HELDA
HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO
HELSINGFORS UNIVERSITET
UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

https://helda.helsinki.fi

Kami 36

Petzell, Malin

Routledge
2019

Petzell , M & Aunio , L 2019 , Kami 36 . in M Van de Velde , K Bostoen , D Nurse & G Philippson (eds) , The Bantu Languages : Second edition . 2 edn , Language Families , þÿ R o u t l e d g e , L o n d o n N e w Y o r k , p p . 5 6 3 - 5 9 0 . h t t p s : / / d o i . o r g / 1 0 . 4 3 2 4 / 9

http://hdl.handle.net/10138/308787
https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315755946-19

acceptedVersion

Downloaded from Helda, University of Helsinki institutional repository.

This is an electronic reprint of the original article.

This reprint may differ from the original in pagination and typographic detail.

Please cite the original version.

Kami

Malin Petzell & Lotta Aunio

1. Introduction

Kami is an endangered, under-described Eastern Bantu language, classified as G36 in Guthrie's (1967/71) standard classification. It is reported to be spoken by 5,518 people in the Morogoro region of Tanzania (Languages of Tanzania Project, 2009). This figure indicates the total number of persons who consider themselves to speak Kami, but it does not say anything about the competence of those speakers. The number of fluent speakers left is significantly lower, as was established during field trips to the area (2008, 2009, 2014, and 2016). We found no children or adolescents speaking the language, which means that the language is threatened with extinction. Our youngest informant was in his thirties, and he could only understand Kami, not speak it. Swahili, the national language of Tanzania, is gaining ground at the expense of Kami, and is the only language (apart from English) allowed in education, media, parliament, and church. That said, Swahili is not the major threat to Kami – the regional language Luguru is. Luguru is the major language in the Morogoro region, with 403,602 speakers (Languages of Tanzania Project 2009). In the smaller Morogoro district, where most Kami speakers live, the Luguru speakers amount to 73.5% while the Kami speakers amount to only 1.3%, and in the entire Morogoro region, the Kami speakers constitute only 0.3% (Petzell 2012b: 19). This means that most Kami speakers are in fact trilingual in Kami, Luguru, and Swahili. Kami is linguistically similar to its neighbours Kutu (G37), Kwere (G32) and Zalamo (G33) (Petzell & Hammarström 2013). There are no areal dialects of Kami.

The area where most Kami speakers live is called Mikese and is situated to the east of Morogoro town. Speakers can be found in Mkunga Mhola, Dete, and (Lukonde) Koo.

All the data in this chapter were collected in collaboration with a total of 11 Kami mother tongue speakers. We had some difficulties finding these speakers since the language is so marginalised. Our database consists of elicited sentences, words and stories as well as recordings of spontaneous speech. However, our data is limited and there are many gaps. For instance, information on word order, double objects, and syntactic matters generally requires further work.

Kami exhibits a great deal of variation, much of which can be traced to influence from neighbouring languages and Swahili. We do not oppose the claim that language obsolescence may lead to simplification, but in our case, the contrary seems to be true. A factor that most likely plays a role in the abundance of forms is the fact that the endangered language is influenced by more than two languages. As an endangered language declines, "we expect it to be flooded with an influx of patterns and forms from the dominant language". (Aikhenvald 2012: 77).

There is only a small number of written records of Kami. A few secondary sources briefly mention its existence, such as Johnston (1919: 141) and Guthrie (1967/71). Their data in turn stem from a brief and dated account of Kami written over a hundred years ago (Velten 1900). In addition, Kami appears in Nurse & Philippson (1975; 1980), in Petzell (2012a and 2012b) and in Petzell & Hammarström (2013).

< Map 1: Map of Kami and neighbouring languages>

Map created by Malin Petzell and Ulf Ernstsson

2. Phonology

Since there is no standardised orthography for Kami, the writing system used here is based on how the speakers write their language, which in turn follows the Swahili orthography (i.e. the language they are all taught in school). The following sections are a brief overview of the Kami sound system, in which the threatened status of the language is manifested by a remarkable amount of phonetic variation.

2.1 Vowels

Kami has a 5-vowel system /a e i o u/ with no vowel length contrast. Of these, /u/ and /o/ are sometimes in free variation, most notably in the prefixes of classes 15 and 17 (*ku-lima/ko-lima* 'to cultivate' and *ku-m-gunda/ko-m-gunda* 'at the field').

While the data available does not allow for a comprehensive analysis of Kami vowel hiatus resolution, some observations can be listed. One frequent resolution is when /a/ and /i/ meet, they coalesce into /e/ as seen in the underlying *ka-iz-a* 's/he came' which is realized as *keza* 's/he came'. Another involves the close vowels /i/ and /u/ which are often glided across morpheme boundaries before another vowel. This happens, for example, with noun class prefixes, pronominal prefixes, and some object prefixes (1–5). As seen in example (3), the noun class 8 prefix, and also the pronominal prefix, alternates with the prefix form in which the /i/ is deleted instead of glided. Attested consonant + glide sequences are listed in Table 1.

(1) ***mwana***
mu-ana
1-child
'child'

(2) ***lwifi***
lu-ifi
11-door
'door'

(3) ***vyana/vana vya/va mgeni***
vi-ana vi-a m-geni
8-child PP_8-CON 1-guest
'little children of guest'

(4) ***mbiki wangu/wetu*** ***mi-biki yangu/yetu***
m-biki u-angu/u-etu ***mi-biki i-angu/i-etu***
3-tree PP_3-my/PP_3-our 4-tree PP_4-my/PP_4-our
'my/our tree' 'my/our trees'

(5) ***niwona***
ni-u-on-a
SP_{1SG}-OP_{11}-see-FV
'I saw it'

The vowel of the nominal prefix of classes 4, 7 and 10 *mi-*, *chi-* and *zi-* and of the pronominal prefixes of class 7 and 10 *chi-* and *zi-* is deleted, rather than glided (6). Object prefixes of classes 4, 7 and 10 retain the vowel /i/ even before another vowel, and so does the 1.SG subject prefix *ni-* (7).

(6) ***chana cha mgeni***
chi-ana chi-a m-geni
7-child PP_7-CON 1-guest
'little child of guest'

(7) ***nichiona***
ni-chi-on-a
SP_{1SG}-OP_7-see-FV
'I saw it'

When two /a/ phonemes are adjacent, one /a/ is deleted:

(8) ***wana***
wa-ana
2-child
'children'

In addition, there are many vowel combinations in which both vowels are retained across morpheme boundaries (9–11). Some of these combinations also trigger glide formation or vowel elision as presented above, but it is not known whether this is context- or speaker-specific, or free variation.

(9) ***kuikadzi***
ku-i-kadzi
17-9-work
'at work'

(10) ***koibaka***
ko-i-bak-a
SP_1.NPST-REFL/RECP-smear-FV
's/he is smearing her/himself'

(11) ***niwaona***
ni-wa-on-a
SP_{1SG}-OP_2-see-FV
'I saw them'

With some vowel-initial verb roots, the vowel of the infinitive prefix is either glided or deleted. For example, ‘to throw’ is either *kw-asa* or *k-asa*. Similar alternations are seen in other roots as well: *ko-kwandik-a* ‘s/he is writing’ vs. *kw-andik-a* ‘to write’ and *ko-mw-andikila* ‘s/he is writing to’; *kw-ingil-a* ‘to enter’ vs. *ko-kwingil-a* ‘s/he is entering’. With some verbs the alternating consonant is *y*: *ku-yol-a* ‘to be rotten’ vs. *g-ol-a* ‘they (class 6) are rotten; *k-em-a* ‘s/he stood up’ vs. *ku-yemil-a* ‘s/he is standing’.

