nanira *V L* fail.
narume *N 1a/2 LHL* mother's brother.
nasenge *N 1a/2 LHL* aunt, father's sister.
-nezera *V* rejoice.
nga- *Ind H* presentative index.
ngaaha *Adv LHL* here.
-ngaahе *Pron HLH* how many.
ngaaho *Adv LHL* then, there, here.
ngo *Conj* that.
-niga *V L* choke, hold one's breath.
nijoro *Adv HLL* yesterday.
-nini *A-infl HL* big.
nka- *Ind H* comparative index.
-nka *Pron L* alone, only.
-nne *Num-infl H* four.
-nnya *V L* pass faeces.
-nyara *V H* pass faeces.
-noga *V* be fine-grained.
noone *Adv HHL/LLH* now, then, therefore.
ntaa *NegExCOP LL* there is not.
-nte *Adv H* how, how much.
-nuga *V* throw.
-numa *V H* be silent, keep silent.
-nura *V* get fat.

-nuuka *V L* smell bad.
nya *Pron H* certain.
nyamare *Conj HLL* but.
nyamuragura *N 1a LLLLLL* witch doctor, local healer, seer.
-nyegeza *V L* hide sth, conceal (a fact).
-nyerera *V L* be slippery.
-nyikanyiza *V redupl caus H* shake sth.
nyina *N 1a/2 LL* his mother.
nyinabuja *N 1a/2 LLLL* owner fem.
nyinabukwe *N 1a/2 LHLL* mother-in-law.
nyinakuru *N 1a/2 LHLL* his/their grandmother.
nyoko *N 1a/2 LL* your mother.
nyokokuru *N 1a/2 LLHL* your grandmother.
nyookuru *N 1a/2 LLHL* my grandmother.
-nywa *V H* drink.
-nywaana *V rec H* drink together, be friends.
-nyweera *V appl H* drink with.
-nyweesha *V caus H* make sb drink.
nzaa *SDemP10 HL* those.

O - o

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>-oga <i>V H</i> wash, bathe (oneself), swim.</p> <p>-oza <i>V caus H</i> wash (dishes, hair).</p> <p>-omoka <i>V</i> leave, disappear (because of being treated badly).</p> <p>-ona <i>V</i> feed herd on sb else's field.</p> <p>-ongerera <i>V L</i> add.</p> | <p>-ongereza <i>V appl caus L</i> add to.</p> <p>-ongeza <i>V caus L</i> add.</p> <p>-onoona <i>V H</i> spoil.</p> <p>-onsa <i>V</i> nurse.</p> <p>-oroha <i>V H</i> be soft, be easy.</p> <p>-oroora <i>V H</i> keep animals, herd.</p> <p>-otsa <i>V L</i> bake in ashes.</p> |
|---|--|

P - p

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| <p>-panga <i>V L</i> line up, put in order, plan.</p> <p>-paraata <i>V L</i> bind cross-pieces (in building).</p> <p>-pfa <i>V H</i> die.</p> <p>-pfiira <i>V appl H</i> die for, die at.</p> <p>-pfiisha <i>V caus H</i> kill.</p> <p>-ipfiisha <i>V refl caus H</i> make oneself dead, pretend to be dead.</p> | <p>-pfuuye <i>V perf H</i> die.</p> <p>-pfuka <i>V</i> cool down.</p> <p>-pfundika <i>V impos H</i> tie, knot.</p> <p>-pfundikira <i>V impos appl H</i> cover with the lid.</p> <p>-pfundurura <i>V separ H</i> open, take off the lid.</p> <p>-piima <i>V L</i> measure.</p> <p>-punguza <i>V</i> lower (the price).</p> |
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R - r

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|---|--|
| <p>-raaba <i>V L</i> look at, watch.</p> <p>-raaha <i>V</i> be hot (of sun).</p> <p>-raara <i>V H</i> fall asleep, lie down.</p> <p>-raaza <i>V caus H</i> take into hospital.</p> <p>-raazirana <i>V caus appl rec H</i> talk in one's sleep.</p> <p>-raarika <i>V H</i> invite, summon.</p> <p>-raaza <i>V</i> invite.</p> <p>-raba <i>V H</i> faint.</p> <p>-ragana <i>V L</i> agree.</p> <p>-raganira <i>V appl L</i> promise.</p> <p>-ragira <i>V L</i> herd cattle.</p> <p>-ragura <i>V</i> foretell, predict.</p> <p>-raguza <i>V caus</i> be foretold.</p> <p>-rahira <i>V L</i> swear.</p> <p>-rahisa <i>V L</i> sing a grinding song.</p> <p>-raka <i>V H</i> murmur, get angry.</p> <p>-ramba <i>V</i> live to old age.</p> | <p>-ramutsa <i>V H</i> greet.</p> <p>-randa <i>V L</i> spread (of fire), wander.</p> <p>-rankura <i>V H</i> purchase in stock.</p> <p>-rara <i>V</i> get wet.</p> <p>-rasa <i>V</i> shoot to bleed.</p> <p>-reeha <i>V incept L</i> become long.</p> <p>-reera <i>V</i> wait.</p> <p>-re-re <i>A-infl HL-L</i> long.</p> <p>-reeruka <i>V H</i> become light (in weight).</p> <p>-rega <i>V L</i> lie, accuse.</p> <p>-regarega <i>V redupl L</i> be loose, lie, pretend.</p> <p>-reka <i>V L</i> leave sth.</p> <p>-rekura <i>V separ L</i> allow, set free.</p> <p>-rema <i>V L</i> create.</p> <p>-remba <i>V</i> care for children.</p> <p>-rembeera <i>V</i> lie in ambush.</p> |
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-rembura *V H* beckon or wink secretly.
-remeera *V L* become heavy.
-remeeka *V impos L* put up sth on one's back.
-renga *V H* go beyond, pass.
-rera *V L* bring up a child.
-resha *V H* engage, date sb.
-reshanya *V rec* get engaged, date.
-ri *V def L* be.
richaaka *Inv.* have a good day.
ridya *4DemP5 HL* that.
-riha *V L* pay, compensate.
-rima *V L* cultivate.
-rinda *V L* guard, defend, wait.
-rindana *V rec L* wait for.
-ringana *V rec L* match, be similar, be equal.
rino *3DemP5 HL* that.
-rira *V L* cry.
-ririmba *V H* sing.
-roba *V H* fish, catch a fish.
-roborora *V separ H* take (sth out of water).
-robaanura *V L* select.

-robeera *V* move far away to work for money.
-roga *V* bewitch.
-ronda *V L* look for, find, prepare food.
-ronda *V* put into.
-ronga *V L* wash.
-rongora *V* marry sb.
-ronka *V H* get, obtain, succeed.
-roreera *V L* wait for.
rudya *4DemP11 HL* that.
-ruha *V L* become tired.
-ruhuuka *V separ L* rest.
-ruhuura *V separ L* help sb with work.
-ruhuutsa *V separ caus L* make rest.
-rusha *V caus L* make tired.
Ruheshi *N* June.
ruka *V* vomit.
-runda *V L* heap up.
-runga *V L* season, give taste to a food, prepare the sauce.
-ruruka *V* go down.
-rurutsa *V caus* take down.
-ruvako *V* finish mourning.

S - S

-sa *A-infl L* empty.
-sa *V* resemble.
-saana *V* stay together, spend time together.
-saasira *V L* water, sprinkle.
-saatiira *V* start greetings, greet sb who is not interesting.
-saaza *V H* become aged.
-saba *V H* request, ask for, pray.
-sabiira *V int H* ask a permission to marry.
-sambaara *V H* scatter, spread (branches).
-sanga *V L* meet, find.
-sangira *V appl L* eat together.
-sanganira *V rec appl L* receive guests.

-sara *V* be crazy.
-sarura *V* decorate.
-sasira *V* spread.
se *N 1a H* his father.
seebuja *N 1a HLLL* owner (male), employer, rich.
seebukwe *N 1a LLHL* father-in-law.
-seega *V* ask, beg.
seekuru *N 1a/2 LLHL* his grandfather.
-seezera *V L* wave a hand, say good-bye.
-seka *V L* laugh.
-sekeerana *V int rec L* tease.
-sekeesha *V caus L* make laugh.
-sekera *V* clear the ground.