2.2 Consonants

Some of the variation in the Kami consonant inventory can be traced to Swahili influence, and some to neighbouring languages such as Luguru. There is variation between speakers but also within the idiolect of individual speakers.

<Table 1 Kami consonant phonemes with the corresponding graphemes>

The voiceless plosives /p t k/ are aspirated, /t/ often more so than the others. Voiced plosives /b d g/ are slightly implosive, except when preceded by a nasal. /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are affricates.

The phoneme status of the fricatives is difficult to establish conclusively. When Gérard Philippson worked with Kami in the mid-70s (p.c.), he found an apparently active contrast between *fi* and *pfi*. In our data, /pf/ appears to have merged with /f/: *-fika* ‘arrive’ < *-*pìk*- and *-fimba* ‘swell’ < *-*bímb*-, while Philippson found *-pfika* and *-pfimba*. While in the data from the 70s, class 8 prefix is mostly *vi-*, in our data it is *vi-* or *fi-*. Therefore, the sound [f], in addition to being the realisation of the phoneme /f/, is also found as an allophone of /v/. Moreover, [pf] also occurs as an allophone of /v/ in our data, including in class 8 prefixes.

The alveolar fricative /z/ shows wide-ranging variation. The most common realisations are [z] and [ts], as for example in *mw-ezi*/*mw-etsi* ‘moon’; [nz] and [s] can also be heard. For instance, the word ‘water’ can be *ma-nzi*, *ma-zi* or *ma-tsi* and the word ‘string’ can be *lu-sabi*, *lu-tsabi* or *lu-zabi*.

/l/ is a lateral approximant [l] or a flap [ɾ]. The allophone [d] of /l/ is attested after nasals and as a free variant in nominal and inflectional prefixes of class 5 ([li] or [di]).

Voiced plosives can be preceded by nasals both within stems and across morpheme boundaries. With some speakers, a trill release is found with /nd/ ([ndr]) and even with /mb/ ([mbr]). The sequence /nl/ is realised as [nd].

When the voiceless consonants /p t k/ are preceded by a nasal, only one of the sounds is pronounced. Most often these combinations are pronounced as nasals, with voicing ranging from voiceless [m̥ n̥ ŋ̊] to fully voiced nasals [m n ŋ], for example in *mhene*/*mene* ‘goat’ and *n-kulu* → *ng’hulu/ng’ulu* ‘big’. Historically, the same sound change is seen in words such as *mu-nhu*/*mu-nu* ‘person’ < **ntò*. In our examples, these sounds are written according to actual pronunciation, i.e. as a plain nasal when the nasal is voiced and with the nasal followed by *h* when the nasal is voiceless.

Of the fricatives, /f v z/ can be preceded by a nasal across morpheme boundaries (12–14).

(12) ***nimfika***
ni-m-fik-a
SP_{1SG}-OP_1-meet-FV
'I met her/him'

(13) ***komvaza***
ko-m-vaz-a
1SP.NPST-OP_1-dress-FV
's/he dresses her/him'

(14) ***nzabi***
n-zabi
9/10-string
'string(s)'

/pj/ is only found in *-pya* 'new', most likely as a recent loan from Swahili. /sh/ ([ʃ]) appears only in some Swahili loanwords, such as *ishirini* 'twenty', but Swahili [ʃ] is usually pronounced as [s] in Kami.

2.3 Tone and syllable structure

Kami is a language with regular penultimate stress and no tonal contrast, either lexical or grammatical. In addition to the canonical syllable shapes (CV, NCV, CGV, NCGV), onsetless syllables (V) are allowed word-initially, word-medially, and word-finally.

3. Nouns and noun phrases

Kami is a fairly typical Bantu language, with a total of 16 noun classes. The unstable status of the language is seen in the variation in noun class prefixes and agreement as well as in the singular-plural pairs.

3.1 Noun classes and agreement

<Table 2 Kami noun class prefixes>

The 16 noun classes in Kami include three locative classes. Class 15 contains only the nominal forms of verbs. Most classes have an overt class prefix, as for example in *chi-goda*/*vi-goda* 'chair(s)'. Nouns consisting only of a root are found in classes 5, 9, and 10. In class 5, some speakers use the nominal prefix *li-/di-* only with monosyllabic noun stems, such as *di-bwa* 'dog' and *di-twi* 'head', whereas other speakers also use it with longer stems, such as *di-tuka* 'car', *di-taya* 'jaw', *di-figa* 'cooking stone', *di-buyu* 'gourd', *di-fagilo* 'broom', and with some names of animals, such as *di-nguluwe* 'pig' and *di-simba* 'lion'. In classes 9 and 10, the nasal prefix is realised as *n-* or *m-* (with assimilation to place of articulation) with noun stems that have a voiced plosive or fricative stem-initially. Vowel-initial stems have the *ny-* prefix while stems with initial nasals and voiceless consonants do not carry prefixes.

3.2 The Augment

There are few occurrences of the augment in present day Kami, most of which can probably be ascribed to influence of Luguru, where the pre-prefix is frequently used (see Petzell & Kühl in prep.). What is more, there are barely any records of an augment ever existing in Kami; a handful of tokens in class 10 only are listed in Velten (1900) and there is nothing in Johnston (1919). That said, today the pronominal prefix *zi-/tsi-* in addition to the nasal nominal prefix for class 10 (*tsi-n-guo* 'cloths') can be heard, which is most likely a reinterpretation of the augment. The same is occasionally found with some class 6 nouns that are used with both *ga-* (pronominal prefix) and *ma-* (nominal prefix) prefixes (*ga-ma-finga* 'eggs').

When used, the augment is usually used for definite distant things as in *i-ng'anda i-la* 'that house'. If the augment is used on a common word in a generic sense, such as *mu-lume* 'a husband', the meaning becomes 'your husband', *i-mu-lume*. When the augment is in the form of a single vowel, it is always *i-*, regardless of the quality of the vowel in the following noun class prefix:

(15) ***... yu-ja i-mu-ke ka-long-a.***
PP$_1$-DEM.DIST AUG-1-wife SP$_1$-talk-FV
'… this wife said.'

3.3 Singular/plural pairings

Singular/plural pairings are canonical, that is, classes 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 function as plural classes for classes 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9, respectively. Both classes 11 and 14 have plurals in class 10. In addition, classes 4 and 6 function as the plural class for some class 11 and 14 nouns (*lw-ifi/mi-lifi* 'door(s)', *u-tamu/mi-tamu/ma-tamu* 'sickness(es)'). Class 14 and 15 nouns referring to abstract concepts do not have plurals. Classes 11 and 14 are on occasion used interchangeably, for example 'bead' is either *u-salu* or *lu-salu*. With some words, there is considerable variation in noun class assignment. For example, 'tree' is assigned to class 3 (*m-biki*), 5 (*biki*) or 11 (*lu-biki*) in the singular, but the plural for all of these is in class 4 (*mi-biki* 'trees'). Moreover, some animals in class 5 such as *zoka* 'snake' take their plural in class 4 instead of class 6: *mi-zoka* 'snakes'. The Swahili class and agreement prefix *ki-* in class 7 is often used instead of *chi-*.