- sekura *V H* beat hard, pound (in a mortar).
- senga *V* pray, worship, go to church.
- senge *N 1a/2 HL* father's sister.
- sengeta *V* carry a corpse.
- sesa *V L* pour out, flood, throw out.
- sha *V H* burn, be ripe.
 - hiye *V perf H* be ripe, be burnt, be cooked.
 - hiriye *V appl perf* be cooked, be ready.
- shaagururira *V* trim, prune (banana plants).
- shaasha *A-infl LHL* new.
- shaha *V* spread.
- sharira *V* worship.
- sheenya *V HLL* gather firewood.
- shemeji *N 1a* brother-in-law.
- shengera *N* visit (the elders).
- shiima *V L* thank, feel pleased.
- shika *V L* arrive.
 - shikanya *V rec caus L* bring.
 - shitsa *V caus L* make arrive.
- shikura *V* cut with teeth.
- shinga *V L* put a stick to the ground, dig.
 - ishinga *V refl H* stay, keep doing.
- shira *V H* put, bring.
- shobora *V separ H* be ready to, be able to.
 - shoboka *V separ H* be possible.
- shorera *V* lead herd.
- shuuha *V H* boil, get hot, become hot.
 - shuusha *V caus H* boil.
- shuura *V* watch, guard (for the coming guest).
- si *NegCop H*
- siga *V H* leave sth (behind), leave and go away, place.
 - sigara *V ext H* remain, be.
 - sigaza *V ext caus H* cause to remain.
- siiga *V L* smear medicine, put colour, spread.
- simba *V L* jump (long).
 - simbagirika *V int impos L* jump repeatedly.
- sinda *V H* fight.
- siriba *V* cover.
- so *N 1a L* your father.
- sobaanuro *N HLLLL* explanation, meaning.
- soboora *V HLLL* peel, take out beans from the sheath.
- sogokuru *N 1a/2* your grandfather.
- sogokuruza *N 1a/2* great grandfather.
- sohora *V separ L* arrive, come.
 - sohoka *V separ L* go out.
- sokoza *V H* comb.
- soma *V L* read.
- soma *V* suck, drink.
- somera *V* thatch, cover a house.
- songa *V* point, spear, wound.
- sonza *V L* become hungry.
- soobukwe *N 1a/2 LLHL* father-in-law.
- sookoza *V* put a riddle.
 - sookoozanya *V rec* put and solve riddles.
- sookuru *N 1a/2 LLHL* my grandfather.
- sookuruza *N 1a/2 LLHLL* great-grandfather.
- sore *A-infl HL* good.
- soroma *V L* rip (beans).
- subiira *V int H* repeat, step, go back.
 - subiriza *V int caus L* return to.
 - subiza *V appl caus L* give back.
- suhuuka *V L* move from one place of living to another.
 - suhuuzza *V caus L* visit.
 - suhuuzanya *V caus rec L* visit each other (to ask about their health).
- suka *V L* braid the hair.
- suka *V L* pour (broth), put down.
- sukaara *V* cover a house, thatch.

-sumba *V H* surpass.
 -suzura *V* sprout.
 -suruza *V H* trade.
 -susa *V L* resemble.
 -suuguura *V L* harvest.

-suuma *V* go down.
 -suuragura *V* scrape the ground.
 -sya *V L* grind grain
 -seera *V appl L* grind.
 -syookora *V* grind.

T - t

-ta *V H* throw out, abandon, lose,
 lay eggs.
 -teebwa *V pass H* be thrown.
 -teera *V appl H* throw to.
 -taaga *V H* think about.
 -taaga *V H* throw away, lay eggs.
 -taagika *V neut H* get lost, lose.
 -taana *V H* part, divorce (for man).
 -taanu *Num-infl LLL* five.
 -taasha *V* greet.
 -taatuura *V H* break, sort out.
 -tabaara *V L* protect.
 -tabaga *V L* step on sth, dance on a
 spot, tread, trample.
 -tagata *V* ripen.
 -tamba *V H* dance, play.
 -tambura *V H* walk.
 -tamburira *V appl H* visit.
 -tana *V H* puzzle sb.
 -tandatu *Num-infl LHL* six.
 -tanga *V H* hand over, give.
 -tangaara *V L* become surprised.
 -tangaaza *V caus L* surprise.
 -tangura *V separ H* start, precede.
 -itungira *V refl appl H* go
 before sb.
 -tarara *V L* become wet.
 -tatu *Num-infl LL* three.
 -teba *V H* be late.
 -tebura *V H separ* slow down,
 reduce the speed of doing
 something.
 -tebura *V* cultivate in the valleys.
 -teeba *V L* lie in wait.
 -teebura *V L* joke, make a joke.
 -teeka *V* cook.
 -teekera *V H* tie, bind, wrap up,
 pack a load.

-teera *V H* sow, plant.
 -teera *V* level (one's gun at), throw a
 spear, aim at.
 -teeza *V caus* bring to.
 -teera *V H* trouble, reveal, resolve.
 -teeranya *V rec caus H* mix,
 incite a fight.
 -teerera *V appl H* churn.
 -teetereza *V L* mock.
 -tega *V H* set a trap.
 -tegeera *V int H* wait for.
 -tegemea *V* lean upon, trust.
 -tegeza *V H* listen to, hear, listen to
 silently.
 -tegezana *V rec H* agree.
 -tegereza *V appl caus H* hear sth.
 -tegerezana *V appl caus rec H*
 agree.
 -itegereza *V refl appl caus H*
 hear, consider.
 -tema *V H* clear fields, cut down (a
 tree), chop.
 -temba *V H* go (for water), flow.
 -tereka *V impos H* put a pot on fire.
 -terura *V separ H* take off a pot
 from the fire.
 -teta *V* bring up freely (without
 discipline).
 -ti *V def L* say.
 -tibiira *V H* set (sun).
 -tibura *V* cultivate.
 -tiira *V L* lend sth.
 -tiiza *V caus L* borrow sth.
 -tinya *V H* fear, be afraid of.
 -to *A-infl H* small, thin.
 -tomeka *V* light (a fire).
 -tonda *V H* narrate, mention, be
 mild, be careful.