<Table 3 Kami noun class pairings>

3.4 Agreement in the noun phrase

Adjectives take prefixes that are identical to noun class prefixes, and numerals take the enumerative prefixes (EP). Subject prefixes (SP) are identical to pronominal prefixes (PP) except in class 1 where a variety of prefixes is found (*ka-/va-/a-/ya-*). Class 14 agreement markers are identical with class 3 agreement markers. Class 11 sometimes uses class 3 agreement markers (*Lw-ifi u-no m-dodo*. 'This door is small.').

Some of the kinship terms in class 1a take the pronominal prefix of class 5 on possessives in the singular and class 10 on possessives in the plural: *lumbu dy-angu* 'my sibling of opposite sex' and *wa-lamu ts-angu* 'my relatives by marriage'. This is not uncommon among the neighbouring

languages, c.f. Petzell (2008: 56). In addition to kinship terms, Kami has some animals in class 1a (and their plural in 2a). These nouns do not have noun class prefixes, but take class 1 and 2 concords:

(16) ***buga ya-ih-il[1]e / buga wa-ih-ile***
[1a]rabbit SP_1-be_bad-PFV / [2a]rabbit SP_2-be_bad-PFV
'bad rabbit /bad rabbits'

(17) ***buga wa-no wo-kimbil-a***
[2a]rabbit PP_2-DEM.PROX SP_2.NPST-run-FV
'these rabbits run'

The (classes 1 and 2) agreement markers are used to some extent with animate nouns in other classes than 1 and 2. Adjectives that modify animate nouns usually take class 1 and 2 prefixes (*mene m-kulu* 'big goat', *mene wa-kulu* 'big goats'), but with pronouns there is more variation, i.e. sometimes animate agreement is used (*vi-jana wa-no* 'these youngsters', *mene yu-no* 'this goat'), whereas at other times inherent class agreement is used (*mene i-no* 'this goat'). Every now and then, non-animate agreement markers in class 9 are used even with class 1 nouns (*m-bwanga i-dya* 'that youngster' instead of *m-bwanga yu-dya*; *mu-nhu i-no* 'this person' instead of *mu-nhu yu-no*) or with animate nouns found in other classes (*ki-jana i-no* 'this youngster'; *kijana* is a loan from Swahili). Agreement marking of animate nouns on the verb usually follows classes 1 and 2 (18), but the animals in class 5 commonly take the inherent class concord (19).

(18) ***Mene w-a m-geni wa-danganyik-a.***
[10]goat PP_2-CON 1-visitor SP_2-die-FV
'The goats of the visitor have died.'

(19) ***di-bwa di-nog-ile***
5-dog SP_5-be_good-PFV
'good dog, lit. a dog that has become good'

Class 11 nouns are occasionally used with a plural meaning together with the class 10 pronominal prefix:

(20) ***lu-zabi zi-no lu-tali***
11-string PP_{10}-DEM.PROX NP_{11}-long
'these strings are long'

Classes 7 and 8 function as diminutive classes (21–22). Animate concords are not used with diminutives. Class 12 is intermittently used instead of class 7, possibly as a consequence of colloquial Swahili influence (23).

(21) ***Ch-ana ki-no ki-nog-a.***
7-child PP_7-DEM.PROX SP_7-be_good-FV
'This small baby is beautiful/good.'

(22) ***Vi-mene vi-no vi-nog-a.***
8-goat PP_8-DEM.PROX SP_8-be_good-FV
'These small goats are beautiful/good.'

[1] Notice that this is realized as *yehile* 'bad' following morphophonological rules.

(23) ***ka-mene ka-dodo***
12-goat NP_{12}-small
'small goat'

The augmentative can be formed by substituting the nominal prefix with the class 5 prefix for the singular, and classes 4 or 6 for the plural, or adding the prefix in front of the existing noun class prefix (24), but like the diminutive, the forms are not commonly used and had to be elicited.

(24) ***di-chi-nu kulu / mi-chi-nu mi-kulu***
5-7-thing [5]big / 4-7-thing NP_4-big
'big thing / big things'

There is only one locative noun in Kami, *hanu* 'place', in class 16, although the Swahili *mahali* 'place' can be heard. Classes 17 and 18 contain no nouns at all, but other nouns can take their locative prefixes. In most cases, the three locative prefixes are added in front of the inherent noun class prefixes rather than replacing them, which results in double prefixes (25–27). Additionally, all three locative classes display agreement such as subject and object marking as well as inflection on pronouns. The modifiers of the locativised nouns take agreement in the locative class (28).

(25) ***vi-nu v-a ku-i-kadzi***
8-thing PP_8-CON 17-9-work
'things of work'

(26) ***ko-m-gunda***
17-3-field
'at the field'

(27) ***m-li-tuka***
18-5-car
'in the car'

(28) ***m-ng'anda mw-ako***
18-house 18.PP-2.SG.POSS
'in your house'

3.5 Word order and nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers, i.e. adjectives, numerals and pronominal forms (demonstratives, connectives/associatives, independent and possessive pronouns, quantifiers, specifiers and interrogatives) follow the head noun (29). An exception to this is the occasional use of demonstratives preceding the head noun to mark emphasis or definiteness (30). The relative order of the modifiers seems to be rather free.

(29) ***mw-ana yu-dya***
1-child PP_1-DEM.DIST
'that child'

(30) ***hi-no mu-nu***
PP_9-DEM.PROX 1-person
'this/the person'

We found only ten inflected adjectives in our data: *-dodo* ‘small or young’, *-kulu* ‘big’, *-guhi* ‘short’, *-tali* ‘tall’, *-sisili* ‘narrow or thin’, *-bovu* ‘rotten’, *-bisi* ‘raw, unripe’, *-duhu/dung’hu* ‘red’, *-zelu* ‘white’, and *-titu* ‘black’. The qualities ‘bad’ and ‘good’ are expressed by verbs (*kw-ih-a* ‘to be bad’ and *ku-nog-a* ‘to be good’), which is cross-linguistically unusual – if there is an adjective class in a language, it normally includes these items (Dixon 1982: 56). In addition to inflected adjectives, Kami has adjectives of Arabic origin (through Swahili) which are uninflected, such as *hodari* ‘diligent’ and *maalum* ‘special’.

The numerals *-mwe* ‘1’, *-bili* ‘2’, *-datu* ‘3’, *-ne* ‘4’, *-tano* ‘5’, and *-nane* ‘8’ take the EP, while *sita* ‘6’, *saba* ‘7’, and *tisa* ‘9’ are invariables and Swahili loans. Swahili *moja* is also used for ‘1’, and *nane* ‘8’ is sometimes used without an inflectional prefix. Numbers from 10 onwards, likewise, are the same as those in Swahili, e.g. *kumi* ‘ten’, *ishirini* ‘twenty’, and *themanini* or *semanini* ‘eighty’. The question word *-ingahi* ‘how many’ takes the pronominal prefix:

(31) ***Ku-na ng’ombe wa-ingahi/zi-ingahi?***
SP_{2SG}-be_with [9/10]cow PP_2-how_many / PP_{10}-how_many
‘How many cows do you have?’

Kami has three sets of demonstratives: the proximal demonstrative PP-*no*, the distal demonstrative PP-*dya*, and the referential demonstrative *a*-PP-*o*, which refers to something that has been previously mentioned or that is of common knowledge. Distal demonstratives can be used to emphasise the distance further by raising the voice to a falsetto towards the end and by prolonging the last syllable (*mu-nu yu-dyaaa* ‘that person far away’). The Kami demonstratives vary the most in comparison to the other G-languages of the area (Petzell & Hammarström 2013: 143). This is probably yet another sign of influence from neighbouring languages where the form of the demonstratives may differ.

<Table 4 Kami demonstratives>

Note: A gap in the table means that the item is absent in our data.

Connectives/associatives are formed with the canonical *-a* stem and pronominal prefix:

(32) ***chi-goda ch-a m-geni***
7-chair PP_7-CON 1-visitor
‘chair of visitor’

(33) ***vi-goda v-a m-geni***
8-chair PP_8-CON 1-visitor
‘chairs of visitor’

(34) ***ng’anda y-a m-geni***
9/10.house PP_9-CON 1-visitor
‘house of visitor’

(35) ***ng’anda z-a m-geni***
9/10.house PP_{10}-CON 1-visitor
‘houses of visitor’

<Table 5 Kami independent/possessive pronouns>

The quantifiers *-ose* ‘all’ and *-o -ose* ‘any’ (36) and the specifiers *-ngi* ‘another’ take the pronominal prefix (37–38).

(36) ***m-beyu y-o y-ose***

9/10-seed PP_9-REF PP_9-all

(37) ***mu-nu yu-ngi***
1-person PP_1-another
‘another person’

(38) ***chi-nu chi-ngi***
7-thing PP_7-another
‘another thing’

4. Verbal derivation

There are only three productive verbal extensions in Kami, namely the Applicative, the Causative, and the Passive. There are, however, many non-productive or frozen forms. These include the Impositive, the Reversive, and the Neuter. The extensions typically commute with other extensions. This can be seen in the verb *ku-lum-a* ‘to bite’. If an Applicative extension is added, the meaning changes: *ku-lum-il-a* ‘to get hurt’. The Causative can be added instead, and then the verb becomes transitive: *ku-lum-iz-a* ‘to wound’. As seen in these examples, even with productive extensions, the meaning of the derived form is not always fully predictable. Verbal extensions are virtually never combined. The few examples that appear to be a concatenation of extensions are all made up of a frozen extension plus a verb and a productive extension. Example (39) shows this “double extension” – the frozen Impositive formative *-ik-* (not segmented), followed by the Applicative formative *-il-*.

(39) ***ka-wa-gubik-il-a wa-ng’onyo na nongo***
SP_1-OP_2-cover-APPL-FV 2-insect and [9/10]pot
‘She covered the pot to keep out insects.’

4.1 Applicative

The most frequently occurring derivational extension is the Applicative. It has two allomorphs, *-il-* and *-el-*, which are determined by vowel harmony. A preceding mid-vowel in the verb root is followed by *e* in the extension, whereas all other vowels take *i* in the extension. The Applicative extension encodes actions that are directed to, with or for a person or object, for instance by introducing an instrument that does the action, or a beneficiary of the action. The Applicative extension requires either a following complement, or a complement prefix on the verb (or both).

(40) ***ku-kan-a***
INF-cut-FV
‘to cut’

(41) ***Ko-kan-il-a lu-zabi mw-ele.***
SP_1.NPST-cut-APPL-FV 11-rope 3-knife
‘He is cutting the rope with a knife.’

(42) ***ku-tend-a kasi***
INF-do-FV 9/10.work
'to work'

(43) ***Ko-tu-tend-el-a kasi.***
SP_1.NPST-OP_{1PL}-do-APPL-FV 9/10.work
'S/he is working for us.'

(44) ***ku-gw-a***
INF-fall-FV
'to fall'

(45) ***Ka-ni-gw-il-a m-di-twi***
SP_1.PST-OP_{1SG}-fall-APPL-FV 18-5-head
'It fell on my head.'

It is not uncommon for the Applicative verb forms to be lexicalised, while the underived counterpart without the Applicative extension does not exist in the language. These so-called Pseudo-Applicatives are exemplified with *ku-kimbil-a* 'to run away' and *ku-wingil-a* 'to enter'.

4.2 Causative

The Causative extension does not occur frequently in Kami, although it is productive. As the name suggests, this extension adds an argument to the verb which causes an action to happen, as in *ku-mem-ez-a* 'to fill', from *ku-mem-a* 'to be full' and *ku-lek-es-a* 'to make (somebody) stop', from *ku-lek-a* 'to cease'. Vowel harmony determines the vowel of the extension, as in the case of the Applicative (46).

(46) ***Ni-mw-ang'-iz-a ma-zi m-bwanga.***
SP_{1SG}-OP_1-drink-CAUS-FV 6-water 1-boy
'I made the boy drink water.'

4.3 Passive

The Passive morpheme in Kami is realised as *-igw-* (47). When the Passive co-occurs with the Imperfective post-root formative *-ag-*, the two are merged into *-agw-* (48). This hypothetical shorter formative for the Passive (*-w-*) is not otherwise attested in Kami.

(47) ***Mi-savu i-kan-igw-a na m-kalizaji.***
4-grass SP_4-cut-PASS-FV and 1-guard
'The grass was cut by the guard.'

(48) ***Chupa i-sol-ag-w-a (na Babu).***
[9/10]bottle SP_9-take-HAB-PASS-FV and Babu
'The bottle was (usually) taken (by Babu).'

4.4 Non-productive/frozen extensions

The Impositive (*ku-gub-ik-a* 'to cover') and the Reversive (*ku-gub-ul-a* 'to uncover') extensions are not productive in Kami. The reconstructed extensions cited in our text follow Meeussen (1967: 92). An unproductive formative can give rise to frozen forms, i.e. forms that do not have a basic form and that may have gone through a semantic shift and become lexicalised. These

frozen forms can in turn take productive extensions such as the Applicative (see example 38 above).

An extension that appears to be productive in neighbouring languages but not in Kami is the Neuter (*ku-dah-ik-a* ‘to be possible’, *ku-ben-ek-a* ‘to brake’). As opposed to the Passive, the Neuter extension removes the actor from the clause. As seen in (49), the Passive alters only the thematic roles while the verb’s argument structure remains unaffected – the oblique agent is still present implicitly (even though the agent phrase is not obligatory). In contrast, no agent or ‘by’ phrase can be added to the Neuter in example (50).

(49) ***Lw-ifi lu-fugul-igw-a na Said.***
11-door SP_{11}-open-PASS-FV and Said
‘The door was opened by Said’

(50) ***Lw-ifi lu-fug-uk-a (*na Said).***
11-door SP_{11}-open-NEUT-FV
‘The door opened’

5. Verbal inflection

The following sections will examine the inflectional morphology of the verb phrase, including TAM, morphological negation, reduplication, and periphrastic verbs. To facilitate an overview of all slots in the verbal complex and what morphemes they can take, a slot matrix is presented below.