-tonekara *V H* hurt (especially because of a wound).
 -toora *V H* take, pick up, get what sb has left, pinch sth.
 -tooragura *V int H* pick away small stones.
 -toota *V L* stalk, follow, trace.
 -tootora *V* sprout.
 -tooyi/-toori *A-infl HLL* little.
 -tsinda *V H* win.
 -tsindagira *V int H* force, put in with force.
 tudyā *4DemP13 HL* those.
 -tuka *V H* scold, abuse, insult.
 -tukura *V L* become red.
 -tuma *V H* send, cause.
 -tumbagira *V H* walk.

-tunga *V H* tend, keep, be rich (with cattle).
 tuno *3DemP13 HL* these.
 -tura *V H* hit.
 -turagura, -turiga *V int H* thunder, speak sharply.
 -tura *V* open.
 turashashe *Inv* welcome.
 -turira *V appl H* burn sth.
 -turuka *V H* go out, come out.
 -turukiza *V appl caus H* take out.
 -tuura *V H* land, put down, throw down.
 -tuurana *V rec H* live near/together, share a border.
 -twaara *V H* carry, take, govern.
 twebwe *Pers pron 1pp LH* we.
 -twiikira *V* cover.

U - u

-ubaka *V H* build.
 ubu *1DemP14* this.
 ububamfu *N 14, 15* left side, left hand.
 ububeeshi *N 14 HLL* lie.
 ububi *N 14 H* badness.
 ububindi *N 14* curse.
 ubudaagadaaga *N 14* ugali made of cassava.
 ubudandi *N 14 LL* cobweb.
 ubudeemera *N 14 LLLL* dance of Kibondo.
 ubudyo *N 14, 15 H* right side, right hand.
 ubugari *N 14 LL* ugali.
 ubugenzi *N 14 LL* friendship.
 ubugufi *N 14 HL* shortness.
 ubuhanza *N 14 HL* baldness.
 ubuheke *N 14* sorghum.
 ubuhinga *N 14 HL* solution.
 ubuhiri *N 14/6 LL* stick with a knob.
 ubuja *N 14 L* slavery.
 ubujiji *N 14* bug, a kind of black that jumps on the ground.

ubujuuju *N 14* foolishness.
 ubukaze *N 14 HL* fierceness.
 ubukene *N 14 HL* poverty.
 ubukumi *N 14* youth.
 ubukuru *N 14* bigness.
 ubumwe *N 14* group, unit.
 ubumyira *N 14* great-great-grandchild.
 ubunebwe *N 14* laziness.
 ubunini *N 14 HL* bigness.
 ubunywaani *N 14* friendship.
 uburamba *N 14* scar tattoo.
 uburenda *N 14 LL* plant, a kind that produces oil, sesame.
 uburiri *N 14/6 LL* bed.
 uburo *N 14 H* finger millet, Eleusine.
 uburozi *N 14* poison, witchcraft.
 ubusaanyi *N 14* brotherhood.
 ubusazi *N 14, 4 LL* craziness.
 ubusha *N 14/6* trap, a pit where the animal gets stuck at the waist.
 ubushiishi *N 14* ant.
 ubuuki *N 14 HLL* honey.
 ubuuro *N 14* finger millet.
 ubuwoomyi *N 14* fetching water.

ubuyaga *N 14, 3* wind.
ubuyuuka *N 14/8 LLL* insect (a kind of), small black ant.
ubwaagwa *N 14, 6* spirit.
ubwaana *N 14 HLL* childhood.
ubwaanwa *N 14* moustache.
ubwaari *N 14* rice.
ubwaasi *N 14, 7/8* grass, thrush.
ubwaato *N 14/10 HLL* canoe.
ubweene *N 14* finger millet.
ubweereero *N 14* world.
ubwenge *N 14 HLL* brain.
ubwiishaza *N 14* pea.
ubwiisiraamu *N 14* Islam.
ubwiiza *N 14* goodness.
ubwo *2DemP14* that.
ubwonko *N 14* brain.
ubwooko *N 14 HLL* type, species, clan.
ubwooro *N 14 HLL* poverty (extreme).
ubwooshi *N 14* hair.
ubwooya *N 14 LHL* fur, hair (of animal), feather.
ubwuungere *N 14* herding.
udya *4DemP1, 4DemP3 LH* that.
-ugama *V H* shelter from the rain.
-ugara *V L* shut, close (a door).
uguhitwa *N 15* diarrhea.
-ugurura *V L* open.
-uguruza *V caus L* knock at the door.
ugutwi *N 15/6* ear.
uguuba *N 11/10 HHL* fence (around a house).
ugwaaha *N 15/6 HLL* armpit.
ugwaamo *N 11* disorder.
ugwaarike *N 11* boiling pot for ugali.
ugwanko *N 11* hatred.
ugweeso *N 11/10 LLL* pot.
ugwenda *N 11 HLL* ninety.
ugwiiiji *N 11* dizzy.
ugwo *2DemP11* that.
ugwooba *N 11/14 HLL* mushroom.
-uhagira *V H* wash.