<Table 6: The verbal slots>

The first slot can only hold negators. Slots 2 (SP) and 3 (TAM) may be merged if there is a portmanteau morpheme. Slot 4 can hold the object prefix or Reciprocal/Reflexive marker. The only compulsory slots to fill are slots 5 (the root) and 9 (the FV). However, slot 2 (the SP) is usually filled, but the subject prefix often merges either with the negator or with the TAM markers, which makes it difficult to tell what slot the resulting morpheme actually occupies. The same goes for the post-root TAM marker *-ag-* and the Passive *-igw-*. The formatives have merged to *-agw-*, so we can only speculate what the original order was. The majority of the slots can be filled concurrently; the restriction lies in which morphemes may be combined with which. Table 7 shows the slot matrix including example clauses.

<Table 7: The verbal slots exemplified>

5.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is created by adding the nominal prefix of class 15 to the verb stem, as in *ku-lim-a* ‘to cultivate’. The *ku-* may also be added to the macrostem, i.e. the verb stem including an optional object prefix and an optional verbal extension (51). There is no negative infinitive in Kami.

(51) ***ku-m-lams-a mu-nu***
INF-OP$_1$-wake_up-FV 1-person
'to wake up a person'

5.2 Imperative

The imperative consists of a verbal stem which includes the FV *-a* (52). The post-final plural marker *-ni* is used for plural addressees (53). To give a polite command, the FV *-e* is used. The imperative can be formed with an object prefix (54).

(52) ***Di(y)-a!***
eat-FV
'Eat!'

(53) ***Himb-e-ni vi-bogwa!***
dig-SBJV-PL 8-potato
'Dig up (pl.) the potatoes!'

(54) ***M-kem-e!***
OP$_1$-call-SBJV
'Please call (him/her)!'

A negative command is created by using a form of the verb *-lek-a* 'cease' (reconstructed as **dèk* 'let go, cease, allow' in Proto-Bantu) followed by an infinitive complement (55–56) or a verb in the subjunctive (57). The verb form *seke* (57) has gone through phonological changes that merit further investigation. Addressing plural addressees can take many different forms (58).

(55) ***Lek-a ku-lil-a!***
cease-FV INF-cry-FV
'Do not cry!'

(56) ***U-lek-e ku-ng'w-a!***
SP$_{2SG}$-cease-SBJV INF-drink-FV
'Don't drink!'

(57) ***Sek-e u-tend-e fi-no!***
cease-SBJV SP$_{2SG}$-do-SBJV PP$_8$-DEM.PROX
'Do not do that!'

(58) ***Lek-e-ni/m-lek-e/m-lek-e-ni ku-ng'w-a!***
cease-SBJV-PL/SP$_{2PL}$-cease-SBJV/SP$_{2PL}$-cease-SBJV-PL INF-drink-FV
'Do not drink (pl.)!'

The subjunctive is also used to express exhortatives, both in affirmative and negative forms:

(59) ***Tu-was-e!***
SP$_{1PL}$-sleep-SBJV
'Let us sleep!'

(60) ***Ti-lek-e k-uk-a!***
SP$_{1PL}$-cease-SBJV INF-go-FV
'Let us not go!

5.3 Subject and object prefixes

The person or class of a noun is encoded on the verb by subject prefixes (SP) and/or object prefixes (OP). In the indicative, the subject prefix is obligatory for all finite verb forms. The markers are identical with the pronominal prefix of the nouns in all classes but classes 1 and 2 (see Table 2).

The 1.PL marker *tu-* occurs as *ti-* on the second verb in periphrastic verb forms (60). The same variation goes for class 1, which makes use of *ka-* (or *ko-* in the Non-Past) for simple verbs, and *ya-* on the second verb in periphrastic verbs (and intermittently elsewhere too). Apart from the variation mentioned above, there are two different prefixes for the first person plural, regardless of the verb form. This variation appears to be speaker-related. Two speakers consistently use *chi-* (*cho-* for the Non-Past) and three use *tu-* (with *ti-* usually in periphrastic forms and *to-* for Non-Past). The usage of *ti-* in non-periphrastic constructions is reported for the mid-70's as well (p.c. Gérard Philippson). The variation could partly be due to the neighbouring languages since the speakers who chose *chi-* lived closer to a Kwere-speaking area and the others lived closer to a Luguru-speaking area (where the prefix is *tu-* or *ti-*). These subject prefixes are not attested in the Proto-Bantu reconstructions, neither for Kami nor for the neighbouring languages, but Guthrie reports a "mixed situation" (1967/71: 2262).

(61) ***To-lond-a ti-lim-e m-gunda w-angu.***
SP$_{1PL}$.NPST-want-FV SP$_{1PL}$-cultivate-SBJV 3-farm PP$_3$-POSS$_{1SG}$
'We want to cultivate my farm.'

5.4 Reflexive and Reciprocal

Both the Reflexive (62) and the Reciprocal (63) are in the form of a single vowel *-i-* that sits in the object prefix slot.

(62) ***wa-nu o-i-pend-a***
2-person SP$_{2PL}$.NPST-REFL/RECP-like-FV
'People like each other.'

(63) ***m-dele ko-i-bak-a ma-futa***
1-girl SP$_1$.NPST-REFL/RECP-smear-FV 6-oil
'The girl is smearing herself with oil.'

5.5 TAM(N)

There are surprisingly few tense, aspect and mood (TAM) markers in Kami, considering how multifaceted verbal morphology can be in other Bantu languages. Morphologically, there is basically a Past and a Non-Past. Additionally, there is a conditional marker *-ng'(h)a-* (64).

(64) ***U-ng'a-iz-a ko-ni-fik-a.***
SP$_{2SG}$-COND-come-FV SP$_{2SG}$.NPST-OP$_{1SG}$-arrive-FV
'If you come you will find me.'

5.5.1 Non-Past

The morpheme *-o-* replaces the vowel of the SP in both the Present and the Future in the affirmative, i.e. it is a Non-Past (65–67).

(65) ***Mweye mo-wa-pend-a i-wa-an-enu.***
PRO$_{2PL}$ SP$_{2PL}$.NPST-OP$_2$-like-FV AUG-2-child-POSS$_{2PL}$
'[As for] you (pl), you love your children.'

(66) ***Lelo to-gend-a Dar es Salaam.***
today SP$_{2PL}$.NPST-go-FV Dar es Salaam
'Today we are going to Dar es Salaam.'

(67) ***Mwakani no-bwel-a.***
next_year SP$_{1SG}$.NPST-return-FV
'I will come back next year.'

5.5.2 Past

All past forms in both the Perfective and the Imperfective aspect, as well as the Anterior, carry zero marking. There is only a subject prefix preceding the root (and an optional object prefix) (68–70). Note that even for the Anterior 'have already' there is zero marking and no additional adverbials can occur (71).

(68) ***Tu-himb-a simo.***
SP$_{1PL}$-dig-FV [9/10]hole
'We (have) dug a hole.'

(69) ***Tu-dy-a lelo.***
SP$_{1PL}$-eat-FV today
'We ate/have eaten today.'

(70) ***Ni-long-a na-yo mi-tondo i-no.***
SP$_{1SG}$-discuss-FV with-REF$_1$ 4-morning PP$_4$-DEM.PROX
'I spoke with her/him this morning'.

(71) ***Tu-long-a na-yo.***
SP$_{1PL}$-discuss-FV with-REF$_1$
'We have (already) spoken with her/him.'

For stative verbs, the Anterior can be used even when referring to the present. These so-called Inchoative verbs express a change in the condition or state of the subject (72–73).

(72) ***Ka-neneh-a***
SP$_1$-become_fat-FV
'S/he is healthy (lit. s/he has become fat)'

(73) ***Niye chi-kami ni-many-a ch-a ku-lomb-el-a mu-nyu.***
PRO$_{1SG}$ 7-Kami SP$_{1SG}$-know-FV PP$_7$-CON INF-ask-APPL-FV 3-salt
'My Kami I (have come to) know enough of it to ask for salt i.e. I manage to make myself understood.'

5.5.3 Habitual and Progressive

The Habitual (74) and the Progressive (75) are represented by *-ag-* in the post-root TAM slot. It occurs in complementary distribution with *-ile*. The morpheme *-ag-* can be combined with the past as well as the non-past subject prefixes, depending on the context. However, there are semantic restrictions. For instance, an anterior reading of a verb cannot take *-ag-*.

(74) ***Chi-gend-ag-a chila mara Dar es Salaam.***
SP$_{1PL}$-go-IPFV-FV every time Dar es Salaam
'We go to Dar es Salaam frequently.'

(75) ***Ukaye ko-som-ag-a mw-anafunzi.***
in_the_house SP$_1$.NPST-read-IPFV-FV 1-student
'In the house a student is (in the process of) reading.'

When *-ag-* co-occurs with the Passive, the two morphemes are amalgamated to *-agw-*. The realization of this merged formative could be the result of a bimorphemic quality of *-ag-* (Nurse 2008: 37), but it still does not explain the shortened passive formative *-w-* (see section 4.3).

5.5.4 Conditional

The Conditional is made up of the marker *-ng'(h)a-* (see 64 above). In the past, it takes the post-root morpheme *-ile*:

(76) ***Kama u-ng'a-iz-ile ...***
if SP$_{2SG}$-COND-come-PFV
'If you came ...'

In our data, there is one occurrence of the Conditional marker preceded by the formative *na-*: *Tu-na-ng'-end-a samba*… 'If we depart now…'. Philippson reports a morpheme *na-*, but used for the Persistive (p.c. Gérard Philippson).

5.5.5 Negation

The negative morpheme in Kami is *ha-* (77), apart from in 1SG and 2SG where it is merged with the subject prefix to become *si-* (78) and *hu-* (79) respectively. In the Past Negative, *-ile* is used (79).

(77) ***Ha-m-lim-a m-gunda w-enu wiki i-kw-iz-a.***
NEG-SP$_{2PL}$-cultivate-FV 3-farm PP$_3$-POSS$_{2PL}$ [9/10]week SP$_9$-15-come-FV
'You (pl) will not cultivate your farm next week.'

(78) ***Si-hand-a m-beyu y-a aina y-o y-ose.***
SP$_{1SG}$.NEG-plant-FV 9/10-seed PP$_9$-CON PP$_9$-REF PP$_9$-all
'I will not plant any seeds.'

(79) ***Hu-lim-ile m-gunda w-ako jana.***
SP$_{2SG}$.NEG-cultivate-PFV 3-farm PP$_3$-POSS$_{2SG}$ yesterday
'You did not cultivate your farm yesterday.'

In addition to morphological negation, there is a negative word, *bule*, meaning ‘nothing at all’ or ‘not yet’ (80–81). Another example can be seen in a commonly occurring greeting (82).

(80) ***Si-lond-a bule.***
SP_{1SG}.NEG-speak-FV NEG
‘I do not speak at all.’

(81) ***I-ja ha-som-ile bule.***
PP_9-DEM.DIST SP_1.NEG-read-PFV NEG
‘S/he has not studied yet.’

(82) ***Wa-ana ha-wa-lumw-e bule.***
2-child NEG-SP_2-be_bitten-PFV NEG
‘The children are not ill/hurting/bitten at all (i.e. they are well).’

Bule stands alone in these examples but it can also take subject prefixes (see section 6.6). The word *bule* is found in the neighbouring languages Kutu, Kwere, and Zalamo, both used as an independent word and taking inflection.

5.5.6 The function of reduplication

In Kami, reduplication carries a diversity of meanings, such as aimlessly doing something (83), repeating the action (84) or intensifying the action (85). It is usually only the stem (i.e. the verb root plus the FV) that is reduplicated, but the entire verb may occasionally be reduplicated.

(83) ***Ko-lim-a-lim-a.***
SP_1.NPST-cultivate-FV-cultivate-FV
‘S/he cultivates a little here and there’

(84) ***Two-himb-a two-himb-a.***
SP_{1PL}.NPST-dig-FV SP_{1PL}.NPST-dig-FV
‘We are digging over and over.’

(85) ***I-mw-ana ka-ben-a-ben-a lu-balati.***
AUG-1-child SP_1-break-FV-break-FV 11-stick
‘The child broke up the stick completely.’

5.5.7 Persistive

The Persistive consists of an auxiliary and lexical verb. The lexical verb may carry inflection as well as the auxiliary, although the lexical verb is usually in the infinitive. The defective verb *ng’ali* functions as an auxiliary. It conveys both the notion of ‘still’ (86) and ‘not yet’ (87). It takes only a subject prefix and no TAM markers, while the following lexical verb may be in the infinitive or inflected with subject prefixes (including SP + TAM) (88).

(86) ***Di-tunda di-ng’ali dyo-d-igw-a.***
5-fruit SP_5-be_still SP_5.NPST-eat-PASS-FV
‘The fruit is still eatable.’

(87) ***Ni-ng’ali ku-maliz-a.***
SP_{1SG}-be_still INF-finish-FV
‘I’m not yet finished.’

(88) ***Yeye ya-ng'ali yo-hand-a m-beyu goya.***
PRO$_1$ SP$_1$-be_still SP$_1$.NPST-plant-FV 9/10-seed carefully
'S/he was planting every seed carefully.'

5.5.8 The Past in periphrastic constructions

The verb *ku-kal-a* 'to be, remain, sit' (reconstructed as **yikala* 'be, live, stay' (Nurse & Philippson 2006: 166)) is used in periphrastic constructions for the Past, such as Imperfect (89) and Pluperfect (90). *Ku-kal-a* can be followed by *na*, thus meaning 'to have' (91).

(89) ***Mw-ana ka-kal-a yo-lumw-a m-tamu.***
1-child SP$_1$-be-FV SP$_1$.NPST-bitten-FV NP$_1$-sick
'The child was ill/hurt/bitten.'

(90) ***To-kal-a tu-lim-a.***
SP$_{1PL}$.NPST-be-FV SP$_{1PL}$-cultivate-FV
'We (had) cultivated.'

(91) ***Mu-nu yu-no ka-kal-a na mw-ehe.***
1-person PP$_1$-DEM.PROX SP$_1$-be-FV and 1-wife
'This person had a wife.'

5.5.9 Modality in periphrastic constructions

Modality is usually expressed periphrastically. Below are examples of permission (92) and possibility (93).

(92) ***No-wez-a ku-fik-a?***
SP$_{1SG}$.NPST-can-FV INF-arrive-FV
'Can/may I get (there)?'

(93) ***Cho/two-dah-a ku-himb-a simo.***
SP$_{1PL}$.NPST-can-FV INF-dig-FV 5.hole
'We could/might dig a hole.'

6. Syntax

The following sections on syntax will illustrate and discuss basic clause structures, agreement including object agreement and object word order, copulas and predication, and finally different clause types.