-iyuhagira *V refl H* wash one's body.
-uhiira *V H* water, add water.
uko *2DemP15* that.
uku *1DemP 15* this.
ukuboko *N 15/6 HL* arm.
ukuguru *N 15/6 LL* leg.
ukuri *N 15 H* truth.
ukuzimu *N 15* death, earth.
ukweezi *N 15/6 HLL* month, moon, moonlight.
-uma *V H* become dry, wither.
-umiira *V* insist.
-umiriza *V appl caus* force.
umubagwa *N 3/4 HL* day.
umubanga *N 3/4* (a kind of) tree.
umubara *N 3/4, 11 LL* party, wedding, festival.
umubembe *N 3* leprosy.
umubira *N 3/4* success.
umubiri *N 3/4* body.
umuboribo *N 3 LHL* kisamvu, food made of cassava leaves.
umubu *N 3/4 H* mosquito.
umubumvyi *N 1/2 HL* potter.
umucharubanza *N 1/2 HLHL* judge.
umuchenza *N 3/4* mandarin tree.
umuchere *N 3 HL* rice.
umuchi *N 3* dry season.
umucho *N 3* light.
umuchungwa *N 3/4 HL* orange tree.
umuchuuzi *N 1/2* blacksmith.
umudaara *N 3/4 LLL* pole.
umudaho *N 3/4 HL* ladle for dipping water, curd.
umudandaza *N 1/2 HLL* seller.
umudugu *N 1/2 HL* relative.
umudyango *N 3/4 HLL* door.
umudyanko *N 3/4 LLL* clan.
umufa *N 3/4 H* broth, sauce.
umufasha *N 1/2* assistant.
umufereeke *N 3 LHLL* trench.
umufuko *N 3/4 LL* bag.
umugabo *N 1/2 LL* husband.
umugabogabo *N 1/2 LHLL* man.

umugamba *N 3/4* rock.
umuganda *N 3/4* hut.
umuganda *N 3/4 LL* bundle.
umuganga *N 1/2* doctor.
umugani *N 3/4 HL* proverb, story.
umugazi *N 3/4 HL* oil palm.
umugazo *N 3/4* ditch.
umugeni *N 1/2* 1) bride 2) guest.
umugenzi *N 1/2 LL* friend, companion.
umugezi *N 3/4 LL* river, stream.
umugina *N 3/4 LL* ant hill, termite hill.
umugongo *N 3/4 HL* 1) back 2) mountain, ridge.
umugono *N 3/4* net (for hunting mice, anteaters, etc.).
umugoregore *N 1/2 LHLL* woman.
umugore *N 1/2 LH* wife.
umugorooba *N 3 HLLL* evening.
umugozi *N 3/4 HL* rope, leather strap.
umuguba *N 3/4* sugar cane.
umugunga *N 3/4 LL* thorn tree.
umugutu *N 3* forest.
umugwaayi *N 1/2* patient.
umuha *N 1/2 L* Ha person.
umuhakuzi *N 1/2* honey collector.
umuhana *N 3/4* compound (for family), neighbourhood, village.
umuhange *N 3/4 HL* water/cooking pot.
umuhanuuzi *N 1/2 LLLL* advisor.
umuhanyu *N 3/4* nut (of oil palm).
umuhari *N 1/2* friend.
umuharuro *N 3/8 HLL* road, clearing.
umuheeshi *N 1/2 HLL* blacksmith.
umuheto *N 3/4 LL* bow and string.
umuhiigi *N 1/2* hunter.
umuhindo *N 3/4* thunder.
umuhini *N 3/4 HL* handle.
umuhogo *N 3/4 HL* throat.
umuhongoro *N 3* yellow.
umuhoro *N 3/4, 7/8* slash, sickle.

umuhumbo *N 3* evening.
umuhungu *N 1/2 HL* boy, son.
umuhunzi *N 1/2* blacksmith.
umuhwi *N 3/4* banana, ripe.
umuja *N 1/2 L* slave, servant.
umuji *N 3/4* town.
umukaasi *N 3 HLL* scissors.
umukaate *N 3/4 LLH* bread.
umukanwa *N 3* waist.
umukanya *N 3/4 LL* wrinkles.
umukazaana *N 1/2 HLLL* daughter in law.
umukeeba *N 1/2* second wife.
umukeechuru *N 1/2 LHLL* widow, widower, old woman.
umukeka *N 3/4* mat.
umukene *N 1/2 HL* poor person.
umukenke *N 3/4* pipe, straw.
umukondo *N 3/4* navel.
umukonko *N 3/4* bed leg.
umukoobwa *N 1/2 HLL* girl.
umukoorooni *N 1/2* colonialist.
umukozi *N 1/2 HL* worker, servant.
umukubi *N 3/4* leaf of beans.
umukubuuzo *N 3/4* broom.
umukumo *N 3/4 HL* meeting.
umukunga *N 3* bunch.
umukunzi *N 1/2* beloved.
umukuru *N 1/2 HL* elder sibling, older/respected person.
umukuyu *N 3/4 HL* baobab.
umukwe *N 1/2 H* in-law.
umumbaari *N 1/2* soldier.
umumeeri *N 3/4* ship.
umumooto *N 3/4 LLL* good smell, the smell of food.
umunaazi *N 3/4 LLL* coconut palm.
umunezero *N 3* joy.
umuntu *N 1/2 L* person, human being.
umunuuko *N 3/4 LLL* bad smell.
umunwa *N 3/4 L* mouth.
umunyamahanga *N 1/2 HLLL* foreigner, person from afar.
umunyamwigendako *N 1/2* self sufficient.

umunyinya *N 3/4* bush (a thorny kind).
umunyororo *N 3 LHL* chain.
umunyota *N 3/4* ashes.
umunywaani *N 1/2* friend.
umunywamaazi *N 3 HLHL* rainbow.
umunywi *N 1/2* drinker.
umunzerere *N 3/4 LLH* dragonfly.
umupaka *N 3/4* boundary.
umupapayu, umupapayi *N 3/4 LHL* papaya tree.
umupeera *N 3/4 HLL* guava tree.
umupfumu *N 1/2 LH* doctor.
umupunga *N 3 HL* rice plant, cooked rice.
umuraazi *N 1/2 HLL* guest.
umuragizi *N 1/2* shepherd.
umuranzi *N 3* dry meat.
umuravyo *N 3/4 HL* lightning.
umuremyi *N 1/2 L* seller.
umurenga *N 3* evening.
umuriizo *N 3/4 LLL* tail.
umurima *N 3/4 HL* field.
umurimyi *N 1/2 LL* farmer.
umuriro *N 3/4 LL* fire.
umurongo *N 3/4 LL* ten, line.
umurovyi *N 1/2* fisherman.
umurozi *N 1/2* witch.
umurundi *N 3/4 HL* shin.
umusaaza *N 1/2 HLL* brother, old person.
umusango *N 3/4 LL* debt.
umusanze *N 3/4* farm yard.
umusaraani *N 3 LHL* toilet.
umusazi *N 1/2 LL* crazy person.
umuseezi *N 1/2* beggar.
umusego *N 3 HL* pillow.
umusekanyi *N 1/2* mocker.
umuseke *N 3* present taken to the host (covering basket type).
umusekuzo *N 3/4 HLL* pestle.
umusenga *N 3 LL* sand.
umusha *N 1/2* little one.
umushaahu *N 1/2* boy.
umushatsi *N 3/4, 9/4 LL* hair.

umushibuka *N 3/4* trap (set on a bent branch).
umushingantahe *N 1/2 HLLHL* chairman, sir, the one who knows tradition.
umusi *N 3/4 H* day.
umusigiti *N 3/4* mosque.
umusingi *N 3/4* foundation.
umusoma *N 3/4* pumpkin leaf.
umusonge *N 3/4* (a kind of) house.
umusora *N 3/4* pumpkin.
umusore *N 3/4 HL* teenager.
umusoso *N 3/4 LL* flesh, meat without bones.
umusozi *N 3/4 HL* mountain, hill.
umusuhuza *N 1/2* guest.
umusuma *N 1/2 HL* thief.
umusumeeno *N 3* saw.
umusundo *N 3/4 HL* leech.
umusururu *N 3* porridge.
umusuunu *N 3/4 HLL* bamboo.
umusuzi *N 3* fart.
umuswa *N 3 H* termite.
umusweena *N 3/4* pit.
umuswi *N 3/4 L* chicken.
umutaaga *N 3 HLL* day time.
umutaama *N 1/2 LLL* old man.
umutaka *N 3/4 LL* umbrella.
umutana *N 3/4* watermelon.
umutego *N 3/4 HL* trap.
umuti *N 3/4 H* drug.
umutihaani *N 3/4* test.
umutima *N 3/4 HL* heart.
umutooyi *N 1/2 HLL* younger brother or sister.
umutoozo *N 3/4 HLL* toothbrush.
umutoto *N 3/4* young leaf, sprout.
umutsi *N 3/4 H* tendon.
umutumbagizi *N 1/2 HLLL* traveller.
umutunzi *N 1/2 HL* rich person.
umuturagaro *N 3/4 HLLL* thunder or storm.
umututsi *N 1/2* Tutsi.
umutuura *N 1/2* indigenous.
umutuuranyi *N 1/2 HLLL* neighbour.