6.1 Basic clause structure

Like the majority of the Bantu languages, the canonical word order in Kami is SVO. There is obligatory subject-verb agreement in Kami, even when a subject noun phrase is present:

(94) ***Mu-nu i-no ka-long-a.***
1-person PP$_9$-DEM.PROX SP$_1$-discuss-FV
'This person (s/he) spoke.'

6.2 Noun class resolutions

There are three possible resolutions when a coordinated noun phrase consists of nouns belonging to various classes. If an animate noun is involved, the subject prefix is always in class 2. Otherwise, class 8 may be used as a default subject prefix, since the noun for general 'things' is in this class:

(95) ***Di-goda na peni fi-gul-igw-a.***
5-chair and [9/10]pen SP_8-buy-PASS-FV
'The chair and the pen were bought.'

A third way to resolve conflicting noun classes is to use the subject prefix of the noun closest to the verb:

(96) ***Mi-biki na ng'anda i-gw-a.***
4-tree and [9/10]house SP_9-fall-FV
'The trees and the house fell.'

6.3 Impersonal constructions

Class 9 is used as a dummy subject prefix in impersonal constructions (97). Class 9 agreement is also often used in constructions regarding the weather (98).

(97) ***I-nog-a.***
SP_9-be_good-FV
'It is good.'

(98) ***Yo-tony-a m-vula.***
SP_9.NPST-rain-FV 9/10-rain
'It is raining.'

6.4 Inversion

In locative inversion constructions, the locative is the grammatical subject, which is in the subject position, while the inverted, or logical, subject is in the object position after the verb. Any of the locative subject markers (from classes 16, 17 or 18) can be used (99). The inherent agreement marker may also be used in a similar construction (100), but then it is agreeing inversion (in Marten and van der Wal's (2014) terms), plus, in this case, fronting of the locative (100).

(98) ***Mw-i-biki mu-kal-a ga-ma-nyani.***
18-4-tree $1SP_{18}$-sit-FV AUG-6-baboon
'In the tree sit baboons.'

(99) ***Mw-i-biki ga-kal-a ga-ma-nyani.***
18-4-tree SP_6-sit-FV AUG-6-baboon
'In the tree sit baboons.'

6.5 Object agreement and object word order

Although there may be several objects in the phrase, Kami can never take multiple object prefixes (101). If there is more than one object, a separate noun phrase is required.

(101) ***M-lume ka-iz-a ukaye ka-ti-ing'-a barua.***
1-man SP_1-come-FV home SP_1-OP_{1PL}-give-FV [9/10]letter
'The man came to our house and gave us a letter.'

If both objects are animate, it is always the beneficiary, in this case the receiver, which is encoded on the verb:

(102) ***No-mw-ing'-a wa-ana m-hehe.***
SP_{1SG}.NPST-OP_1-give-FV 2-child 1-woman
'I am giving the woman children.'

The nominal object that agrees with the verb (the beneficiary) has to follow any other objects (103–104) (although it precedes temporal adjuncts). This is the opposite of some other Eastern Bantu languages where the indirect object immediately follows the verb, cf. Sambaa (Riedel 2008: 79). Even though this position is usually used for given information (topic), we cannot assume this based on the Kami data available, since there are no counterexamples (i.e. no instances of the beneficiary preceding the direct object).

(103) ***I-mu-lume ka-mw-ing'-a chi-tabu i-m-ke (jana).***
AUG-1-man SP_1-OP_1-give-FV 7-book AUG-1-woman yesterday
'The man gave the woman a book (yesterday).'

(104) ***Ali ko-mw-ing'-a sendi John.***
Ali SP_1-OP_1-give-FV money John.
'Ali gives John money.'

6.6 Copulas and predication

Non-verbal predicates are juxtaposed to their subject in non-past affirmative utterances (105). In the past and when negated, inflected forms of the verb *ku-w-a* 'to be' or the verb *ku-kal-a* 'to be, remain, sit' must be used (106). There is no uninflected copula in the present tense.

(105) ***Siso di-no kulu.***
5.eye PP_5-DEM.PROX [5]big
'This eye is big.'

(106) ***Si-w-ile mw-alimu.***
SP_{1SG}.NEG-be-PFV 1-teacher
'I was not a teacher.'

There are some locational constructions consisting of a demonstrative that denotes location, and the subject prefix:

(107) ***Ali ka-ha-no***
Ali SP_1-PP_{16}-DEM.PROX
'Ali is here'.

(108) ***Cha-ha-ja.***
SP_7-PP_{16}-DEM.DIST
'It is there.'

The negative copula *bule* can take subject prefixes and thus form a complete phrase (109). It cannot take TAM markers nor any verbal extensions. However, it appears that it can take an object prefix adjacent to the subject prefix (110). It may also be inflected with a locative subject prefix, thus creating a negative existential (111).

(109) ***Wa-bule heshima.***
SP$_2$-NEG.COP [9/10]respect
'They have no respect/They are without respect.'

(110) ***Yahabule!***
SP$_1$-OP$_{16}$-NEG.COP
'Go away (be not here)!'

(111) ***Sweden ha-bule tangawizi.***
Sweden SP$_{16}$-NEG.COP [9/10]ginger
'There is no ginger in Sweden.'

6.7 Clause types

This section discusses the declarative, interrogative, imperative (see section 5.2 above) and exclamatory clause types.

6.7.1 Interrogative

Yes/No-questions are differentiated from their corresponding statements by intonation only (pitch rises towards the end of the last word and drops on the last syllable, which often has a lengthened vowel), while content questions are formed with the help of invariable interrogative pronouns or with inflected interrogative pronouns. Question words include *kwani* 'where', *choni/yachi* 'what/which', *nani* 'who', and *lini* 'when'. The question word *habali* 'why' is a loanword from Swahili *habari* 'news' that has gone through a semantic shift (112).

(112) ***Habali ko-ni-to-a?***
why SP$_1$.NPST-OP$_{1SG}$-hit-FV
'Why is s/he hitting me?'

6.7.2 Exclamatory clauses and greetings

Exclamatory clauses are most often used to express surprise (113–114). As in many places in Tanzania, kinship terms are used in greetings even though they may be directed at strangers. The term 'sister' was used between two women of the same age who did not know each other (115).

(113) ***Anhaaa!***
'Aha/I see!'

(114) ***Ka-ha-bule, ko-ka-ko!***
SP$_1$-OP$_{16}$-NEG.COP SP$_1$.NPST-PP$_{17}$-DEM.REF
'S/he is not here, s/he is there!'

(115) ***Dada!***
'Sister!'

6.7.3 Complement clauses

Clausal complements (arguments) may be in the indicative (116), the subjunctive (117) or the infinitive (118).

(116) ***Wa-zungu wo-long-a mwo-hanik-a mi-gunda.***
2-European SP_2.NPST-say-FV SP_{2PL}.NPST-destroy-FV 4-farm
'The Europeans said you are destroying the farms.'

(117) ***No-lond-a ni-lim-e m-gunda w-angu.***
SP_{1SG}.NPST-want-FV SP_{1SG}-cultivate-SBJV 3-farm PP_3-$POSS_{3SG}$
'I want to cultivate my farm.'

(118) ***I-mu-ke yu-no ya-pend-ile ku-hand-a m-beyu.***
AUG-1-wife PP_1-DEM.PROX SP_1-like-PFV INF-plant-FV 9/10-seed
'This (particular) wife liked to sow seeds.'

6.7.4 Relative clauses

There are two types of relative clauses, depending on whether it is the subject or the object that is relativised. When the subject is relativised, the relative verb is usually marked by the formative *-ile* in the past (119), but in the non-past it is often not marked. There is no difference between the clauses 'the book which is readable' and 'the book is readable'; both are *chi-tabu cho-som-ek-a*. For class 1, the subject prefix is *ya-* instead of *ka-* in the relative, where *ya-ib-ile* 's/he who stole' can be contrasted with the non-relative *ka-ib-a* 's/he stole'. The object relative has the verb in the indicative and an object prefix. The object prefix is placed after the subject prefix, i.e. in the regular object prefix slot (120).

(119) ***Mu-geni ya-ib-ile ng'ombe ka-kimbil-a.***
1-stranger SP_1-steal-PFV [9/10]cow SP_1-run-FV
'The stranger who stole the cows ran away.'

(120) ***chi-nu chi-no wa-chi-sol-a wa-uz-a***
7-thing PP_7-DEM.PROX SP_2-OP_7-take.FV SP_2-sell-FV
'This thing which they took, they sold.'

Another way of marking a relative clause is to use the verb *ku-kal-a* 'to be, remain, sit' (121–122). The corresponding non-relative to example 121 is *chi-nu ha-chi-no* 'the thing is here'.

(121) ***chi-nu chi-kal-ile ha-no***
7-thing SP_7-be-PFV PP_{16}-DEM.PROX
'the thing which is/sits here'

(122) ***Chi-tabu chi-kal-a ki-som-igw-a …***
7-book SP_7-be-FV SP_7-read-PASS-FV
'The book, which is readable …'

6.7.5 Adverbial clauses of time

There are two ways of forming dependent clauses of time with the sense of 'when' or 'as': the most common is using *(h)a-* (class 16) in slot 3 (123), or the formative *vi-* (class 8) in slot 1

usually together with *-ile* (124). These forms cannot be used with Non-Past formatives containing *-o-*:

(123) ***Wa-ha-to-a ngoma …***
SP_2-16-play-FV [9/10]drum
'When they play the drums …'

(124) ***Vi-ni-gend-ile u-tali m-kulu ...***
8-SP_{1SG}-go-PFV 14-distance NP_{14}-big
'When I had walked a long distance …'

There is another formative relating to time (*za* or *tsa*) that can only appear independently and immediately before the verb (125). The formative seems to bear a referential meaning, similar to 'at a specific time'. Similarly, the influence of *tsa* can be illustrated with the sentences *nikala* 'I sat' and *tsanikala* 'I sat at that point in time' (which also means I am not sitting anymore). There is a similar phenomenon (*zaa*) in neighbouring Luguru which is used when restricting the event to one determinate moment in the past (Mkude 1974: 95–95). Since it only occurs a few times in our data, it is difficult to say if it really is a Kami morpheme or simply used due to Luguru influence.

(125) ***Za ni-gend-a nzila***
PART SP_{1SG}-go-FV [9/10]path
'(At that time/because) I walked on the path.'

9. Conclusion

Kami is a fairly typical Bantu language, although there are some areas that stand out. For instance, the verbal morphology is heavily reduced, with only two tense markers (Past and Non-Past), one modal and few aspectual markers. The lack of tones is unusual for Bantu, although not particularly so in this area, as there is also no tone in Luguru (Mkude 1974) nor in Kagulu (Petzell 2008). Another interesting feature is the striking variety of allophones representing the same phoneme. Some of these sounds can be traced to Swahili influence and some to local languages such as Luguru. There is variation between speakers but also within the idiolect of individual speakers. Finally, adjectives are few in number and other parts of speech such as nouns or verbs are used in adjectival constructions. This in itself is not unusual. What is atypical, however, is the lack of the widespread adjectives 'good' and 'bad'. Their function is instead filled by ordinary verbs.

Areas that merit further research include allophonic variation, a deeper semantic analysis of the TAM formatives, and inversion structures such as locative inversion. Finally, on another level, semantics and pragmatics including information structure and discourse analysis are major topics that remain unexplored.

References

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2012. Language contact in language obsolescence. In Claudine Chamoreau & Isabelle Léglise (eds), *Dynamics of contact-induced language change. Language contact and bilingualism*, 77–109. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Dixon, Robert. 1982. *Where have all the adjectives gone? and other essays in semantics and syntax*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Guthrie, Malcom. 1967/71. *Comparative Bantu: an introduction to the comparative linguistics and prehistory of the Bantu languages*. 4 vols. London: Gregg International.

Johnston, Harry. 1919. *A comparative study of the Bantu and semi-Bantu languages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Languages of Tanzania Project. 2009. *Atlasi ya Lugha za Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam: Mradi wa Lugha za Tanzania, Chuo Kikuu cha Dar es Salaam.

Marten, Lutz & Jenneke van der Wal. 2014. A typology of Bantu subject inversion. *Linguistic Variation*. 14(2). 318–368.

Meeussen, A. E. 1967. Bantu grammatical reconstructions. *Africana linguistica* III. 79–121.

Mkude, Daniel. J. 1974. *A study of Kiluguru syntax with special reference to the transformational history of sentences with permuted subject and object*. PhD thesis, University of London.

Nurse, Derek. 2008. *Tense and aspect in Bantu*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nurse, Derek & Gérard Philippson. 1975. The north-eastern Bantu languages of Tanzania and Kenya: a tentative classification. *Kiswahili* 45(2). 1–28.

Nurse, Derek & Gérard Philippson. 1980. The Bantu languages of East Africa: a lexicostatistical survey. In Edgar Polomé & C. P. Hill (eds), *Language in Tanzania*, 26–67. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute (IAI).

Nurse, Derek & Gérard Philippson. 2006. Common tense-aspect markers in Bantu. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 27. 153–194.

Petzell, Malin. 2008. *The Kagulu language of Tanzania: grammar, texts and vocabulary*. Cologne: Köppe.

Petzell, Malin 2012a. The linguistic situation in Tanzania. *Moderna Språk* 106. 136–144.

Petzell, Malin. 2012b. The under-described languages of Morogoro: a sociolinguistic survey. *South African Journal of African languages* 32(1). 17–26.

Petzell, Malin & Harald Hammarstöm. 2013. Grammatical and lexical comparison of the Greater Ruvu Bantu languages. *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 22(3). 129–157.

Petzell, Malin & Karoline Kühl. In prep. The influence of linguistic and non-linguistic factors on the usage of the pre-prefix in Bantu.

Riedel, Kristina. 2009. *The syntax of object marking in Sambaa: A comparative perspective.* Utrecht: LOT.

Velten, Carl. 1900. *Kikami, die Sprache der Wakami in Deutsch-Ostafrika*. Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, 3: Afrikan Studien. 1–56.

Notes on Contributors

Malin Petzell, PhD, is a researcher in African linguistics at the Department of Languages and Literatures, University of Gothenburg. Her research interests include language description (documentation and analysis), language endangerment, Bantu languages, nominal and verbal morphology and field methods.

Lotta Aunio, PhD, is the University Lecturer of Bantu Languages at the Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki. Her research interests include Bantu languages, Nilotic languages, tone, language contact and language description.