umutwaare *N 1/2 HLL leader, sub chief, king.*
umutwe *N 3/4 H head.*
umuunyu *N 3 LLL salt.*
umuuzanano *N 1/2 LLL step-child.*
umuvantaara *N 1/2 foreigner.*
umuvyaara *N 1/2 LHL cousin.*
umuyeeeyi *N 1/2 HLL old woman, mother, parent.*
umuyiimba *N 3/4 HLL corpse.*
umuyaaya *N 1/2 nurse, house girl, sister.*
umuyaazi *N 1/2 friendly (person).*
umuyomba *N 1/2 uncle.*
umuzi *N 3/4 H root.*
umuzigo *N 3/4 load.*
umuzinga *N 3/4 LL beehive.*
umuziro *N 3/4 LL taboo, tabooed word.*
umuzungu *N 1/2 LLH European.*
umzyenge *N 3 cassava flour.*
-umva *V H hear, feel, obey.*
-umviriza *V int caus H listen to, taste.*
-umvirizana *V int caus rec H feel each other.*
-umviikana *V neut rec H be heard, be audible, agree.*
-iyumva *V refl H feel.*
-iyumviira *V refl int H think.*
umwaagi *N 3/4 sugar cane.*
umwaaka *N 3/4 HLL year.*
umwaaku *N 3/4 omen, bad luck.*
umwaami *N 1/2 LHL king, chief.*
umwaana *N 1/2 HLL child.*
umwaanya *N 3/4, 7/8 HLL time, period.*
umwaarimu *N 1/2 teacher.*
umwaavu *N 3/4, 9 trash, dirt, laundry.*
umwambukira *N 1/2 LLLL immigrant.*
umwampi *N 3/4 LLL arrow.*
umwanda *N 3 LLL dirtiness.*
umwandisi *N 1/2 secretary.*
umwanja *N 3 groundnut.*
umweembe *N 3/4 HLL mango.*
umwenda *N 3/4 HLL cloth.*
umwenga *N 1/2 LLL bride.*
umwenge *N 3/4 hole, crack in the wall, window.*
umwenzi *N 1/2 maker (of beer).*
umweera *N 3 dry/white skin.*
umweera *N 3 wind.*
umweeruro *N 3/4 pub.*
umweeshi *N 3 bad luck.*
umwiiijima *N 3/4 HLLL darkness.*
umwimbu *N 3/4 HL harvest.*
umwiino *N 3 pump.*
umwiisiraamu *N 1/2 Muslim.*
umwishiki *N 1/2 HLL sister.*
umwishwa *N 1/2 HL niece, nephew, uncle.*
umwonga *N 3/4 HLL river.*
umwoobo *N 3, 7/8 LLL hole.*
umwooro *N 1/2 HLL poor.*
umwooroozi *N 1/2 HLLLL keeper of animals.*
umwootsi *N 3/4 HLL smoke.*
umwungu *N 3/4 HL pumpkin.*
umwuubatsi *N 1/2 HLLL builder.*
umwuuko *N 3/4 LLL spoon for making mush.*
umwuuna *N 3 henna.*
umwuuzukuru *N 1/2 HLLL grandchild.*
-unama *V L bend over, incline.*
-unamisha *V caus L nod.*
uno *3DemP1, 3DemP3 LH that.*
urakoze *Inv thank you.*
-uriiza *V load.*
-urira *V H climb, climb a tree.*
uru *1DemP11 this.*
urubaabo *N 11/10 board.*
urubanza *N 11/10 HL 1) occasion 2) piece of land 3) assizes.*
urubavu *N 11/6 rib.*
urubere *N 11 LH white millet.*
urubibe *N 11/10 HL boundary.*
urubiro *N 11 LL speed.*
urubooyi *N 11/6 HLL bee sting.*

urubuye *N 11/10 LL* stone grinder.
uruchaacha *N 11* creeper, climbing plant.
uruganda *N 11* patrilineage.
uruganda *N 11* factory.
uruganza *N 11/10* gourd, cup, palm of hand.
urugendo *N 11/10* journey.
urugereero *N 11/10 LLLL* market.
urugi *N 11/10 LL* door, local type of, made with bamboo/matete.
urugo *N 11/10 H* home, hamlet, colony.
urugohe *N 11/10 HL* eyelash.
urugondo *N 11* body.
urugongo *N 11/10* razor, knife.
uruhande *N 11/10 HL* side.
uruhanga *N 11/10 HL* forehead, face.
uruhiigi *N 11* prey.
uruhinja *N 11/8, 11/10* baby, infant.
uruho *N 11* gourd.
uruhoogo *N 11 LLL* noise, dispute.
uruhusha *N 11/10 HL* week, Sunday.
uruhwa *N 11 H* whistling.
urukaaga *N 11 LHL* sixty.
urukanya *N 11* cold.
urukonganiro *N 11 LLLL* meeting.
urukundo *N 11/8 HL* love.
urukuta *N 11/10 HL* wall.
urukwaavu *N 11/14 HLL* hare.
urukwi *N 11/10 H* firewood.
urumambo *N 11/10 LL* peg, wooden nail.
urume *N 11 L* dew.
urunaane *N 11 LHL* eighty.
uruno *N 11/6 L* toe.
urunyaanya *N 11/10 HLL* tomato.

urupanga *N 11 HL* machete.
urupapuro *N 11 HLL* paper.
urupfu *N 11 H* death.
ururimi *N 11/10 HL* tongue.
ururirimbo *N 11/10 HLL* song.
ururobo *N 11 HL* fish hook.
urusaake *N 11/10, 9/10 LHL* cock.
urusaato *N 11/10* skin.
urusaku *N 11 LL* gossip.
urusakusaku *N 11 HLHLH* chin.
urusaro *N 11, 14* string of beads.
urusenga *N 11/8* net (fishing).
urusenge *N 11 HLL* shelf.
urushaana *N 11* rainy season.
urushanju *N 11 LL* seventy.
urushinge *N 11/10 HLL* needle, injection.
urusindano *N 11/10* needle.
urusogi *N 11/14* intestine.
urutare *N 11 HL* rock.
urutoke *N 11/10 LL* finger.
urutozi *N 11/10, 9/8 HL* safari ant.
uruuzi *N 11 HL* water, overflowed river.
uruvi *N 11/10 H* white hair.
uruyange *N 11* oath (grass that looks like hair of horses tail, good for thatching).
uruyige *N 11/10 LL* locust.
uruyuki *N 11/10 HL* bee.
uruzi *N 11/14 L* string, thread.
uruzo *N 11 H* million.
uruzwiiri *N 11/10* hair.
utu *1DemP13* these.
utwo *2DemP13* those.
uwo *2DemP1, 2DemP3* that.
uwu *1DemP1, 1DemP3* this.
uyo *2DemP1, 2DemP3* that.
uyu *1DemP1, 1DemP3* this.
-uzura *V H* get full, be crowded.

V - v

-va *V L* come from somewhere, leak.

-viira *V appl L* leak from.
-vuuye *V perf L* come from.

-vaana *V H* remove.
-vanga *V* mix.
-vooma *V L* draw, fetch, get.
 -voomera *V appl L* water.
-vuga *V H* say.
 -vugiriza *V int caus H* beat.
 -ivugira *V refl appl H* boast.
-vuka *V H* be born.
-vuna *V H* break, break off, snap.
 -vunika *V neut H* become
 broken, become snapped.
-vunda *V L* become high (of meat).
 -vundika *V neut L* ripen (fruits)
 artificially.
-vunjiriza *V int caus* give change.

-vuura *V L* treat, cure, cure a
 wound.
-vuvu *A-infl* good.
vyaa *5DemP8 HL* those.
-vyaara *V H* be born, bear (a child,
 fruit).
-vyibuha *V L* become fat, become
 greasy.
-vyimba *V H* swell.
-vyina *V H* dance.
-vyiruka *V* sprout.
-vyuuka *V separ H* wake up.
 -vyuura *V separ H* make
 somebody wake up.

W - w

waa *5DemP1, 5DemP3 HL* that.
weene *Pers pron 3ps LHL* he, she, it.

wewe *Pers pron 2ps LH* you sg.

Y - y

yaa *5DemP4, 5DemP6, 5DemP9*
 HL that.
-yaaga *V L* have a chat, talk.
yadya *4DemP6 HL* this.

yano *3DemP6 HL* these.
-yoboora *V L* succeed, have the
 ability, be able to.
-yoora *V L* collect rubbish.

Z - z

-za *V L* come.
 -ziira *V appl* come to.
zaa *5DemP10 HL* those.
-zaama *V H* sink, get stuck into
 mud.
zana *V H* bring.
-zengana *V* visit.
-zenzeera *V H* walk, visit.
-zi *V def H* know.
-zibira *V L* stop up, bar sb's way,
 fill up a hole.
zidyaa *4DemP10 HL* those.

-ziika *V L* bury (a corpse).
-zimba *V L* be expensive.
-zinduka *V L* wake up early to
 restart.
-zinga *V H* fold.
 -zingiira *V int H* wrap around.
 -zingurura *V separ H* unfold.
zino *3DemP10 HL* these.
-zira *V L* refuse, abstain from,
 taboo (a word).
-zirika *V L* fasten.
-zunguruka *V separ H* go around.

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⁶⁸ Part II begins with "Some items in English from the second grammar of the -Ha language by His excellency the Right Reverend Bishop J. van Sambeek."

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